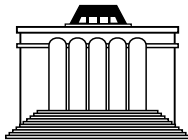


ARMEN PETROSYAN

**PROBLEMS OF ARMENIAN
PREHISTORY**

MYTH
LANGUAGE
HISTORY





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«ԳԻՏՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ»
ՀՐԱՏԱՐԱԿՉՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ
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INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY

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Foreword

The present collection includes 12 articles dealing with the prehistory of Armenia and related issues published in the last decade. The publication is determined by the fact that these articles were mainly published abroad, in journals and collections that were either hard to find or completely unavailable in Armenia.

In people's memory, the events of earliest times were mythicized, hence the study of prehistory is inseparable from the study of myth. Articles included in the collection discuss the legends of forefathers of Armenia, ancient pantheons of gods and onomastics of Armenian Highland, and problems of formation and early history of Armenia. The last article addresses the criticism of my works voiced in the West.

Forefather Hayk in the Light of Comparative Mythology*

In this article it is argued that the legendary forefather of the Armenians, Hayk, is an epic figure who combines the traits of several divine archetypes (god creator, father and patriarch of gods, thunder god, war god, dog-slayer, leader of *Männerbund*). Although he is derived from Indo-European prototypes in the south of the Armenian Highland he was juxtaposed with some local Hurro-Urartian and Semitic deities.

Cosmogony and Ethnogeny

In archaic myths the most important place is taken by stories of the “beginning” (creation, cosmogony). They tell about the origins of the universe, the gods and heroes of that period. The cosmogonic action frequently is described as a very dramatic event such as the first murder. Cosmogonic myths are closely associated with anthropogonic and ethnogonic myths, which may be regarded as special cases (Eliade 1959: 6 ff.).

The Armenian ethnogonic myth of the patriarch Hayk, forefather of the Armenians, and his descendants (Khorenatsi 1.10-15; Sebeos 1; for the English translation: Thomson 1978: 82 ff., 357 ff.), evidently represents the epicized version of the creation myth of the beginning of the universe (countries, mountains, rivers, months and hours were named after Hayk and the first Haykids, while the naming in mythology is equivalent to the creation itself). It combines theogony, cosmogony, and ethnogeny, and carries anthropogonic and sociogonic elements. Hayk

* First published as Petrosyan 2009.

and his descendants are the epicized figures of the oldest Armenian gods (theogony; see below); lands, provinces, mountains, rivers and settlements are named after them (cosmogony); Armenian ethnonyms *Hay* and *Armen* are derived from the names Hayk and his descendant Aram (ethnogony). The large family of Hayk reflects the structure of the oldest Armenian pantheon and patriarchal family (sociogony). The beginning of time is also associated with the myth of Hayk – the months and hours of the day were considered to be named after the sons and daughters of Hayk (Brutyan 1997: 156 ff., 385 ff, with bibliography). The divine line ends with the death and supposed resurrection of Ara the Handsome, the last divine patriarch. The mythic sacred time ends with his death and our real (profane) era begins.

Hayk the patriarch represents the epicized and localized version of the earliest demiurge, the patriarch of the family of gods, who figures as the creator and progenitor of Armenia – the Armenian universe. Notably, his successors Aram and Ara the Handsome are also regarded as the epicized figures of ancient gods (see, e.g., Matikian 1930; Petrosyan 1997; Petrosyan 2007c).

Indo-European Associations

1) Ancient heroic epic, unlike some other genres of folklore, is formed in the process of ethnic consolidation and is in a lesser degree liable to international influences (Meletinsky 1986: 62). Thus the core of the ethnogonic legends, which are to be regarded as the earliest Armenian epic, would represent a native Armenian, i.e. Indo-European myth. As has been shown by S. Ahyan and G. Dumézil, the pivotal characters of the legends – Hayk, Aram and Ara the Handsome – constitute an Indo-European “trifunctional” triad, associated, respectively, with the first (sovereign), the second (military) and the third (fertility) functions of Indo-European mythology. Moreover, Hayk and his son Aramaneak present the two aspects of the first function. The characters of the opponents of Hayk, Aram, and Ara – Bel, Baršamin, and Šamiram – func-

tionally correspond to the respective Armenian heroes and also form an identical trifunctional system (Ahyan 1981: 270-271; Dumézil 1994: 133-141; for the Indo-European aspects of the ethnogonic myth, see also Petrosyan 1997; Petrosyan 2002; Petrosyan 2007a).

2) Hayk journeyed to Armenia with his patriarchal family, which included his sons and daughters and sons' sons, martial men about three hundred in number, and other domestic servants and outsiders (Khorenats'i 1.10).

The Armenian patriarchal clans, which survived until recent times, were usually called *azg*. *Azg* is a familial kin-group, which includes families of several generations, usually six–seven, rarely eight, the descending and lateral patrilineal branches derived from the ancestor-founder, whose name becomes the generic term (Karapetyan 1966: 25). In addition, *azg* means 'people, nation.' The same is true for the other terms used for clans (*c'el* 'branch, clan, tribe, nation,' *tun* 'house, clan, nation' etc.).

Linguistic analysis suggests that in Armenian no ancient term concerning family relationship is lacking except one (**nepōt-*), whereas the other Indo-European languages have lost several, or did not have them. The Armenian preservation of those terms is the more striking inasmuch as Armenian is neither an archaic nor a conservative language, and moreover, has lost a great deal of the Indo-European lexicon. This shows without any doubt that the ancestors of the Armenians had faithfully preserved for a very long time the large patriarchal family (Bonfante 1984: 29).

Thus, the Armenian traditional family, survived to the 19th century would represent one of the most archaic successors of the Indo-European kin. Hayk's large family would present the mythological prototype, the most archaic version of the Armenian patriarchal family. The root of the name of Hayk *hay* was regarded as the generic name of Hayk's *azg*-family and *azg*-nation and the historical Armenian *azg*, i.e., the nation of Hayk was conceived of as the current state of Hayk's initial (mythic) family.

3) In several Armenian dialects the elderly women mention their husbands in their absence as *mer hayə* ‘our *hay*’ i.e. ‘husband, chief of our family’ (for this appellation, see especially Khachatryan 2003: 19). This word, very plausibly, can be etymologized from Indo-European **poti-* ‘master, lord, master of the house, husband’ (cf. Lat. *hospes*, Russ. *gospodi* < **ghos[t]-pot-* ‘host,’ Gk. *posis*, Avest. *paiti-*, Ind. *pati-*, Toch. A *pats* ‘husband,’ etc). Hayk is described as the head of a patriarchal family consisting of three hundred men and their own families. Thus, Hayk’s name can also be associated with **poti-* (cf. also **dems-pot-* ‘master of the house’ and **wik-pot-* ‘master of the clan, community’).

The constellation Orion was named *Haykn* after Hayk (Alishan 1895: 119-120). This alludes to the Indo-European suffix **-kon* (**-kon-*), which in Armenian was conflated with the Iranian suffix *-ik*: *Haykn*, *Hayik* > *Hayk* (for this suffix, see Djahukian 1987: 238). This diminutive/ venerable ending is peculiar to the appellations of the elders and mythological names: cf. *hayr/ hayrik* ‘father,’ *pap/papik* ‘grandfather,’ theonymic *Astlik* ‘Venus,’ lit. ‘Little star,’ and Aramaneak (son of Hayk), with an analogical suffix *-ak*. Notably, the second part of Hayk’s consistent epithet *nahapet* ‘patriarch’ presents the Iranian reflex of the Indo-European **pot-* (Petrosyan 2002: 58, 61, 161, with bibliography).¹

4) In the Indo-European past, a boy first moved into the category of an “(armed) youth” as a member of the war-band of the unmarried and landless young men. Then at about the age of twenty they entered into the tribe proper as adults: **wiHro-* or **Hner-* ‘man.’ The adults constituted the true *Männerbund* or *comitatus*, the warrior group headed by a particular warleader/ chieftain (Mallory and Adams 1997: 6 f.; 531, 632 f.). The troop of Hayk in the battle against Bel, the manhood of his adult descendants/tribe is to be regarded as an echo of the earliest *Män-*

1 For various considerations on the etymology of the ethnonym *Hay*, see Djahukian 1961: 386 ff.; Djahukian 1987: 284. In his later works Djahukian accepted the etymology of *Hay* and Hayk from **poti-* (Djahukian 1988: 68; Djahukian 1990: 26; Djahukian 1992b: 18), which makes unnecessary its special linguistic argumentation.

nerbund. Notably, in Khorenatsi they are mentioned as mighty *ark*‘ pl. ‘men’ < **Hner*-.

5) Hayk kills his adversary Bel with an *erek*‘t‘*ewean* ‘threewinged’ (triple-fleshed) arrow (Khorenats’i 1.11). The best Indo-European parallel is found in India, where the constellation Orion was personified by the god progenitor/ creator Prajāpati who was transfixated by a three-jointed arrow (*iṣus trikāṇḍa*, probably, the belt stars of Orion) shot by the god Rudra (Allen 1963: 309 f.; Forssman 1968: 58, with the reference to the sources; Fontenrose 1981: 239 f.; Tjomkin and Erman 1985: 16-18, 276 f.). Obviously, Hayk, as the shooter of a triple arrow and the father and leader of the *Männerbund* of *Hays* (Armenians) corresponds with Rudra, the father and leader of the *Männerbund* of Rudras / Maruts, his sons who were called by his name (For Rudra, as the leader of *Männerbund*, see Kershaw 2001). However, Hayk as the progenitor of Armenia and personification of Orion corresponds with Prajāpati as well. Notably, the second element of the characteristic epithets of Rudra (*ganapati*, *vrātapati*, *bhūtapati*, *paśupati*, *grhapati*, *sthapati*, *sabhapati*), as well as of the name of Prajāpati, are derived from **poti*- (Petrosyan 2002: 55; Petrosyan 2007b: 30 f.).

6) Before the battle Bel suggests that Hayk become the head of his young hunters. In return, Hayk calls him “dog, from a pack of dogs” and kills him (Sebeos 1). The comparison of enemies with dogs in many traditions is related to the mythologem of the Indo-European warrior deity the “dog slayer,” cf. the Balkanic theonyms Kandaulēs, Kandaulas, Kandaōn ‘dog strangler,’ Irish Cuchulainn, the slayer of Culann’s dog, etc (See Ivanov 1977: 210-211, with the reconstruction of the figure of the Indo-European “dog slayer”). In Greek tradition, Orion is a Boeotian giant hunter, who the Boeotians call *Kandaōn*. *Kandaōn* is referred to as worshipped by the Thracians (Crestonians) and there is a reference to a human sacrifice conducted with the “threefathered sword of *Kandaōn*” (Lycophron, *Alexandra* 1.328; II.937-8; Tzetz. ad Lyc. 328). The associations of *Kandaōn* with the constellation Orion, hunt, human sacrifice and triple weapon are comparable with the characteristics of

Hayk. Thus Hayk can be regarded as a parallel figure to the Balkanic Orion-Kandaōn, the Armenian heir of the Indo-European “dog slayer.”

7) Hayk’s fight with his adversary may be considered in the context of the myth of the thunder god and his adversary the serpent (for the reconstruction of this myth, see Ivanov and Toporov 1974). According to a legend, the “Armenian king” (= Hayk) killed Bel-Nimrod and burned him up on Mt. Nimrod/ Nemrut (to the west of Lake Van). By God’s will, the fire turned into water, and a crater lake on the summit of the mountain was created. In other variants, Nimrod built a grandiose building on Mt. Nimrod and rebelled against god. He was destroyed by thunderbolts and a storm. The lake on the summit of Mt. Nimrod was created and drowned him and his palace (Ghanalanyan 1969: 72 f.).

In Latin mythology, one of the kings of Alba rebelled against Jupiter and tried to imitate the thunder (similar to the Greek Salmoneus). He was smitten by a real thunderbolt, and the waters of Lake Alba overflowed and destroyed the king’s palace (for a comparative study of this myth, see Dumézil 1973: 67 f.)

In these legends, Hayk and his substitutes (Armenian king, God) correspond with the god of thunder and storm.

Near Eastern Associations

1) The name of the deified Babylonian tyrant Bel, adversary of Hayk (identified with Nimrod), is derived from the Semitic *b’l* ‘lord, master.’ It was used as the name or epithet of the great gods (especially the Babylonian Bel-Marduk). It is characteristic that Hayk transfixes Bel with an arrow as happens in the Babylonian cosmogonic myth where Marduk kills his adversary Tiamat. Thus, Hayk in the Armenian myth plays the role of Marduk in the Babylonian myth. The second eponymous patriarch Aram and his adversary Baršam would represent the “second figures” of Hayk and Bel (Abeghian 1966: 55; Petrosyan 2002: 56, 62, 83; Petrosyan 2007a). Significantly, Baršam is also derived from Semitic *b’l* (West Semitic Ba‘al Šamin ‘Lord of Heaven’). Thus, the

name of Hayk (**poti-* ‘lord’), most probably, corresponds to that of his adversary and functional counterpart Bel.

Several adversaries of Indo-European gods and heroes may also be derived from the West Semitic Ba‘al. This is explained as a result of ancient contacts of the Indo-European and West Semitic tribes. In those myths, as it seems, the Semitic god is represented as the negative mirror-image of the Indo-European divine heroes (Petrosyan 2007a; for the Indo-European and West Semitic early contacts, Ivanov 2004: 45 f.).

2) On his way from Babylon to Armenia, Hayk sojourned first at the foot of a mountain to the south of Greater Armenia, and then left it to his grandson Kadmos. The area of Hayk’s first sojourn is situated in the extreme south of the Armenian Highland (the region of the “House of Kadmos,” Assy. Kadmuhi/Katmuhu). The mountain of Hayk’s sojourn should be identified with the most significant mountain of the area, Mountain of Corduene in the east of Kadmuhi (Assyr. Nib/pur, Arm. Ararat of Corduene, Turk. Cudi dağı). In the 2nd-1st mill. BC, the city/land Kumme/Qumenu of this locality was the center of worship of the Hurro-Urartian thunder/storm god Teššub/Teišeba. In this context Hayk may be considered the late epic version of Teššub/Teišeba (Hmayakayan 1992; Petrosyan 2006a). Notably, the name of Hayk’s second son Xor, who is regarded as the eponym of the Hurrians, coincides with that of the second son of Teššub Hurri (to read: *Xor̄ə*).

3) Several ancient sources and folk traditions locate the landing place of Noah at the Mountain of Corduene (Petrosyan 2006a). Thus, in this context, Hayk the progenitor of the Armenians could have been juxtaposed with Noah, the progenitor of the human race. Accordingly, the three sons of Hayk, the eponyms of Armenian provinces correspond with the three sons of Noah, the eponyms of humanity.

* * *

Thus, Hayk is a complex epic figure that combines the characteristics of the god creator, the father and patriarch of gods, the thunder god, and the war god. He is derived from the Indo-European prototypes yet was influenced by some Near Eastern figures.

The Indo-European **H₂ner(t)-s* and the Dānu Tribe*

In several Indo-European myths the river/water deities **deh₂nu-s* or **dhonu-s* are opposed to the gods or heroes related to **h₂ner(t)-* ‘virile strength, man.’ The **h₂ner-* men fight against them and wed their women. The name of the leader of the **deh₂nu- / *dhonu-s* is comparable with the West Semitic theonym Baal ‘lord.’ The mythic adversaries of the **h₂ner-s* were probably conflated with a real Semitic tribe.¹

India

The divine society of ancient India is represented by two opposing groups of deities, Devas and Asuras. Indra is the king of the Devas, while Bali is the king of the Asuras (for the sources and analysis, see Hospital 1984. The Asuras themselves are composed of two family groups: the Dānavas, the children of Dānu, and the Daityas, the children of Dānu’s sister Diti (these two groups do not notably differ from each other). Bali was a son of Dānu, i.e., a Dānava. As the chief of the adversaries of the Deva-gods he may be regarded as the epic correspondence of the Vedic arch-adversary to Indra, Vṛtra, son of Dānu.

In the standard variants of the myth, we see that in a war between the Devas and Asuras the Devas were defeated by Bali and his follow-

* First published as Petrosyan 2007a.

1 M. R. Dexter (1990; 1990a: 42-46; EIEC: 486 f.), examining almost all the mythic figures comparable with **dānu- / *dhonu-*, considers them as reflections of an obscure prehistoric tribe, personified as a feminine water deity, who were subdued by the Indo-Europeans. For other aspects of reconstruction, see Petrosyan 1997: 102 ff.; Petrosyan 2002: 99 ff.

ers and driven out of heaven. Bali became the king of the sky, the mid-region and the earth. Then Hari (i.e., Viṣṇu) defeat Bali by a trick and gave the world again to Indra. Bali himself was sent to an underground kingdom (he was regarded as the king of the netherworld). In other variants, Bali is defeated by Indra. Indra weds Śacī (Indrānī). Her father Dānava (or: Daitya) Puloman was killed by Indra when he tried to curse the god for having ravished his daughter.

Indra is an example of the Indo-European thunder and warrior god. He performs many manly deeds and is called *nṛtama* ‘most manly’ < **h₂ner-* (RV 6.19.10; 6.33.3). Moreover, his name, too, according to one opinion, is derived from **h₂ner-*, gen. **h₂nro-* (in the context of comparative mythology, see Lincoln 1986: 97, 122, with bibliography; for the scepticism about this etymology, below). Dānu represents IE **deh₂nu-* (**dānu-*) ‘river,’ a suffixed form of **deh₂-* ‘to flow,’ and Dānava (< **dānawo-*) is a derivative of *dānu-*. Bali is opaque, and in all probability this is a borrowed name.

Iran and Ossetia

In Iranian tradition, the two opposing groups are the Iranians and the Turanians. In the *Avesta*, the Dānava appears as a powerful and malicious Turanian tribe, inimical to the Iranian heroes, while *Narava* is the name or epithet of an Iranian hero, adversary of the Turanians.

The heroes of the Ossetic epic are called Narts. Donbetyr is the water and sea god, Poseidon’s counterpart, ruler of an undersea kingdom and its inhabitants. Donbetyrs (pl.) represent a class of water deities, his sons and daughters (nymphs). The great Nart *Æxsærtæg* (or: his twin brother *Æxsær*) enters the undersea kingdom and weds *Dzerassæ*, the daughter of Donbetyr, who becomes the progenitress of the race of heroes.

Narava represents a derivative of **h₂ner-*. The name Nart is usually derived from **h₂ner-t-* (cf. *IESOI* s.v.). Donbetyr is interpreted as ‘Peter of water, Watery Peter,’ derived from *don* ‘river’ < **dānu-* (*IESOI* s.v.).

To the best of my knowledge, there is no evidence of a cognate of Bali king of Dānavas in Iran and Ossetia.²

Armenia

According to the ethnogonic myth, attested in the book of Movsēs Xorenac‘i and the brief account of the origins of Armenia by Anonym, attributed to the seventh-century writer Sebēos, the first eponymous patriarch of the Armenians was Hayk, descendant of Noah’s son Japheth (Thomson 1978; Petrosyan 2002). After the construction of the tower of Babel Hayk refused to obey the Babylonian tyrant Bel the Titanid (identified with the Biblical Nimrod), and with his large patriarchal family, consisting of three hundred men, he moved to the north and settled in Armenia. Bel attacked Hayk with his huge army but was killed in battle. After several generations the second eponymous patriarch of the Armenians, Aram, defeated Baršam, the epicized figure of the god Baršamin, i.e. Syrian Ba‘al Šamin ‘Lord of Heaven.’³ Aram represents the “second figure of Hayk” (Abeghian 1966: 55) therefore Baršam/ Baršamin may be regarded as the “second figure of Bel.” The temple of Barsamin in Armenia was situated in the village T‘ordan in the upper part of the Euphrates. According to the historic tradition, this cult was founded by Tigran the Great in the first century BC (Khorenatsi 2.14), yet the first mention of this god in the upper Euphrates is known more than a millennium earlier. In the Hittite version of a West Semitic (Canaanite, Ugaritic) myth, the weather god Baal “went to the headwaters of the Mala (= Euphrates – A.P.) River” to meet his father Elkunirša (Hoffner 1990: 69).

Aram’s son Ara the Handsome (*Ara Gelec‘ik*) ruled Armenia while Assyria was under the power of Šamiram (Gk. Semiramis), the widow

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- 2 In the Nart epic of the Circassians, the water-dragon adversary of the Nart Batraz is called Bliago (*MNM*, s.v). This name could theoretically be regarded as a transformed version of the lost Alanian (Ossetic) cognate of the Indic Bali.
 - 3 Notably, according to Khorenac‘i, Baršam was deified in Syria, while in an ancient legend he is represented as the forefather of the Syrians (Petrosyan 2002: 50, 87-88).

of Bel's descendant Ninos (who sometimes was identified as Bel himself or Bel's son, Khorenatsi 1.5). Šamiram tried to marry Ara the Handsome, but he rebuffed the lascivious Assyrian queen and was killed in battle against the Assyrians. Thus the "sacred" mythical era of the forefathers of Armenia ends and "history" begins.

Hayk and Aram have been considered the epicized figures of the thunder god (Harutyunyan 2000: 230 ff.; Petrosyan 2002: 43 ff.). In Anonym, Hayk is called *ari* 'manly.' This word is associated with *ayr* 'man,' derived from **h₂ner-* (**h₂nryo-* or **h₂nēr* > **ainir-* > *ayr*, see e.g. Djahukian 1987: 140, 183; Kortlandt and Beekes 2004: 210). *Ari* is the consistent epithet of the supreme god of the heathen Armenians Aramazd (< Iran. Ahura Mazda). He was the patriarch of the gods, the divine counterpart of the epic patriarch Hayk. Furthermore, Aramazd was identified with the Greek Zeus and called *ampropayin* 'thunderer.' The relationship of Aramazd : Baršamin would correspond to those of Hayk : Bel and Aram : Baršam (Petrosyan 2002: 131 f.).

Bel, deified king of Babylon, represents the Babylonian (originally West Semitic) great god Bēl-Marduk (Petrosyan 2002: 58). The first element of the name of Baršamin/ Ba'al Šamin is etymologically identical with the name of Bel.

The name of Ara is obscure, yet it is consonant to the Armenian reflexes of **h₂ner-*, which in its derivatives may figure as *ar-*, cf. *ari* (*HAB* 1: 173). According to Xorenac'i and Anonym, Ara is the eponym of the central province of Armenia Ayrarat (cf. *ayr* 'man'); Ari Armaneli, a folk tale hero, is regarded as the folk variant of Ara the Handsome, son of Aram (Kapantsyan 1956: 187). **Dānu-* would yield Arm. **Tan* (with regular soundshift and apocope). This name is not attested in Armenian mythology, yet it may be inferred that the derivation of Bel from the Greek Titan (identified with the Biblical Ham) and the constant identification of Bel and his descendants as *Titanean* 'Titanid' in the books of the Armenian authors reflect the Graecophile transformation of the original **Tan* (on the possible West Semitic associations of Titan, see

below).⁴ On the other hand, the second part of the toponym T'ordan is also reminiscent of **Dānu-*. The figure of Ara the Handsome is comparable with Bres 'Handsome,' the king of the people of the goddess Danu in the Irish tradition (see Petrosyan 2002: 103 f. and below) which may connect the Armenian ethnogonic heroes to the **deh₂nu-* / **dhonumyths*.

The Hittite Kingdom

In a fragment of Hittite mythology the serpent Illuyanka defeats the weather/thunder god. The god's daughter, Inara, with her human lover, invites the serpent and his children to her home. They eat and drink, and when the serpent gets drunk the weather/thunder god comes and kills him (Hoffner 1990: 11-12).

The Hittite text is represented as a speech of a priest of the weather god of Nerik at the Purulli festival. Nerik was one of the most important Hattian, i.e. pre-Hittite, sacral centers. Taru, the weather god of Nerik, was the head of the early local pantheon.

On the other hand, the Purulli ritual text has been considered in the context of the Indo-European thunder god myth (Ivanov and Toporov 1974: 122 ff.; Lincoln 1981: 117 ff.; Watkins 1995: 321 f., 444 ff.; Petrosyan 2002: 6 ff.). The names of Inara and Nerik are somewhat reminiscent of Indra and **h₂ner-*; the ending of Illuyanka's name can theoretically be compared with IE **ang^whi-* 'snake, serpent;,' the names Purulli and Taru has been considered as Indo-European borrowings (Toporov 1976; Nikolaev and Strakhov 1987: 150).

Nevertheless, this myth is not of much benefit to the present study. The adduced comparisons are disputable (for the possible folk etymological associations of Inara with the Anatolian reflexes of **h₂ner-*, see *HED* I: 62, 368) and there are no traces of the Hittite counterparts of the Dānavas and Bali or Bel.

4 The Greek influence is present in some other names of the ethnogonic myth as well (cf. e.g. the name of Hayk's grandson Kadmos, the eponym of the land "Home of the Kadmeans," i.e. Assy. Kadmuhi/Katmuhu; Ninos, descendant of Bel, Yapetos, identified with the Biblical Japheth).

Greece

Poseidon's son Bēlos begat Aigyptos (king of Egypt) and Danaos. The brothers quarrelled, and Danaos took refuge in Argos, where he became king. Later, the fifty sons of Aigyptos married the fifty daughters of Danaos. The latter directed his daughters to kill off their husbands on the wedding night. Lynkeus, the only survivor, eventually killed Danaos.

After some generations, Zeus visited Danaē (Danaos' descendant) in a shower of gold and impregnated her. Danaē's son Perseus, one of the greatest heroes of Greece, wedded Andromedē.

The war of Troy was started because the Trojan Paris had abducted the Greek Helenē from Sparta. Paris is called also Alexandros (Apoll. 3.12.5), while the Greeks in the *Iliad* are frequently called *Danaoi* 'Danaans' (for this ethnonym, see e.g. Sakellariou 1986: 129 ff.). At the end of the war Paris-Alexandros kills the greatest Greek hero Achilles.

Bēlos represents the West Semitic theonym Baal. The names Andromedē and Alexandros are associated with **h₂nro-* (Gk. *anēr* 'man,' gen. *andros*). The Danaoi (< **danawo-*) are apparently comparable with the Dānavas. The name of Poseidon has also been considered in this context (**poti* 'lord' + *da/onu-*?, see *GEW* s.v.; *MNM* 1: 531). Note that in the myth of Perseus (son of Danaē) and Andromedē the names are found in gender-switched order.

Wales and Ireland

The goddess Dôn, Welsh counterpart of Indic Dānu, can be regarded as the wife of Beli, god of death. They appear as the parents of several ancient gods. Beli was considered also as an ancestor from whom several royal lines of Wales claimed descent (Rees and Rees 1961; Konratiev 1998).

In Irish mythology, Danu is a mother goddess from whom the *Tuatha Dé Danann*, the 'people of the goddess Danu,' took their name. They were deities who inhabited Ireland before the coming of the Irish. The first king of the People of Danu, on their arrival in Ireland from a north-

ern country, was Nuadu the Silver hand, whose counterpart in Welsh tradition was Lludd the Silver hand, son of Beli.

After Nuadu, Bres ‘Beautiful, Handsome’ (or: Eochaid Bres) was elected to succeed him on the urgings of the women. Bres’ mother belonged to Danu’s tribe, while his father was a king of the Fomorians, a class of evil gods or demons. Bres failed as king and escaped to the land of the Fomorians. A great battle occurred between the People of Danu and the Fomorians (“the second battle of Mag Tuired”). The leader of the Fomorians was King Balor whose evil eye destroyed his enemies.

The prehistory of Ireland culminates in the biblicalized story of the sons of Mil, the mythic ancestors of the Irish people, who wrested Ireland from the people of Danu. Mil himself was a son of Bile, the Irish cognate of the Welsh Beli.

There is much uncertainty in the names and characters of Dôn, Danu, Beli and Bile. However, the Dôn-Danu and Beli- Bile correspondences in the context of Celtic mythology are universally acknowledged. Balor, obviously, is not the same as Bile, yet this name is reminiscent of the names of the archenemies of the Indo-European gods and heroes (Bali, Bel, Beli). Thus, irrespective of actual etymology, due to this homophony, the figure of Balor could assume the traits of the adversary of the Indo-European heroes. Note the resemblance between the figures of the Irish and the Armenian kings manqué, Bres, and Ara the Handsome.

Scandinavia and Iceland

In Norse tradition, divine society is represented by the Æsir and Vanir collectivities. After a destructive and indecisive war between them hostages are exchanged and the Vanir send Njörðr and his son Freyr to live with the Æsir. Freyr ‘Lord’ was also called by another name Yngve: Yngvi-Freyr. This may refer to the origins of the worship of Yngvi-Freyr in the tribal areas that Tacitus mentions in his *Germania* as being populated by the Inguieonnic tribes. Traditions related to Freyr are also connected with the legendary Danish kings named Fróði (*MNM* s.v. Freyr).

The Swedish royal dynasty was known as the Ynglings from their descent from Yngvi-Freyr. In Norse tradition the eponyms of the Scandinavian ethnonym Dan are associated with Yngvi-Freyr/Fróði (e.g. in Saxo Grammaticus' *Gesta Danorum*, the second king called Dan appears as the grandfather of Fróði the Active who is then followed by the third Dan; in a Danish chronicle's list Ingui was one of three brothers that the Danish tribes descended from, etc).

Freyr is the slayer of the giant Beli. It could be assumed that Beli was the brother of Gerðr, wife of Freyr, based on Gerðr's words about her fear that the unknown man who has come to visit is her brother's slayer (*Skírnismál*, 16).

Njörðr is derived from **h₂ner-t-*. The ethnonymic *Dan* is reminiscent of the Greek *Danaoi* and Irish *Tuatha Dé Danann*. Norse Beli is identical with the Welsh Beli.

Consideration

In these myths there are several comparable names and terms.

India	<i>nrtama</i> , Indra (?)	Dānu, Dānava	Bali
Iran	Narava	Dānava	Omitted
Ossetia	Nart	Donbettyr	Omitted
Armenia	<i>ari</i> , Ara (?)	Omitted (cf. Titan ?, T ^o ordan ?)	Bel, Baršamin
Greece	Andromedē, Alexandros	Danaos, Danaids, Danaē, Danaans, Poseidon (?)	Bēlos
Wales	Omitted	Dôn	Beli
Ireland	Omitted	Danu	Bile
Scandinavia and Iceland	Njörðr	Dan	Beli

The majority of the names and terms of the second column are associated with IE **h₂ner(t)-/ *h₂nro-* 'man, virile strength.' As for Indra, this etymology is questionable (*EWAia* 1: 193). Nonetheless, the adduced Indic myths seem to be inseparable from the others. Particularly suggestive is the comparison with Paris-Alexandros (Indra fights against the Dānavas, defeats their leader Bali, ravishes and weds Śacī,

daughter of a Dānava, while Paris-Alexandros fights against the Greek Danaoi, kills their greatest hero Achilles, ravishes and weds their beauty Helenē; Indra is a thunder god, while the name of Paris is reminiscent of a truncated anagram of the Indo-European thunder god **Per-u-no-*). On the other hand, Indra is the leader of the Devas against the Asuras, like Njörðr, who is the leader of the Vanir against the Æsir. Thus, the name of Indra, with its Iranian parallel, may represent an ancient borrowing from another Indo-European language (cf. Gk. *andros*).

Indic Dānu (Dānava), as has been said, is connected to **deh₂-* ‘to flow.’ The Scandinavian ethnonymic Dan and the second part of the Armenian toponym T‘ordan cannot be associated directly with IE **deh₂-*, because they do not undergo the regular soundshift **d > t* (T‘ordan is opaque in Armenian and probably represents a borrowing like the name of the god worshipped there). Some of these heroes are strongly associated with water (Dānu is the mother of the cosmic waters, Danaos descends from Poseidon, etc, see Dexter 1990). A number of Indo-European river-names are considered to be derived from **deh₂nu-*: Danube (Celtic), Don, Donets, Dnieper, Dniester (Russia and Ukraine, borrowed from Iranian);⁵ Dunajs (Latvia); Donwy, Don (Wels, England), etc (see, e.g. *EIEC*: 486-487). According to another opinion, these river names can be derived from **dhōnu-* (with difficult lengthened grade) ‘river,’ cf. **dhen-* ‘flow’ (*EIEC*: 486). This second stem may certainly explain many of the considered names.

Bali and his counterparts may be regarded as the rulers of the Danus. The derivation of Arm. Bel, the tyrant of Babylon, Baršam/Baršamin, the Syrian god and forefather of the Syrians, and Gk. Bēlos, the king of Egypt, from the Semitic *b l* ‘lord’ is beyond all doubt (West Semitic Ba‘l, Ba‘lu, Ba‘al, Akkad. Bēl). Not everything is clear in the figures of Indic Bali, Celtic Beli/Bile, Norse Beli, yet nevertheless in the context

5 It may be noted that Nepra (= Dnieper) Korolevična, Don Ivanyč, and Dunaj (= Danube) Ivanyč appear in Russian bylinas; Dunaj finds a wife for the prince Vladimir; some legends of the Dnieper area are comparable with the Indra and Vṛtra myth, see Ivanov and Toporov 1976: 116 ff.

of the considered myths they would be related to Greek Bēlos and Armenian Bel (for the comparison of these Celtic names with Indic Bali and Greek Bēlos, see Rees and Rees 1961: 365-366; though some of the adduced comparisons are disputable).

These names cannot be related in the Indo-European context (the reconstruction of IE **b* is improbable; Armenian and Norse forms lack the regular soundshift) which points to the late, borrowed character of this mythic figure. However, in some traditions the Semitic *b/l* might have been equated with the Indo-European homophonic stems in folk-etymological association, which can explain the linguistic inadequacy (cf. *e.g. *bhel-* ‘to shine, white;’ ‘to blow, swell.’ For such associations of the transparently Semitic Bel in Armenian tradition, see Harutyunyan 2000: 231; Petrosyan 2002a).

In the majority of the considered myths the positive side of the opposition is represented by the manly and heroic **h₂ner-s* and the negative side by the Danus. The “most manly” Indra and Narava fight against the Dānavas; the Narts are somewhat opposed to the Donbetyrs; the “manly” Hayk is the founder and eponym of Armenia; Njörðr is the ancestor of certain Norse eponyms and kings.

The **h₂ner-* men fight and usually overcome the Danus and their leader B'l: Indra fights against the Dānava Bali; Hayk kills Bel; Lynkeus kills Danaos; Paris-Alexandros fights against the Danaans and kills their great hero Achilles; Freyr son of Njörðr kills Beli.

The **h₂ner-* men wed the Danu women: Indra weds the daughter of a Dānava; the Nart Æxsærtæg weds the daughter of Donbetyr; the sons of Agyptos wed the daughters of Danaos; Paris-Alexandros weds the Danaan Helenē. Those women are reminiscent of the Greek nymphs or Indic apsaras, classes of mythic women associated with water, who appear, willing or otherwise, as the brides of the gods, deities and heroes (cf. the stories of Zeus and Thētis, Zeus and Aigina, Viçvāmitra and Menakē, etc).

In some myths the normal order is reversed. The Danus figure as the positive side (the Greek Danaans, the Norse Danes, the Irish tribe of

the goddess Danu while fighting against the Fomorians); Šamiram tries to seduce Ara; **h₂nro-* occurs in the name of the wife of the descendant of Danu (Perseus the son of Danaē weds Andromedē).

Below I would like to consider a possibility of a historical reconstruction which was implied but not accomplished in previous studies. The Dánavas, Danaans, Danes, and people of the goddess Danu designate mythic / epic or real tribes, thus it seems probable that at least in some of these names *deh₂nu-* / **dhonu-* has been conflated with an ancient homophonic ethnonym Danu. The myths under consideration are associated with the origins of the peoples (cf. e.g. the eponymous figures of Hayk, Danaos, Danu), and moreover, the ethnic identities of the **h₂ner-*s are formed as a result of their conflict with the Danus. In these myths, as it seems, the great god of the Semites, represented as the negative mirror-image of the Indo-European divine heroes, replaced the figure of the mythic adversary of the original myth (cf. the figure of Vṛtra, Dānava, serpent, ruler of the underworld, adversary of the thunder god Indra in the Vedic myth). These myths would have been formed as a result of contacts between the Indo- Europeans and the Semites (which figure as the Danu clan, under command of the god B'1),⁶ and then passed to the other regions of the Indo-European world. Elements of these myths are comparable with the (West) Semitic myths of Marduk and Baal (cf. Dexter 1990: 54-55). Moreover, some West Semitic mythological motifs and names are reminiscent of those of the Indo-European myths: the thunder god Baal slew the “judge/lord (of) river” Yammu ‘Sea’ and the dragon, *Tannîn*; the eponymous forefather of the North Syrian state of Ugarit was Ditanu/Didanu (Shifman 1987: 73-74, 90-91, cf. the figures of Dánu and Bel the Titanid).

The city of Adana in Cilicia, to the south-east of modern Turkey, on the river Seihan, known from the Hittite sources as *Ataniya* since the 16th

6 Apropos of this, one can recall the similar situation in the mythologies of other peoples: e.g., in the Finno-Ugric tradition, the names of the celestial god are, as a rule, of indigenous origin, while his adversary, ruler of the underworld, is frequently represented by a borrowed god who has positive functions in the tradition from which his name is borrowed (Aikhenvald et al. 1982: 188).

century BC, has been considered as associated with **deh₂nu-/*dhonu-* (**n*) or **e/o* ‘near’ + ‘river,’ see Arbeitman and Rendsburg 1981: 149-150). This was the land of the Danunians. A bilingual (Hieroglyphic Luwian and Phoenician) inscription from this country of the beginning of the 7th century BC represents a demonstrative example of the Danu tribe associated with Baal. It reads as follows (Lawson Younger 1998).

I am Azatiwada, the blessed of Ba‘al, the servant of Ba‘al, whom Awariku, king of the Danunians, empowered. Ba‘al made me a father and mother to the Danunians. I caused the Danunians to live. I enlarged the land of the plain of Adana from East to West.

The Danunians were first mentioned in the ancient Egyptian sources in the 14th century BC. They were a major part of the confederation that attacked Egypt with the other group of Sea People in the 12th century BC. Another “land of Danuna” is mentioned by an Assyrian king to the south of the Armenian Highland, far from Cilicia (the region of the Kashiari Mountains). It is difficult to reveal the ethnic origination of the Danunians,⁷ yet in historic times they were associated with the West Semites. The Danites, one of the twelve tribes of Israel, would have been associated with them (see e.g. Yaylenko 1990: 127 ff. with bibliography).

According to V. V. Ivanov and S. A. Starostin, in West Semitic there is a significant layer of Indo-European borrowings (Ivanov 2004: 45-46; the special study of Starostin, to the best of my knowledge, is not yet published). These borrowings are considered in the context of the theory of the original home of the Indo-Europeans in the south of the Armenian Highland and north of Mesopotamia and Syria.

7 Azatiwada bore a Luwian name which means ‘beloved of the sun god Tiwat’ (in the Luwian text Baal corresponds with both the sun god and the storm god, i.e. Tiwat and Tarhunta, rendered ideographically); Awariku is etymologized as a Hurrian, Phrygian or “Aegean” name, see Kosyan 1994: 49 ff., 92; Jasink and Marino 2007, with bibliography.

Irrespective of the location of the Indo-European homeland, the early contacts between the Indo-Europeans and West Semites could have occurred in those territories. Judging from the myths, some Indo-Europeans neighbored the West Semites and even could have been merged with them. These myths seem not to have originated among the Anatolians who neighbored the Semites but not mythicized them.

Armenian Traditional Black Youths: the Earliest Sources*

In this article it is argued that the traditional figure of the Armenian folklore “black youth” is derived from the members of the war-band of the thunder god, mythological counterparts of the archaic war-bands of youths. The blackness of the youths is associated with igneous initiatory rituals. The best parallels of the Armenian heroes are found in Greece, India, and especially in Ossetia and other Caucasian traditions, where the Indo-European (particularly Alanian-Ossetian) influence is significant.

In several medieval Armenian songs young heroes are referred to as *t’ux manuks* ‘black youths,’ *t’ux ktričs* ‘black braves,’ or simply *t’uxs* ‘blacks’ (see Mnatsakanyan 1976, which remains the best and comprehensive work on these figures, and Harutyunyan and Kalantaryan 2001, where several articles pertaining to this theme are published). Also, *T’ux manuk* is the appellation of numerous ruined pilgrimage sanctuaries. A. Mnatsakanyan, the first investigator of these traditional figures, considered them in connection with the fraternities of youths, whose remnants survived until medieval times (Mnatsakanyan 1976: 193 ff.).¹

The study of the *t’ux manuks* should be based on revelation of their specific characteristics and comparison with similar figures of other tra-

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1 In Armenian folklore the figures of similar names – *t’uxs* (‘blacks’) and *alek manuks* (‘good youths’) – figure as evil spirits (Alishan 1895: 205, 217). This demonization shows that the *t’ux manuks* originated in pagan times.

ditions. In this respect, the study of the *T'ux manuk* sanctuaries and their legends (carried out by A. Mnatsakanyan and others) will not help us very much, as they are similar to the other sanctuaries and the legends of other Christian confessors. Furthermore, there are very many black and dark heroes in the traditions of many peoples, and the extreme extension of the boundaries of the black youth figure threatens us with loss of his specificity.² Thus, I will confine myself here to pointing out the earliest prototypes of the “black youths” and their relationship to heroes of the closely allied Indo-European – Indian, Greek, Northern Iranian (Ossetian) – and neighboring Caucasian traditions.

In Armenian, *t'ux* means ‘black, dark’ and *manuk* means ‘child, youth, young warrior.’ Thus *t'ux manuk* would mean ‘black/dark youth/young warrior.’ In Armenian traditional history the first *manuks* ‘young warriors’ are mentioned in the myth of the eponymous forefather Hayk who kills the Babylonian tyrant Bel and founds Armenia (Khorenatsi 1.10-15; Sebeos 1).³ The young warriors figure also in the myth of Hayk’s descendant Aram, second eponym of Armenia. He, heading an army of 50,000 *norati* ‘youthful’ warriors (Khorenatsi I.13; Thomson 1976: 93) extends the borders of Armenia on every side and creates a new, superior Armenia.

In the variant of Anonym (Sebeos I), before the battle Bel suggests that Hayk become the head of his “young hunters” (*mankunk' orsakank'*). In return, Hayk calls him “dog, from a pack of dogs” and kills him with a “three-winged” arrow (Khorenatsi 1.11). The comparison of enemies with dogs in Indo-European traditions is related to the mythologem of the Indo-European wolfish warrior deity, the “dog slayer,” to whom sacrifices of dogs were made. The best counterpart of Hayk in Indo-European traditions is the Indian god Rudra (they are both associated with the constellation of Orion; they have homonymic descendants/

2 For numerous Indo-European and non-Indo-European “black heroes,” see Petrosyan 1997; 2002.

3 For the English translation of these sources, see Thomson 1976: 82 ff., 357 ff.

followers: Hays and Rudras, respectively; they are archers who kill their adversary with a tripartite arrow, etc) (For the myth and image of Hayk in comparative context, see Petrosyan 2002: 53 ff.; 2009).

Aram's most significant battle occurred in Cappadocia, at a place where the city of Mazaka/Caesarea was later founded, i.e., near Mt. Argaios in central Anatolia (Turk. Erciyes). The early name of this mountain, Hitt. Harga, is etymologized from Indo-European **Harg*'- 'bright, white' (Laroche 1985: 88 f.), while the name of Aram is compared with the Indo-European **rēmo*- 'dark, black' (Petrosyan 2002: 43 ff.).⁴ The best parallel of Aram, in this context, is the Indian epic hero Paraśurāma ('Rāma-with-the-axe'), who defeats Arjuna Kārtavīrya. The names of Rāma and Arjuna are derived, respectively, from IE **rēmo*- 'dark, black' and **Harg*'- 'white' (Petrosyan 2002: 44 ff.; see also Puhvel 1987: 90). The young warriors of the 'black' Aram are, obviously, comparable with the *t'ux manuks* 'black youths/warriors.'

The figures of Hayk and Aram, in some aspects, are almost identical. According to the classical work of M. Abeghian, Aram is the second incarnation of Hayk ("second image of Hayk," see Abeghian 1966: 55). Moreover, they are both considered to be the epicized versions of the archaic thunder god (Harutyunyan 2000: 230 ff.; Petrosyan 2002: 43 ff.). On the other hand, there are differences between the figures of Hayk and Aram and between their followers. In an Indo-European context, Hayk represents the first function (sovereignty), while Aram, the only warlike figure of the ethnogenic myth, is an obvious warrior (second function) (Ahyan 1982: 263 ff.; Dumézil 1994: 133 f.); Hayk is described as an old patriarch, the leader of adult warriors, his sons and sons' sons, "martial men about three hundred in number" (Khorenatsi I.10), and he finds it humiliating to be the head of young hunters/warriors of Bel, while Aram is the leader of the young warriors; Hayk has a troop of 300 men,

4 IE **(H)rēmo-/*(H)rōmo* would yield Arm. **arim-/*arum-*, and *arm-* in derivatives and compounds. This eponym of Armenia could have been conflated with the name of the first king of Urartu, Aramu, and the ethnonym of the Aramaeans, cf. Markwart 1928: 215, 224 f.

while Aram leads an army of 50,000 youths;⁵ Hayk fights only one battle, while Aram is the winner over many adversaries in many battles; Hayk fights with his adversary within the territory of Armenia, while Aram militates against the enemies in the borderlands and beyond the borders of Armenia.

In the Indo-European past, the boys first moved into the category of the “(armed) youths” and then, as members of the war-band of unmarried and landless young men, engaged in predatory wolf-like behavior on the edges of ordinary society, living off hunting and raiding with their older trainers/models. Then at about the age of twenty they entered into the tribe proper as adults (**wiHro-* or **Hner-* ‘man,’ see Mallory and Adams 1997: 6 f.; 531, 632 f.).⁶ The young warriors of Aram and the martial men of Hayk may be identified with those two groups, respectively: the followers of Hayk, in contrast to Aram’s *norati* youths, are mentioned as martial/mighty *ark* ‘pl. ‘men’ < **Hner-*.

The mythic reflections of such bands are the Maruts and Rudras of Indian mythology (both are the sons of Rudra), Fiana in Irish, and Einherjar in Norse traditions. The mythic Männerbünde and their leader are frequently associated with black: e.g., Indra and his followers as well as Rudra and his followers wear black clothes (for the Indo-European – Indian, German, Celtic, etc – dark warriors, see Kershaw 2001: 26, 30, 42, 89, 127, 185, 202, 203, 211).⁷ Hayk and Aram could be regarded as counterparts of the Indian Rudra and Indra, respectively. However, the members of the bands of Rudra and Indra – Rudras and Maruts (thunder and storm deities) – are hardly distinguishable, and moreover, Rudra, by

5 Note that the 300 men represent the whole tribe, while 50 is the characteristic number for the warrior groups on borders (Petrosyan 2002: 160; Kershaw 2001: 116, 126 ff.).

6 For the Indo-European men’s societies and their mythic reflections, see the well known works by O. Höfler, L. Weiser, S. Wikander, G. Widengren, H. Jeanmaire, G. Dumézil, R. Jakobson, K. McCone, K. Kershaw et al.

7 Note that in ancient Europe, the warriors of some tribes used to fight naked, dyeing their bodies black/dark (Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 5.14; Tacitus, *Germania* 43.6).

some characteristics (father and leader of the Rudras and Maruts, associated with lightning, etc) duplicates the thunder god Indra. In Armenia, also, the difference between Hayk and Aram, as we have seen, to a certain degree, was eroded: they both, as the eponyms and creators of Armenia and leaders of Armenian warriors, come close to being identical.

P. Vidal-Naquet has shown that in Greek tradition, in the figures of young heroes, there is preserved the trace of an initiatory ritual in which the young males, as guileful “black hunters,” were sent out to the frontier area until they should perform the “exploits” symbolically imposed upon the young men in archaic societies. They are strongly associated with black: e.g., the name of a paradigmatic Athenian hero (*Melanthos*), the location of his story (in *Melania*), and the epithet of his protector deity (Dionysos *Melanaigis*) are derived from Gk. *melas* ‘black;’ the Athenian *epebes* (youths) wore a black *chlamys* (a short cloak), and moreover, the young men not yet adult are sometimes called *skotioi* ‘of the dark.’ Furthermore, the alternation of light and dark heroes involves the struggle between age-classes and the initiation of the youths into the rank of adult warriors (Vidal-Naquet 1986: 106 ff.).

The tricky “black hunter” represents the dark aspect of the Indo-European second function, and hunting and fighting at night were their distinguishing characteristics. Those Greek heroes are comparable with the young warriors of the ‘black’ Aram, who fight enemies in the borderlands of Armenia. Characteristically, Aram and his army suddenly came upon their first adversary “before dawn and slaughtered his whole host.” (Khorenatsi I.13).⁸

In Armenian mythology, the thunder god is associated with the color black. The ‘Black’ Aram, as has been said, is regarded as the epic heir of the ancient thunder god. Sanasar, the first hero of the epic “Dardevils of Sasun,” another epicized version of the thunder god who obtains the “lightning sword,” the characteristic weapon of his successors, is identi-

8 Orion was regarded as the inventor of hunting by night (Vidal-Naquet 1986: 119). The association of Hayk with Orion make it possible to consider his “hunting youths,” too, in this context.

fied with the black raincloud (Orbeli 1939: 83; Abeghian 1966: 417); the black bull (symbol of the thunder god) seems to have been the most sacred totemic animal of the Armenians of the region where the epic was centered (Samuelyan 1931: 182). Thus, Sanasar corresponds with the Indian thunder and rain god Parjanya “raincloud,” often identified with Indra and compared with the bull (see, e.g., MNM II: 286). The thunder gods are associated with black in many traditions, e.g., in the Caucasus, as in Armenia, the thunder god figures as a black hero (Dalgat 1969: 111 f.); Indra, as has been mentioned, wears black clothes (Mahabharata I.152); during the rituals of the Hittite thunder god black vessels were used and sacrifices of black bread and animals (sheep, bulls) were made (Arzinba 1982: 213 f.); the Lithuanian thunder god Perkunas is pictured in white and black clothes and black animals were offered to him (MNM II: 304).

The expression *t'ux amb/p* ‘dark cloud’ is known in the ritual songs sung during droughts. Characteristic is the refrain *mandr anjrev, t'ux-t'ux amber, / harav k'amin mer šamber* “small rain, dark, dark clouds, the southerly wind in our reeds” (dialect) (Khachatryan 2000: 126). *Mandr* (dial. version of *manr, manu*) ‘small, sparse,’ like *manuk*, is derived from IE **men-u-* ‘small, sparse,’ thus the first line seems to allude to the *t'ux manuks*, which would personify the dark rainclouds.

Arm. *t'ux* ‘black’ is to be associated with *t'ux* ‘baking (bread),’ *t'xem* (< *t'uxem*) ‘to bake, hatch (eggs), to produce by means of warmth, to hatch, to heat, maturate (like the sitting hen eggs)’ (Aydinyan 2001: 49 f.; see also Petrosyan 2007d: 6 f.; cf. Acharyan 1973: 203 f.). Hence, *t'ux* may be interpreted as ‘burnt, black,’ ‘matured as a result of thermal treatment.’ That is, in this case, the opposition of the youths and adults was juxtaposed with the opposition between the raw and the cooked. Accordingly, the blackness of the *t'ux manuks* can be considered in connection with the igneous and thermic initiatory rituals (widespread ordeals of transformation from infancy to manhood, see Aydinyan 2001: 45 f.; Petrosyan 2001: 25 ff.).⁹

9 For the “roasted,” “baked” and “burnt” initiates, see Eliade 1958: 7, 138, n. 13; Propp 1986: 98 ff.; for their relation with the thunder god, see Toporov 1986: 81 f.

The folktale manifestation of the young initiand is the “younger brother” who visits the otherworld and comes back endowed with new, higher characteristics. The well known ash-covered, sooty, mudded (black, dirty) folktale hero has been considered in the context of initiatory rites (Propp 1986: 133 ff.). From this point of view, the Armenian folktales have specific data. The brothers have to descend into a hole/well, the way to the netherworld (Gullakyan 1983: 165, 400). The elder brothers cannot endure the heat of the hole, while the youngest emerges from the ordeal triumphantly. He kills the dragon and devils of the netherworld, returns to “our world,” punishes his brothers and becomes king. The motif of the hot hole/well may be explained by the structure of the special stove *t'onir* (= *tandoor*, earthen stove, a sort of furnace pit used for baking bread).¹⁰ Notably, in a new Assyrian parallel folktale the brother who could not stand the heat of the well is compared with *lavaš*, a special pita baked in *t'onir* (Matveev 1974: 112).

Thus, the blackness/darkness of some traditional young heroes may be interpreted as ‘burnt, sooty’ and associated with igneous initiatory rituals or be a result of discoloring their bodies with soot. The above-mentioned names of Ráma and Aram are derived from IE **rē-mo-/ *rōmo-* ‘dirt, soot,’ (cf. Old English *rōmig* ‘sooty’) and may be interpreted as ‘burnt, sooty;’ the Greek Meleagros/Melanion (cf. *melas* ‘black’), one of the models of the “black hunter” (Vidal-Naquet 1986: 119 f.), will live until the brand which lay in the fire at the time of his birth should burn to ashes (Ovid. Met. 8.9), i.e., the brand figures as a double of the hero. However, the best parallels to the Armenian black youths are found in the Caucasus. The young Ossetian braves are called *sau læppu* ‘black youths,’ which has a positive sense (comparable to the appellation of the Russian folk heroes: *dobryj molodec* ‘kind youth’, see Abaev 1979: 42 f., 96 f.; Abaev 1986: 21). Ossetian culture, like the cultures of the other Caucasian peoples, is strongly associated with their Nart epic. The body

10 This motif occurs in the folktales of the neighbors of Armenia who used *t'onirs*: (New) Assyrians, Georgians, Persians, Turks, see, respectively, Matveev 1974: 111 f.; Kurdovanidze 1988: 91; Osmanov 1987: 58; Stebleva 1986: 60.

of the newborn Nart Soslan, one of two protagonists of the younger generation of the heroes, was heated up on the hot coals and then quenched like steel in wolf's milk (see, e.g., MNM II: 464; Abaev 1981: 85 ff.; cf. the association of the members of the warrior bands with the wolf; note also that according to V. Abaev 1965: 86 ff., the name of Warxag, the founder of Soslan's clan, is derived from the word for 'wolf'). Soslan's cousin Batraz, the other protagonist of the younger generation, Ossetian counterpart of the Indian thunder god Indra (Dumézil 1990: 14 ff.), is born with a white-hot steel body and quenched in the sea. Before becoming the great hero he figures as a grimy boy who lives in the ashes (Dumézil 1990: 17, 23 ff.).

The great hero of the Circassian Nart epic Sosruqo (corresponding to Ossetic Soslan) is consistently called "black man" (see, e.g., Broido 1936: 15, 23, 24, 29; Alieva 1974: 199, 200, 215; Ardzinba 1985: 158 ff.; Ardzinba 1988: 271; Colarusso 2002: 112).¹¹ The stone with his embryo is put in the stove or a hot place and the white-hot steel body of the newborn baby was quenched in water. His figure is characterized as the "heroization, pathetic idealization of guile and fierce" (Broido 1936: 8.) and thus corresponds with the Indo-European guileful black heroes.

In Circassian tradition, the young braves are called *šao/šawa* (Broido 1936: 641; Colarusso 2002: 45). This word corresponds to the Ossetic *sau læppu* and could have been borrowed from the Ossetic *sau* 'black' (Osset. *s* sounds like *š* in the majority of dialects and elsewhere in the Caucasus appears as *š*, cf., e.g., Georg. *šavi* 'black,' see Abaev 1979: 43). The name of one of the young Nart heroes may correspond with this term: Circ. Šaoy, Osset. Sauay/Šauay, Balkar. Karašauy; Chechen-

11 "Armi, dark Sawseruquo,/Armi, a black man with iron eyes..." The otherwise senseless Armi in this refrain may be regarded as the older name for the hero and compared with the Indo-European *Hrémō- and Arm. Aram/Arm-. Note that the name Aram occurs in the Caucasian epic traditions also as Aram-xutu, see Petrosyan 2002: 170 f. For the Armenian influence on the Caucasian epics, see Petrosyan 2002: 168 ff.; 2011; Dalalyan 2006; Russell 2006 (according to K. Tuite, *Armi* may be compared with the name of the Georgian epic hero Amirani, see Colarusso 2002: 122).

Ingush. Šoa (this hero being borrowed from the Circassian tradition). Notably, the mother of this hero dropped her newborn son into the fire of the hearth; he, by the way, was fed on wolf's milk (for this hero, see Broido 1936: 62 f.; Abaev 1945: 79 f.; Lipkin and Obradovich 1951: 435 f.; Alieva 1974: 310, 393; Colarusso 2002: 45, 289).

In Georgia, the great epic hero Amirani is regarded as the son of a hunter who is frequently called *šavi* 'black' (Virsaladze 1976: 53 ff.). He kills his fairy dog for some obscure reason, and thus may be juxtaposed with both Indo-European "black hunter" and "dog slayer" (Petrosyan 2002: 170).

Thus, the Armenian "black youth" would represent an echo of archaic war-bands of youths. The mythological counterparts of this hero are the members of the war-band of the thunder god. The blackness of this hero is associated with igneous initiatory rituals ("burnt" initiates). The best parallels of the Armenian "black youth" are found in Ossetia and other Caucasian traditions, where the Indo-European (especially Alanian-Ossetian) influence is significant.

Armenia and Ireland: Myths of Prehistory*

Armenia

The legends of the beginning of Armenia (ethnogenic myth) have reached us in the books of the “father of Armenian history” Movses Khorenatsi and the seventh-century writer Sebeos (Khorenatsi I 6, 9-20; Sebeos I; see Thomson 1978: 77 f.; 83 ff.; 357 ff.). According to these sources, Armenia was first inhabited by one of the youngest sons of Shem, elder son of Xisutres (Noah), and his descendants (Khorenatsi I 6). The second time Armenia was occupied by the legendary forefather of the Armenians Hayk, son of biblical Thogarma, and his descendants.

After the construction of the tower of Babel, Hayk refused to obey the deified Babylonian tyrant Bel the Titanid (identified with the biblical Nimrod), and with his large patriarchal family, consisting of three hundred men, moved to the north and settled in Armenia. Bel attacked Hayk with his huge army, but was killed in battle. Hayk is considered the eponymous patriarch of the Armenians and the Armenian autonym (self-appellation) Hay is derived from his name. Hayk’s eldest son Aramaneak moved to the north, to the Ayrarat province and its core plain to the north of Mt. Ararat (modern name: Ararat Valley), which remains the domain of the subsequent generations of the Haykids. After several

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generations the second eponymous patriarch of the Armenians, Aram, through many battles enlarged Armenia's borders in all directions and created a new, powerful Armenia.

Aram's son Aray/Ara the Handsome (*Aray Gelec'ik*), eponym of the province Ayarat and Ararat Valley, ruled Armenia

while Assyria was under the power of Šamiram (Gk. *Semiramis*), the widow of Bel's descendant Ninus. Šamiram became amorous of Ara the Handsome and tried to marry him, but he rebuffed the lascivious Assyrian queen. He was killed in battle against the Assyrians and yet was supposed to be resurrected by the mythic dog-like creatures called Aralezes, which used to lick and cure the wounds of heroes and hence to revive them. With Ara's death/resurrection, the "sacred" mythical era of the forefathers of Armenia ended and the profane human "history" began.

It is well established that naming in mythology is equivalent to the creation itself (*cf.* Petrosyan 2002: 159 ff.; 2009): in this vein, Armenian legends represent the epicised version of the creation myth. The Armenian Universe and time – countries, mountains, rivers, months and hours were named after Hayk and the first Haykids. Hayk, Aram and Ara the Handsome represent epic transpositions of the early Armenian gods: Hayk and Aram are two aspects of the thunder god, while Ara the Handsome represents the suffering figure of the son of the thunder god (the "dying god"). The adversaries of the Armenian heroes represent divine figures of Mesopotamia: e.g., Bel represents the great Babylonian god Bēl-Marduk (see Petrosyan 2002; 2007a; 2009).

While speaking about the populating of Armenia by Hayk and his descendants, on several occasions, Khorenatsi refers to local stories (I 11) about various scattered peoples that used to inhabit the territory before Hayk and who willingly submitted to Hayk and Haykids (I 11). Obviously, those peoples would have been the descendants of Tarban, who populated the country several generations earlier. This could lead us to propose that the legend of the pre-Armenian inhabitants of Armenia could be traced down to the sources not only of biblical, but also of folklore origin.

Ireland

The legendary *Lebor Gabála Éirenn* ‘The Book of the Taking of Ireland’ represents a compilation of stories about the origins of the peoples of Ireland (Macalister 1938-1956). According to it, Ireland was first inhabited by Cessair, a granddaughter of Noah, together with her father, Bith, and her followers. The next invasion was led by Partholón, a descendant of the biblical Magog, son of Japhet. Partholón’s tribe was overcome by the Fomorians, a class of chthonic gods or demons. Later, Nemed, another descendant of Magog, “of the Greeks of Scythia,” arrived to Ireland. After the death of Nemed, oppressed by the Fomorians, some groups of the Nemedians fled from Ireland, but returned afterwards. Firstly, there were the *Fir Bolg*. Secondly, there were the *Tuatha Dé Danann* (‘The People of the Danu goddess’), a godly race, who came from the north of the world in three hundred ships. In the narrative tradition developed by the Irish *literati* which carried on very strong Christian overtones, the *Tuatha Dé Danann* were demoted down to heroes and heroines in a way, similar to the figures of the Armenian ethnogenic myth, who were in fact the earliest Armenian gods in epic guise.

The *Tuatha Dé Danann* wrestled Ireland from their predecessors in the two battles of Mag Tuired (Frazer 1915; Gray 1982). On their arrival to Ireland, the first king of the *Tuatha Dé Danann* was Nuadu, who lost his hand in the first battle against the *Fir Bolg* and as a result of his disfigurement was no longer eligible to stay in kingship. Bres the Handsome, whose mother was of the *Tuatha Dé Danann*, and father of the Fomorians, was elected to succeed him. He failed to act as a generous and just king, was expelled and had to escape to the land of the Fomorians to seek help from his father’s race. Bres returned supported with the Fomorian host, and the second great battle occurred between the *Tuatha Dé Danann* and the Fomorians. The leader of the Fomorians, Balor of the Evil Eye, was killed by a slingshot by Lug of All Crafts, the leader of the *Tuatha Dé Danann*.

The prehistory of Ireland culminates in the story of the sons of Míl, the mythic ancestors of the Irish people. They are represented as

the descendants of a Scythian prince, one of the chieftains who built the Tower of Babel. Journeying through many lands they reached Ireland and wrestled it from the Tuatha Dé Danann. During this campaign Ermon was the leader of the expedition.

Comparison

It is difficult to say what kind of story was told by the common people about the origins of Armenia in the times of Khorenatsi and before. However, in Khorenatsi's account the influence of the Mesopotamian, Greek and Biblical sources is obvious. The figures and genealogies of the Armenian patriarchs are juxtaposed and reconciled with the Biblical genealogies and emendated with the Greek historical narratives written by the Christian authors (the influence of the Greek tradition on the figures of the adversaries of the Armenian patriarchs is especially significant).

The Irish pseudo-historical tradition, similar to the Armenian, places the aetiological native myths together with legends of Irish origins within a Christian and biblical framework, starting from the Creation.

Myth is beyond the spatial and temporal characteristics of reality. This holds true especially for the myths of creation, which explicate the formation of space and time. However, the epicised myth can be seen as acquiring historical – spatial and temporal – characteristics. In Armenian learned tradition, two waves of occupation of Armenia are recorded. According to the Irish source of *Lebor Gabála Éirenn*, Ireland was occupied several times. Theoretically these waves of settlers could reflect some historical events – the memory of the earlier tribes that inhabited the territories before the Armenian and the Irish settlers arrived. However, the stories are strongly mythicised and it is hazardous to draw univocal historical conclusions from them. The historical memory may well have been conflated there with the legends of the so-called 'magical ancient people' known to many traditions.¹

1 For the Armenian tradition, see Petrosyan 1991b; for the Irish, see Carey 1982; Kondratiev 1998. The legend of the pre-Haykid population of Armenia has been

The Armenian forefathers represent epicised figures of the early native gods who fight against the gods of Mesopotamia, their southern neighbour, while in the Irish tradition, the early gods are euhemerised as the pre-Irish inhabitants of Ireland who wrestled the island from the previous inhabitants and the autochthonous chthonic creatures (the Fir Bolg and the Fomorians) and abandoned it to the ancestors of the Irish.

The archaic heroic epic, unlike the other genres of folklore, is formed in the process of ethnic consolidation and is in a lesser degree liable to international influences (Meletinsky 1986: 62). Thus, some elements of the mythic core of the considered Armenian and Irish legends, which are to be regarded as the earliest epics, would derive from native, i.e., Indo-European myth.

As has been shown by Stépan Ahyan and George Dumézil, the pivotal characters of the Armenian ethnogenic legends – Hayk, Aram and Ara the Handsome – constitute an Indo-European “trifunctional” triad, associated, respectively, with the first (sovereign), the second (military) and the third (fertility, in its erotic and agricultural aspects) functions of Indo-European mythology. The characters of the opponents of Hayk, Aram, and Ara – Bel, Baršam, and Šamiram – functionally correspond to the respective Armenian heroes and also form an identical trifunctional system (Ahyan 1981: 270 f.; Dumézil 1994: 133 ff.; for the Indo-European aspects of the ethnogenic myth, see also Petrosyan 2002; 2007a; 2009). The three hundred men who came to Armenia with Hayk, the embryo of the Armenian nation, as well as the three hundred ships of the Tuatha Dé Danann, led by Nuadu, can also be regarded as manifestations of the Indo-European “tripartite ideology” (Petrosyan 2002: 160).

The Indo-European associations of the Irish and, generally, Celtic myths and legends, including those which are examined in this contribution, are well known. Here I will confine myself to pointing out some

considered to be an echo of the Urartians, the ancient inhabitants of Armenia. However, this idea is only speculative. Most probably, the memory of the Hurro-Urartian tribes survived in the names of the two younger sons of Hayk, Xoř and Manawaz, who might be regarded as the eponyms of the Hurrians and Urartians (Petrosyan 2002: 143 f., 179 f., with bibliography).

works of Dumézil and his followers (Littleton 1982: 72, 92 f., 167 ff., with bibliography).

In what follows, I shall present the comparison of some central characters of the Armenian ethnogonic myth with the figures of Irish and related Welsh traditions, sometimes appealing to Indian and Greek data which may confirm the suppositions.

In my previous work I have tried to show that several Indo-European myths and epics tell the story of the opposition between the clans of the **H₂ner(t)-/*ner(t)-* ‘manly’ gods/heroes and their adversaries, lead by a deity suggestive of the Semitic god B‘l: e.g., Ind. *Bali*, an adversary of the ‘manly’ Indra, Arm. *Bel*, an adversary of the ‘manly’ Hayk, Norse *Beli*, an adversary of Freyr, the son of the ‘manly’ Njördr (Petrosyan 2007a; see also Petrosyan 2002: 99 ff.; 2008). These myths/epics are derived from the archaic myth of the thunder god and his adversary the serpent, leader of the group of the mythic beings, associated with the stem **deH₂nu-/*dānu-* ‘river’ (a derivative of **deH₂-/*dā-* ‘flow’).

In India, the myth of the thunder god Indra and his arch-adversary, the serpent Vṛtra, son of Dānu (i.e., the Dānava), leader of the Dānavas, is transformed into the story of Indra, the leader of the Devas (the gods) and Bali, the leader of the Dānavas, ruler of the Otherworld, a late incarnation of the serpent Vṛtra. In Armenia, Hayk is the epic transposition of the Indo-European thunder god, a counterpart of Indra, while his adversary Bel and his followers and descendants would correspond to the Indian Bali and the Dānavas.

Bel, the deified king and eponym of Babylon, as briefly noted earlier, represents the Babylonian great god Bēl-Marduk. Baršam, the adversary of Aram, who in a legend recorded by the seventh century author Anania Shirakatsi is represented as the ancestor of the Assyrians/Syrians (Abrahamyan, Petrosyan 1979: 95 f.), is a truncated version of the god Baršamin, i.e., Syrian *Ba‘al Šamin* ‘Lord of Heaven’. The first element of the name of Ba‘al Šamin is etymologically identical with the name of Bel (Semitic *b‘l* ‘lord’). Thus, Aram and Baršam, second eponyms of Armenia and its southern neighbours, would represent the alloforms of Hayk and Bel, respectively (see, e.g., Petrosyan 2007a: 299).

In these myths, the great gods of the Semites, who replaced the figure of the mythic serpent, figure as the functional equivalents and negative mirror-images of Hayk and Aram, respectively. Even the names of Hayk and Bel are of the same meaning ('lord'; see Petrosyan 2009). It might be even said that Bel is the Hayk of Babylon and Baršam/ Ba'al Šamin is the Aram of Syria. In Armenian myth and epic, Mesopotamia – Babylon, Assyria, with its capital Nineveh, and Baghdad (in the epic *Daredevils of Sasun*) – appears as an equivalent of the Otherworld. That is, Bel and Baršam may also be regarded as the otherworldly counterparts of Hayk and Aram.

Khorenatsi (I 5) mentions that Bel has been identified with Ninos (represented by the historian as the contemporary of Aram) or Ninos' father by some. This genealogy, which is a failure from a historical point of view, is derived from the Classical Greek historiographic tradition, where, since Ctesias of Cnidus (c. 400 BC), the fictitious pseudo-historic figure of Ninos is represented as the first prominent king of Assyria, the founder and eponym of its capital Nineveh (Diodorus Siculus II 1.3 ff.). In the context of Armenian mythology, he would represent another alloform of Bel (Petrosyan 2002: 62). The name of Ninuas, Ninos' son, the contemporary of Ara the Handsome, too, comes from the Greek tradition (Gk. *Ninyas*).

In Wales, the goddess Dôn is the counterpart of the Irish Danu, the eponym of the Tuatha Dé Danann (for the Celtic myths, in addition to the cited sources, see also Squire 1975; Rees and Rees 1961; Shkunaev 1991; Ellis 1992; Jones and Jones 1994). The pantheon of Welsh gods is generally agreed to be divided into two warring camps: the Children of Dôn (Plant Dôn) and the Children of Llyr. The Children of Dôn are the descendents of the goddess Dôn and god Beli, or Beli Mawr ('the Great'), the ruler of the Otherworld. These may be taken as the Celtic counterparts of the Indic Dānavas and their leader Bali. The Welsh data are confusing and univocal conclusions are not always possible. However, Beli is regarded as the father of several divine figures, Llud Llaw Ereint and Nyniaw among the number, an ancestor of whom several royal lines of Wales claimed descent.

Beli's Irish counterpart is Bile. He is also an ancestor deity, father of Míl and of the Milesians (or the Gaels – the Irish) who came from Spain, a land, frequently mentioned as an euphemism for the Otherworld (see, e.g., Squire 1975: 444). This seems to correspond with the beliefs of the Celtic Gauls, reported by Caesar (*De Bello Gallico* VI 18) that they “claim to be descended from Dis Pater,” i.e., from the god of the Otherworld.

In Greek tradition, the Semitic Bēl/Ba'al is represented as Bēlos, who figures in the mythic royal genealogies of Egypt, Babylon, Assyria and Lydia. Ninos, King of Assyria, who is regarded as Bēlos' son, is succeeded by Ninyas. Bēlos, King of Egypt, son of Poseidon, is the father of Danaos, eponym of the Danaans (the Greeks who fight against the Trojans in the *Iliad*), counterparts of the Irish Tuatha Dé Danann (Petrosyan 2007a). Bēlos, the King of Lydia, is represented as the grandson of Heracles, who is succeeded by his son Ninos (Herod. I 7) (see Table 1 for a full list of correspondences).

Table 1:

India	Armenia	Greece	Wales	Ireland
Bali the Great	Bel	Bēlos	Beli the Great	Bile
King of the Dānavas		King of Egypt, father of the eponym of the Danaans	Father of the Children of Dôn	Father of the adversaries of the Tuatha Dé Danann
Adversary of Indra	Adversary of Hayk, the founder of the clan of adversaries of Armenia	King, ancestor of the kings of several countries	Ancestor of native British rulers	Ancestor of the Irish
Ruler of the Otherworld	Ruler of Mesopotamia (“Otherworld”)		Ruler of the Otherworld	Comes from Spain (“Otherworld”)
	Succeeded by Ninos and his son Ninuas	Succeeded by Ninos, and his son Ninyas	Father of Nyniaw	

Hayk's son Aramaneak (var.: Armaneak, Armenak) figures as the eponym of the ethnonym *Armen* in Anonym (see below), while his son Aramayis (var.: Armyais) is the founder and eponym of the first capital of Armenia Armawir. Aramaneak and Aramayis, the eponyms of Armenia and its capital, whose names may be regarded as the derivatives of Aram, would embody the aspects or incarnations of Aram, the 'second Hayk', a second eponym of Armenia.

Aram, the only warlike figure of the Armenian ethnogonic myth, represents the epicised figure of the 'black' thunder god, opposed or somehow connected to the 'white', especially, IE **H₂erg'-/*arg'-* 'white, shining; silvery'. Thus, his adversary Baršamin, Baršam's divine prototype, was called *spitakap 'ar* 'of white glory' (Agathangelos 784), and his idol was "embellished with ivory, crystal and silver" (Khorenatsi II.14; cf. Arm. *arcat* 'silver' < **arg'-*); Aram defeats his third mythic adversary near Mt. Argaeus in Cappadocia, which is identified with Mt. Hargā of the Hittite sources (< **H₂erg'-* 'white, silver', see Laroche 1985: 88f.); he represents an etymological counterpart of the first Indian Rāma (Skt. *Paraśurāma* 'Rāma-with-the-axe') who defeats Kārtavīrya Arjuna (< **arg'-*) (*Mahābhārata* III 115f.) and corresponds to the Hurrian thunder god Teššub, who has the deity Silver as his adversary (Petrosyan 2002: 43 ff.). He is the father and predecessor of the last divine ruler of Armenia Ara the Handsome.

In Irish tradition, the leader of the people of Danu, the predecessor of Bres the Handsome, is Nuadu, possessed with a magic sword, who came from the Northern islands with a fleet to Ireland. He lost his hand in the first battle of Mag Tuired against the Fir Bolg and was provided with a silver arm. Thus he was called *Argatlám/Airgetlám* 'Silver hand(ed)' (**arg'-*). Nuadu's counterpart in Welsh tradition is *Lludd Llaw Ereint* 'Lludd of the Silver hand,' whose name is derived from Nudd by alliterative assimilation (*Nudd Llaw Ereint* > *Lludd Llaw Ereint*). As **Nodons*, this deity is known from several sites in Britain, where, in Roman inscriptions, he is

identified with Mars, the war god.² Lludd/Nudd, as was pointed out, is a son of Beli and a member of the Plant Dôn (note that Nudd and Nuadu represent the anagrams of Dôn and Danu). Of Beli's sons, Lludd was the oldest and after his father's death the kingdom of Britain came into his hands (for Nodons, Nuadu and Llud, see Carey 1984, with references).

The eponym of the Greek counterparts of the Tuatha Dé Danann, Bēlos' son Danaos, has a brother, Aigyptos (eponym of Egypt). The brothers quarrelled, and Danaos took refuge in Argos. Later on, the fifty sons of Aigyptos married the fifty daughters of Danaos. The latter directed his daughters to kill their husbands on the wedding night (Apollodorus II 1.4-5). This Greek myth is close to the Ossetian tradition, where the two opposing clans, counterparts of the Indian Devas and Dānavas, appear as the exogamic groups of the Narts and the Donbetyrs, respectively (**nert-* and **dānu-*). Like Nuadu, Danaos came to Greece from a far country in a ship, and became the king of Argos (cf. **arg'-*; in the *Iliad*, the "Argives", along with the "Danaans", commonly designate the Greek forces opposed to the Trojans). Thus Danaos, son of Bēlos and king of Argos, would correspond to Lludd son of Beli, the 'Silver (**arg'-*) hand'.

In Manetho's *Egyptian History*, fragmentarily extant in later sources, Aigyptos and Danaos are presented as Sethos(is) and Armais, respectively (Jos. Flavius, *Contra Apion* I 15 ff.; Eusebius of Caesaria, *Chronicles* I 215 ff.). This obscure identification makes Danaos comparable with the Armenian Aram and his incarnation Aramays/Armayis³ (see Table 2 below).

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- 2 Let us mention in passing that the Norse god Týr is another Indo-European deity equated with Mars who lost his hand.
 - 3 These names, irrespective of their actual etymologies, are assonant with the Indo-European **H₂rHmo-/armo-* 'hand' (cf. Arm. *armukn* 'elbow', English *arm*, Gall. *aramō* 'bifurcation, point of separation', etc). From this (folk) etymology, considering the association of the hero with **arg'-* 'white, silver', is but one step to the idea of the "silver-handed" god. However, *lām* and *llaw* 'hand' in the names of Argatlam and Llaw Ereint are derived from another stem.

Table 2

<i>Aram</i>	<i>Danaos</i>	<i>Llud</i>	<i>Nuadu</i>
Eponym of the Armenians, the ruler of Armenia	Eponym of the Danaans, the king of Argos	The king of Britain	The king of the Tuatha Dé Danann
A warlike deity		Identified with Mars	Possessed with a magic sword
Ar(a)mayis is one of the incarnations of Aram	Identified as Armais		
Opposed to the clan of Bel, defeats Baršam (<i>b'l</i>)	Son of Bēlos	Son of Beli	His people are opposed to the descendants of Bile
Connected/opposed to *arg'- 'white, silver'	The king of Argos (cf. *arg'-)	Called <i>Llaw Ereint</i> 'Silver hand'	Called <i>Argatlám</i> 'Silver hand'
Succeeded by Ara the Handsome			Succeeded by Bres the Handsome

There is a remarkable affinity between the figures of the Irish and Armenian “handsome” leaders *manqué*, Ara the Handsome and Bres. The former is identified as one of the ancient Near Eastern young and handsome deities, consorts of the Mother goddess, the Armenian cognate of the Phoenician Adonis, Phrygian Attis and others (“the dying and rising god” according to an outmoded term, see, e.g., Matikian 1930). Furthermore, as previously stated, he is considered a demonstrative example of the “third function” figure. Interestingly, Adonis, Ara the Handsome’s cognate, is said to be a son of Theias or Thias, king of Assyria (i.e., a descendant of Bēlos).

Šamiram, Greek Semiramis, an adversary of Ara the Handsome, is one of the central mythological characters of the Armenians (her name is derived, probably, from the historical queen Šammuramat, wife of the Assyrian King Šamši-Adad V, who ruled in the end of the 9th century BC). In the context of Armenian tradition, she represents the epicised

version of the ancient transfunctional goddess, whose character later was split into the three goddesses of the pre-Christian Armenian pantheon (Petrosyan 2007c: 185, 194; see also Abeghian 1975: 156-162).

Bres, or Eochaid (Eochu) Bres, is the son of Elatha, the king of the Fomorians, and a Tuatha Dé Danann woman, whose name coincides with that of Ériu, the eponym of Ireland. After the first battle of Mag Tuired he is chosen to be the king by the urging of women. According to a version of the *First Battle of Mag Tuired*, seven years later Bres dies “after taking a drink while hunting”. This is reminiscent of the fate of the Near Eastern “dying gods” killed during boar hunts or by boars (Hor, Tammuz, Adonis, Attis).⁴ The story of a young handsome god/hero, counterpart of the “dying god” killed by a boar or during a boar hunt is known in Europe as well (e.g. Germanic Sigfried/Sigurðr, Irish Diarmaid, see respectively Schröder 1960: 119 ff.; A. H. Krappe *apud* Rees & Rees 1961: 295).

In the *Second Battle of Mag Tuired* Bres is described as a man who lacked the characteristics of being a good king, and, after reigning for seven years, was cursed, expelled and replaced by Nuadu who was cured. Bres appeals for assistance from the Fomorians to take back the kingship. The Fomorian leader, Balor of the Evil Eye, agrees to help him and raises a huge army. Bres is found alive in the aftermath of the battle, and is spared on the condition that he advises the Tuatha Dé about agriculture, and, for a while, he appears as an agricultural divinity.

Bres’ wife is the goddess Brigit, who is also reminiscent of the “dying god’s” consort the “mother goddess”. In the Celtic world, in the form of Brigantia, she is equated with the Roman Victoria, Caelestis and Minerva. According to *Cormac’s Glossary*, Brigit was a set of triplet

4 In Armenian tradition, Ara the Handsome, as the final figure of the epic of the creation of Armenia, corresponds to King Artawazd, the final hero of the early Armenian epic *Vipasank’* of Artaxiad period (second-first centuries BC), another incarnation of the “dying god” who perished while going to a boar (and wild asses) hunt (Khorenatsi II 61; regrettably, the word *boar* is omitted in R. Thomson’s English translation); for a late version of the myth of Ara the Handsome, in this context, see Petrosyan 2002: 112.

goddesses, daughters of the Dagda, all of the same name: a goddess of poetry, a goddess of smith-work, and a goddess of healing (Stokes 1868: 23).

Thus she is well comparable with Šamiram, an heir to a transfunctional goddess, whose character split into three goddesses. Brigit is regarded as the inventor of keening (Rees & Rees 1961: 30) which is reminiscent of the mourning figure of the goddess, a consort of the “dying god” (see Table 3 below).

Table 3.

Ara the Handsome	Bres the Handsome
Ruler of Armenia	King of the Tuatha Dé Danann
Successor to a ruler connected/opposed to <i>*arg’-</i>	Successor of a king associated with <i>*arg’-</i>
Object of sexual desire of a goddess	Husband of a goddess
Ruler manqué	Ruler manqué
Third function divinity	Third function divinity
Cognate of heroes killed during boar hunts	In one version dies during a hunt

Consideration

There are several levels of the Armenian and Celtic correspondences considered above, including typological, Indo-European, Ancient Near Eastern, biblical, and Greek. Below I will discuss some Indo-European, Ancient Near Eastern, and Greek associations.

Anonym emphasises the ethnogenic role of Hayk’s eldest son Aramaneak/Aramenek/Armenak, from which one can conclude that he, contrary to Khorenatsi, considered him the eponym of the ethnonym *Armen* (Sargsyan 1998: 123). However, Aramaneak, as the first Haykid settler of Ayarat, the central province of Armenia, and its core plain, is the first eponym of this area. On the other hand, Ayarat is said to be named after Ara the Handsome and is otherwise called “The Field of Ara”. Thus, Aramaneak, as the second eponym of Armenia and the

first eponym of Ayrarat can be regarded as a conflation of the name Aram with the Indo-European eponymous **aryomen-*, i.e., he may represent the Armenian cognate of the Irish Eremon, the first Irish leader in Ireland (note that **aryo-* would yield Arm. *ayr-*). Notably, Aramaneak represents the “Mitraic” aspect of the Dumézil’s first function (Ahyan 1981: 264 f.; Dumézil 1994: 133) and thus actually corresponds to the heirs of **aryomen-* (Petrosyan 2002: 82 ff.; for **aryomen-* and his “Mitraic” heirs, including Eremon, see Puhvel 1981: 324 ff.). No doubt, the name of Ara(y) the Handsome may also be somehow associated with this complex.

Ind. *Bali*, Arm. *Bel*, Gk. *Bēlos*, Norse *Beli* and Celtic *Beli/Bile* cannot be related in the Indo-European context. Armenian and Norse forms lack the regular soundshift, which may point to the late origin of their names. However, the comparison of Indian Bali and Welsh Beli may allude to a protoform **beli-*, and chronologically pointing to a post-Proto-Indo-European, yet rather oldish age. *Beli Mawr* ‘Great Beli’, the father of the children of Dôn, the ruler of the Otherworld, is most likely comparable with *Mahabali* ‘Great Bali’, the son of Dānu, the leader of the Dānavas and the ruler of the Otherworld. The reconstruction of IE **b* is improbable, thus the name is to be borrowed from another language.

Bel and Bēlos of the Armenian and Greek myths are derived, undoubtedly, from the Semitic *bʿl* ‘lord’. The association of the Celtic *Beli/Bile* with Dôn/Danu and Indic Bali with Dānu make them inseparable from Bēlos, the father of Danaos. Thus, whatever the source of the Celtic *Beli/Bile* might have been, this figure was identified or conflated with the Semitic *bʿl* ‘lord’.⁵

In Indo-European traditions, the Semitic *bʿl* might have been equated with the Indo-European homophonic stems in folk-etymological association. The textual examination shows that the transparently

5 This could have resulted from the early contacts of the Indo-Europeans and Semites (Petrosyan 2007a). In theory, the figure of Celtic/Germanic *Beli* may also be interpreted on the basis of Theo Venneman’s hypothesis of the “European Semites.”

Semitic Bel in Armenian tradition has been associated with two homophonic Indo-European stems: **bhel-* ‘to blow, swell’ and **bhel-* ‘to shine; white’ (see respectively Harutyunyan 2000: 231 and Petrosyan 2002a). Interestingly, the Celtic god Belenos (identified with Apollo), who sometimes is regarded as the early counterpart of Beli and Bile, and Balor, who, due to the homophony of his name, could have been conflated with the otherworldly figure of Beli/Bile, among the number of other etymologies, are also derived from those stems (for Belenos, see Pokorny 1959: 118 ff.; for Beli and Bile: Kondratiev 1998; Kalygin 2006: 32 ff.; Fomin 1996, with bibliography; cf. De Vries 2006: 75 f.; for Balor: Tsybursky 1987).

The myths of the black and white or dark and fair contrast, codified frequently by the stems **rēmo-* and **arg’-*, respectively, are prominent in Indo-European mythologies (Petrosyan 2002). In Armenian myths, the great native heroes and their adversaries are frequently associated with the “black” and the “white”, respectively; sometimes, the black heroes alternate with the white ones. Bel and his second representation Baršam/Baršamin, as mentioned above, are implicitly or explicitly associated with the “white”. Aram, the epic transposition of the thunder god, is etymologised in connection with the Indic epic heir of the thunder god Rāma ‘black’, and similar to the first of the Rāmas, Paraśurāma, is opposed to the white, **arg’-*. Sanasar, the thunder god’s incarnation in the *Daredevils of Sasun*, is also a demonstrative “black hero”, identified with the black raincloud (“A black cloud came from Sasun, a rain came down from it and soaked the city”, he says about his deed of killing the dragon, see Abeghian 1966: 417). Thus, he corresponds to the Indian thunder god Parjanya ‘the Raincloud’ who is frequently identified with Indra. Aram’s son Ara the Handsome is associated with the “white” (Petrosyan 2001a; 2002: 83, 112).

Beli, even regardless of his etymology, would have been associated with “white”. It is attested that in the Welsh tradition, the rulers of the Otherworld are explicitly connected with “white” (Squire 1975: 279). Lludd and Nuadu are “silver handed”, while Nuadu’s great sword, his

hand substitute, came from the city of Findias ('White'). In several Irish genealogies, Nuadu is succeeded by Finn ('White'), while Nudd's son is called Gwyn ('White'; the cognate of Irish Finn). This feature is derived from Nodons, whose characteristics are inherited by the two figures, the father and the son: Nuadu/Nudd and Finn/Gwyn (Carey 1984).

However, Nuadu and his people, similar to Sanasar, are associated with the clouds. In the *Second Battle of Mag Tuired*, the Tuatha Dé Danann upon reaching Ireland burned their ships (so that they would not think of fleeing to them). The smoke and the mist filled the land; therefore it has been thought that they arrived in the clouds of mist (also, they "spread showers and fog-sustaining shower-clouds", see Squire 1975: 72). One of the etymologies of Nuadu/Nudd/Lludd associates him with Cymric *nudd* 'haze, mist' (Pokorny 1959: 978; Carey 1984: 2 f.). Note also that the great sword of Nuadu is comparable with the "Lightning Sword", the most significant attribute of Sanasar.

The considered Celtic myths are noticeably close to the Greek ones. While in the majority of myths the clans eponymised by the cognates of the Indic Bali and Dānu figure as the opponents of the native gods and heroes, in Greek and Celtic traditions the roles are inverted: the Danaans are Greeks who fight against the Trojan foreigners, the Tuatha Dé Danann and Children of Dôn are native deities, while Beli and Bile figure as ancestors of the native kings and people of Wales and Ireland.⁶ The "positive" roles of the Greek Danaans and the Celtic Tuatha Dé Danann, which differentiate them from their Indo-European counterparts, might be interpreted by analogy of the opposite roles that the Devas as gods and devils take on in the Vedic Indian and the Avestan Iran traditions, respectively. However, the name of Nyniaw, son of Welsh Beli, which seems to be inseparable from Ninos and Ninyas, descendants of Bēlos,

6 Another specific Greco-Celtic (Danaan-Tuatha Dé Danan) correspondence is the affinity between the myth of Perseus, the son of Danaë, who kills the evil-eyed Medusa and his own grandfather Akrisios, on the Greek side, and that of the god Lug of the Tuatha Dé, who kills Balor of the Evil Eye, his own grandfather, on the Irish side.

shows that the Welsh Beli was confused with the late, pseudo-historic figure of Bēlos of the Greek tradition. The myth of the young and handsome “third function” divinity, object of sexual desire/consort of a goddess, is most characteristic for the Eastern Mediterranean mythologies. Taking into account the evident closeness of the figures of Ara and Bres, particularly, succession of a ruler associated with IE **arg-*, one may conclude that the two figures are derived from a particular, Indo-Europeanised version of a Near Eastern myth.⁷

Celtic tribes invaded the Balkans in the first quarter of the third century BC. Three of them migrated to north-central Anatolia and established a long-lived Celtic territory to the east of Phrygia, which became known as Galatia. One of those tribes inhabited the area of Pessinous, the Phrygian city sacred to Attis and his consort mother goddess. It is believed that the Galatians had taken over the supervision of the cult of Attis.⁸ It is there, in the west of Asia Minor, that the kings Bēlos and Ninus of Lydia, and the epic of the war of the Danaan Greeks against Troy are localised, while Atys, the son of the last king of Lydia killed during a boar hunt (Herod. I 43), echoes the figure of Attis. The historic name *Ἀρμαίς* is attested from Lycia (a neighbouring country to Lydia and Phrygia in the west of Asia Minor, see Howink ten Cate 1961: 132). The identification of Danaos, son of Bēlos, as Armais, would also occur, probably, in the west of Asia Minor. The Lycian *Armais* is almost identical with the Armenian *Ar(a)mays*, which could have been borrowed from a related Anatolian source and conflated with Aram later (Djahukian 1981: 52 f.; Petrosyan 2009a: 68 f.). This name is derived from the Anatolian *arma-* ‘moon, moon god’. The association of the moon with

7 According to one of the Classical Greek mythographers, after Adonis died, the mourning Aphrodite found him at “Cypriote Argos”, in a shrine of Apollo (see Nagy 1990: 229). Likewise, in folk tradition, Ara was killed in Arzni (ancient Arzni < **arg-*), at the foot of Mt. Ara to the north of the Ararat Plain (Petrosyan 2002: 83).

8 Although his eunuch followers, known as Galli, most probably, had nothing to do with the Gauls, see Bremmer 2004.

silver and **H₂erg*'- is prevalent, which may explain the identification of Danaos with Armais (Arma- 'moon' : **H₂erg*'- = Danaos : Argos).

Thus, one may suppose that some of the Celtic mythologems considered above may have been formed as a result of contact between the Celtic tribes and the peoples of the Balkans and Anatolia and then passed onto other regions of the Celtic world.

The Cities of Kumme, Kummanna and Their God Teššub / Teišeba*

Armenian *cam* and Gk. κόμη ‘tress, braid’ are, most probably, early borrowings from North-Eastern Caucasian. Kummi, Kummiya, Kummanni, Kummaha, the names of the centers of the Hurro-Urartian thunder god Teššub / Teišeba may be derived from the Hurro-Urartian cognate of this North-East Caucasian stem. The myths of Teššub / Teišeba are developed under Indo-European influence and this theonym could have been borrowed from an Indo-European language. The Greek Theseus would represent a borrowing from Hurro-Urartian or its Indo-European source.

Armenian *cam*, Greek κόμη, North-Eastern Caucasian *q’am-*

Armenian *cam* ‘tress, braid’ does not have an accessible etymology. It had been associated with Gk. κόμη ‘id’ (H. Hyunkarpeyentyan), yet this etymology was not accepted by Acharyan and is not even mentioned in the Greek etymological dictionaries (Acharyan 1973:440; Frisk 1973:908-909; Chantraine 1968-80:560-560; Beekes 2010:743). In Indo-European context those words cannot be derived from a single root but other associations might be postulated (e.g., early borrowing from each other or another language).

Greek κόμη, according to S.L. Nikolaev, is derived from the North-East Caucasian **q’amhā* ‘long hair, mane.’ Among the adduced words, the following are suggestive: Lak *q’ama* ‘mane’, Rutulian *q’am-č’alij* ‘tress’, Tsakhur *q’am- č’ele* ‘id’, Archi *q’am* ‘curl, tress, mane’

* First published as Petrosyan 2012a.

(Nikolaev 1985:69-70). The Armenian and Greek words seem unseparable from these. Hurro-Urartian is frequently considered one of the branches of North-Eastern Caucasian, and it also could have a similar word for ‘hair / tress’.

Kumme and Kummanni

From the Hurrian, Hittite, Assyrian, and Urartian sources, several names of cities are known formed with the component *kum-* associated with the cult of the thunder god. The cities of Kumme, (Urartian Qumenu) and Kummanni/Kummanna were the centers of worship of the Hurrian thunder god Teššub and his Urartian counterpart Teišeba. The first was situated in the extreme south of the Armenian Highland, in the area of Mt. Corduene (Turk. Cudi dağı), and the second in Cappadocia. Kumme and Kummanni were the centers of cult of not only Teššub but also of his wife (the goddess Hebat) (see, e.g., Goetze 1940:6, n.22; Laroche 1976-77:154; Haas 1994:580; Zinger 1996:34). The city of Kummaha of Hittite sources, to the west of the Armenian Highland, was also known as the significant center of the local thunder god represented ideographically as ^{DU} (KUB XXXVIII 12), who was included in the state pantheon of the Hittite empire. Kummaha is identified with Kamax of Armenian sources (Turk. Kemah),¹ the cult center of the supreme god Zeus-Aramazd (< Iran. Ahura-Mazdā), who is mentioned as “thunderous”(Khorenatsi 2.86).²

Teššub was the son of Kumarbi, who was also the father of the stone monster Ullikummi, arch-adversary of Teššub. Those names also allude to the association of Teššub with the cuneiform element *kum-*.

In a later period Kummanna / Kummanni was known as Comana Cappadociae³ (in cuneiform writing the phoneme *o* is rendered as *u*,

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- 1 For Kummaha and its cult, see Kosyan (2002a:225-226), with literature; Petrosyan (2006b). The identification of Kummaha with Kamax is not disputed.
 - 2 For the English translation of Khorenatsi, see Thomson (1978); for the image of Aramazd, as the heir of the Teššub of Kummaha, Petrosyan (2006b; 2007:178ff.).
 - 3 See, e.g., Goetze (1940:5-6); RGTC 6 (1978:221); cf. Casabonne (2009), where the equation Kummanna-Comana is unconvincingly disputed.

thus the real sounding of the cuneiform *kum-* was /kom-/). The Capadocian and the Pontic Comanas were famous for the cult of Artemis Tauropolos (Strabo XII.2.3; XII.32, 36).

Artemis' epithet Ταυροπόλος is associated with the word Ταῦρος 'bull' (probably: 'drown by bulls', subsequently reinterpreted as being 'worshipped by the Taurians of Crimea'). The bull was the zoomorphic symbol of all the thunder gods of the region, and among them, of Teššub.⁴ Accordingly, Teššub's wife was represented as a cow (Dia-konoff 1981a:83). Plutarch (*Lucullus*, 24) narrates that when Lucullus was entering Greater Armenia, the cows prepared for sacrifice were freely grazing on the eastern bank of the Euphrates: they were devoted to Artemis, i.e., Anahit, whom the locals held in the highest esteem among all deities.

Procopius (*De bello Gothico* IV.5) and Eustathius (*Comment. ad Dionys.* 694) call Comana χρύση 'golden'. This epithet is an important characteristic of the goddess and her cult. Anahit's statue was golden, and she was called *oskemayr* 'golden-mother', *oskecin* 'golden-born', and *oskehat* 'golden-built' (Agat'angelos 786, 809).

According to Strabo (XII.2.3), the sacred rites of Comana Capadociae performed in honor of Artemis were introduced by Orestes and Iphigeneia when they came there from Tauric Scythia. Here they deposited the tresses of mourning, from which the city had the name of Comana (cf. Gk. κόμη).

According to Procopius of Caesaria (*De bello Persico*, 1.17. *De bello Gothico*, 4.5), Orestes and Iphigeneia abducted the statue of Artemis from her temple of the land Celesene, in Tauric Armenia, i.e., Akilisene, Arm. province of Ekeleac' in the headwaters of Euphrates, the center of the cult of Artemis-Anahit (< Iran. Anahita), the great goddess of Armenia (Turk. Erzincan, neighbored with Kamax, the center of Aramazd, while Anahit herself was regarded as the daughter or wife of

4 In many Indo-European (Greek, Latin, Slavic, etc.) traditions, too, the bull was related to the thunder god; this was perhaps peculiar to the Indo-European mythology as well (see MNM 1:203).

Aramazd).⁵ Orestes contracts some disease, and the oracle tells him that his trouble will not abate until he builds a temple to Artemis in a spot such as the one of Celesene. There he should cut off his hair and name the city after it. Orestes at first builds a city in Pontus, but could not to recover from sickness. He finds a place in Cappadocia very similar to that of (Armenian) Taurus and builds Comana Cappadociae, where he cuts off his hair and thus escaped from his affliction. Procopius writes that the Armenians insist that the temple of Artemis from where Orestes abducted the statue of Artemis was situated not in the Tauric Scythia, but in their country, in the land of Celesene. He had been many times in Comana Cappadociae, which, indeed, recalls the landscape of the cult center of the Armenian goddess: the local Taurus resembles the Taurus of Armenia and the river Sarus is similar to the Euphrates there. Thus, one may assume that the Artemis of Comana was identical with the Armenian Artemis-Anahit, wife / daughter of Aramazd, and moreover, the cults of those gods were derived from those of Teššub and his wife.

There are several etymologies of the names Kumme/Kummanni.⁶ Below I present my interpretation.

The formal drawback of Strabo's and Procopius' etymologies is that the ancient local toponym is associated with the heroes of Greek mythology and is derived from a Greek word. Nevertheless, Comana could have been associated with a word similar to Greek κόμη in an ancient local language. The legend of its foundation should have been associated with the local deities who, as in many other cases, in the period of Hellenism were identified with the figures of Greek mythology.

In Syria, one of the main regions of the Hurrians, Teššub was identified with the West Semitic Baal. Teššub-Baal was frequently depicted

5 For Anahit, in this context, see Petrosyan (2007:179-180).

6 Neumann (1961:30-31) (cf. Hitt. *kammara-* 'fume , cloud, darkness, shade'); Ivanov (1982:158-159) (cf. Luw. pl. *kumaha* 'sacred'); Toporov (1985:154ff., 159-160, n.30-35) (cf. Hitt. *kammara-*, PIE **kem-* or **k'em-*); Astour (1987:28) (cf. Akkad. *kummu* 'cella, sanctuary'); Wilhelm (1994) (cf. Hurr. *kumdi* 'tower?'). For the consideration of those interpretations, see Petrosyan (2004); Petrosyan (2006b:59ff.).

with a long tress (see, e.g., Klengel 1967:Taf. 33; Dijkstra 1991:138ff.), and those toponyms, indeed, could have been associated with the myths and rites associated with hair and tress. Notably, according to a widespread conception, the cutting of hair can initiate rain, hailstorm, and lightening (Fraser 1989:279ff.), i.e., the legend of Comana could have been based in an ancient myth of the thunderous Teššub.

After the fall the Hurrian and Hittite states, the cult of Teššub survived in the south of the Armenian Highland, the land of Šubria and its neighbor areas. The names of the majority of the kings of this region, attested to in the late Assyrian sources of the 11th-7th centuries, contain the name of Teššub: Ligi-Teššub, Šerpi-Teššub, Kali-Teššub, Kili-Teššub, and Šadi-Teššub (Gelb 1944:82-83; Diakonoff 1968:124, 228, n.99; Hmayakyan 1990:43; Wilhelm 1992:76). Teššub would have been the supreme god of those lands, where he was worshipped with the “great lady.”

The land Šubria included the mountainous Sasun region and the Muš valley, the Armenian province of Taron (ancient Taro'n, Tarawn) (Arutyunyan 1975:210-211, 248-249). Before the adoption of Christianity, the Muš valley was the cult center of the warrior god Vahagn (< Iran. Verethraghna/*Varhragna), who, according to scholars, assumed the traits of the local Teššub (see, e.g. Russell 1987:213, 362-363; Diakonoff 1990: 211, n.48, 224, n. 78; Hmayakyan 1990:117-118, n.183; Petrosyan 2007c:181-182). Here Vahagn was worshipped in a joint temple complex with his lover Astłik (Arm. ‘little star, Venus’) and mother goddess Anahit. The Christian heir of Vahagn’s character was John the Baptist called St. Karapet ‘Precursor’, whose church was erected near the destroyed temple of Vahagn. On the other hand, according to the “History of Taron” of Yovhan Mamikonean, the sanctuary of a pagan deity, Gisanē was situated in this locality. Karapet, Gisanē and his followers are represented as *gisavor* ‘having tress’. The name of Gisanē itself is derived from the word *gēs* ‘tress’ (< Iran.), while St. Karapet is presented as an *ayr mi gisavor and amps orotac ‘eal* “a tressed man in the thundering clouds.”⁷

7 For an English translation of Yovhan Mamikonean, see Avdoyan (1993) (esp. pp. 134, 225, with approximate translation of *gisavor* as ‘having long hair’). For a detailed consideration of those traditions, see Harutyunyan (2000:121ff.)

The Muš-Sasun region was the center of the epic tradition of Armenia. In the epic “Daredevils of Sasun” the founder of the epic dynasty Sanasar, who acquires a lightning sword and slays the dragon, would represent the epicized figure of the local thunder god, i.e., Teššub of Šubria.⁸ Significantly, the mother of Sanasar whose name means ‘lightning’ and who “dances in the clouds” on horseback during thunderstorms (Abeghian 1975:70ff.; Ghapantsyan 1956:295ff.) also would represent a thunder goddess (Petrosyan 2002:4). The name of Sanasar’s wife who, probably, would represent the epic version of the wife of Teššub, is *Deljun cam* ‘Yellow tress’ or *K’arsun čiwł cam* ‘Forty branches of tresses’.

Mt. K’ark’ē, on which the monastery of St. Karapet was situated, was called *Mšo cam* ‘Tress of Muš’ (Abeghian 1966:299). The explanation of this toponym is found in an early version of the “Daredevils of Sasun,” retold by an Arab historian of the 12th century (Pseudo-Vakidi). The son of Sanasar Muš loves the daughter of the king Taron (these heroes are the eponyms of Sasun, Muš and Taron).⁹ Taron is a courageous young lady who fights with her suitors and overcomes them. Thus she overcomes Muš and cuts his tress.¹⁰ According to M. Abeghian’s analysis, Muš and Taron represent the early figures of the protagonist of the “Daredevils of Sasun” David (another hypostasis of the thunder god) and his wife. The heroes Muš and Taron do not occur in the new variants

(where the tresses are considered in the context of the rites of initiation); see also A. Petrosyan (2001:39ff.); H. Petrosyan (2001:79ff.). In Indo-European context, the figure of Vahagn / St. Karapet, the leader of Armenian warriors, best corresponds with the Indian god of storm and lightning Rudra, leader of the warrior band of the Rudras / Maruts, who is mentioned as the god with ‘braided hair’ (*kapardine*, RV I.114.1, 5).

- 8 For Sanasar, as the epicized version of the thunder god, see Abeghian (1966:414ff.; 1975:72-73); as the heir of the Teššub of Šubria: Petrosyan (2002:20-21, 50-51, 64-65).
- 9 Notably, the toponym Tarawn could be associated with the name of the Hattic thunder god Taru, Hittite Tarawa (see Harutyunyan 2000:111; Petrosyan 2002:144ff.).
- 10 For the Armenian translation and consideration of this chapter of Pseudo-Vakidi, see Ter-Ghevondyan (1978).

of the epic recorded in the 19th and 20th centuries. The echo of the lost legend of Muš and Taron survived only in the toponym ‘Tress of Muš’ (the toponyms frequently present the earliest layers of the language). According to the logic of the legend, the duel of Muš and Taron would have been occurred on Mt. K‘ark‘ē.

On this basis, the element *kum-* in the considered cuneiform toponyms (real sounding: *kom-*) may be interpreted as the Hurrian word for ‘tress’. The double *-mm-* in those names is derived, probably, from the Hurrian suffix *-mi*, *-mmi*, which usually does not change the meaning of the word.¹¹

Hurro-Urartian Teššub / Teišeba, Greek Θησεύς

The name of Teššub is attested since the 3rd millennium BC, but he became the principal god of the Hurrians, probably, later, in the first half of the 2nd millennium BC. Teššub, as a widespread component of Hurrian theophoric personal names is not traced above the 15th-14th centuries BC (see Gelb 1944:115; Wilhelm 1992:88-89; Schwemer 2001:445).

This god is usually regarded as of Hurrian origin, and the theophoric names with his name are considered to be indicative of their Hurrian origin. However, Teššub does not have an acceptable Hurrian etymology.¹² I. Gelb thinks that his name could have been borrowed from a pre-Hurrian language (Gelb 1944:30, 55, n.50, 106-107), and E. Laroche considers the ideology of Teššub as foreign to the Hurrians (Laroche 1976:96ff.). The name of the wife of Teššub Hebat (Hibat, Hapatu, Hiba, Hipa), obviously, is not Hurrian.¹³ The name of the famous adversary of Teššub Ullikummi is frequently regarded as Hurrian, yet the Hurrian interpretation of this name, most probably, is a “folk etymology” (Laroche 1976-77:279).

11 For this suffix, cf., e.g., Urart. *pura* = Hurr. *purame* / *purammi* ‘slave’.

12 For the interpretations of Teššub’s name, see Schwemer (2001:444-445; Anm. 3698).

13 For this name, see especially Archi (1998:42).

Teššub-Baal like the other ancient Near-Eastern weather gods, was armed with an axe/hammer, or double axe, labrys.¹⁴ Because of its holding an axe/hammer a statuette from Karmir Blur is identified with Teišeba (Piotrovskij 1944:277, 279; Hmayakayan 1990:42 and table 14). The figure of Teššub, it may be said, is very close to the Indo-European thunder god. The attribute of the Germanic, Baltic, and Slavic thunder gods is the axe/hammer, which is directly comparable with the axe of Teššub (cf. also the *vajra* of the Indian thunder god Indra). Notably, the axe would represent the weapon of the North Caucasian thunder gods as well (Seferbekov 2005:77). The Indo-European thunder god strikes the mountains/rocks and slays the serpent, while Teššub defeats the continuously growing stone monster Ullikummi.¹⁵ Moreover, this name is reminiscent of the name **wel-* of the adversary of the Indo-European thunder god, reconstructed by Ivanov and Toporov (Petrosyan 2002:82).

Thus, there is a probability that the name of Teššub is of Indo-European origin. In the light of Teššub's pronounced association with the axe, his name may be compared with PIE **teks-* 'axe', 'to weave, fabricate, especially with an axe', cf. Av. *taša-*, OHG *dehsa* 'axe', Arm. (dialect) *t'eši(k)* 'spindle'¹⁶ (for this development, cf. OHG *dehsa* 'axe' and MHG *dēhse* 'spindle'). **Tekš-* characterizes also the cosmogonic action of the god creator, who, in the context of the thunder god myth, is to be identified with the thunder god. In this connection the epithet of the Hayasan "thunder god (ideogram ^{DU}) *takšanna-*" (KUB XXVI, 39, IV, 32) is suggestive. It was long ago etymologized from **teks-*, cf. Hitt. *takš-* 'make,' Ind. *takšan-* 'carpenter', Av. *tašan-* 'creator,' etc.¹⁷ If this is the case, the Indo-European **teks-* would have been associated

14 For the double axe or hammer, as the weapon of ancient Near Eastern thunder / storm gods, see Diakonoff (1990:142).

15 For the Indo-European thunder god myth ("basic myth"), see Ivanov and Toporov (1974); Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1984:614-615); for the consideration of the myth of Ullikummi in this context, see Toporov (1983:123, n.101).

16 For the etymology of Arm. *t'eši(k)*, see Martirosyan (2010:285-286).

17 Djahukian (1964:55). For alternative Indo-European etymologies of Theseus, see Iailenko (1990:228-229), with references.

with the thunder god in two different traditions of the Armenian Highland (Teššub and ^D*U takšanna*- would represent the reflections of **teks-* in two different Indo-European languages). For the ending of Teššub / Teišeba, cf. PIE **h₁ep-/h₁op-* ‘take, seize’, with a change *p > b* (characteristic for Hurrian in this position), and the suffix *-a* characteristic for the Urartian theonyms.¹⁸ Thus, Teššub / Teišeba may be interpreted as ‘axe wielder’ cf. the distinctive epithets of Indra the ‘vajra wielder’: *vajrapāni, vajrabāhu, vajradhara, vajrahasta, etc.*

The name of the Urartian Teišeba is to be read *T^heis/šeb/wa*.¹⁹ Two variants of this theonym seem to have been preserved in the traditional refrains *T’əšieb, hay T’əšieb* ‘T’əšieb, hey T’əšieb’ and *T’əšib, T’əšib, T’əšib, naye* ‘T’əšib, T’əšib, T’əšib, look!’ of the folklore songs of the Armenians of the Muš-Sasun region²⁰ (for the element *t’əš-*, cf. Arm. *t’əši* ‘spindle’; for *-ei-* before *š*, cf. Arm. *ēš /eiš/* ‘donkey’ < **e^hwo-* ‘horse’). This theonym is comparable with the Greek Thēseus, which does not have an accepted etymology (cf. especially the probable Urartian variant *T^heis/šewa*).²¹ Theseus seems also to be associated with the axe. His famous adventure occurred in the labyrinth, cf. the etymological relation of this word and labrys. The name of the Amazonian Hippolytē (cf. *hippos* ‘horse’), wife of Theseus, seems to be a folk-etymological reinterpretation of Hebat/Hipa, wife of Teššub. Notably, Theseus sacrificed some of his hair in Delphi to Apollo and that kind of tonsure was called Θησηϊς after him (Plut. *Thes.* 5).²²

18 For this suffix, see Khachikyan (1985:58).

19 In Urarto-Armenian lexical and onomastical correspondences Urart. *t = t^h, š = š/s, b = b/w*, see, e.g., Djahukian (1987:430-431).

20 For the first refrain, see Ishkhanyan (1988:46); the second one was recorded by the late R. Khachatryan in the village of Irind in Armenia (R. Khachatryan’s fund at the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography in Yerevan, No. FRI: 3848). For the survival of the ancient Hurrian and other theonyms in the refrains of the Armenian and Georgian songs, see Kapantsyan (1956:295ff.); Petrosyan (2006b:57-58); Svanidze (1937).

21 For this interpretation of the name of Theseus, see Petrosyan (2002:48ff.).

22 Notably, there is a characteristic relationship between the myths of Kumarbi and Poseidon, the genitors of Teššub and Theseus. In the “Song of Ullikummi” Ku-

In the myths, various possible associations of the names of heroes can be reflected. Thus the name of Teššub may be considered in connection of **teks-* ‘to weave’ as well (cf. Arm. *hiws* ‘tress’ and *hiwsem* ‘to weave’). Ariadne’s clew in the myth of Theseus may also be considered in this context.

The myths and heroes of the Minoan cycle are associated with the Levant. Zeus abducted the Phoenician princess Europa in the form of a bull and carried her to Crete. Their son King Minos required Athenian youths and maidens be sent to be devoured in the labyrinth by the “part man and part bull” Cretan monster, the Minotaur. The latter may be regarded as the re-interpreted version of the West Semitic counterpart of Teššub, Baal, who was called “bull” and to whom the human sacrifices were made (Jeremiah 19.4-6). The combat myth of Theseus and Minotaur seems to be an echo of the times when the Hurro-Urartians appeared in Syria and adjacent regions populated by the West Semites. This is comparable with the Armenian myths of Hayk and Aram, epicized thunder gods, Armenian doubles of Teššub, who kill their Babelonian and Syrian counterparts Bel and Baršam (i.e., Babelonian Bēl-Marduk and Syrian Baal Šamin), respectively (Petrosyan 2002:46 ff., 57-58; 2007a:299; 2009:160-161).²³

marbi impregnates a great rock which bears the stone monster Ullikummi, principal adversary of Teššub. Similarly, in a Greek myth, Poseidon impregnates a rock which bears the first horse (Scholia to Lycophron 766; Scholia to Pindar Pyth. 4, 246; cited by Nagy 1990:232).

- 23 Interestingly, the myth of Theseus and Minotaur could also be compared with the Mesopotamian myth of Gilgamesh and the Heavenly bull of the goddess Ištar, on which see George (1999:47-54, 136-138; 166-175). Ištar was the embodiment of the planet Venus, while Minotaur was also called Ἄστεριων / Ἀστέριος ‘Starry’ (cf. also the assonance of the names Ištar and Asterion). This affinity could have been resulted from the superposition of the Hurro-Urartian and early Mesopotamian traditions.

Haldi and Mithra/Mher*

The subject of this article is an illustrative example of how important it is to join the efforts of the “eastern” and “western” scholars in the study of the complex problems of antiquity. In this view, we would like to stress, once again, the purpose of our journal: to make the works of scholars from different countries available and understandable to one another.

Igor Diakonoff was first to write about the Urartian-Armenian roots of Mithraism. This author was known and acknowledged both in the West and in the Soviet Union, yet nevertheless, his study remained unnoticed to the western Armenologists and specialists in Mithraism. On the other hand, Diakonoff, as he himself confessed (1991, personal), had no sufficient knowledge of the Armenian epic for a proper analysis of the relevant material. Thus, the issue discussed in this article may serve as a link between not only eastern and western scholars but also between specialists in various disciplines: Urartian, Iranian, Caucasian, and Armenian studies, as well as experts in mythology and epic.

The God/Hero (Re)Born From the Rock/Stone

The ancient Armenian epics end with a story about the hero who was killed but then was miraculously brought back to life, or incarcerated in a rock/mountain cave and aspired to get out of there. These heroes are regarded as the epic versions of the “dying” or “dying and rising” god. The typical examples are Ara the Handsome of the ethnogonic myth (Xorenac‘i I.15), Artawazd of the “Vipasank‘” (Xorenac‘i II.51), Mušel Mamikonean of the “Persian War” (P‘awstos Buzand V.36) and Mher the Younger of the “David of Sasun.”¹

* First published as Petrosyan 2006d.

1 For the English translations of the epic of Sasun, see, e.g., Shalian 1964; Surmel-

The rebirth of the hero from the rock is a variant of his birth from the rock/stone. These motifs are widespread in the epic folklore of the peoples of the Caucasus. The birth of the mythological character from the rock is also known from Phrygian mythology: Agdistis/Agdos, the ancestor of Attis, who represents the Phrygian cognate of the Armenian Ara the Handsome,² is born in this way (Pausanias VII.17.10; Arnobius V.5). An earlier representative of this figure is the monster Ullikummi in Hurrian mythology, son of the god Kumarbi and the rock.³

The name Mher is derived from the pre-Christian Armenian theonym Mihr borrowed from Iranian (Middle Iran. *Mihr* < *Miθra*), yet deep pre-Iranian roots can be traced in his character. On the top of the rock of Van, where Mher the Younger was believed to be imprisoned, there is an Urartian blind portal with a large cuneiform inscription on it, dated from the end of the 9th century BC. This is the only text representing the whole Urartian pantheon and the order of sacrifices offered to the gods. The inscription begins as follows: ^d*Haldie eurie* ^m*Išpuiniše* ^{md}*Sardurihiniše* ^l*Menuaše* ^l*Išpuinihiniše inili KÁ z/šaduali* (“Išpuini, son of Sarduri, [and] Menua, son of Išpuini, built this gate for the god Haldi, the Lord”).⁴ Mher the Younger enters this very “gate” and must exit from it in the future. The Armenians called this “gate of Haldi” Mheri dur ‘Door of Mher.’ According to Diakonoff,

This doubtlessly means [...] that under Achaemenian rule or a bit later Haldi was identified with Mithra. [...] The religion of Mithra, in the form in which it reached Rome in the 1st century BC, had nothing to do with the concept of Mithra existing in Zoroastrian Iran except for the name of the deity [...]; also, the luminous character of the “Western” and Iranian Mithra, and his friendliness towards people were common. The main qualities of the Roman

ian 1964.

2 For the relationship between Ara the Handsome and Attis, see Matikian 1930: 288; Adontz 1946: 381ff.

3 For the relation of Ullikummi and Caucasian heroes, see Ardzinba 1985.

4 KUKN 38_{1,2}

*Mithra are different: the Roman Mithra is born from the rock and goes out of it; place of worship is a niche or a grotto (spelaeum); he performs many exploits searching for the holy bull, including his metamorphosis, as it seems, into a lion. Slaughtering the bull [...], he sheds its blood on the ground, thus endowing it, apparently, with fertility. [...] The birth from the rock ("the door of the god") and a part of the complex of the Western Mithra's attributes, namely the sapling, the lion and, possibly, the bull, can be traced from the Roman Mithra to the eastward to Haldi but not further."*⁵

The Roman Mithras

Mithraism as a religious doctrine appeared in the Roman Empire in the 1st century AD. It became widespread throughout the Empire, including Numidia and Britannia, from the mid 2nd century, especially among legionaries and marginal social groups (freedmen, slaves, and traders). Women were forbidden the cult. Mysteries were dedicated to Mithra; his priests promised resurrection and immortality of soul to their followers. In 307, Mithra was declared *Sol invictus* ("Invincible Sun") in Rome. In the 3rd century Mithraism competed with Christianity. Contending against Mithras, whose worship included such elements as the legend of the new-born god and the belief in the rapture to heaven, the Roman Church adopted the birthday of Mithras (December 25) as the day of Jesus Christ's birth.

5 Diakonoff 1983b: 191-193, 303-304. Then he adds: "Note that in Phrygia, the alleged birthplace of the Western Mithra, 'doors of the god' were also made in the rock at least as early as the 8th-7th centuries BC [...]; a syncretization of Haldi with a so far unknown Phrygian god may have preceded the further syncretization of this already syncretic deity with Mithra." However, as we shall see, looking for such an intermediate link is not necessary. Diakonoff has expressed his view elsewhere too: cf., e.g., "The supreme god of the Mithraic religion had nothing in common with the Mithra of Indo-Iranians except for his name. This religion, apparently, appeared in Eastern Asia Minor and Western Armenia in the 1st century BC, and was only slightly influenced by Zoroastrianism" (Diakonoff et al. 1989: 339). It should be noted that the "Door of Mher" had been compared with the Mithraic spelaea earlier: see Boyle 1978.

The cult of Mithras was conducted in special temples, where the image of Mithras killing a bull was placed in the center. In addition to that scene, there could be represented other episodes of Mithras' life. Usually, the birth of Mithras from the rock was pictured, as well as Mithras dragging the bull into a cave, plants grown from the blood and seed of the bull, Mithras and the sun god (Sol) feasting, Sol endowing Mithras with the full power of the sun, Mithras and Sol shaking hands at the flaming altar. Our knowledge of Mithraism is greatly based on these scenes, because almost no relevant texts exist.

Franz Cumont (1868-1947) was the first to study Mithraism. In his fundamental works dedicated to the texts, monuments and mysteries of Mithras, he attempted to demonstrate the Iranian basis of the Roman Mithraism. However, he himself was conscious of the deficiencies in his theory, viz., the absence of a special cult, liturgy and iconography of Mithra, as well as of the central theme of Mithraism, the sacrifice of the bull, in the Iranian tradition. Subsequently, other theories on the genesis of Mithraism appeared. Mithraism is a complex religion, and not all of its manifestations can be traced back to eastern roots. Nevertheless, such roots obviously existed.

Based on the Mithraic bas-reliefs, Cumont endeavored to restore the key episodes of the "legend of Mithras."⁶ Let us briefly summarize his reconstruction, dividing it into the following points:

1. Mithras is born from the rock.
2. Only the shepherds hidden on the neighboring mountain become witnesses to his birth.⁷
3. First, he measures his strength with the sun god, who acknowledges Mithras' superiority. Mithra rewards him with a lumi-

6 Cumont 1956: 130 ff. This reconstruction, like any other, is to some extent hypothetical. Further elaboration is possible, but that will not change the general picture.

7 Some scholars regard this episode as the prototype of the Christian legend of the Adoration of Christ by shepherds.

nous crown and concludes a solemn friendly agreement with him.

4. Mithras' most significant adventure is his combat with the bull. At first Mithras defeats the bull and drags it into his cave, which serves him as home, but the bull, as it seems, frees itself. Mithras kills the bull with his hunting-knife.
5. The bull is slaughtered by the Sun's order, which he sends by the raven, his messenger. The raven is one of the most important symbols of Mithraism.⁸
6. Mithras becomes the creator of everything useful on the earth. From the body of the sacrifice all useful plants grow, and from his sperm all useful animals originate. The death that Mithras causes gives birth to a new life, richer and more fertile than the old one.
7. Furthermore, Mithras helps the first humans during the drought. However, another punishment befalls them: the deluge, from which only one man is saved in a boat (cf. the legend of Noah). After the last supper with the Sun and his companions, Mithras ascends to heaven, from where he protects those who believe in him.

It is also important to note that:

8. Mithras is connected with the grapes and wine. According to one notion, Mithras is born from the rock, holding a bunch of grapes in his hand.⁹
9. Mithras' temples were underground constructions made similar to the caves (*spelaea*).

8 In the cult of the western Mithras there were seven degrees of initiation, and the devotees successively assumed the names of Raven (*Corax*), Occult, Soldier, Lion, Persian, Runner of the Sun, and Father (Cumont 1956: 152 ff.).

9 Cumont 1956: 131. For the Dionysiac associations of Mithras, see Campbell 1968: 215 ff., 240 f. Notably, in one of the Greek recensions of Agathangelos, the Armenian god Mihr is represented as Dionysus, see Garitte 1946: 129.

10. Mithraic iconography includes statues with man's body and lion's head (cf. the name of the fourth degree of Mithraic initiation: *Leo* 'Lion').

The Epic Mher

There are two Mhers in the standard versions of the epic of Sasun: Mher the Elder (or: Lion Mher) and Mher the Younger, the grandfather and the grandson. They both are derived from the same archetype.¹⁰ Both are great heroes and possessors of the fiery horse and the lightning sword of Sanasar, Mher the Elder's father and the forefather of the heroes' kin.

Below are listed the parallels between the Western Mithras and the Elder and Younger Mhers in accordance with the above points.

1. In the finale of the epic of Sasun, Mher the Younger finds that the earth cannot sustain his steps and support the hooves of his horse (it has become soft because of the evil of the time). He enters the rock of Van through the "Door of Mher." He must get out of there when justice and fertility reign in the world. Once or several times in a year, on the feast days (e.g., Transfiguration, Ascension), the "Door of Mher" opens and he exits to find out whether or not the ground can bear him.
2. Once a shepherd is present at the opening of the "Door of Mher," i.e., he becomes a witness to Mher's "rebirth." Mher tells him when he is going to come out from the rock.
3. Mher the Elder meets only one worthy adversary: Melik' the Elder, the king of Egypt. None of them is able to defeat the other, so after a long combat they conclude a treaty. This is the only treaty concluded by the heroes of Sasun.¹¹

10 Abeghian, Melik-Ohanjanyan 1951: 859. It is interesting that in the ethnogonic myth too the figure of the resurrecting god is split into two heroes: Ara the Handsome and his son bearing the same name. S. Ahyan (1982: 268ff.) and J. Dumézil (1994: 133ff.) connect this repetition with the peculiarity of Ara the Handsome's character as a representative of the third function of Dumézil's theory.

11 Interestingly, there is certain evidence allowing us to suppose that the mythological archetype of Melik' the Elder was the sun god: see Petrosyan 1997a: 44.

4. Mher the Elder learns that he cannot defeat the White Monster who has captured his bride, if he doesn't kill the Black Bull. He finds the bull and kills it with his sword. This episode can shed light upon the problem of the origin of the key myth of Mithraism, the slaughter of the bull by Mithras. The epic of Sasun was first recorded in the 19th century, but this motif has ancient roots in Armenia (see below), and, given the historical context, it is impossible to imagine a reverse process, namely that the Armenians borrowed it from the western Mithraism.
5. The "Door of Mher" is situated on the "Raven's Stone" (*Agravur K'ar*). At the end of his wandering, Mher wounds a raven, who leads him to the imaginary cave inside the "Door of Mher" on the "Raven's Stone" of the rock of Van.¹²
6. Mher the Younger tells the shepherd that he will get out of the rock when the new era of fertility comes, "when the wicked world is destroyed and rebuilt, when the wheat grows to the size of a rose-pod, when the barley grows to the size of a walnut."¹³
7. Some episodes of the "legend of Mithras" and the epic of Sasun are similar to the finish of the Akkadian "Gilgamesh" epic. Gilgamesh and his friend Enkidu kill the powerful heavenly bull sent by Ištar against them. After the death of his friend, Gilgamesh puts on a lion skin (cf. Lion Mher) and roams in search of immortality (cf. the figure of the wandering Mher the Younger, who enters the rock and becomes immortal). He reaches Mount

12 The raven also figures in the ends of other Caucasian heroes born from the stone/rock: see, for instance, Avdalbegyan 1969: 47-48; Chikovani 1966: 217; Virsaladze 1976: 82; Salakaja 1976: 204, 218; Ivanov 1976: 161. See also Boyle 1978: 71f. Interestingly, the "meeting of the hero with the raven" motif may be traced back to the Sumerian composition *Enlil and Namzitara*, where Namzitara meets the supreme god Enlil disguised as a raven. The god promises that Namzitara's descendants will "seize" the justice *si-sa*: see Afanasieva 1997: 320-321, 451 (cf. Mher the Younger will go out from the rock when justice is established in the world).

13 Shalian 1964: 371.

- Mašu and passes to the lands beyond that mountain.¹⁴ Finally, he meets Utnapišti, the Mesopotamian Noah, who was saved from the deluge and received immortality from the gods.¹⁵
8. Mher the Elder stays drunken in Egypt for seven years, and Mher the Younger, unaware of his father's death, drinks with his peers.
 9. Mher the Younger dwells in the imaginary cave of the “Door of Mher.”
 10. Mher the Elder is called *Ariwc* ‘Lion’ or *Ariwcajew* ‘Lion-shaped.’¹⁶

The Urartian Haldi

Haldi was the supreme god of Urartu. His worship was superior to other cults to such an extent that G. Kapantsyan) called it “Haldomania.”¹⁷ He was the patron of the royal dynasty, the commander of the troops, the giver of victory etc.¹⁸ He was connected with fire and he can even be identified as a god of fire: on a bronze shield from the fortress of Upper Anzaf, he is imaged in tongues of flame blazing up from his whole body.¹⁹ The city of Ardini (in Assyrian sources: Musasir), the center of the cult of Haldi, was situated beyond the borders of the Urartian kingdom, southwest from Lake Urmia.²⁰

14 According to one opinion, these lands can be localized in the Armenian Highlands: see, e.g., Lipinski 1971: 49-50.

15 For the ancient Near Eastern elements of the Armenian epic, see Petrosyan 2002.

16 This epithet has also been explained as “Lion-tearer”: see Harutyunyan 2000: 44.

17 Kapantsyan 1940: 114.

18 For the cult of Haldi, see Hmayakyan 1990: 33ff.

19 Belli 1999: 37ff.

20 The name Haldi is referred to in an Aramaic inscription from the Mannean kingdom southeast of Urartu (Lemaire 1998: 21-22; Teixidor 1997/98: 734). One may suppose that the cult of Haldi was not exclusively Urartian: see Salvini 2001b: 354. For a discussion of how Haldi’s cult could have penetrated Manna, see Tirsatsian 2001: 10-12.

Let us now compare, point by point, what we know about Haldi with the characteristics of the Western Mithras and Mher.

1. In the Urartian period the “Door of Mher” was dedicated to Haldi. Apparently, during festivals he came out of the rock through that door, like Mher the Younger.²¹ This associates him with the “dying and rising” gods.
3. See below, point 10.
4. See below, point 10.
5. In the inscription of a seal belonging to Urzana, king of Musasir, that city is described as “the city of raven, which, like a serpent, opened its mouth in the Enemy Mountains.”²²
6. Haldi obviously was also a god of fertility.²³ This is corroborated by the information on numerous animal sacrifices and festivals of harvest before his “gates.”
7. See below, point 10.
8. Festivals dedicated to Haldi and sacrifices offered to him are known in connection with planting of vineyards. Haldi was the god of viticulture and wine-making as well.²⁴
9. The usual place of the worship of Haldi were the “gates of Haldi.” He, apparently, dwelled in the cave inside the rock, like Mher.
10. In Urartian art, the images of the lion and the bull side by side are of frequent occurrence. The great gods were depicted standing on those animals. Moreover, the lions tearing bulls are known in Urartian zoography.²⁵ It has been surmised that the

21 Diakonoff 1983b: 192.

22 Thureau-Dangin 1912: XII, n. 3. There are also other readings of this text.

23 Hmayakyan 1990: 33, 35.

24 Hmayakyan 1990: 10, 76-78; Petrosyan 2006c.

25 Piotrovskij 1962: 111 (the author indefinitely calls the attacking animal a “predator” but, as the late S.A. Yesayan kindly confirmed, it is doubtlessly a lion); Yesayan *et al.* 1991: 17.

lion represented the symbol of Haldi was the lion, while the bull, as in the ancient cultures of Urartu's neighbors, was the symbol of the thunder god (Urartian Teišeba).²⁶ Now it is clear that those symbols are ambiguous²⁷ (e.g., on the shield from Upper Anzaf, Haldi leads the troops on foot while Teišeba follows him on a lion and the sun god Šiuiini goes on a bull). However, we can hardly doubt that the lion, king of animals often, if not even always, or in a certain stage of the history of Urartu, represented Haldi, the king of the gods.²⁸ The combat between the lion and the bull apparently corresponds to the combat between the gods whose symbols those two animals represented.

This motif is usual in the ancient culture of Mesopotamia, where it first appears on proto-Elamite seals and has later manifestations in antiquity (e.g., in Persia and Asia Minor). In the culture of Armenia, the motif of the lion tearing a bull is first attested to on a silver vessel from Karashamb (according to the most recent chronology, of the end of the 3rd millennium BC)²⁹ and occurs on sculptures down to the late Middle Ages.³⁰

Haldi and the Armenian Mihr

In Armenia, Mihr was identified with Hephaestus (Xorenac'i II.14) and certainly was not the sun god, thus differing from the Iranian Mithra/Mihr (which beyond the borders of Armenia was identified with Helios, Hermes, and Apollo). The Armenian Mihr was regarded as the

26 Piotrovskij 1959: 223; Diakonoff 1983b: 193; Hmayakyan 1990: 35.

27 Calmeyer 1983: 182; Salvini 1995: 189-190, with bibliography.

28 The lion is the symbol uniting Haldi and Mher the Elder with other embodiments of the "resurrecting" god. In Armenian folklore, the legendary hero Mušel Mamikonean too was called "Lion" (Srvandztyantz 1982: 95); supposedly he, like Ara the Handsome, was brought back to life with the help of the *aralezk'*, the mythical dog-like creatures who licked the wounds of killed heroes and raised them from the dead. The Abkhazian double of Ara and Mušel, who resurrected with the help of dogs, was called Aslan 'Lion,' see in detail Petrosyan 2002: 88f.).

29 Cf. Oganisyan 1988: 146, 151.

30 H.Petrosyan 2001: 73.

son of the supreme god Aramazd (Agat'angelos 790), the father and the of the gods. Aramazd was identified with Zeus and, like the latter, was called "thunderer" (Xorenac'i II.86). As the thunder god's son, Mihr is comparable with Mher the Elder, whose father Sanasar, the first possessor of the "lightning sword," represents the figure of the thunder god.³¹

The main cults of Armenia Major (Greater Armenia) were concentrated far from the Urartian centers, in three districts of the Upper Armenia province. The center of Mihr was in the district Derjan of that province, in the village of Bagayarič (cf. Iran. *bag-* 'god'). Here, as it seems, the remains of the ancient temple of Mihr still survive.³²

This district was on the border between Armenia Major and Armenia Minor in the west and adjacent to the border of Pontus in the north. It was there that the tribe called Chaldians (*Chaldaioi*) in Greek sources and *Xaltik'* in Armenian sources lived. According to Strabo, the Armenians won Derjan back from the Chalybes and Mossynoics; Chalybes was the old denomination of the Chaldians (XI.14.5; XII.3.19). It is not excluded that the god Mihr of the northwest of Armenia, like Mher of the south, was connected with the pre-Iranian onomastic element *xald/t-*.³³

Haldi and Mitra/Mithra

**Mitra* is an Indo-Iranian god. His name means "friend, friendship" in Indian and "agreement, treaty" in Iranian. In Ancient Indian tradition, he formed a complementary pair with Varuna contrasting him in binary oppositions: light-darkness, fire-water, male-female etc.³⁴ In Iranian tradition, Varuna was replaced by Ahura Mazda. Being initially connected with the light, fire and the sun, in early Iranian tradition Mithra accompanied the sun, the greatest of all fires, and controlled those who kept

31 For Sanasar, as the epic version of the thunder god, see Abeghian 1966: 414; Petrosyan 2002: 21-22.

32 Russell 1994: 183 f.

33 Discussion of the theory of a possible relationship between the Chaldians and the Urartian elite lies beyond our immediate concern (see Petrosyan 2006: 58 ff, 66 ff.).

34 Dumézil 1986: 57-58.

or broke agreements. Subsequently, as the embodiment of adherence to agreement, he was worshipped as the god of war supporting the righteous and destroying those who broke agreements. Zoroaster rejected the cult of Mithra and the other gods except for Ahura Mazda. In the inscriptions of the Achaemenid king Darius I (reigned 522-486 BC) and his first successors, only *Auramazda* (= Ahura Mazda) is mentioned. The cult of Mithra and other gods was legalized by Artaxerxes II (reigned 404-359 BC). In the Parthian period, when the western cult of Mithra emerged, he was the sun god in Iran identified with Apollo and Helios.³⁵

Only some of the characteristics of the Western Mithras can be certainly connected with Iranian tradition: the agreement with the rival and the relationship with the sun (however, we should take into account that the Western Mithras, unlike his Parthian namesake, initially was not the sun god). There are other Iranisms as well (e.g., “Persian” was the fifth degree of initiation). The rest is obviously different: e.g., the birth of the god from the rock, the slaying of the bull, and Near Eastern themes.

When did the syncretization of Mithra/Mihr with Haldi start? Only the form Mihr occurs in Armenian sources; it could have been borrowed in the Parthian period. The form *Mithras* is mentioned in the Greek inscriptions of Armawir (2nd century BC),³⁶ which shows that this god was known in Armenia by his old name as well. I.M. Diakonoff, as stated above, dated the identification of Haldi with Mihr to the Achaemenian or later periods. Nevertheless, there is some evidence allowing us to suppose that the identification of the two deities could have taken place earlier.

Mitra is first attested to in the 14th century BC in the list of the Mitanni-gods (corresponding to the ancient Indian Mitra, Varuna and Nasatyas). The language of the Mitannian or Mesopotamian Aryans, which initially constituted the ruling elite of the Hurrians, is usually regarded as an Indian dialect. According to I.M. Diakonoff, those Aryans lived near Lake Urmia in the 18th-17th centuries BC. From there the tribe Mitanni (*maitanne* =

35 See, e.g., Boyce 1987: 16-18; Toporov 1982; Rak 1998: 490.

36 See, e.g., Trever 1953: 86, 134.

Greek *matiēnoi*) headed by the dynasty of Aryan origin moved southwest and founded their kingdom at the place of the Hurrian state Hanigalbat in northern Mesopotamia.³⁷ The cult center of Haldi, the city of Ardini/Musasir southwest of Lake Urmia might have been within those Aryans' sphere of influence. Thus, theoretically it cannot be excluded that the syncretization of Haldi and Mitra began in the 2nd millennium BC.

The Iranian tribes, too, most probably, were present in the territories adjacent to Lake Urmia from the beginning of the 1st millennium BC. Supposedly, it was from there that the Persians, under the oppression of the Medes, Assyrians and Urartians, moved south led by Achaemenes (circa 705-675 BC) and established the Persian state.³⁸ Probable traces of Indo-Iranian onomastics are attested in the cult of Haldi and the region of Ardini/Musasir since the beginning of the Urartian state.³⁹

Anyway, the Persians started to rule over Armenia from the time of Darius I. Xerxes I, son of Darius I, reports in his inscription on the rock of Van that his father himself prepared the place for the inscription but could not accomplish his purpose.⁴⁰ We may conjecture that the complex of the rock of Van made a strong impression on those Achaemenids.

37 Diakonoff 1968: 42-45; Diakonoff 1970: 61; Bongard-Levin 1988: 71; see also Avetisyan 1984: 39; Avetisyan 2002: 21.

38 See e.g. Schmitt 1985: 415; Schmitt 1987: 685.

39 As noted above, Mithra and Ahuramazda correspond to the Indian pair Mithra and Varuna who in the context of binary oppositions are associated with the male and female principles respectively. The name of the Mitannian Varuna occurs in two forms: Uruwana- and Aruna-, which may correspond to the name of Haldi's wife Uarubani/'Aruba(i)ni attested since the end of the 9th century BC (Urart. 'a, ba = wa, va). The first traces of Iranian onomastics are found in the region of the cult of Haldi from the second half of the 8th century BC (e.g., the name Urzana of the king of Ardini/Musasir is possibly of Iranian origin). In this same period, the name of Haldi's wife is mentioned as Bagmaštu (or: Bagbartu) in Assyrian sources. Its first part may correspond to the Iranian *bagā-* 'god,' while the second is reminiscent of the second element of Ahura Mazda. For this interpretation of the names of Varubani and Bagmaštu, see in Hmayakyan 1990: 110-111, n. 87 and Petrosyan 2002: 92, 126; for the Iranian elements in this region, see, e.g., Grantovsky 1970: 298ff.; Burney 1993.

40 Kent 1953: 152-153.

The significant cultural influence of Urartu (including the complex of the rock of Van) over Achaemenian Iran is a well-known fact. As to the religious sphere, the Achaemenian temple architecture is borrowed from Urartu.⁴¹ The most widespread type of Urartian sanctuaries was the “Gate of Haldi.” Possibly, the temples of Haldi too were called “Doors of Haldi.”⁴² The ancient Armenian *mehean* “heathen temple” is connected with one of the variants of Mithra/Mihr’s name.⁴³ Apparently, that name was initially related to the temples of Mihr. The New Persian name of Zoroastrian sanctuaries, *Dar-i Mihr* ‘Door of Mihr,’ attested to only in the Islamic epoch, can also be regarded as a remote echo of the “Gates of Haldi.”

History and Reconstruction

From ancient times, the cult of the deity (re)born from the rock/stone was spread in the Armenian Highlands, the Caucasus, Transcaucasia, and the neighboring regions of Asia Minor. His descendents are the main characters of the myths, epics and legends of those regions. They are the “Caucasian Prometheuses” imprisoned in mountains: Arm. Artawazd and Mher, Georg. Amirani, Abkhaz. Abraskil, et al. Among them should also be listed the protagonists of the Nart epics:⁴⁴ Abkhaz. Sasryqwa, Adygh. Sosruqo, Osset. Soslan, et al.⁴⁵

41 See, e.g., Girshman 1962; Tiratsyan 1964; Stronach 1967; Salvini 1995: 150-151.

42 Salvini 2001: 260-261, n. 8, 14.

43 See, e.g., Acharyan 1977: 296; Djahukian 1987: 534 (the ending is explained in different ways).

44 These heroes have been compared with Gk. Prometheus, Iran. Aži Dahāka, Phryg. Agdistis, Serb. Marko, Nord. Loki, Sveigðr (one can continue this list: cf., e.g., the characters of Iran. Isfandiar, Rus. Sviatogor, Germ. Hrungnir et al.). For Mher and his parallels, see, e.g., Abeghian 1966: 144-153; Avdalbegyan 1969; Adontz 1948; Melik-Ohandzanyan 1946; Chikovani 1966; Dalgat 1972; Boyle 1975; Ardzinba 1985, Charachidzé 1986; Petrosyan 2002; Tomashevich 2007.

45 Especially interesting is Sosruqo. This fiery hero is born from the stone fecundated by a shepherd. He finds fire for the Narts, gives them the seeds of millet and the intoxicating drink. He is endowed with features of solar deity; after his death he continues to live underground and strives for breaking away from there.

Haldi was such a deity. Hurrian and Urartian are kindred languages. In this context Haldi as a mythological character “born from the rock” corresponds to the Hurrian Ullikummi. The fact that the former was a god and the latter was a monster does not contradict this correspondence. In this respect, one can remember the opposite roles of the derivatives of the Indo-European **deiwo-* in two branches of the Indo-Iranian languages: they were gods in India and monsters in Iran.

Thus, the figure of Haldi could have had indigenous Hurro-Urartian features, which, however, does not mean that the whole worship of Haldi was purely Urartian. First, the character born from the rock is typical of many traditions of the region, irrespective of their linguistic affinity (Hurrian, Phrygian, Armenian, Kartvelian, North Caucasian). Unlike the character, the name Haldi has no evident Hurrian cognates. It first occurs in several Middle and New Assyrian theophoric names (the bearers of those names cannot be identified as Urartians).⁴⁶ Scholars think that Haldi was not part of the ancient heritage of the Urartians and was introduced into the Urartian pantheon by another tribe: he was the supreme god of the Urartian state but not the ethnic god of the Urartians.⁴⁷

Haldi became the head of the state pantheon of Urartu as a result of the political activities of King Išpuini⁴⁸ (late 9th century BC), whose family originated from Ardini/Musasir. The figure of Haldi was ideologized and transformed, if we may say so, into a political program,⁴⁹ and

Some of his traits are more similar to those of Artawazd (if he frees himself and appears on the earth, the soil will no longer be fertile), see, e.g., Mizhaev 1982, Brojdo 1936: 30-33.

46 For those names, see Tallqvist 1914: 83; Saporetti 1970: 283; Freydank 1976: 87.

47 Salvini 1989: 83-85. In his discussion of the Hurrian and Urartian pantheons, Diakonoff writes (1981a: 82): “Haldi seems to be a newcomer in the pantheon, which we hope to demonstrate in another article.” That article, as far as we know, has never been published.

48 Salvini 1987: 405; Salvini 1989: 83-85; Salvini 1995: 39; see also Hmayakyan 1994.

49 Salvini 1989: 86

Išpuini's successors strenuously continued transplanting that cult into the conquered lands of the Armenian Highlands. In the process of supposed syncretization with the local version of Mitra and ideologization, the cult of Haldi was significantly changed and had important characteristics not usual for Ancient Eastern cults.⁵⁰

It seems that in early Armenian tradition Haldi was identified with Ara the Handsome. A badly preserved passage by the continuator of the 10th century historiographer T'ovma Arcruni (IV.18) makes assume that the resurrection of Ara the Handsome was localized around the Lezuoy (later Lezk') village (3-4 kilometers north of Van). Subsequently recorded legends narrate that the Amenap'rkič' ('Savior of All') chapel of the village, situated on the rock, was built at the place of a heathen temple. It was in this temple that the Aralezk' licked and cured the sick and the dead, and it was here that Šamiram put Ara's body.⁵¹

An inscription of Išpuini from Lezk' witnesses to the construction of a stronghold at the place of that village, as well as another building referred to by the ideogram É ("house"). In N.V. Harut'iunyan's opinion, that building was a *susi* temple.⁵² In general, the ideogram É meant both secular and worship buildings. The latter, as the *susi* temples, were almost always dedicated to the god Haldi. Thus, it seems probable that there existed a temple of Haldi at the place of the village Lezk', where subsequently Haldi was identified with Ara the Handsome.

Haldi, like the other local deities, was renamed Mithra/Mihr, adopting the name of the Iranian god. In this identification a major role could have played Haldi's supposed earlier syncretization with the Mitannian

50 For instance, no ancient empire except Urartu attempted to introduce the cult of her supreme god into every conquered town; no other important Oriental deity (except probably Yahve) lacked temple economy; a statue of an ancient Oriental deity could normally exist only in its home temple, but Haldi's home lay altogether outside of the imperial Urartian territory; no statues were erected in the numerous new sanctuaries, and the rites were performed before a stela, a tree, etc.: see Diakonoff 1983b: 303.

51 Srvandztyantz 1978: 52; Abeghian 1985: 248 ff.

52 KUKN 19.

Aryan Mitra, as well as their common characteristics (e.g., connection with fire and war).

The figures of Mher and the Western Mithras have several common traits, which are not evident in the figure of Haldi and, at least partly, can be explained by the later development of those characters (for example the figure of the horseman Mher inside the rock, the two candles burning beside him, the wheel of Fortune whirling before him).⁵³

According to Pseudo-Plutarch (3rd century AD), Mithras, hating women, impregnated a rock, which gave birth to Diorphos. He was slain by Ares and transformed into a mountain located near the Araxes River (*De Fluuiorum et montium nominibus*, XXIII, 5).⁵⁴ Here the characters of heroes have been mixed: Mithras' son is born from the rock instead of him. However, this myth witnesses to the localization of the Western Mithras' birth in Armenia.⁵⁵

The main center of the state cult of Mihr in Armenia Major was situated at the Upper Euphrates, close to the border with Pontus. It was in Pontus that the Chaldians lived, and only in Pontus the majority of the kings were called Mithridates (the most famous of them was Mithridates VI Eupator, father-in-law of Tigran the Great).

The first factual testimonies to the cult of Mithras are connected with the garrison Carnuntum in Pannonia (present-day Hungary), where in 71 and 72 AD the legion XV Apollinaris was stationed.⁵⁶ This legion, which gave rise to the western Mithraism, in 63 AD was sent to Armenia to support Corbulo.⁵⁷ There, at the junction of the Euphrates and Arat-sani (Murat) Rivers, where the Romans under the command of Petus had

53 For those parallels, see, e.g., Boyle 1978: 73.

54 This mountain can be identified with Mount Ararat where, according to the epic "Vipasank", King Artawazd is imprisoned.

55 Widengren 1966: 444.

56 According to Plutarch (*Vit. Pomp.* 24), the cult of Mithra was first brought to Italy by the Cilician pirates. This information seems to be correct, but these first "Mithraists" of the West, apparently, had no successors.

57 Cumont 1956: 47 f.

been defeated by the Parthians, Corbulo concluded a peace treaty with Tiridates, who was to receive the crown of Armenia from Nero (Tacitus, *Annales* XV.26-29). Apparently, the soldiers of that legion could have become familiar with the religion of Mithra in Armenia.⁵⁸

The cult of Mithra in the northwest of Armenia Major, like the cults of other gods of that region, did not leave prominent inheritors in the Armenian folklore. Haldi in the south, renamed Mher, became the prototype of two heroes of the great epic of Sasun.

58 See also Daniels 1975: 251; Russell 1987: 261ff.; Russell 1994.

State Pantheon of Greater Armenia: Earliest Sources*

The study of pre-Christian Armenian religion undoubtedly falls behind other branches of Armenology. This situation has historical grounds, a detailed study of which lies beyond our immediate concern. Obviously, research into religious matters could not develop normally in the USSR due to political reasons. Western Armenology, too, unfortunately did not manage to raise this field of scholarship to modern standards. These reasons have resulted in a situation in which almost all the works concerning the Armenian pantheon are outdated and in many aspects are also methodologically unacceptable.¹

* First published as Petrosyan 2007c.

The present article is an abridged version of Petrosyan 2004. I would like to express my thanks to Dr. Jirair Christianian for help with editing the final English text.

1 Till now, in certain respects the most comprehensive and systematic study of the Armenian pantheon is Gelzer 1896 (= Gelzer 1897). Richer in factual material, although methodologically more vulnerable, is Alishan 1895. G. Kapantsyan has attempted to demonstrate traces of many Ancient Eastern (Mesopotamian, Hurrian, and Hittite) theonyms in the Armenian language and beliefs: see especially Kapantsyan 1956: 267-327. An example of overestimation of the Iranian influence on the Armenian pantheon and heathen religion is Stakelberg 1901. The same idea is also predominant in many later works of Western Armenologists: see especially Russell 1987, EIr's numerous articles pertaining to Armenian themes, et al. It is necessary to note that Ališan, Gelzer, Stakelberg, and their contemporaries knew nothing, or almost nothing, about the history, language, culture, and religion of Urartu, as well as Anatolian and Hurrian states. Furthermore, before the Second World War, the European, mostly German, scholars engaged in Armenian studies were originally Iranologists, inclined to overestimate the "Aryan" Iranian element, which at first sight is evident in the cultures of Armenia and

Ancient Armenian gods figure under local and Greek names: Aramazd-Zeus, Anahit-Artemis, Vahagn-Heracles, Mihr-Hephaestus, Astlik-Aphrodite, Nanē-Athena, Tir-Apollo, and Baršamin (with no Greek identification). The local names are mainly of Iranian origin (Aramazd, Anahit, Vahagn, Mihr, and Tir), two are borrowed from Mesopotamia (Nanē and Baršamin), and one is native Armenian (Astlik).

Scholars have often explained the characters of the gods according to the etymologies of their names, and have considered the pre-Christian Armenian pantheon and religion to be mainly of Iranian origins, displaying only some local (native Armenian, Semitic, Hittite-Luwian, Hurro-Urartian) and Hellenistic traces. That is to say, it has been believed that borrowed characters figured under borrowed theonyms – a view which is methodologically unacceptable.

The mythological names do not always identify the mythological figures. Many Ancient Eastern gods were first identified with Mesopotamian and later with Greek gods, and were mentioned first by Sumero-Akkadian and later by Greek names, but they preserved their old local characters, features, and cults. In cuneiform inscriptions, there was a tradition to present, as far as it was possible, the gods of various peoples in Sumero-Akkadian ideographic forms (e.g., the West-Semitic Ba‘al, the Hurro-Urartian Teššub-Teišeba, the Hittite-Luwian Tarhuntas, and the Hattic Taru were usually referred to as ^DIM or ^DU – “storm/ weather/ thunder god”), while Greek and Roman authors called the gods of other peoples by the names of their own gods (Zeus, Jupiter, etc.). For that reason, we do not know the native names of many Hittite, Hayasan, Scythian, Celtic,

the neighboring countries. The “pan-Iranian” approach of Iranologists, although deserving criticism, is in a certain sense natural: it is partly a result of ignorance in Armenology. The works of contemporary, especially Western, Armenologists, which steadily build on the preconceived tendency of searching for and finding only Iranian elements in the roots of Armenian culture, are a mere continuation of the historical inertia going back to the 19th and early 20th centuries. On the other hand, however, Kapantsyan's works revealing Ancient Eastern phenomena in Armenian culture are also methodologically vulnerable. For instance, in those works, the role of the Indo-European element in the Armenian language and culture is reduced to minimum, and Armenian is considered an “Asiatic” language.

and other gods mentioned in this way. In the Armenian sources, too, Armenian gods more often figure under their Greek names. It should be also noted that the characters of some Iranian gods, notwithstanding their Iranian names, were descended from Mesopotamian prototypes (Anāhitā, Tīri),² and others bore Mesopotamian influence. Furthermore, in the Hellenistic period, they were syncretized with Greek gods.

Even the adoption of Christianity, according to V.I. Abaev, in many respects may be regarded as simply a “terminological and onomastic revolution:”³ the cults of ancient gods continued under the names of Christian saints. And if Christianity, with its mighty organization and long dominance, and even in the case of developed and powerful states, was in its manifold manifestations just a “terminological and onomastic revolution,” what, then, could we say about religious influences and changes that had taken place in much earlier epochs?

One might state that the changes caused by the Iranian and Greek influences were also mainly terminological and onomastic. The theonyms and cultic terms changed, many of them became Iranian, but the figures and cults remained the same, or at least preserved numerous old features. The religion of Ancient Armenia, just as the whole culture, was multilayered, and an attentive study makes it possible to discover the cults of previous times both under Christian and pre-Christian, mostly Iranian, names.

For the purposes of the present study, it is first of all necessary to mention four main preconditions, which made the transposition of old mythological characters and cults on the new ones possible. Those are: 1) the compatibility or correspondence of at least some functions; 2) the same locus of the cult where the new worship was introduced on an old one (or the old cult was renamed); 3) coincidence or at least approximate simultaneity of the feast-days, and 4) assonance of the names.⁴

2 Boyce 1987: 76-77.

3 Abaev 1972: 322.

4 This list does not pretend to characterize all the mechanisms of borrowing new mythological names and figures and changing or preserving the old ones. When being transferred to new religions, gods with old names descend to the lower

The cults of most Armenian gods (Aramazd, Anahit, Mihr, Nanē, Baršamin) were centered in a northwestern extremity of Greater Armenia, in the districts of Daranaḡi, Ekeḡik‘, and Derjan of the province of Upper Armenia, the Acilisene of the classical sources (Arm. Ekeḡik‘ and surrounding territories). This area remained a very important religious center even after the adoption of Christianity: it became the family estate of Gregory the Illuminator who spread Christianity in Armenia. Of the western religious centers of Greater Armenia, only the united complex of the temples of Vahagn, Anahit, and Astḡik, in Tarawn, was relatively far from here. As to the eastern worship centers of state significance (Ar-mawir, Bagaran, Bagawan, and Artaṡat), perhaps they partly originated from the old local cults of the Ararat Plain, and partly were secondary, a consequence of the location of the capital in the Ararat Plain. There had been other centers too, e.g., the cult of Aramazd and Astḡik in the province of Anjewac‘ik‘, which were of lesser importance than the mentioned state sanctuaries.

According to a legend recorded by Strabo, the Argonaut Armenius, the ancestor of the Armenians, and his companions had first settled in "Acilisene and Syspiritis, reaching Calachene and Adiabene" (Strabo XI.4.8; XI.14.12), i.e., Acilisene, the area of the uppermost streams of the Euphrates, had originally been the cradle of the Armenians. From there, they spread in the Armenian Highland and the neighboring territories. Most probably, this legend has some historical grounds. In the 15th-13th centuries BC, the territory of Acilisene was incorporated within the kingdom called Hayasa in Hittite sources. As the majority of scholars familiar with the issue believe, Hayasa played a central role in the formation and early history of the Armenians, and the Armenian self-appellation Hay is associated with Hayasa.⁵ Later on, other peoples ruled over

degree of epic heroes (see below), sometimes obtaining negative features. On this question, see in detail Petrosyan 2006b: 4-5.

- 5 N. Martirosyan (1924) was the first to speak about the Hayasa-Hay relationship. He was followed by K. Roth (1927), G. Kapantsyan (1931-33), P. Kretschmer (1932), A. Khachatryan (1933), et al. G. Kapantsyan has presented his view in a

the area, and it finally passed under Armenian domination in the early 2nd century BC. Acilisene was probably united with Greater Armenia one century later, in the time of Tigran the Great (Strabo XI.4.5; XI.12, 15). That is to say, according to Strabo, the mentioned territories had not even been a part of Greater Armenia before the 2nd-1st centuries BC.

Why did the kings of Greater Armenia locate the main cults of their state in a newly conquered extremity of their lands? Taking the legend told by Strabo into consideration, one could suppose that from earliest times, the gods of Upper Armenia had essential importance for the Armenians. Furthermore, based on the thesis that in the course of religious changes old mythological figures were renamed and preserved in the places of their cults, we might presume that the gods of Hayasa were the oldest prototypes of the Armenian pre-Christian gods in Acilisene. This, together with the Greek legend about the origins of the Armenians, is one of the strong arguments for the Hayasa-Armenia heredity.

Iranian theonyms in Armenia are known already from the Achaemenid and early Hellenistic times: in the inscription on a rock near Lake Van by Xerxes I (486-465 BC), Auramazda (the form of Ahura Mazda's name in Achaemenian inscriptions) is mentioned,⁶ and Μιθρας is referred to in a Greek inscription of the 2nd century BC at Armawir.⁷ However, the Armenian-Iranian theonyms that have come down to us were derived from the late Parthian forms Aramazd, Mihr,

monograph (Kapantsyan 1956: 5-259), and the Hayaša-Hay hypothesis has been supported by most experts in the origins of the Armenian people, as well as by numerous distinguished scholars, who have touched upon the issue: see, e.g., Tashyan 1934: 339-343; Acharyan 2004: 25 (posthumous edition); Manandyan 1944: 32-33; Manandyan 1984: 489-562; Piotrovsky 1946: 33-35; Melikishvili 1954: 85, 418; Yeremyan 1958; Georgiev 1958: 71; Bănăteanu 1961; Djahukian 1961; Djahukian 1988a; Toumanoff 1963: 59; Burney and Lung 1971: 179; Ivanov 1983: 30-33; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984: 913; G. Sargsyan 1992. I.M. Diakonoff was the only celebrated specialist familiar with the problem who did not accept this opinion: see Diakonoff 1984: 112 ff. For a critical survey of the theories on the ethnogenesis of the Armenians, see Petrosyan 2007b.

6 Kent 1953: 152-153.

7 See, e.g., Trever 1953: 83, 134.

and *Varhagn,⁸ so they cannot be traced back to the Auramazda, Miθra, and *Varθragna of the Achaemenian epoch. Thus, the Armenian pantheon that we know could have been shaped in the 2nd-1st centuries BC, under the first Artaxiads, and for the most part under Tigran the Great, as the state pantheon of the powerful and centralized Greater Armenia. It is noteworthy that the Armenian historical tradition, too, attributes to Artasēs and Tigran the establishment of the cults of gods by Iranian and Greek names and the erection of their statues in Greater Armenia, particularly in Acilisene (Movsēs Xorenac‘i II.12; II.14). This pantheon was to undergo some changes later, during the reign of the Arsacid dynasty in Armenia, in the 1st-3rd centuries AD.

Judging from the extant data, the mentioned eight gods formed the main cults of the pantheon of Greater Armenia in the pre-Christian period (Xorenac‘i refers to the erection of their statues, and Agat‘angelos narrates about the destruction of their temples). Other deities, too, are mentioned in old sources, such as Angel, Vanatur, Amanor, et al., but they cannot be regarded as equal to those eight gods.

Aramazd

Aramazd was considered the *ararič‘ erkni ew erkri* "creator of heaven and earth"⁹ (Agat‘angelos 68). In the inscriptions of the Achaemenid kings, too, Auramazda is regarded as the creator of heaven and earth.¹⁰ This is the common feature of those two gods. Aside from that, they are different (they both were called also "great" but this is characteristic of the great gods and does not provide a sufficient basis for generalization). The worship center of Aramazd was the fortress Ani of

8 This Parthian archetype of Aramazd is referred to from the 1st century BC (Greek Aramasdēs): see Meillet 1978: 117; the origin of the name Vahagn has been traced as follows: Vahagn < *Varhagn < Parthian Varhagn < old Iranian *Varθragna or *Vrθragna, which correspond to the Avestan Vərəθraγna.

9 The English citations from Agat‘angelos' History are from Thomson 1976, with some corrections.

10 Kent 1953: 137, 138.

the province Daranali, or Ani-Kamax, which is believed to have been mentioned as Kummaha from the mid-second millennium BC in Hittite sources.¹¹ Aramazd, like Zeus, had a thunderous nature: according to Xorenac'i (II.86), St. Nunē "destroyed the image of the thunderous (ampropayin) Aramazd"¹² in Mtskheta.¹³

In a Hittite inscription (KUB XXXVIII 12), there is a reference to the thunder god of Kummaha (ideogram ^DU). It was a significant worship center and this god was included in the list of cults of the Hittite official pantheon.¹⁴ The name of Kummaha is, obviously, inseparable from those of the cities Kumme/ Kummu and Kummanni/ Kummini of cuneiform sources, the worship centers of the Hurro-Urartian and late Hittite thunder god Teššub (Urart. Teišeba) (-ni and -ha are typical suffixes in the ancient toponyms of the region). The first one was in the Kashiari mountains, near Mount Ararat of Korduk' (Turk. Cudi), and the second one in Cappadocia, west of Malatia.¹⁵ Accordingly, the thunder god of Kummaha must have been a local variety of Teššub, who can be regarded as the oldest predecessor of the "thunderous" Aramazd.

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- 11 See Kosyan 2002a: 225-226, with bibliography (the identification of Kamax with Kummaha has not been questioned by scholars). The fortress of Ani in Daranali is considered to have been the center of Armenia Minor in the 4th-1st centuries BC. After the 10th century AD, Ani is no longer referred to. Kamax is mentioned instead, also called Ani-Kamax, to distinguish it from the capital Ani (Hakobyan et al. 1988: 913). The toponym Kamax is first attested in the 7th century (among the participants of the universal council of 680, there was a bishop "of Daranali or Kamax," see Adontz 1908: 53, 364).
 - 12 The English citations from Xorenac'i's *History* are from Thomson 1978, with some corrections.
 - 13 The story concerns the Georgian god Armazi, the counterpart of Aramazd. For the Armazi-Aramazd relationship, see Gvelesiani 2006, with bibliography.
 - 14 Kosyan 2002a: 235, 239. From another inscription (KUB LV 1), the god Pirua of Kummaha is known: see Kosyan 2002a: 233-235. It is noteworthy that Pirua is probably related to the Indo-European name of the thunder god (cf. Slav. Perunû): see Ivanov 1958: 110.
 - 15 Kummaha is compared with the worship centers of Teššub by G. Kapantsyan, see Kapantsyan 1956: 50. For the aspects of the cults of those cities, their legends, etymology of the element kum-, see Petrosyan 2006b: 11ff., 59 ff.

Aramazd was also called "father of all the gods" (Agat'angelos 785). The burial site of ancient Armenian kings was in the fortress of Ani (Agat'angelos 785; P'awstos III.11, IV.24; Xorenac'i III.10; III.45). Consequently, Aramazd, the patriarch of gods and maybe also their king, was related to the royal family, whose members would join him in the other world. In the Greek version of Agat'angelos, Aramazd is always named Zeus, but his temple in Ani is attributed to Zeus' father, Cronus.¹⁶ Perhaps the translator has deemed it proper to connect the worship place of the father of gods, Aramazd, located near the royal tombs, with the father of gods Cronus, who was cast into the Tartarus. In general, it was possible for the supreme gods to be the rulers of the "three worlds," the heaven, the earth, and the netherworld. Aramazd's counterpart, the Greek Zeus was also considered to be the ruler of the netherworld, and Hades himself, as the god of netherworld, was a hypostasis of Zeus, one of the aspects of his complex figure.¹⁷

Thus, Aramazd combined the features of the god-creator, the father of gods, the thunder god, and the god of the other world. Probably, this complex figure of Aramazd was formed as a result of unification of several local prototypes (see below). Even the function of the creator of heaven and earth is characteristic of many supreme gods of the region (Sumero-Akkad. An(u), West Semitic El, et al.). So it is not excluded that one of the pre-Iranian prototypes of Aramazd had been endowed with this function.¹⁸

Kummaha was probably outside Hayasa, or was incorporated in it only during certain periods,¹⁹ but the cult in Kamax was inseparable from the cults in the neighboring regions of Upper Armenia, namely Ekefik' and Derjan, with which in ancient times it formed a unity and might have been a part of one ethno-cultural complex. The territories of

16 Langlois 1867, § 32.

17 MNM 1: 51.

18 For the prototypes of the character of Aramazd, see in detail Petrosyan 2006b.

19 Kosyan 2002a: 237:

both Ekeġik‘ and Derġan had been within the borders of Hayasa, and the thunder god of Kummaha must have been very similar to Hayasa's thunder god or gods. Moreover, the fact that Kummaha was out of Hayasa does not necessarily mean that her god could not have been included, at least sometimes, in the pantheon of Hayasa. We could remember, as a parallel, that the worship centers of the two prime gods of the Urartian pantheon, Haldi and Teššeba, were located outside the borders of Urartu.

Anahit

The worship center of Anahit was the settlement of Erēz in the province of Ekeġik‘ (also called Eriza, later Erzinka, Turk. Erzincan). In the Hittite epoch, Kumme and Kummanni were the centers of the cult of not only Teššub but also of his wife (the goddess Hebat).²⁰ In Greco-Roman sources, Kummanni is represented as Comana Cappadociae.²¹ The Cappadocian and the Pontic Comanas were famous for the cult of Artemis Tauropolos (Strabo, XII.2.3; XII.32, 36). According to Procopius of Caesarea (*De bello Gothico*, IV.5; *De bello Persico*, I.17), the Artemis of those cities was identical to the Armenian Anahit, and, as the Armenians had corroborated, those cities and cults were descended from the Anahit of the province Ekeġik‘. The Cappadocian Comana also had amazingly reminded him of Anahit's center in the province Ekeġik‘.

Artemis' epithet *Tauropovlo* is associated with the word *tau'ro* "bull" (probably: "drown by bulls," or "hunting bulls," subsequently reinterpreted as being "worshipped by the Taurians of Crimea"). The bull was the zoomorphic symbol of all the thunder gods of the region, and among them, of Teššub.²² Accordingly, Teššub's wife was represented as a cow.²³ Plutarch (*Lucullus*, 24) narrates that when Lucullus was enter-

20 Laroche 1976-77: 154; Haas 1994: 580.

21 Goetze 1940: 5 ff.; RGTC 6: 221.

22 In many Indo-European (Greek, Latin, Slavic, etc.) traditions, too, the bull was related to the thunder god; this was perhaps peculiar to the Indo-European mythology as well, see MNM 1: 203.

23 Diakonoff 1981a: 83.

ing Greater Armenia, the cows prepared for sacrifice were freely grazing on the eastern bank of the Euphrates: they were devoted to Artemis, i.e., Anahit, whom the locals held in the highest esteem among all deities.

Procopius (*De bello Gothico*, IV.5) and Eustathius (*Comment. ad Dionys.* 694) call Comana χρύση "golden." This epithet is an important characteristic of the goddess and her cult. Anahit's statue was golden, and she was called *oskemayr* "golden-mother," *oskecin* "golden-born," and *oskehat* "golden-built" (Agat'angelos 786, 809).

Aramazd, as previously stated, was regarded as the father of the other gods, among them, Anahit (Agat'angelos 53, 785). But there was also another belief: in the Armenian Menology (*Yaysmawurk'*), Anahit is mentioned as the wife of Aramazd, and in one of the translations of the "Hellenizing school," the name of Zeus' wife Hera is translated as Anahit.²⁴ The feasts of Aramazd and Anahit were also united: they were celebrated on the New Year (Nawasard 1 = August 11) and the following days.²⁵ Thus, the conception of the couple Aramazd-Anahit seems to be more ancient.

The name Anahit goes back to the Iranian Anāhitā. The latter is the only anthropomorphic divine figure in ancient Iranian religion, and her origin is obviously non-Iranian. It is even possible that her name, too, has non-Iranian roots. In any case, this figure was created under the influence of the great goddesses of the countries conquered by the Iranians, especially of the Mesopotamian Ištar.²⁶ It is interesting to note that Artemis, with whom the Iranian Anahit was often identified, is a goddess of Asia Minor, according to one opinion, probably of Hurro-Urartian

24 Muradyan 1995: 154, 157.

25 After founding the St. Karapet church, Gregory the Illuminator "determined that every year there should be assembly of the whole people and a royal feast, at the first day of the month Nawasard, which is August 11. Because on that day the Armenians, while they were idolaters, had celebrated [the feast of] Aramazd and Anahit" (*Yaysmawurk'* 1834: 72). On the occasion of the Holy mother's feast on Nawasard 15, it is said that on that day Gregory the Illuminator "destroyed the female image of Anahit, the wife of Aramazd, and abolished their filthy feast."

26 See, e.g., Boyce 1987: 76; Rak 1998: 448; Elr. I: 1005 f.

origin.²⁷ Strabo (XI.14.16) stresses that Artemis-Anahit was especially worshipped by the Armenians, in the province of Ekelik' and elsewhere. Even the noblest Armenians dedicated their daughters to her, and they married only after having prostituted for a long time in her temple. In the Arsacid period, when the Parthian influence strengthened, the cult of Anahit was probably transformed. Agat'angelos (53) narrates that king Trdat represented her as *mayr amenayn zgastuteanc* "mother of all virtues" and *cnund mecin arin Aramazday* "offspring of the great and manly Aramazd." This character is comparable with the Iranian Anahita and the Greek Artemis, but not with the Armenian Anahit described by Strabo.²⁸

Vahagn

Vahagn is a complex character. In the History of Agat'angelos, he figures as one of the great Armenian gods, whereas according to Xorenac'i (I.31), he was the third son of king Tigran. Vahagn was usually identified with Heracles, but, rarely, also with the Sun-Apollo.²⁹ The divine triad Aramazd, Anahit, and Vahagn mentioned in king Trdat's command (Agat'angelos 127) corresponds to the Iranian triad Auramazda, Anahita, and Mithra (figuring in the inscriptions of Artaxerxes II), where the Iranian solar Mithra is replaced by Vahagn. In the ancient religious systems of the Armenian Highland, the solar god being the third is characteristic of the Urartian and perhaps of the Hayasan pantheons (see below).

Vahagn was a valiant warrior god (cf. king Trdat's words: *k'ajū'tiwn*

27 Ivanov 1999. For the relationship of the cult of Artemis with Asia Minor (viz. Lydia and Lycia), see also Burkert 1985: 149.

28 For the figure and worship of Anahit, see also Melik-Pashayan 1963; Petrosyan 2006b: 42 ff., with bibliography.

29 Cf., e.g., in the Armenian version of Philo of Alexandria's On the Decalogue: "For some call... the fire Hephaestus and the sun Vahagn" (Apollo in the Greek original); cf. also in a later writing called *Tōnakan* ("Festal"): "Some worshiped the sun and called it Vahagn." For this identification in old Armenian translations, see Muradyan 1995: 155, 157.

hasc'ē jez i k'ajēn Vahagnē "may valor come to you from valiant Vahagn," Agat'angelos 127). He was also *višapak'al* "dragon-slayer" who "fought and overcame dragons" (Xorenac'i I.31).

The name of the Avestan counterpart of Vahagn, *Vərəθraγna*, is a theonym used also as an epithet for the Savior, Haoma, the hero Thraetaona, and his weapons. In ancient India, *Vṛtrahan* "slayer of the dragon Vṛtra" was the etymological parallel of the Iranian *Vərəθraγna*. It was the usual epithet of the thunder god Indra, but everything victorious by nature was also called so: e.g., the gods Agni, Soma, and Sarasvati. Based on this parallel, Vahagn has frequently been considered the counterpart of Indra-Vṛtrahan.³⁰ But *Vərəθraγna* is not a dragon-slayer, and this direct Armenian-Indian juxtaposition ignoring the Iranian facts is methodologically incorrect.³¹ Two circumstances emphasize that Vahagn was a solar god: 1. The Christian heir of Vahagn's character was John the Baptist (St. Karapet "Precursor," whose church was constructed near the destroyed temple of Vahagn), who has obtained features of the sun god in Eastern Christian traditions,³² 2. According to an archaic Armenian legend, the dragons are slain by the sun.³³

The beginning of the hymn of Vahagn, *erknēr erkin, erknēr erkir, / erknēr ew covn cirani* "labored the heaven, labored the earth, / labored, too, the purple sea" (Xorenac'i I.31) is regarded as a striking example of Indo-European poetry.³⁴ That is to say, the origin of at least this component of Vahagn's character is considered to be native Armenian. The best parallels are found in old Indian Vedas:³⁵ according to a hymn (*Rig-Veda* X.45.1), the fire god Agni is also born in heaven, on the earth, and in the sea (in accordance with these locations, he figures as lightning, sacrifice

30 M. Emin was the first to express this view: see Emin 1896.

31 Toporov 1977: 99.

32 MNM 1: 553.

33 Srvandztyants 1978: 69.

34 Ivanov 1969; Ivanov 1983.

35 For the first and the best discussion of this relationship, see Emin 1896: 82-83.

fire, and the sun respectively).³⁶ By these features, Agni is identical with Vahagn, whom scholars have regarded as the god of the sun, fire, and thunder. Thus, Vahagn, like Agni, perhaps combined these functions.³⁷ On the other hand, the features of Vahagn in the hymn correspond to the characteristics of a Sumerian demon, Asag, and this fact may testify to old contacts between the Indo-Europeans and the Sumerians.³⁸

Vahagn was worshipped in the district of Tarawn, at a temple complex situated on Mt. K'ark'ē. This toponym displays a clear similarity to the names of sanctuaries related to Indo-European dragon-fighting gods (cf., e.g., Krakow).³⁹ Moreover, Tarawn may correspond to the name of the Hattian-Hittite thunder god Taru/ Tarawa (possibly, of Indo-European origin: see below). This perhaps means that Vahagn was also the heir of Taru/ Tarawa. It is also probable that Vahagn continued the cults of the gods of thunder (Teššub), and/or the sun, of the oldest land in this region, Šubria.⁴⁰

On the other hand, the figure of Vahagn is comparable with the Indo-European "third hero" (he was the third member of the above-mentioned mythological triad, his hymn was tripartite, he was worshipped in a tripartite temple complex, together with Anahit and Astlik, the 27th (3×3×3) day of the month was dedicated to him, etc). Taking all these facts into consideration, V.N. Toporov has assumed that Vahagn could have been descended from the Hayasan god Terittitunni, the first part of whose name is comparable with the Indo-European root **trei-* "three."⁴¹

36 Nagy 1990: 99 ff.

37 See Areshian 1992: 7 ff.; Petrosyan 2002 : 34 ff.

38 Petrosyan 2002: 39; Petrosyan 2003: 198-202.

39 Ivanov and Toporov 1976: 123; Petrosyan 2002: 153 ff.

40 Hmayakyan 1990: 43 f., 53, 118; Petrosyan 2002: 132.

41 Toporov 1977: 105.

Mihr

The epic heirs of Mihr are Mher the Elder and Mher the Younger of the epic *Daredevils of Sasun*. At the end of the epic, Mher the Younger enters the "Door of Mher" in the rock of Van; in the future, he will be born again from there. The "Door of Mher" is a spacious Urartian inscription engraved on the rock, where the gods of the Urartian pantheon and the sacrifices to them are listed. At the beginning of the inscription, it is said that this "gate," i.e., the inscription written on the flat rectangular surface, cut on the rock is dedicated to the god Haldi⁴² (such "Gates of Haldi" are the most widespread Urartian cultic buildings).⁴³ According to I.M. Diakonoff, this undoubtedly means that, in ancient Armenia, Haldi was identified with Mithra-Mihr. The cult of Mithras, the western Mithra, in the form it had reached Rome, had very little in common with the Iranian Mithra, except the name. All the main features of the Roman Mithras (his birth from a rock, his worship in wall-niches or caves, his relation to the lion, etc.) can be followed eastward to Haldi but not further.⁴⁴

The Armenian Mihr was identified as fire and Hephaestus.⁴⁵ This identification is not characteristic of the Iranian Mihr and is unique to the Armenian god. In the votive shield of the Upper Anzap fortress, Haldi is depicted with the circular burst of flame that springs from his body,⁴⁶ which allows regarding him, too, as a god of fire. The temple of Mihr was in the village Bagayarič "village of bag" (Iran. *bag-* "god") of the province of Derjan. Apparently, this province was dedicated to Mihr, as the neighboring provinces of Ekełik' and Daranahi were dedicated to Anahit and Aramazd respectively. In Derjan, a village called *Xaltoy arič*

42 KUKN 38, 1-2.

43 Hmayakyan 1990: 67.

44 Diakonoff 1983b; Petrosyan 2006d.

45 In a shorter Greek version of Agat'angelos (the *Vita Gregorii*), Mihr is identified as Dionysus, see Garrite 1946, § 115.

46 Belli 1999: 37-41, fig. 17.

"village of Xalt" is known east of Bagayarič. It was there that the tribe *Xaltik* of Armenian sources, Greek *Chaldaioi*, lived. This ethnonym could have been associated with the theonym Haldi (to read: *Xaldi*). Accordingly, Xaltoy arič could have been attributed to the early local predecessor of Mihr. This is in full concordance with the identification of Haldi with Mher at the rock of Van, which means that, if in southern Armenia Mihr-Mher was identified with Haldi, in the northwest of the country he was associated with the homophonic onomastic element *xalt*. All this hints to the ancient, pre-Iranian roots of the Armenian Mihr.⁴⁷

Tir/Tiwr

The figure of the Iranian Tīr(i) goes back to the Babylonian Nabu, the scribe of the supreme god Marduk, associated with the planet Mercury.⁴⁸ The Armenian Tir is also mentioned as *dpir gitut'ean k'rmac* "scribe of the learning of the priests" and *grič Ormzdi* "writer (= secretary) of Ormizd" (in Armenian sources, Aramazd is rarely referred to by his later, Sassanian name Ormizd). The temple of Tir was near Artašat, at a place called Erazamoyrn, and his cult is characterized as *erazac'oyc' erazahān* "dream-displaying (and) dream-interpreting" (Agat'angelos 778).

In Armenia, Tir was identified with the Greek Apollo. His statue at the temple of Artašat was transferred from the first capital of Armenia Armawir, where it was known as the statue of the sun-Apollo (Xorenac'i II.8, 12, 49, 77). This is characteristic for the Armenian tradition. In Iran, it was Mithra that was identified with Apollo, and in the pantheon of Commagene (nearly identical to the Armenian), too, it was Helios-Mithra that was identified with Apollo and Hermes.

Thus, the Armenian Tir, unlike the Iranian god bearing the same name, had features of a sun god. A view has been expressed that Tir, also occurring in the form Tiwr, originated from the Indo-European theonym

47 Petrosyan 2006d: 229.

48 Boyce 1987 : 77.

**deiw-*.⁴⁹ Tiwr is indeed inexplicable as an Iranian loanword. The identification of Tir with Apollo is an additional argument for the origin of the form Tiwr from **deiw-* (the latter was the god of the sunny sky and the sun itself).⁵⁰ The solar functions of both Tir and Vahagn perhaps witness to the complicated character of the gods of the Armenian pantheon (cf., e.g., the figures of Apollo and Helios as the sun gods).

The characteristics of the Armenian Tir also resemble Hermes, the god of the planet Mercury. Being the transporter of the souls of the dead to the other world, Hermes was also the transmitter of dreams (*Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, 14), while at the moment of death the human soul withdraws like a dream (Hom. *Od.* XI.222). No similar beliefs connected with the Iranian Tīr(i) are known. Taking into consideration the comparatively insignificant Greek influence on the Armenian pantheon, one should think that this Armenian-Greek parallel was not a result of direct Greek influence but of some other factors (e.g., of areal relations or of common heritage).

Nevertheless, the scribe function and association with Hermes of the Armenian Tir and the Iranian-Mesopotamian Tīr-Nabu correspond to each other. This shows that the early Armenian solar **Tiw-*, under the strong Iranian influence, was probably identified with the Iranian homophonous Tīr and brought into correspondence with his character.

In the context of Armenian folklore, the scribe/writer (*grič* ') god should be related with *Grol* "Writer," the angel of fate and death, who writes the book of fate, and who was identified with the Christian Archangel Gabriel.⁵¹ The latter plays an important role in the epic tradition. In the *Daredevils of Sasun*, he takes away the soul of Mher the Elder, and then fulfills the punishment of Mher the Younger, making him heirless. One may even state that, at the end of the epic cycle, the battlefield remains to the Archangel Gabriel. The sources of the Writer's figure are

49 Aghayan 1974: 148; see also Kocharyan 2005: 183-186:

50 Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984: 793.

51 See especially Harutyunyan 2000: 404-409.

traced back to the Urartian fourth god Hutuini, whose name can be connected with the Hurrian root *hute* "to write," cf. the names of the Hurrian goddesses of fate, Hutena and Hutellura⁵² (in early Mesopotamia, the scribes of the other world were female figures). Hutuini, too, was probably related to the world of death. It is noteworthy that the fourth goddess of the Urartian pantheon, who may be regarded as the consort of Hutuini,⁵³ is called Aui "Netherworld."⁵⁴

Nanē

The temple of Nanē was in the village T'ıl of the province Ekełık', facing the village Eriza, the center of the cult of Anahit, on the opposite bank of the river Gayl. The proximity of the sanctuaries might have also reflected some relations between the two figures. The cult of the goddess Nanaya, from whose name the Armenian Nanē is derived, was known in ancient Mesopotamia, and, subsequently, also in Syria and Iran, where it survived until the Sasanian epoch. The goddess Nana is also known from ancient Mesopotamia, and, probably, these homophonous names later were confused. Both theonyms may be of Sumerian origin.⁵⁵

Recalling the identification of mythological figures with the deities of the previous epoch localized in the same sites, the name T'ıl of the settlement of Nanē can now be discussed. It is a Semitic loan-word in Armenian, meaning "hill," cf. Akkad. *Tillu* frequently occurring in the ancient toponyms of the region. In Armenian sources, the word *t'ıl* is used only for "the hills made by Šamiram."⁵⁶ The latter, Greek Semiramis, is one of the central ancient pre-Iranian mythological characters of the Armenians and other peoples of the region (see below). One may presume that Nanē figures as the heiress of Semiramis. It is interesting to

52 Hmayakyan 1990: 47-48.

53 Hmayakyan 1990: 26.

54 For this interpretation of Aui, see Meshchaninov 1978: 71-72.

55 Leick 1991: 124-125; MNM II: 197.

56 For the sources, see Acharyan 1973: 182-183.

note that, according to Strabo (XII.3.37), the city of Zela in Pontus was "fortified on a mound of Semiramis, with the temple of Anaitis, who is also revered by the Armenians." So, there, Semiramis was the predecessor of the local figure of Anahit.

Baršamin

Baršamin's temple was in the village T'ordan, not far from the center of Aramazd, Ani-Kamax. Owing to the close location of the worship centers, there also could have been some connections between the figures and cults. This is the only Armenian god not mentioned by a Greek name in Armenian sources or in the Greek version of Agat'angelos' *History*.⁵⁷ His name goes back to the West Semitic *Ba'al Šamin* "Lord of Heaven." Agat'angelos (784) calls him *spitakapar* "of white glory, gloriously adorned with white," and Xorenac'i writes (II.14) that it was king Tigran who brought his statue, which was "embellished with ivory, crystal, and silver," from Mesopotamia to T'ordan. However, as we shall see, the West Semitic Ba'al and perhaps his female counterpart, too, are mentioned in this region already from the mid-second millennium BC, and the erection of Baršamin's statue here must have been based on an old local cult (in the same way as the erection of the Greek statues of Aramazd, Mihr, and Nanē in this region must not have denied but developed the oldest local cults and endow them with Hellenistic traits). In the Armenian ethnogonic myth, Baršamin figures as Baršam, the adversary of Aram, the ancestor of the Armenians (Xorenac'i I.14). Xorenac'i says that after he was killed by Aram, the Syrians deified him. The opposition of the epic Aram and Baršam would allude to the opposition of Aramazd and Baršamin on the divine level (see below).⁵⁸

57 However, the god of T'ordan appears as Rhea in *Vita Gregorii* (Garrite 1946, §108). Accordingly, some scholars identify Baršamin as a goddess, see Hakobyan 2001: 147; Palanjyan 2005: 189-190.

58 For Indo-European associations of this myth, see Petrosyan 2007a.

Astlik

The main center of Astlik was located on the slope of Mount K'ark'ē, where she was worshipped together with Vahagn and Anahit, in a triadic temple complex (Agat'angelos 809). She was identified with Aphrodite. Astlik, like Anahit and Nanē, may be regarded as an incarnation of one of the aspects of the mother-goddess.

Among the gods of the Armenian pantheon, Astlik is the only one whose name is of Armenian origin: cf. *Astlik* "planet Venus," the hypocoristic form of *astl* "star" (Indo-European **Haster/l-*). In the 19th century, G. Hofmann expressed an opinion that Astlik is a calque of the Syrian *Kaukabta* "the (female) star." This view has been widely cited.⁵⁹ Indeed, Astlik is inseparable from the Syrian, but also from the Mesopotamian and Hurrian-Anatolian goddesses. The first of them is the Sumerian Inanna (= the Akkadian Ištar). Inanna/ Ištar is a complex figure, having also incorporated in herself the features of the Hurrian goddess Šauška. Both by name and by functions, she corresponds to the Armenian Astlik: both of them are goddesses of love and motherhood, personifications of the planet Venus.

There exist various opinions concerning Ištar: 1. Ištar's prototype, the Semitic **attar*, probably signified the planet Venus with its two aspects: morning (male) and evening (female);⁶⁰ 2. In Eastern Semitic, this root meant "goddess" (in general), in West Semitic it was the name of a particular goddess, and in Southern Semitic, of a particular god;⁶¹ 3. The Semitic **attar* and the Indo-European **Haster-* "star" are inseparable from each other: often the Indo-European root was regarded as borrowed, but perhaps the Semitic forms were borrowed from the Indo-European, because the direction of borrowing from "star" to "deified star" seems more probable.⁶²

59 Gelzer 1897: 77-78; Abeghian 1985: 244-245; Kapantsyan 1956: 310; Acharyan 1944: 232. EIr. II: 441.

60 Leick 1991: 96.

61 MNM I: 595; Diakonoff: 1982: 20-21.

62 Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984: 875, 967. cf. Mallory and Adams 1997: 87, 543.

The Indo-European **Haster-* goes back to the root **Hās-* "burn" with the suffix **-ter-*. Ištar's counterparts, as mentioned above, figure in Semitic traditions both as female (West Semitic Astartē) and male deities (West Semitic Astar(u), Yemeni Astar). It is interesting that the same duality occurs in Armenia too: in one variant of the *Daredevils of Sasun*, Astlik is a king, the grandfather of Sanasar and Bałdasar, the first heroes in the family of daredevils, while in other variants, *Paron* ("Mister") Astlik is the relative and adversary of David or Mher, fighting them and getting killed. This Astlik is in some respect comparable to the Ugaritan Astar (14th-13th centuries BC). The latter was the opponent of Ba'lu, whereas the god of lightning and thunder Ba'lu is comparable with David and Mher, the owners of the "lightning sword."

Paron Astlik is an igniferous celestial hero who, while fighting, pours fire from the sky on his adversary.⁶³ His relationship with fire and burning is not obvious: it is revealed only in the Indo-European etymology of his name. The male figure of Paron Astlik evidently cannot be traced back to the Syrian goddess Kaukabta, while his fire-pouring character is to be connected with the Indo-European etymology of his name, which means that this figure is very old. The Armenian origin of Astlik is also corroborated by many Armenian toponyms derived from her name⁶⁴ (toponyms derived from other pre-Christian theonyms are very rare). Consequently, this theonym, notwithstanding its Semitic associations, cannot be regarded as a mere calque of Kaukabta.

The Gods of Commagene

The Armenian Aramazd, Mihr, and Vahagn correspond to the gods of Commagene – Zeus-Oromasdes, Apollo-Mithras, and Herakles- Artagnes – whose gigantic statues were erected by King Antiochus of Commagene (1st century BC) on Mt. Nemrud. The inscription about the

63 For this figure, see Harutyunyan 1999: 398.

64 For such toponyms, see Srvandztyants 1978: 47-48; Hakobyan et al. 1986: 344-346.

gods also refers to "all-nourising fatherland Commagene" – the land is mentioned instead of the goddess Anahita. The Urartian name of Commagene, Qumaha (Assyr. Kummuhu), is identical with the Hittite Kumaha, predecessor of Kamax, cult center of Aramazd. Thus, the whole country appears to be a sanctuary of the thunder god, and one might suppose that Oromasdes, like Aramazd, was Teššub's heir. Commagene was once part of the Armenian kingdom of Cop'k', and the ruling dynasties of Commagene and Armenia were of the same origin.⁶⁵ Probably, in the 1st century BC the Armenian gods were partly identical to the gods of Commagene. However, it is necessary to note that Aramazd is not identical to Oromasdes, who is closer to the Pahlavi Öhrmazd, and Mithras and Artagnes are more similar to the early Iranian Miθra and *Varθragna. Moreover, unlike the Armenian Mihr-Hephaestus, the Mithras of Commagene was identified with Helios, Apollo, and Hermes. Thus, the Iranian theonyms of Commagene were more archaic, and the figures of these gods were closer to their Iranian counterparts.

The Pantheon of Urartu

The pantheon of Urartu, the state which for the first time united the Armenian Highland under one crown, is mainly known from the inscription on the "Door of Mher" (late 9th century BC), where about fifty theonyms and many sanctities are listed. One of the essential features of the pantheon is the exclusive emphasis on the cult of the supreme god Haldi and the joint reference to the triad of the great gods – Haldi, Teišeba, the thunder god, and Šiwini, the sun god – in various formulas. These gods were worshipped, probably together with their wives, in Ardini-Musasir, Kumenu (both in the southern extremity of the Armenian Highland), and Tušpa (Van) respectively.⁶⁶ The fourth god was Hutuini.

As seen above, Mher of the Daredevils of Sasun originated from Haldi, and Groł/ Gabriel, another hero of the epic and folklore, origi-

65 See on Commagene Tiratsyan 1956; Sargsyan 1966: 5 ff.

66 For the pantheon of Urartu, see Hmayakyan 1990.

nated from Hutuini. Sanasar, the first owner of the lightning sword and the heir of the thunder god, most probably originated from the Teššub of Šubria, the country which in Urartian times included Sasun and neighbouring territories.⁶⁷ The Armenians called Van "the city of Šamiram," "built by Šamiram," while in Urartu it was called Tušpa and was the worship center of the goddess Tušpuea, the wife of the sun god, which testifies to the heredity Tušpuea-Šamiram. One of the two historical prototypes of the mythical Šamiram/ Semiramis was Nak'ia, the wife of the Assyrian king Sennacherib.⁶⁸ She directly corresponds to Covinar, the progenitress of the daredevils of Sasun, the wife of Senek'erim (= Sennacherib). Thus, the great gods of the Urartian epoch survived in the epic tradition of the south of Armenia.

There are significant similarities and differences between the pantheons of Greater Armenia and Urartu. Haldi's heir Mher, in the Armenian context, is descended from Mihr: this hints to a correspondence between Haldi and Mihr. Aramazd, with his thunderous character and the name of his sanctuary (Ani-Kamax < Kummaha), corresponds to the Teššub-Teišeba of Kumme (= Urart. Qumenu). Vahagn, identified with the sun, is comparable with Šivini, and Tir, as a scribe and writer, with Hutuini. Anahit is mentioned as the wife of Aramazd, Astlik is Vahagn's mistress, and, in the *Daredevils of Sasun*, the old Nanē is mentioned as Mher's former mistress. This makes it possible to identify the three great goddesses of the Armenian pantheon as the partners of the three great gods, which is also characteristic of the structure of the Urartian pantheon. However, Mihr cannot pretend to the role of the supreme god. The hierarchy of the great Armenian gods can be reconstructed as Aramazd, Vahagn, and Mihr, i.e., there is a change of roles if compared with the Urartian model. The origins of some Urartian theonyms may

67 For Sanasar as the epicized thunder god, see Abeghian 1966: 414-418; Abeghian 1975: 72-73. For the relationship between Teššub and Sanasar, see Petrosyan 2002: 21, 65.

68 Lewy 1952.

be Armenian,⁶⁹ but the theonyms of the Armenian pantheon come from post-Urartian times and they do not have Urartian parallels. Besides, and this is very important, the places of worship do not correspond, and the great Armenain gods in fact cannot be directly identified with the Urartian deities. Their actual heirs figure as epic personages in the *Daredevils of Sasun*.

Thus, the essential common feature of the Armenian and Urartian pantheons is structural and functional: groups of three great gods (perhaps with their female partners), who, although in different sequences and with different locations, correspond to one another. These are followed by fourth "writer" gods (Hutuini and Tir).

The Pantheon of Hayasa

The pantheon of Hayasa is presented in a Hittite inscription, which is perhaps a fragment of an agreement between Hittite and Hayasan kings (KUB XXVI 39 IV, 26).⁷⁰ Gods of fourteen "cities" are mentioned, some of them more than once (especially the thunder god referred to by the ideogram ^{DU}).

The god U.GUR of Hayasa and the goddess INANNA are in the first place. They occupy the first line and are clearly separated from other gods (the following line is left blank). This is a couple of great gods: the patriarch of the gods and his wife. Their names are written in ideograms, i.e., the local gods have been brought into correspondence with the Mesopotamian U.GUR and INANNA. U.GUR represents the god Nergal and INANNA is the Sumerogram of the mother goddess (= Akkad. Ištar). Probably, U.GUR was originally the name of Nergal's sword (= Akkad. Uqur, imperative of the verb "destroy"): it was deified as Nergal's "vezir."⁷¹ After the Old-Babylonian period (early second

69 Djahukian 1986.

70 For the publications of the inscription, see, e.g., Forrer 1931: 6; Kapantsyan 1956: 88; V. Khachatryan 1971: 148; Haas 1986: 24. For a detailed discussion of the inscription, see Kosyan 2005.

71 Lambert 1973: 356.

millennium BC), he was identified with Nergal and became a spelling of Nergal. Nergal was an ancient north-Mesopotamian god related to death and war. He was the lord of the other world, and, later on, his cult also spread southward and westward.⁷²

In Hittite and Luwian sources, there are two single references on the cult of U.GUR in the cities of Halputilin and Zihila, whereas the U.GUR of Hayasa is referred to often (KBo IV 13 ii 21, iii 7, iv [3], 24, vi 33+; KUB X 82.5; XIX 128 ii 10, vi 19; KUB XXVI 39 iv 26; IBoT III 15 I 6-7).⁷³ This demonstrates that among the lands under the influence of the Hittite empire, Hayasa was the center of the cult of U.GUR.

The name of the third Hayasan god, of which only the last part, *š/t-an-nu-uš*, survives, according to one opinion, may be Izzištanuš,⁷⁴ i.e., a Hittite form of the name of the Hattian sun god Eštan (possibly, from Ezzi Eštan, "god of the kind/good sun").⁷⁵ Although this reconstruction of the name is speculative, it is interesting to note that, if it is correct, the first three Hayasan gods become comparable with the Armenian triad Aramazd, Anahit, and Vahagn (supreme god, mother goddess and sun god). Thus, perhaps, the first prototype of the triad had been Hayasan, and only later did it obtain Iranian names.

In Hittite-Hattian tradition, from the mid-second millennium the Mesopotamian Nergal/ U.GUR was identified with the Hattian god Šuli(n)katte "king (of) Šuli."⁷⁶ Šulikatte was believed to be the father of the Hattian thunder god Taru, whose name occurs as Tarawa in the Hittite sources. The sixth god of the Hayasan pantheon, Tarumu (Ta-a-ru-u-mu-uš), is perhaps associated with Taru/ Tarawa.⁷⁷ As mentioned above,

72 For Nergal, see RLA 9: 215-226.

73 Van Gessel 1998: 839.

74 V. Khachatryan 1971: 148.

75 Cf. Puhvel 1984: 468.

76 Haas 1994: 367, 599.

77 See Djahukian 1961: 378; Djahukian 1988a: 75 (according to him, Taru-muwa > Tarumu- "Taru's strength"). We could also note that in the cuneiform names of the region, sometimes the w/m alternation occurs.

it is possible that the name of the province Tarawn, where the worship of Vahagn was centered, was also connected with Taru/ Tarawa.⁷⁸ According to Xorenac'i (II.8), the eponymous ancestor of the ancient rulers of Tarawn was Slak'. This name has been regarded as a reminiscence of Šulikatte.⁷⁹ The eponym-toponym relation Slak'-Tarawn is quite comparable with the genealogy Šulikatte-Tarawa, and one could deduce that we are dealing here with an ancient mythological complex, which later on was transformed into the genealogy of the local princely house.

The eighth Hayasan god was Terittitunni (Te-ri-it-ti-tu-u-ni-iš), who has been etymologized by G. Kapantsyan and G. Djahukian from the Indo-European root **trei-* "three,"⁸⁰ while V. Toporov, as stated above, has considered him as a possible predecessor of Vahagn. One more argument can be presented for the latter opinion. The temple of Vahagn is mentioned as the "eighth" (Agat'an-gełos 809), which means that perhaps here, too, the Armenian and Hayasan pantheons share a common structural feature.

The eleventh god of the Hayasan pantheon, Bāлтаik (Ba-al-ta-ik), may correspond to the West Semitic Ba'alat "lady," the feminine form of Ba'al / Ba'lu, one of the names of Astarte, possibly, with the diminutive-hypocoristic suffix of Indo-European origin *-ik*. It is noteworthy that a similar form with the same suffix *-ik* is Aštik, the Armenian counterpart of Astarte/ Ba'alat.

No direct data about Hayasan myths survive. However, in a late Hittite source (14th-13th centuries BC), a West Semitic myth concerning this area is narrated. According to that myth, the goddess Ašertu, i.e. Astarte-Ba'alat, wife of the supreme god Elkunirša, offers her love to

78 Harutyunyan 2000: 101, 111.

79 The author of the comparison Šulikatte-Slak' is J. Russell, who thinks that Slak' may be a "much-truncated form" of Šulikatte: see Russell 1993: 75. It is also possible that Slak' is directly derived from Šulikatte (**Sulək^hat^he > *Sulak'ay > Sulak' < Slak'*): see Petrosyan 2002: 31.

80 Kapantsyan 1956: 93-94, 306; Djahukian 1961: 378-379; Djahukian 1988a: 66-67.

Elkunirša's son, the weather/thunder god (West Semitic Ba'al/ Ba'lu). The thunder god "went to the headwaters of the Mala River. He went [to] Elkunirša, the husband of Ašertu, [and] entered the tent (= home) [of] Elkunirša" to inform him about this breach of faith.⁸¹ Elkunirša is the Hittite rendering of the name and epithet of the West Semitic god El: 'ēl qūnī ('a)rša "El, creator of the earth". The Canaanite-Phoenician El, the Ugaritic Ilu, was the supreme West Semitic god, who figured under this title in other Canaanite-Amorean and Palmyran (Aramaic) texts as well.

It is this god who, in the Hebrew Bible is called "El supreme, creator of heaven and earth" (Gen. 14.19) and is identified with Yahweh (Gen. 14.22).⁸² Mala is the Hittite name for the Euphrates. In 14th-13th centuries BC, the country located in the headwaters of the Euphrates was Hayasa, and it is obvious that "El, creator of the earth" dwelling at the source of the Euphrates must have been identified with the great god of Hayasa. That is to say, the great god of Hayasa was identified with the god who in later major religions figures as the only Creator. Ašertu and then Iš-tar, mentioned in the following part of the text, are comparable to Baltaik and INANNA-Ištar (U.GUR's consort), and Ba'al, to the thunder god (or one of the thunder gods) of Hayasa.

Thus, there are some obvious features common to the Armenian and Hayasan pantheons (geographical, structural, and pertaining to figures): 1. The cults of the Armenian gods were mainly located in the territories of ancient Hayasa; 2. The number of cults in the Hayasan pantheon was comparable to the number of the Armenian gods; 3. Both pantheons were ruled by a patriarch of the gods and his female partner; 4. The supreme god was the creator of heaven and earth, and then also the lord of the other world, 5. The "eighth" gods are also identical in other respects; 6. The gods of Tarawn, too, were perhaps related to the Hayasan cults; 7. West Semitic relations are noticeable.

81 Hoffner 1990: 69.

82 Shifman 1987: 146.

Gods and Ethnogenic Patriarchs

During religious changes, old gods often descend to the lower level of epic heroes. A typical example of this phenomenon is the origin of the heroes of the *Daredevils of Sasun* from ancient local gods. The oldest Armenian myths are preserved in the oldest epic, the ethnogenic tradition.⁸³ According to this tradition, the first ancestor of the Armenians was Hayk, who killed the Babylonian tyrant Bel, founded Armenia, and became the forefather of the Armenian people. The endonym (self-appellation) of the Armenians *Hay* was believed to have been derived from Hayk (*Hayk* < *Hay-ik*, with the hypocoristic suffix *-ik* characteristic of old theonyms: cf. *Astlik*), whereas the exonym *armen*, from the name of Hayk's descendant Aram. The origins of Aram's son Ara the Handsome and his adversary Šamiram from the characters of the "dying and rising god" and the great mother-goddess were discussed in detail long ago.⁸⁴ Divine origins can be stated regarding the other central figures of the tradition as well.

The stories about Hayk and his seven descendants represent the Armenian historicized version of the myth of Creation. They clearly combine theogony, cosmogony, and ethnogony, and also contain anthropogenic and sociogenic elements. Hayk and his descendants are the epicized figures of the oldest Armenian gods (theogony); lands, provinces, mountains, rivers, and settlements are named after them (cosmogony: naming in mythology corresponds to the creation); Armenian ethnonyms are derived from their names (ethnogony). They are considered to be the forebears of certain aristocratic families (dynastic saga); the large family of Hayk reflects the structure of the oldest Armenian pantheon and patriarchal family (sociogony). The beginning of time is also associated with the myth of Hayk (the months and hours of the day are con-

83 For the English translation of the ethnogenic myth, see Thomson 1976: 73 ff., 357ff.

84 Matikian 1930; Kapantsyan 1944.

sidered to be named after Hayk's sons and daughters).⁸⁵ The divine line ends with the death and supposed resurrection of Ara the Handsome, the last divine patriarch. The sacred time ends with his death, and our real (profane) era begins.⁸⁶

Thus, Hayk, or, more precisely, his divine prototype, represents the creator god, the father of the oldest Armenian gods. The second eponym of the Armenians, Aram, is considered to be the "second Hayk".⁸⁷ Accordingly, Aram's adversary Baršam may be regarded as the "second Bel." Thus, in the pantheon transformed under the Iranian influence, Hayk and Aram correspond to the creator god and father of gods Aramazd. Hayk's adversary Bel is the Babylonian god Bel-Marduk, and Baršam is the abridged form of Baršamin⁸⁸ (the first element of the name Baršamin-Ba'al Šamin is etymologically identical with Bel: cf. the Semitic *b'l* "lord"). Accordingly, the name Aram might be regarded as the abridged form of Aramazd, but Hayk and Aram, the eponymous forefathers of the Armenians, are evidently older than the Iranian loan Aramazd. A detailed analysis reveals that Aram was the name of the oldest Armenian thunder god, the counterpart of Teššub.⁸⁹ Thus, it may be inferred that as a result of the assonance of names, the Iranian Ahuramazda-Aramazd was identified with the Armenian Aram. Furthermore, it is obvious that the opposition of Aram and Baršam on the divine level was to be repeated in the relationship between Aramazd and Baršamin.

In ancient Mesopotamia, planets were called by the names of gods. This custom, together with Babylonian astronomy, had also passed to

85 For Hayk, as the father of time, see Brutyan 1997: 156ff., 385ff, with bibliography.

86 Petrosyan 2002: 159ff.

87 Abeghian 1966: 55.

88 The suffix *-am* is characteristic of the names of the ethnogenic myth (Aram, Gełam). Moreover, the names of the Armenian heroes' adversaries were also abridged and rhymed with them: e.g., Šamiram (< Šamurammat) and Baršam (< Ba'alšamin).

89 Petrosyan 2002: 43 ff.

other ancient peoples.⁹⁰ In Mesopotamia, Mars was called Nergal (cf. Gk. Ares, Lat. Mars, Pers. Varahran). According to some evidence, in Armenia, it was associated with Hayk.⁹¹ If so, this witnesses to a relationship between the characters of Hayk and Nergal: the first Armenian patriarch and ancestor Hayk, who defeated Bel in battle, is obviously connected with the dead forefathers and war. Another common feature of Hayk and Nergal is noteworthy too: the large bow and the arrow were among Nergal's symbolic weapons.⁹² Hayk is also an archer who kills his enemy Bel with an arrow shot from his *laynalič* "wide-arc'd" bow (Xorenac'i I.11). Accordingly, Hayk is comparable to the great god of Hayasa U.GUR-Nergal. That god's Hayasan name is unknown. The assonance of Hayk and Hayasa makes it possible to assume an etymological relation between those names and to infer that, possibly, the early prototype of Hayk was the eponymous god of Hayasa.⁹³

The three great Armenian gods, Aramazd, Vahagn, and Mihr, can in some respects be connected with the three central heroes of the Armenian ethnogonic tradition: Hayk, Aram, and Ara the Handsome. Aramazd and Hayk are the patriarchs of the families of gods and ethnogonic heroes respectively; Aram and Vahagn are mostly warriors, while the epic heir of Mihr, Mher the Younger, and Ara are "dying and resurrecting" deities. However, these connections, as in the case of the Armenian and Urartian gods, are not simple.

Aramazd combines in himself the figures of the creator god, the father of gods, the god of thunder, and the god of the other world. The first part of his name is identical with Aram, and, therefore, Aramazd should have inevitably assumed the traits of Aram. As we have seen, that is the case: Aramazd was called "thunderous," one of the components of his complex figure originated from Teššub, and so he was in a certain respect identical with Aram.

90 Van-der-Verden 1991: 195.

91 Alishan 1895: 124.

92 RLA 9: 222.

93 Petrosyan 2002: 58, 161.

It is probable that the great god of the source of the Euphrates, the oldest predecessor of the father of gods Aramazd, was none other than the primordial figure of Hayk. The complex figure of Aramazd also included in himself the thunder god of Kummaha, i.e., the local Teššub, as well as the latter's Armenian counterpart Aram and perhaps other characters too.⁹⁴

The only known heroine of the ethnogenic tradition is Šamiram-Semiramis, who figures in the folklore of many peoples. She is usually considered a mythicized reflection of the historical queen Šammuramat, the wife of the Assyrian King Šamši-Adad V (ruled 811-808 BC). Nevertheless, she was probably of Palestinian origin, and her name was one of the epithets of the Syrian goddess Anat: *šamīm ramīm* ("high sky").⁹⁵ In Armenian folklore, Šamiram was regarded as the epicized version of Anahit and Astlik.⁹⁶ As we have seen, Nanē, too, was related to Šamiram. Thus, Šamiram seems to be the epicized version of the earliest Armenian mother goddess, whose character later split into three goddesses.

The Indo-European Legacy

As already stated above, the Song of Vahagn is considered to be a striking example of Indo-European poetry. Late manifestations of the Indo-European poetic tradition are also the fragments of preserved formulas.⁹⁷

94 Petrosyan 2006b. The hypothesis about Hayk being the eponym of Hayaša was proposed by H. Manandian: see Manandyan 1984: 557 ff. According to G. Kapantsyan, the Hayašan U.GUR is associated with the Armenian Ara the Handsome: see Kapantsyan 1956: 89.

95 Weinfeld 1991.

96 For the connections between Šamiram and Armenian goddesses, see especially Abeghian VII: 156-162:

97 Harutyunyan 1987: 50, 53. Cf. e.g. the probable figura etymologica in the formula *ari ararič* "brave/manly creator" (Aramazd) (Agat'angelos 68). *Ari* represents, probably, a conflation (cf. **aryo-* "lord, master" and **Hner-* "man"), thus *ari Aramazd* is comparable with the Luwian *ariyaddalis* ^D*IM-anza* (thunder god) and Greek *areios Zeus*, see Petrosyan 2002: 131; for the Luwian and Greek for-

The characteristics of Armenian gods are comparable with the three Dumézilian "functions" of Indo-European mythology: sovereignty, war, and fertility. Aramazd is the sovereign of the gods, Vahagn is the god of war and valor, and Mihr's epic heir Mher the Younger will be reborn when the world becomes more fertile. The central personages of the Armenian ethnogonic tradition – Hayk, Aram, and Ara the Handsome – the epicized figures of primordial Armenian gods, as demonstrated by S. Ahyan and G. Dumézil, represent the same functions respectively.⁹⁸ Other Indo-European associations, too, can be revealed in the Armenian ethnogonic tradition.⁹⁹

As mentioned above, the cemetery of the Armenian kings was in Ani-Kamax, Aramazd's cult center. On the other hand, Gregory the Illuminator and his successors were buried in T'ordan, close to Ani-Kamax, in the cult center of Baršamin (Xorenac'i II.91; III.11, 14). Probably, this division continued the old pagan tradition dividing secular and religious powers between these two gods. Thus, they could have represented the royal and the priestly aspects of Dumézil's first function. It is interesting that the priestly function is connected with a god bearing a Semitic name. The word *k'urm* "priest," too, is of Semitic origin, which fact can give some basis for corresponding suppositions about certain Semitic relations of the Armenian priesthood.

Comparatively recently, one more, the "fourth function," has been searched for in Indo-European mythology, focused on "otherness" and related to the realm of death.¹⁰⁰ Tir, the pagan predecessor of the angel of death, quite fits this role.

Anahit, Nanē, and Astlik were identified with the Greek Artemis, Athena, and Aphrodite respectively. Anahit, as the great mother-goddess and wife of Aramazd, may be associated with the first function;

mulas: Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984: 755, n. 1; Kazanas 2001: 277.

98 Ahyan 1982 ; Dumézil 1994: 133-141.

99 Petrosyan 2002; Petrosyan 2007a: 30-31; Petrosyan 2007b.

100 Allen 1987; Allen 1996 etc.

Athena was the goddess of war (second function); while Aphrodite was the goddess of love and fertility (third function) (cf. Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite).¹⁰¹ So, these three can be regarded as the three hypostases of the Indo-European "transfunctional" goddess.

The Interrelation of the Armenian and Iranian Religions

There are strong foreign influences over many of the ancient religious and mythological systems of the world (e.g., Akkadian, Hittite, Greek, Roman, etc.). The foreign, especially Iranian, influence on the Armenian heathen religion, too, is obvious. According to Strabo (XI.4.16), the Armenians worshipped the gods of the Persians and performed all their rites (by "Persians," perhaps the ethnic element dominating in Iran at that time, the Parthians, are meant). And this was before the Arsacids ascended the Armenian throne, although it is well-known that the greatest Iranian influence upon the Armenian language and culture goes back to the Arsacid period.

Already from the Achaemenian epoch, the Armenian kings and princes bore Iranian names of religious nature, and later, the same was true with the Artaxiads and Arsacids. Already in the Achaemenian epoch, the Armenian religion must have undergone Iranian influence. Since the Artaxiads were hellenophiles, they probably became the apologists of the hellenization of the Armenian gods. The Parthian Arsacids, after coming into possession of the Armenian throne, undoubtedly contributed to the Iranian influence. Thus, it was the Armenian ruling elite that furthered the Iranian and Greek influences over the Armenian religion. On the other hand, however, there was the influence of "lower," popular beliefs on the religion of the ruling class. Even the kings of the Arsacid dynasty in Armenia adopted some local traditions.

Besides theonyms, many important Armenian terms pertaining to

¹⁰¹ For a similar functional interpretation of the triad Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite, see Dumézil 1968: 580-586.

religion and beliefs are of Iranian origin, and some of them passed into Christianity.¹⁰² It is obvious that together with theonyms and religious terms, certain Iranian religious ideas were also borrowed. Nevertheless, the differences between the Armenian and Iranian religions were of systematic character, and the Armenian religion could not be regarded as merely a local manifestation of Zoroastrianism. Polytheism was characteristic of the Armenian religion, and the pantheon was organized in accordance with the "family principle." Idolatry was specific, and the Armenian priests were absolutely different from the Iranian magi. Finally, there was no antipode of Ahura Mazda, which is a radical difference from Zoroastrianism. These facts were already noted by H. Gelzer, A. Meillet, H. Tashyan, A. Matikian, G. Kapantsyan, K. Trever, G. Sargsyan, et al. Moreover, some Armenian-Iranian shared features are typological, while others came from the Ancient Eastern cultural substratum and common Indo-European heritage.

The goal of the present study was to demonstrate that, in the Armenian pantheon, the old local cults continued to exist under their new, mainly Iranian, names. The introduction of Iranian theonyms into the Armenian religion took place in the same way as in other cases of religious influences: cults with new names were applied to existing old cults, which were brought to some correspondence with them. As a result of that transmission, the old figures were in fact just renamed, preserving their old characteristics. The former structure of the pantheon was also preserved, in most cases, thanks to the location of the cults with new names in old places of worship.

Thus, the Iranian influence on the Armenian pre-Christian religion and pantheon was in fact weaker than it has been supposed, and it was mainly expressed in religious terms and theonyms. Let us recall that reli-

102 For example, *bagin* "altar," *zoh* "sacrifice," *paštem* "to worship," *xostovanem* "to confess," *ōrhnem* "to bless," *nzovem* "to anathematize," *draxt* "paradise," *džoxk* "hell," *hreštak* "angel," *dew* "demon," *hmayem* "to bewitch," *kaxard* "witch," *margarē* "prophet," *hrašk* "miracle," *hreš* "monster," etc.: see Djahukian 1987: 576.

gious transformations may be regarded as "terminological and onomastic revolutions." Such a "revolution" took place in Armenia under the Iranian influence (there was also the Hellenistic, weaker, influence, only on an onomastic level). Those influences did not considerably transform the steady features of the old pantheon: its structure, the geography of cults, and the functional characteristics of gods.

The "Eastern Hittites" in the South and East of the Armenian Highland?*

We have nothing about the languages of the earliest inhabitants of the Armenian Highland except for their onomastics attested to in cuneiform (mainly in Urartian) sources. For our problem especially the place names are indicative, because the other components of the onomastics (e.g., personal names) are less known and, moreover, could belong to the incomers. It should be noted also that while the names derived from any language are indicative of the presence of that language in a territory (at least once), the small number of such names could not be considered as a negative (e.g., in late Hittite onomastics, the Hittite element is inconsiderable in number).¹

The East of Lake Van

The name of the Urartian sun god is usually rendered ideographically as ^DUTU(^ŠI) and only four times is presented as *Ši-ú-i-ni*, *Ši-i-ú-i-ni*, which has long been juxtaposed with the Hurrian sun god *Šimige*.² The Urartian pantheon is essentially different from that of the Hurrians.³ The most striking homogeneity is the leading role of the storm god and the sun god (next to the supreme god Haldi). The Urartian storm god *Teišeba* is an indubitable equivalent of the Hurrian *Tešub*, which

* First published as Petrosyan 2009a.

I wish to thank Jaan Puhvel for his important and thoughtful comments on an earlier version of this paper.

1 Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984: 913.

2 Friedrich 1940: 217 f.

3 Diakonoff 1981a: 83.

might be regarded as a corroborant of the etymological association between Šiwini and Šimige. Nevertheless, as has repeatedly been stressed by I.M. Diakonoff, these theonyms may not be regarded as two related reflexes of a common Hurro-Urartian prototype, because 1) there are no *-m-* / *-w-* correspondences in Hurrian and Urartian; 2) native Urart. *Šiwinə* would result in *Šīnə* (cf., e.g., Hurr. *šawal-* ‘year’ and Urart. *šālə* ‘idem’). So these are two different words, and Urart. Šiwini is likely to be a borrowing, cf. Hitt. *šiu-* (*šiuu-*, *šiuuna/i-*) ‘god’ < *‘sun god,’ from the Indo-European **dyeu-* ‘god of bright sky.’⁴ However, some scholars continue to present Šiwini as the Urartian cognate of Šimige, which may be regarded as a reflection of their aspiration to emphasize the Hurro-Urartian common heritage.⁵

IE **dyeu-* yielded cuneiform *šiu-* only in Hittite, cf. Luw. *Tuat-*, Pal. *Tiyat-* ‘sun god.’ The Hittites worshiped the sun god under a borrowed name (Hitt. *Ištanu-* < Hatt. *Eštan*)⁶. Diakonoff claims that Urart. *Šiwinini* was borrowed from a Hittite dialect different from the literary Hittite, in which survived the indigenous name of the sun god. According to V.V. Ivanov, Šiwini was borrowed from Hittite in early pre-written period, when *šiuini* meant ‘Sun god’ (prior to the time of the borrowing of the Hattian name for the god).⁷

The cult center of Šiwini and his wife Țušpuea was Țušpa, the capital city of Urartu on the eastern shore of Lake Van (modern Van; cf. Arm. *Tosp*, Gn. *Tospay* ‘area of the city of Van’). In Hittite and Palaic mythologies, the sun rises from the sea. On this basis it has been inferred that the early Hittite homeland could have been situated on the shores of either the Caspian Sea or the lakes of Urmia or Van, so the cult center of Šiwini to the east of Lake Van indicated the original Hittite home.⁸

4 Diakonoff 1971: 81; Diakonoff 1988: 172, 240.

5 See, e.g., Khachikyan 1985: 48, 50; Salvini 1995: 39, 183 f.

6 See the discussion in HED 1-2: 467.

7 Ivanov 1980: 136; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984: 897.

8 Ivanov 1980: 136; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984: 896; for a criticism of this view, see Steiner 1981: 189-193.

In the folk beliefs of the Armenians of Van, the sun is represented as a fire-haired youth with golden head that rises from the eastern mountains and goes down into Lake Van.⁹ This brings to mind (but does not coincide with) the Hittite and Palaic mythological idea of the sun rising from the sea. In Armenian onomastics of the Van area, an Armenized version of Šiwini could have survived in the name of the ancient fortress of Sewan (cf. also Hitt. *šiwanna* ‘divine’), mentioned by the 10th century historians T’ovma Arcruni and Yovhannes Draxanakertcci, later Turk. Seyvan-kala, some 30 km to the east of Van (Urtat. cuneiform š usually represents *s*, which also holds true for Hitt. *š*).

The Armenian name for the endemic fish of Lake Van *tarëx* or *tarex* (*Chalcalburnus tarichi*), usually served kippered, coincides with Greek *tārīchos* ‘smoked fish, mummy’ of obscure origin. The latter may be related with *tarchýō* ‘to give a solemn funeral to’, an Anatolian borrowing associated with the name of the Anatolian thunder god Tarhu-, conveying the notion that the deceased is mummified and being treated like a god.¹⁰ The derivation of *tarëx*, known in many dialectal forms, from New Greek does not carry much conviction. In theory, it could be regarded as an ancient word, derived from a local Anatolian substratum and secondarily assimilated to the Greek *tārīchos*, while the latter represents an independent borrowing from a related Anatolian language.

The archaeological culture of pre-Urartian Van region of the 12th-9th centuries B.C. (Early Iron Age) is represented by a number of fortresses and cemeteries. Both the type of fortresses with cyclopean masonry and the grooved decorated pottery show essential links with the north¹¹. What is remarkable is that the earliest forms of costume and

9 Srvandztyantz 1978: 76-77; Abeghian 1975: 41-42; Harutyunyan 2000: 44 f.

10 For those words, see HAB IV: 377; DELG: 1094 f.; Nagy 1990: 131 ff., 139, n. 70; Ivanov 1990: 6; Tsymbursky 2007.

11 Belli, Konyar 2003: 126 f. For the consideration of the problems of Early Iron Age in Van Lake region, see also Belli 2001; Sevin 2003; Sevin 2004; Zimansky 2001: 18; for the fortresses around Van Lake and Transcaucasia, Reinhold 2009. For this footnote, I am indebted to Arsen Bobokhyan.

arms of Urartu were closely akin to those of the Hittites.¹²

Ṭušpa-Van became the capital of Urartu during the reign of Sarduri I (c. 835-824 B.C.). The Urartians, i.e., the native speakers of the Urartian language, probably came into the Van area from the south.¹³ In all probability they could not have been at all numerous. The later "Urartian" population of this area was largely transplanted by the Urartian kings from ethnically heterogeneous parts of the kingdom.¹⁴

Obviously, Šiwini was the main god of the local population of the East of Lake Van. However, he figured as the third member of the triad of the great gods of Urartu, next to the supreme god Haldi and weather god Teišeba, whose cult centers Ardini and Qumenu were located way down south, beyond the borders of Urartu. Moreover, the other principal gods of Urartu were derived from the same southern regions.¹⁵ Thus, Šiwini would have been the god of the local Hittite-related population dominated by the southern newcomers.

Urartu represents the Assyrian name of the ancient kingdom of Van. In Urartian inscriptions it is called *Bia(i)nili* / *Via(i)nelə*, *V(y)ânelə*/¹⁶ (usually attested in oblique cases: *Biaina*, *Bianaidi*, *Biane*, *Biainaue*, etc.). *Bia(i)nili*, most probably, would denominate the central region of the Van kingdom, the area of the capital city of Van-Ṭušpa and its surroundings. The Armenian toponym *Van* itself is derived from the Urartian *V(y)ana*.¹⁷ *Via(i)nelə* can be interpreted as pl. 'Viaine-s' / 'Viâne-s' (with the plural marker *-li*) or '[the land of] Vya-s' (with the genitive marker *-ey*, correlative particle *-ni* and plural marker *-li*). There are no data that *Bia(i)nili* was the self-appellation of the Urartians (according to Diakonoff, the Urartians called themselves *Šuri*, pl. *Šuri-li*).¹⁸ Thus,

12 Piotrovskij 1962: 29.

13 See e.g., Melikishvili 1947; Harutyunyan 1970: 17; Salvini 1995: 18 ff.

14 Zimansky 1995; Zimansky 2001; Zimansky and Stone 2003.

15 Grekyan 2006: 172 ff.

16 Khachikyan 1985: 38, 134.

17 See, e.g., Khachikyan 1985: 134, KUKN: 501.

18 See, e.g., Diakonoff 1992: 53.

Biainili could have been the name of the Van area in the language of the original non-Urartian inhabitants of the east of Lake Van.

The north of the Van area, i.e., the north-eastern shores of Lake Van, the Gnunik^c district, in early medieval times was the domain of the royal cup-bearers of the Armenian kings, the Gnuni princely family (this area was known as one of the important centers of viniculture). The cognomen and toponym *Gnuni* is derived from Arm. *gini* ‘wine,’ with the suffix *-uni*: *Gini-uni* > *Gnuni*.¹⁹ Accordingly, Biaini-li/ Biani-li (read as /*Viāəne-*/, /*Viāēne-*/ or /*Viane-*/) may be regarded as the Urartian rendering of the Hittite *wiyana* ‘wine,’ with plural marker *-li* ‘[the land of] wines’²⁰ (in Urartian the final vowel is reduced to *ə*, so this word would have been represented as *biani/e-*). Another characteristic Hittite toponym may be the country name Arma, attested on a bulla from Ayanis,²¹ and probably located in the Van area, which coincides with the Hittite-Luwian *arma-* ‘moon, moon god.’²² Thus, in the Van area some traces of worship of three essential Hittite gods – the sun god Šiw-, the moon god Arma-, and the thunder god Tarhu- – probably survived.

Lake Sevan and Ararat Plain

In the east of the Armenian Highland, Sewan was the name of the island and its unassailable fortress to the northeast of Lake Gełamay, which later extended over the whole lake (modern Lake Sevan). This

19 For the position and name of the Gnuni family, see Xorenacci II.8 (Thomson 1978: 138).

20 For this interpretation of Biainili, see S. Petrosyan 1999: 188. For a similar toponymic situation in the area of Melid/Malatya, cf. HED 6: 101.

21 Salvini 2001: 284, fn. 15. This toponym could be an abbreviation (cf. the city name Armaṭeunie, Salvini 2001: 257).

22 It should be noted that Arma and Armaṭeunie are attested from the late Urartian epoch (the 7th century B.C.) and could have been derived from the languages of the population transplanted in the Van area by the Urartian kings from the western, Anatolian-speaking regions. Two of them (Salvini 2001: 257) may evidence for such a possibility: Našiehina – cf. Hitt. *našili* ‘Hittite language,’ and Luianihina – ‘Luwian’ (?), with Urartian suffixation.

name may also be considered in the context of the Hittite idea of the sun rising from the sea. Sewan is inseparable from the name of the province of *Siwnik^c* (= *Sewnik^c*) pl. 'Siwnians',²³ which included Lake Sevan, its mountainous surroundings and southern territories as far as the river Araxes (the Gełark^cunik^c, Vayoc^c jor and Siwnik^c regions of the modern Republic of Armenia). The Arc^cax province to the east of Siwnik^c, modern Mountainous Karabakh (Russ. *Nagorno-Karabakh*) was ethnically and historically associated with Siwnik^c and otherwise called Little Siwnik^c.

Significantly, Siwnik^c is a focus of the ethno-toponyms associated with the sun (Arm. *arew*, *areg*, frequently compared with Hitt. *harwanai* 'get light'),²⁴ e.g.:

Areguni 'Sunward' (or: Arewik^c 'Arewians'): a mountain range to the northeast of Lake Sewan and the surrounding district;

Arewis (Acc. pl. 'Arewians'): a village in the Sisian district to the south of Lake Sewan;

Arewisabak 'Yard of Arewis:' a village to the south-east of Lake Sewan;

Arewik^c 'Arewians:' the southernmost district of Siwnik^c and a mountain range. The district was called also Arewēac^c tun 'House/land of the Arewians.'²⁵

The ethnonymic *Arewik^c* 'Arewians' indicate that the inhabitants of this region were somehow associated with the sun. In an Urartian inscription found near the village Arewis ^DUTU 'sun god' is mentioned in

23 Ališan 1893: 6. For the ew/iw variation in Armenian, cf. the doublets *alewr/aliwr* 'flour,' *gewł/giwl* 'village,' *albewr/albiwr* 'spring, source,' etc.

24 HED s.v.

25 The toponyms and their localizations are adduced from HTB I. Many of the toponyms with the plural marker *-k^c* (and their accusative forms with *-s*) are derived from the ethnonyms (cf. *Hayk^c* 'Armenians, Armenia,' *Virk^c* 'Georgians, Georgia' etc.; in early historic times the Armenians of Siwnik^c and surroundings constituted a distinctive ethnographic group). There are other related toponyms in Siwnik^c, e.g. Arewabul 'Sun's hill' (?), Arewik 'Little sun' etc.

an obscure phrase,²⁶ and it is possible that this locality was dedicated to the sun god from high antiquity. *Arew* ‘Sun’ as a personal name in Siwni princely family is attested since the beginning of the Armenian writing in the 5th century AD; some cognate anthroponyms – Arewik, Arewhat, etc. – are also concentrated in Siwnik^c.²⁷

Siwnik^c and Sewan lack accepted etymologies. It seems probable that Siwnik^c (**Siw-n-iyā*) would originally mean ‘the tribe and land of the Siwnians,’ derived from the Hittite theonym *Siw-n-*, which was translated into Armenian as *Arewik^c* ‘the tribe and land of the Arewians (sun worshippers).’

The greatly appreciated in gastronomy endemic trout of Lake Sevan (*Salmo ischan*) is called *išxan* ‘ruler, lord, prince; great, mighty’ (cf. *išxem* ‘to rule’). This term a long while ago was etymologized from Hitt. *išha-*, *ešha-* ‘master, lord’ (cuneiform *h=x*).²⁸ Hitt. *išha-* is frequently addressed to deities of both sexes, the sun god among the number, and probably originated in religious language (cf., e.g., ^DUTU-*e išha-mi handanza hannešnaš išhaš* ‘sun god, my lord, righteous lord of judgment’).²⁹ Thus, Arm. *Sewan* and *išxan* would eventually reflect the words of the original Hittite formula *šiu-* (‘god’ < ‘sun god’) & *išha-*.

In the late Babylonian tradition Urartu occurs as Uraštu (e.g., in the Akkadian version of the Behistun inscription of Darius I), which is considered to have survived in the Armenian name of the *Řštunik^c* dis-

26 KUKN № 411, reverse side 21.

27 HAnB, s.v.v.

28 The authorities, mentioning Hitt. *išha-*, prefer Iranian etymologies for these Armenian words, cf. Avest. *xša(y)-* ‘to rule’ (HAB s.v.; Kapantsyan 1961: 204-205; Greppin 1982; Djahukian 1987: 319, 526; HED s.v.; see also the discussion in Drews 2001: 79-80). Nevertheless, L. Hovhannisyán (1990: 224 f.), on the basis of a detailed analysis of *išxem* and *išxan* concludes that their Hittite or, anyhow, Anatolian origin is most probable. He stresses, inter alia, the point that the Iranian initial *xš-* in Armenian borrowings is represented only as *ašx-*, while *išxem* and *išxan* are the only Armenian words with the initial *išx-*.

29 HED II: 385, 390.

trict on the south-eastern shore of Lake Van.³⁰ The “father of Armenian historiography” Movsēs Xorenacⁱ, relating the origins of the princely houses of Armenia, says he has found it said that the Řštuni rulers “are truly branches” of the princely family of Siwnik^c.³¹ It is not inconceivable that this folk genealogy reflects the fact of the ethnic connections of the ancient population of the Van area with Siwnik^c.

The names of Sewan and Siwnik^c are not attested in Urartian inscriptions. Nevertheless, it is possible that the presumable Hittite-related worshipers of the sun god inhabited this region in pre-Urartian times. “On the other side” of Lake Sevan the land *Piruaini* is mentioned,³² which may be associated with the Hittite horseman god Pirua³³ (the *-ini* ending is peculiar to the ethno-toponyms of the “other side” of Sevan).³⁴

The name of the first Armenian capital Armawir (about 100 km to the west of Lake Sevan), which is incomprehensible in Armenian and neighboring languages, seems to be Hittite. It is attested from post-Urartian times, in Greek and Armenian, yet nevertheless, it can be of early origin. In Urartian times Armawir constituted the eastern part of the city of Argištihinili, built by Argišti I in 776 BC. However, according to archaeological data, the hill of Armawir, inhabited since the fourth millennium BC, was an important religious center in pre-Urartian times (see below). For the first part of this name cf. *arma-* ‘moon, moon god’ known in Hittite, Luwian, Hieroglyphic Luwian, Lycian and Lydian languages; for the second: Hitt. *pir*, Lyd. *bira* ‘house,’ in religious sphere:

30 Piotrovskij 1944: 31.

31 Xorenacci II.8 (Thomson 1978: 143).

32 KUKN № 389; UKN I: 329, n.7; Salvini 2002: 56, n. 93 (the reading Turuaini is considered less probable).

33 For this god, see Haas 1994: 412 ff.; cf. Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984: 546.

34 Of course, this does not exclude the presence of other, unrelated tribes in the region, cf. e.g., the toponym Tarzuaini, identifiable with Hurr. *taršuwani* (= *tarzuwani*) ‘humanity’ (the meaning ‘man, human’ is most characteristic for the archaic ethnonyms; cf. also the toponym Tarzu’ana-na = Tarzuwana-na in a Hurrian region to the south of Lake Urmia, see KUKN: 524).

‘god’s house, temple,’ where *-w-* is the most expectable reflex of the intervocalic *-p-* (positional *b/p > w* change is characteristic of Armenian, Uartian and some other ancient languages of Asia Minor, including Lydian). Notably, in the other Anatolian languages this stem appears in different forms, cf. Luv. *parna-* (this form is known in Hittite as well) and Lyc. *prnna*, thus this name cannot be of Luwian origin.

For this etymology, too, some arguments can be adduced. According to the ethnogonic myth, Armawir was founded by the grandson of the forefather of the Armenians Hayk Aramays/Armayis who “called it after his own name” (Khorentsi I.12; Sebeos I, see in Thomson 1978). This name is comparable with the Lycian *Armais* (attested in Greek), identified with the Anatolian *arma-* ‘moon (god).’³⁵ Remarkably, in ancient Armenian tradition, the moon god is attested only once, just in connection with Armawir. The legendary (historically nonexistent) Armenian king Vałaršak “built a temple in Armawir and erected statues for the sun and moon and his own ancestors” (Khorenatsi II.8). Later those statues of the sun and moon gods were replaced by the Greek statues of Apollo and Artemis, respectively (Khorenatsi II.12). A thorough examination shows that the temple of the sun god would have been situated on the root of the hill of Armawir.³⁶ It might be inferred that the statue of the moon god or the temple that comprised it was situated on the top or the slopes of the hill. Significantly, on the eastern slope of the hill an archaic pre-Uartian temple complex is revealed.³⁷ It could have been dedicated to the moon god who eponymized the hill and the city around it. For the interpretation of the second part of Armawir, cf. Khorenatsi’s and Sebeos’ information on its foundation: Aramays built Armawir as his *tun bnakut^cean* ‘house for habitation.’

Thus, in the Sevan region and Ararat valley, too, one can find traces of the worship of three Hittite gods: Šiw-, Pirua and Arma.

35 Howink ten Cate, P. 1961: 132. For the comparison of these names, see Djahukian 1981: 53; Armais is known in Greco-Egyptian tradition as well, on which, in this connection, see Petrosyan 2002: 83, 108, 196.

36 Trever 1953: 104 ff.

37 Karapetyan et al. 2004: 268 ff.

Conclusion

It may be assumed that in pre-Urartian times some groups of the populations of the Van and Sevan areas and surroundings who may be characterized as the worshipers of the sun god Šiwini were ethnically related to each other. There is some reason to think that they were of an Anatolian, Hittite-related descent. During the second millennium B.C. the western regions of the Armenian Highland, such as the kingdoms of Alzi, Išuwa and Hayaša-Azzi, unlike the eastern ones, were under considerable Hittite influence. Nevertheless, the supposed Hittite-related population of the eastern regions can be distinguished from the Hittites and tentatively denominated "Eastern Hittites" (the theonymic Šiw- 'sun god' which was lost in pre-literate Hittite, as well as the absence of archaeological connections of the considered regions with the west evidence that they could not have been migrants from the west, the Hittite regions). The Hittite-related dialect(s) of this population could have been the source of some Anatolian borrowings in Armenian.³⁸ Moreover, they could have formed the articulation basis of some southern and eastern Armenian dialects.³⁹

38 For the Hittite borrowings in Armenian, see Djahukian 1987: 312 ff., with bibliography.

39 In Hittite orthography, there is no opposition of the voiced and voiceless consonants (e.g., *d:t*), but rather, of the simple consonants versus geminates (e.g., *t:tt*), probably pointing to a phonological contrast of lax : tense (lenis : fortis), respectively (see, e.g., Watkins 2004: 555). The consonantal system of the Karabagh / Siwnik^c, Shamakhi, Nakhijevan, Persarmenia, Maragha, Xoy, and Van dialects, which cover a large territory from the Caspian Sea to the basins of Urmia and Van lakes (i.e., the east and south east of the Armenian Highland), are somewhat comparable to that of Hittite (in those dialects, the voiced consonants become voiceless and the phonemic system contains the opposition of unaspirated versus aspirated voiceless stops, e.g., *t:t^c* [= *t^h*], see, e.g., Acharyan 1951: 331 ff.).

The Armenian Elements in the Language and Onomastics of Urartu*

Several scholars tried to identify the linguistic traces of the Armenian ethnic element in Ancient Near East. The most significant are G.Djahukian's works, where he systematically examines the borrowings of Armenian from ancient cuneiform languages, shows that it is possible for some cuneiform languages to have borrowings from earliest (Proto-) Armenian and that numerous ancient names of the Armenian Highland and adjacent regions can be etymologized in Armenian.¹ Furthermore, important are the examples and arguments adduced by I.Diakonoff as he as no other was familiar with the ancient cultures and languages of the region.²

The following question is essential: were there speakers of the earliest Armenian language in the Armenian Highland in the pre-Urartian period (i.e. before the mid – 9th century BC) or did they appear there during the existence or after the fall of Urartu? If we show that there is at least one borrowing in Urartian from Armenian and that some place and personal names mentioned in the Urartian sources have Armenian origins then we can say that Armenian was spoken along with Urartian in the Armenian Highland.

Here I will present a few indicative examples from the dozens adduced by various authors.³

* First published as Petrosyan 2010: 133-140.

1 Djahukian 1963: 133; Djahukian 1984: 369; Djahukian 1986; Djahukian 1987: 312-321, 417-474; Djahukian 1988: 148-161, Djahukian 1988a; Djahukian 1992; Djahukian 1992a: 34-38, 53-59.

2 Diakonoff 1967: 135; Diakonoff 1985: 602f.; Diakonoff 1992.

3 See Petrosyan 2007b: 32-34.

Appellatives

1. The Armenian conjunction *ew* ‘and’ originates from the Indo-European **epi-* (> **ewi* > *ew*). The native origin of the conjunction is beyond all doubt. It is borrowed in Urartian, where it appears as *eue*, *e’a* (to read: *ewa*), *eia*, *eai* (the two last forms are the results of a development peculiar to Urartian). They are known from the first Urartian records of the last quarter of the 9th century BC.⁴ Hence, Urartian has been in contact with Armenian prior to this. In order to show that this conjunction is borrowed from Armenian, Diakonoff notes that it is not known in earlier attested Hurrian and other North-Eastern Caucasian languages (which are considered to be related with Hurro-Urartian). Hurrian is an ergative language and does not use non-affixed conjunctions. There exists a good analogy: another ancient ergative language, Old Sumerian, does not have non-affixed conjunctions, but Neo-Sumerian has acquired a new conjunction *u* ‘and’ from Akkadian with which it co-existed.⁵

2. Urart. *ulguše* (probable reading: *olyosə*, where the ending *-(o)sə* is an abstract word-forming Urartian suffix) ‘health, well being, the being alive’ corresponds to Arm. *olj* ‘whole, alive,’ which presents the earliest Armenian **olyo-*, the regular Armenian reflex of Indo-European **sol-yo-* (or **olyo-*) ‘whole.’ For the *y>j* change cf. Arm. *sterj* ‘barren, sterile’ < **steryo-*.⁶

3. Urart. *Aršibi/arcivə/* (Urart. *b* frequently represents *v/w*), the name of the horse of King Minua, presumably ‘Eagle.’ This name is the same as Arm. *arcui* < **arciwi*, the regular cognate of Ind. *ṛjipyā-*, an epithet of both the eagle and mythological stallion, Avest. *ərəzifā-* ‘eagle,’ Gk. *aigypios* < **argipios* ‘vulture’ (Indo-European **rg’ipiyo-* ‘swift/sharp-winged’). Djahukian and others regard this name as borrowed from Armenian, while Diakonoff considers as probable both the native

4 KUKN: 442.

5 Diakonoff 1992: 52-53.

6 Diakonoff 1985: 603; for the possible Indo-European protoforms of *olj*, see Djahukian 1987: 193; Martirosyan 2010, s.v.

Armenian and Caucasian/Hurro-Urartian origins of this word.⁷ However, according to C. Watkins, the phonology of Arm. *arcui* ‘eagle’ and the system of its epithets “suggest that the Armenian word is native and genuine,” cf. Arm. *c* vs IE *g*’, Avest. *z* and Ind. *j*. Moreover, the Armenian expression *arcui srat* ‘ew’ ‘sharp-winged eagle,’ known from ancient sources⁸ (cf. especially Xorenac‘i II, 50, where it is applied to the “black horseman” king Artasēs) represents the Armenian reflex of an Indo-European poetic formula, cf. Lat. *accipiter* ‘hawk,’ lit. ‘sharp-winged,’ etc.⁹ Note that Urart. Aršibi, in spite of Lamberterie’s and Watkins’ claim, may not be considered a Hurro-Urartian borrowing from “an Indic horse cult” because in Armeno-Urartian lexical and onomastical coincidences Urart. *ṣ* corresponds only to Arm. *c*, the regular Armenian reflex of the Indo-European *g*’ (see below), while the Aryan forms with *z* and *j* would have been transliterated with the cuneiform *zi* (cf. especially Urart. toponym Zabaha = Arm. *Ĵawax-k*’, where Arm. *ĵ* = Ind. *j* is rendered as *z*).

4. Urart. *burgana(ni)* ‘fortress, castle; column (?),’ coincides with Arm. *burgn* < *burgan-* ‘tower, pyramid’ (*-ni* is a common Hurro-Urartian suffix). These words have obvious parallels in several languages (Gk. *púrgos* ‘tower,’ Germ. *Burg* ‘castle,’ Syriac *būrgā* ‘tower,’ etc.). The Greek, Syriac and Armenian/Urartian words have been considered to be derived from an ancient Indo-European *centum* language.¹⁰ On the other hand, the Armenian word often has been considered as a Hurro-Urartian borrowing.¹¹ However, Diakonoff claims that: 1. the word is not attested in Hurrian and therefore cannot be proved to be originally Hurro-Urartian; 2. the regular Armenian reflex of Urart. *burgana* would have been

7 Diakonoff 1985: 602; Diakonoff and Starostin 1988: 184.

8 NHB 1: 756.

9 Watkins 1995: 71. Thus, the identical terms of the Kartvelian and Northern Caucasian languages are to be derived from Armenian (Georg. *arciw-*, Chechen. *ārzu*, Batzb. *arc’ib*, Lak. *b-arzu*, etc.). Note also that would have been divinized in Urartu, cf. the Urartian theonym Aršibedi-ni which may be interpreted as Arm. *arcui + di-* ‘eagle god’ (Djahukian 1986: 49).

10 HAB I: 488; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984: 744 f.

11 See e.g. Djahukian 1987: 253 f.

not *burgn*, but *brgan*; the Arm. *burgn* holds a place in the system of Armenian reflexes of the Indo-European **bhṛg'h-/bhṛgh-* ‘high, mountain’ (*barj-r-* ‘high,’ *baṛnam* ‘to lift, load’), similarly to the reflexes of **dhr̥g'h-/dhr̥gh-* ‘turn’ (cf. Arm. *darj* ‘turn,’ *daṛnam* ‘to turn,’ *durngn*, gen. *drgan* ‘potter’s wheel’); 3. Urart. *burgana-* apparently does not mean ‘tower.’ Diakonoff concludes that Arm. *burgn*, gen. *brgan* should be derived from **bhṛg'h-/bhṛgh-* (as a normal parallel to Arm. *durngn*). Initially it was a word for a specific vertical object, like a stela or a column, which was borrowed into Urartian.¹²

5. Urart. *qab/purza(ni)* ‘bridge’ (?), attested in a newfound inscription of Argišti II,¹³ represents an obvious parallel to Arm. *kamurj*, a-stem ‘id.’ Thus, the Urartian word should be read /*kawurja*/. These words have parallels in many languages: Hatt. *ḫamuru(wa)* ‘beam,’ Gk *géphūra* ‘beam; bridge,’ Georg. dialect *kiporči* (probably, a loan from an early Armenian dialect) ‘a log that serves as a bridge,’ Turkic **köpür / *köp(ü) rüg* ‘bridge,’ Abkhaz **q^wəmbər-* ‘beam,’ etc., and is considered to be a “Mediterranean” or “Mediterranean-Pontic” cultural term.¹⁴ According to H. Acharyan, the comparison with Gk *géphūra* shows that an earlier form of the Armenian word would have been **kawurj-a*; *kamurj* represents a result of an obscure development (an unknown law?) or popular etymology.¹⁵ H. Martirosyan postulates the Mediterranean-Pontic **g/q^wə(m)b^hər* ‘beam,’ which yielded Proto-Greeko-Armenian suffixed form **g^wə(m)bur-i(e)h₂-* ‘beam, log serving as a bridge.’ In Armenian, it had two reflexes: **kəm(m)ur-j* > *kamurj*, and **kəbur-j* (> Georg. **kəpurj* > dial. *kiporči*). The latter would yield **kaburj-a* > **kawurj*.

The *-j(a)* ending, peculiar only to Armenian, would have been derived from the Indo-European suffix **-yā = i(e)h₂* (cf. *olj* < **(s)olyo-*, see above). The Urartian *qab/purza-* (to read: *kawurja*; for the rendering

12 Diakonoff 1985: 602 f., with bibliography; Djahukian considers *durngn* as a dialectal form: Djahukian 1987: 253 f.; see also Martirosyan 2010, s.v.

13 Salvini 2008: 545 f.

14 Djahukian 1987: 308, 310; Martirosyan 2010 s.v.

15 HAB II: 502f.

of *ĵa* as cuneiform *za*, cf. Urart. toponym Zabaḫa = Arm. pl. Ĵawax-k‘) coincides with the reconstructed Armenian **kabwurĵ-a* and is to be borrowed from Armenian. Note that this word would have been borrowed later than *ulguše* (i.e. after the *y > ĵ* change). Thus, Armenian and Urartian would have been in contact for a long time.

Toponyms

1. The river name *Arşania* for the Eastern Euphrates (Turk. Murat-su) corresponds to Arm. *Aracani* < **Arcaniyā*, Gk. Ἄρσανιάς (Harutyunyan 1985: 44). First attested in an Assyrian source in the mid-9th century BC, probably, for the lower streams of the river. Notably, there was a homonymic city to the southwest of Lake Van. In the mentioned newfound Urartian inscription of Argišti II, the upper streams of the river are attested as *Aršiani*,¹⁶ i.e., the river was called by the same stem throughout the length. This name has an apparent Armenian etymology: cf. Indo-European **H₂arg-* ‘bright, white,’ with the reflection *arc-* peculiar to Armenian (cf. e.g. *arcat* ‘silver’), and the suffix *-ani* < **-a-niyā* and **-iyā* for *Aršia-ni* (with the Urartian suffix *-ni*), if it is not a distorted rendering of *Arşania*.¹⁷

2. The Upper (Western) Euphrates in different languages and in different periods has been called: Hitt. *Mala*, Urart. *Melia(ini)*, Gk. Μέλας;¹⁸ cf. Indo-European **mel-* ‘black,’ with the suffix **-iyā*, and the Turkish name of the river: *Kara-su* ‘Black water.’ Significantly, the main tributary of Aracani Melraget has similar appellations: its ancient name is *Mel* (cf. **mel-* ‘black’), while in Turkish it is called *Kara-su*.¹⁹ Evidently, these names reflect certain mythological and cosmological ideas on the black and white contrast, localized along the river Arşania; cf. also *Arcurak*, another Armenian river name derived from **Harg-*

16 Salvini 2008: 545 f.

17 For the Indo-European hydronyms from **Harg-* see e.g. Krahe 1962: 8, n. 2, 31-32.

18 KUKN: 514.

19 Yeremyan 1963: 70.

in the vicinity of Xarberd, the region of the lower streams of Aracani, paired with *Sew getak* ‘Black little River.’²⁰

3. The “royal city” of the first known Urartian king Aramu, Aršašku(nu) may be identified with the Armenian *Arčēš* (Turk. *Erciş*) to the north of Lake Van, etymologized from the Indo-European **Hargʷeskʰo-* (derivative of **H₂argʷ-* ‘bright, white’) > **Arceskʰo-* > *Arčēšo*, Gen. *Arčišoy* (an almost precise rendering of *Arceskʰo* is Assy. *Aršašku-*).²¹ *Arčēš* was the denomination of the northern gulf of Lake Van as well as the whole lake itself (cf. also Gk. Ἄρση(ση)νή/Strabo, 11.14.8/, Arab. *Arjīš* ‘Lake Van’); a city to the north of the lake was called *Arcak* ‘small *Arc*’ (later: *Arcke* = Turk. *Adilcevaz*); moreover, a small lake to the east of Lake Van was called *Arčišak*, later *Arčak* ‘small *Arčēš*,’ Turk. *Erçek*. Thus, this early Urartian capital could have been named (and once populated) by the early Armenians.²²

4. *Ṭuarašinieī ḫubi* ‘Ṭuarašan valley’ corresponds with the Armenian *Tuaracoy tap* ‘*Tuaracatap*’ ‘plain of *tuarac*.’ Located to the north of the upper streams of the river Aršana. Attested in the second quarter of the 8th century BC, may correspond with *Tuarizu* of an Assyrian source of the mid-8th century BC;²³ cf. Arm. *tuarac* ‘graze cattle, cattle-man’ *tuaracatap* ‘place for grazing bull-calves,’ consists of the words *tuar* ‘bull-calf’ and *aracim* ‘graze,’ from which the latter is doubtlessly native Armenian (Indo-European **tregʷ-*); *tuar* is etymologized from the Indo-European **dīpəro-* or Semitic **taur-*.²⁴

20 Srvandztyants 1, 1982: 362. See Petrosyan 2002: 186; Martirosyan 2010: 672.

21 For the change **skʰ > š*, see Djahukian 1984a: 158 ff.; *c > č* change is conditioned by the influence of the terminal *š*, cf. *čanačʷem < *canačem < *gʷen-* ‘to know;’ for *ē* before *š*, cf. *ēš* ‘donkey’ < **ekʷo-* ‘horse;’ for the suffix *-(ē)š < *(e)skʰo-*, cf. e.g., the toponyms Bałałēš (modern Bitlis) and *Muš* (< **muskʰo-*) to the west of Lake Van, see Petrosyan 2002: 72.

22 Petrosyan 2002: 71 ff., with bibliography. For the localization of Aršašku(nu), see Harutyunyan 1985: 34-35; for the Indo-European “white” cities: Petrosyan 2002 : 71 ff.

23 Harutyunyan 1985: 185-186.

24 Djahukian 1988: 154, n. 52; Martirosyan 2010: 684.

Anthroponyms

1. The name of the first Urartian king Aramu (var. Arame, Arama) coincides with the name of the legendary patriarch Aram, the second eponym of Armenia (**Aramo/ā*, with the regular disappearance of the final vowel in Armenian). In Khorenatsi (1.14), he kills the Syrian deified hero Baršam, i.e., the epicized version of the god Baršamin (Syriac *Ba'al Šamin* 'Lord of Heaven'), who was worshiped in Armenia as well. The latter was called *spitakap'ar* 'of white glory' (Agathangelos 784) and his idol was "embelished with ivory, crystal and silver" (Khorenatsi 2.14). In this context, Aram is best comparable with the Indic Rāma (Indo-European **rē-mo-* 'dark, black'). In epic India, the first Rāma-Paraśurāma 'Rāma-with-the-axe'—defeats Arjuna Kārtavīrya, whose name is derived from **Harg'*—'bright, white' (*Mahābhārata* 3.115-116; the story is also told in the *Purānas*). Notably, the name of Mt. Argaeus, where Aram defeats his third, monstrous adversary, is derived from the Hittite version of **Harg'*.²⁵ These myths can be considered in the context of the theme of black and white or dark and light, which appears in the myths and epics elsewhere. Moreover, Aram would represent the epithetal name of the 'black' thunder god who fights with his white adversary.²⁶ His name can be regarded as the regular reflex of **H₂rHmo-* (**H₂rēmo-* and **H₂rōmo-* would yield **Arim* and **Arum*, respectively, and *Arm-* in derivatives and compounds).²⁷ In the ancient traditions of the region, theonyms were frequently used as anthroponyms, cf. Hitt. Telepinus,

25 Laroche 1985: 88-89.

26 Petrosyan 2002: 43 ff.

27 Alternatively, it has been hypothesized that the name of Aramu the Urartian alludes his Aramaean origin; he might have been a "condotier" of Aramaean ancestry; his "royal city" Aršašku(nu) was localized in the basin of Lake Urmia (van Loon 1966: 7; Salvini 1987: 399 f.; Salvini 1995: 27 ff.). For the relation of the Aramaean and Armenian ethnonyms see Petrosyan 2002: 163 ff. According to Y.Grekyan (personal communication), Mt. Adduru, mentioned in the area of Aršaškun, is to be identified with the Urartian Mt. Eiduru (modern Süphan). If so, Aršašku was situated not far from Süphan and thus should be identified with Arčēš.

Arnuwandas, Luw. Tarḫunzas, Yarris, Assyr. Ašur, Hur. Kumarpi, etc.

2. *Diušini/Ṭiušini* (di can also be read as *ṭi*):²⁸6 the name of a king, ruler of the federation of Etiuni, which embraced the northern regions of the Armenian Highland. Attested in the mid-8th century BC. Comparable with the Indo-European (especially Balkanic) anthroponymic pattern **deiwo-* ‘god’ + **g'en-* ‘birth, kin,’ cf. Gk. *Διογένης*, Thrac. *Διωξενι*, *Diuzenus*, also Gk. *Θιογενεις*, from *θεός* ‘god.’²⁹ For the Armenian interpretation, cf. *tiw* ‘daytime’ (< **deiwo-* ‘god,’ ‘day’), or *dik*’, gen. pl. *diw-c* ‘gods’ (**dhēs-*) and *cin* ‘birth, kin.’

In the adduced examples essential is the presence of the sound /c/, which is the reflection of the Indo-European **g*’ peculiar only to Armenian. In Armeno-Urartian lexical and onomastical parallels Urart. *š* corresponds only to Arm. *c*, cf. e.g., Urart. *šui* (i.e., *šovə*) = Arm. *cov* ‘sea,’ Urart. toponym *šupa-(ni)* = Arm. *Cop* ‘-k’,³⁰ which in the considered etymologies is indicative of the Armenian language.

These words and names may substantiate the presence of the earliest Armenians in the Armenian Highland, particularly in the area of the upper streams of Aršania, north of Lake Van, the domain of the legendary forefather of the Armenians Hayk, as well as to the south, west and north of it before the formation of the Urartian Empire.³¹ Toponyms,

28 Diakonoff 1958: 32.

29 Gindin 1981: 42, 77.

30 Diakonoff 1958: 36; Djahukian 1987: 430 f.

31 Here I represent some other examples of Armenian elements in the Urartian language and onomastics from Djahukian 1992 (the adduced Armenian words are considered to be native Indo-European). Words: Urart. *abili-* ‘to add’ = Arm. *awel-* ‘id,’ Urart. *z/šari* ‘garden’ – Arm. *cař* ‘tree,’ Urart. *šuri* ‘edge, spearhead; weapon’ – Arm. *sur* ‘sharp; sword,’ Urart. *armuzzi* ‘family’ – Arm. *arm(n)* ‘root, tribe, generation,’ Urart. *arniuše* ‘deed’ – Arm. *ařnem* ‘to do, make,’ Urart. *an-iarduni* ‘independent’ – Arm. *anyar* ‘unrelated, separate,’ Urart. *bauše* ‘speech; order, thing’ – Arm. *ba-n* ‘word, speech; thing,’ Urart. *zil(i)beli* ‘breed, generation’ – Arm. *c’el* ‘tribe,’ etc.; theonyms: *Airaini* – Arm. *ayr* ‘cave’ (**ayrayin*), *Ařšibedini* – *arçui* ‘eagle,’ *ēnuiard* – *cin-o-* ‘birth, *clan’ + *ardi* ‘order’ (goddess

especially hydronyms, present the earliest strata of languages, and might have existed many centuries before their first attestations. This grounds the quest for the Armenian elements in the scattered names of the Highland and the adjacent regions attested in pre-Urartian (e.g. Assyrian, Hittite, etc) sources.³²

of birth and tribe), *Ṭurani* – *tur(k)* ‘giving, gift’ (**Turan-* the god who gives, presents), etc.; hydronyms: *Alaini* (cf. also town names *Aliala*, *Alištu*) – *al* ‘salt,’ *Gugunaini* – *gog-o* ‘gulf, sinus,’ *Uluruš* – *olor* ‘winding,’ etc.; oronyms: *Aršabia*, *Aršidu* (cf. also place names *Arşugu*, *Aluarşa*, *Balduarşa*, *Gizuarşu*) – **arc-* ‘white, bright,’ *Karnišie* – *k’ar* ‘stone’ (Pl. Acc. *k’arins*), etc.; other place-names: *Alburi* – *albiwr* ‘spring, source,’ *Meluiani* – *melu* ‘bee,’ *Şarni* – *sařn* ‘ice, cold,’ *Zirma* – *řerm* ‘warm,’ *Dilizia* – *delj* ‘yellow,’ *Barzuriani*, *Barzaništun*, *Kulibarzini* – *barjr* ‘high,’ etc. For many of such etymologies coherent reasons could be adduced.

- 32 For the possible Armenian elements in the earliest onomastics of the region, see Djahukian 1988a; Djahukian 1990; for the identification and localization of the early Armenians in the region: Petrosyan 2007b.

The Problem of Identification of the Proto-Armenians: a Critical Review*

The Problem and the Sources

The essential aspect of Armenian ethnogenesis is the problem of the identification of the linguistic ancestors of the Armenians.¹ The present work examines the problem of the earliest possible revelation and localization of the speakers of ancient versions of Armenian – the Proto-Armenians or Earliest Armenians² – with some reflections on how this people was formed and later developed.

This is, obviously, a linguistic problem and can be solved through linguistic examination. For the identification and localization of the bearers of early Armenian dialects we have nothing but the data of his-

* First published as Petrosyan 2007b.

- 1 In his works on the Armenian ethnogenesis and prehistory I.M. Diakonoff distinguishes three aspects of the peoples' succession: biological, cultural and linguistic. Genocides are not characteristic to ancient history and the migrations and movements of different tribes have not caused substantial changes in the anthropological average features of the local inhabitants of the Armenian Highland, where, therefore, the local ancient type primarily maintains. Throughout different historical periods the cultural succession of the Armenian Highland is also explicit, i.e. the Armenians are the biological and cultural successors of the early inhabitants of the Armenian Highland (Diakonoff 1968: 7-9; Diakonoff 1983: 12 ff; Diakonoff 1983a: 149; Diakonoff 1984: 1-3). Hence, the major question that remains disputable is the identification of the Armenians' linguistic ancestors.
- 2 G. Djahukian (1987: 25) has suggested the following chronological terms for the pre-written history of Armenian: 1) Proto-Armenian (30th-12th centuries B.C.), 2) Earliest Armenian (12th century B.C.-4th century A.D.). Here, for the sake of simplicity, the term Proto-Armenian is used for the times preceding the fall of Urartu (the end of the 7th century B.C.).

torical linguistics on the history of Armenian and the evidence of early written languages. Especially important is the data of onomastics of the Armenian Highland – names of tribes, places, persons and deities – attested in the early written languages (e.g. Assyrian, Hittite, Urartian, Hieroglyphic Luwian). We must examine those names and, if possible, identify the Proto-Armenian ones. Nevertheless, unequivocal etymological solutions are not always possible. We need also philological, historical, archeological, and ethnological analyses and arguments.

There are two types of information concerning the formation and early history of ancient peoples: historical and traditional, preserved in foreign and native sources. The researcher of Armenian prehistory, in this sense, is in a relatively favorable situation, as starting from early Mesopotamian sources until the first Greek authors there is historical evidence on the Armenian Highland and the adjacent regions. The traditional sources are the Armenian, Greek, Jewish, Georgian, and Arab legends on the genesis and primeval history of the Armenians.

Legends of Armenian Origins

The Armenian sources are of a mythological nature. The legends of the Armenian genesis (ethnogenic myth) have reached us in the book of the “father of Armenian history” Movsēs Xorenac‘i (Khorenatsi) and the brief account of the origin of Armenia by Anonym, attributed to the seventh-century writer Sebēos, which present reinterpreted Armenian oral tradition coordinated with the Bible and Greek literary sources (Xorenac‘i 1.10-16; Anonym). According to the legends, the first ancestor of the Armenians was Hayk, son of T’orgom, descendant of Noah’s son Japhet. After the construction of the tower of Babel he refused to obey the Babylonian tyrant Bel (identified with the Biblical Nimrod) and with his large patriarchal family, consisting of three hundred men, came and settles in Armenia, in the district Hark‘ to the northwest of Lake Van. Bel attacked Hayk with his huge army but was killed in the battle. Hayk’s eldest son Aramaneak moved to the Ayrarat province,

in the Ararat valley (to the north of Mt. Ararat), which remained the domain of the following generations of the Haykids. Aramaneak's son Aramayis built the first capital Armawir (40 km. to the west of Erevan). Aramayis' grandson Gełam became the eponym of the Lake and Mountains of Gelam (modern Lake Sevan and the mountain range to the west of it). Gełam's grandson Aram, the most warlike character of the ethnogonic myth, through many battles enlarged Armenia's borders in all directions. Aram's son Ara the Handsome was killed in the battle against the Assyrian queen Šamiram (Semiramis), and the Armenians fell under the rule of the Assyrians. Thus the "sacred" mythical era of the forefathers of Armenia ends and the "history" begins.

The Armenian ethnonym *Hay* is derived from the name of Hayk. According to Xorenac'i, the foreigners start calling Hayk's land Armenia and similar names after Aram, while Anonym emphasizes the ethnogonic role of Hayk's son Aramaneak/ Aramenak/ Armenak, from which we can conclude that he also was considered the eponym of the ethnonym *Armen* (G. Sargsyan 1998: 123). The central province of Armenia Ayrarat and its core Ararat plain are both considered to be named after Ara the Handsome (Field of Ara).

According to a Greek legend ascribed to two captains of Alexander the Great, Cyrsilus the Pharsalian and Medius the Larisaeian, the Armenians' forefather was Armenos, one of the participants of the Argonauts' journey. He came from the city Armenion in Thessaly to the north of Greece (in one version: from Rhodes). His companions settled first in Akilisene, i.e. the Ekeleac' district in the upper flows of the Euphrates (the city of Erzinka, Turk. Erzincan and its surroundings) (Strabo 11.4.8; 11.14.12; Justin 42.2.3, etc. See Adontz 1946: 322 ff).

In Flavius Josephus, the Armenians descend from Aramos' son Oullos (*Antiquitates Judaicae* 1.6.4), who corresponds to the Biblical Hul, son of Aram, eponym of the Aramaeans (Petrosyan 1997:160; Petrosyan 2002:79,164). The myth of the first Haykids is closely connected to the Georgian ethnogonic legend attested by Leonti Mroveli (11th century). Here the ancestor of the Armenians Haos (= Hayk), slayer of Nimrod, is

represented as the eldest brother and lord of the eponymous forefathers of the Georgians and several other Caucasian tribes (Mroveli 1979: 21 ff.; Melikishvili and Lordkipanidze 1989: 251-260; Petrosyan 1997: 70-72). This seems to be a variation on the Armenian ethnogonic theme. According to the Arab authors Yakut and Dimashki (11th-12th centuries A.D.) Armenia's founder was Armini, a descendant of Noah's son Japhet (Ter-Ghevondyan 1971).

The Historical Aspect of the Ethnogonic Legends

The most important of these are the Armenian legends as they reflect the way in which the ancient Armenians have imagined the beginning of their existence. They represent the epicized version of the creation myth on the beginning of the universe and time (countries, mountains, rivers, months and hours were named after Hayk and the first Haykids, while naming in mythology is equivalent to creation itself). The figures of Hayk and the following ethnogonic patriarchs originate from ancient divine figures. The characters and names of their opponents are also mythical: e.g. Hayk's adversary Bel (i.e. Akkad. Bēl, Semitic *b'l* "lord"), the ruler of Babylon, should be identified as the great Babylonian god Bēl-Marduk. The pivotal characters of the legends – Hayk, Aram and Ara the Handsome – constitute an Indo-European "trifunctional" triad, associated, respectively, with the first (sovereign), the second (military) and the third (fertility) functions of Indo-European mythology. The characters of the Armenian forefathers' opponents (Bēl, Baršamin, Šamiram) also form an identical trifunctional system. Thus, this is a typical Indo-European myth (Ahyan 1981; Dumézil 1994: 133 ff; Petrosyan 1997; Petrosyan 2002).

Myth is outside of real space and time. This holds true especially for the creation myths, which are used to explicate the formation of space and time. However, the epicized myth acquires spatial and temporal characteristics. The geography of the first forefathers' settlements and their movements in Armenia cannot be greatly affected by mytho-

logical or religious factors. This concerns Hayk's settling in Hark', and his first son Aramaneak's subsequent moving to Ayrarat (Ararat plain). This is where the Armenian universe and history concentrate after Hayk.

We can call Hayk's domain Hark' "Primary Armenia." The real Armenia begins with Aramaneak's settling in Ayrarat. The Armenian cosmogony, for the most part, occurs in Ayrarat. The next important stage is the enlargement of the borders of Armenia by Aram, whose native abode was also Ayrarat.

Greek Authors on the Armenian Origins

According to Herodotus (7.73), the Armenians were "Phrygian immigrants" (Φρυγῶν ἄποικοι), who were armed as the Phrygians as well, while according to a passage from Eudoxus of Knidus (5th century B.C., attested by Stephanus of Byzantium in the 12th century A.D.), the Armenian language resembled Phrygian (see e.g. Manandyan 1944:12-15; Adontz 1946: 322 ff; Piotrovsky 1959: 122-123; Diakonoff 1984: 110,189-190, n. 40; Greppin 1984; Matiossian 1991; Barseghyan 1996: 4-9).

The Phrygians, most probably, were a Balkanic tribe which had migrated to Asia Minor and established their kingdom in the 8th-7th centuries B.C. (centuries after the fall of the Hittite empire). This is consonant, but not identical, with the legend of Armenos, according to which the Armenians' ancestor comes from Thessaly. On the other side, mainly on the basis of historical sources, a theory that the Phrygians originated in Asia Minor was in use (see e.g. Petrova 1998; Brixhe 2004: 777).

It is obvious that ancient Greek authors could not determine the genetic and linguistic affinity between the tribes and languages. Strabo, who was a native of Asia Minor and well-informed on the Armenians and other peoples of the region, wrote that the Armenians, Syrians and Arabs were closely connected by their languages and physical and cultural characteristics (Strabo 1.2.34; 16.4.27). This is unacceptable: Aramaean and Arabic are Semitic languages. Notably, the fact that Arme-

nian is an independent Indo-European language was established only in 1875 by H. Hübschmann. Until then linguists had classified it as an Iranian language.

It was believed that among the Indo-European languages Armenian had a close connection with Greek and certain Balkan languages, including Phrygian (Djahukian 1970; Djahukian 1987: 86-204, 296-311). The information concerning Phrygian is scant, but, however, it is unquestionably most closely linked with Greek. The contemporary supporters of the Proto-Armenians' Balkanic origin represent their thesis in certain correspondence with contemporary scientific ideas. Thus, according to Igor Diakonoff, Armenian is not a Phrygian dialect, but a separate language of the Thraco-Phrygian group. If considered literally, Herodotus' thesis, presenting Armenians as Phrygian immigrants, is wrong. However, if considered as a statement that the Armenians have come from the neighboring western areas of the Armenian Highland, which had been previously populated by the Hittites and afterwards by the Phrygians, it can be accepted (Diakonoff 1968: 204-209; Diakonoff 1983a: 155, n. 29, 173-174; Diakonoff 1984: 109-112). It should be also noted that the notion of Armeno-Greek close connections has been denied (Clackson 1994; with Thracian and Albanian some arguments can be adduced: Kortlandt 2003: 74, 86, 140, 152-153), and the thesis of a close Armeno-Phrygian relationship (Diakonoff 1976; Neroznak 1976; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985), as well as the idea of Thraco-Phrygian unity is dismissed in contemporary studies (see e.g. Brixhe 2004: 780).

The Problem of Urartu

Many questions of Armenian ethnogenesis and prehistory are directly associated with Urartu, the first kingdom to unite the Armenian Highland under one crown (the 9th-7th centuries B.C.). The language of the Urartian inscriptions is not Armenian. This is the main reason that during the 19th-20th centuries the thesis of the late immigration of the Proto-Armenians to the Armenian Highland was formulated.

Urartu is the Assyrian appellation of the state. In Urartian texts their country, or rather, the core of their country, the Van area, is called Biainili, though we can only conjecture what they called themselves (for a hypothesis on the Urartian self-designation see Diakonoff 1992; Petrosyan 2002: 180). The original versions of this name are considered to be Uruatri/u and Uratri (attested to, respectively, in the 13th and 10th centuries B.C.). Uruatri/u / Uratri was located in the extreme south of the Armenian Highland, the area of the present-day state boundary between Iraq and Turkey (Melikishvili 1954: 150 ff; Piotrovskii 1959: 43-46; Arutyunyan 1970: 17). Ardini and Qumenu, the worship centers of the two first gods of the supreme triad of the Urartian pantheon, 𐎠𐎼𐎷𐎡𐎴 and Teišeba, were also located there. The center of the third great god Šiwini was the city of Van (Urat. Tušpa) (see e.g. Diakonoff 1981: 82). It may be assumed that Šiwini was the great god of the natives of the Van region who were overcome by conquerors from the south. Thus, the homeland of the Urartian language and of the ruling dynasty of Urartu was situated in a southern area which was not technically part of Urartu (Melikishvili 1954: 368; Diakonoff 1983a: 174-175, n. 78; Diakonoff 1984: 77, 167-168, n. 155; Salvini 1995: 184; Zimansky 2001: 24; Petrosyan 2006: 48-50).

Urartian monuments and culture, including the inscriptions, were created mostly by the state authorities and not by a large stratum of the population. The kings of Tušpa-Van conquered and maintained dominion over the regions of the Armenian Highland by force. Cities and fortresses were established in the conquered lands; they were populated by people loyal to the empire, though not ethnically homogeneous, and sometimes brought from other regions. The monuments of “Urartian” culture, from pottery to temples, are concentrated in these centers. The rest of the population was not under direct Urartian control, continuing their old culture and lifestyle, essentially different from the “Urartian” one, and often had a hostile attitude towards the empire. P. Zimansky’s latest thorough research shows that the creators of the Urartian state and state attributes, probably, were very few in number. An Urartian speak-

ing community formed the core of the empire, while the main population of the country consisted of other elements (Zimansky 1995; see also Zimansky 2001; Zimansky and Stone 2003).

Urartu was an empire. Such a widespread mountainous country, before being united as a one state, could not have been linguistically homogeneous. Many tribes and tribal groups are mentioned in the Urartian records, which show that the country was multilingual. This is also evident from the examination of the onomastics of Urartu (the southwestern regions of the Highland were inhabited by the Hurrians and Luwians; there are also apparent Armenian, Thracian, and Iranian names in the Urartian onomastics.³

The Problem of the Indo-European Homeland

In the infancy of Indo-European linguistics the Indo-European homeland was localized on the slopes of the biblical mountain Ararat in Armenia (Mallory 1989: 10), and afterwards, based on different argumentations, in almost all the territory throughout which the Indo-European languages spread, from India and Middle Asia to Western Europe, including Asia Minor. However, the Armenian Highland and the neighboring territories have never been among the popular localizations. At the beginning of the 1970s Tamaz Gamkrelidze and Viacheslav Ivanov suggested a hypothesis according to which the Indo-Europeans originated from the neighboring areas of the Armenian Highland, while R. Renfrew suggested another theory stating that the Indo-Europeans originated from South-Central Asia Minor. These hypotheses were presented later in monographs (Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984; Renfrew 1987). Gevorg Djahukian also was inclined to localize the Indo-European homeland somewhere in Asia Anterior (Djahukian 1987: 73-76; Djahukian 1992a: 22-26; cf. Djahukian 1967: 38-39). According to J.

3 For the Armenian names see below; for the Indo-Iranian and Thracian names: Djahukian 1987: 434-435; for the Hurrian names: Gelb 1944: 82-83; for the Luwian names: below, n. 11.

Mallory, there are four localizations that are most commonly proposed now: 1) Baltic-Pontic; 2) Anatolian; 3) Central European-Balkan; and 4) Pontic-Caspian (Mallory 1989; Mallory and Adams 1997: 290-299). Thus, the Armenian Highland is not included in the common localizations, though the listed second and fourth regions can be characterized as “near to Armenia” (for such localizations see also Drews 2001). However, all these localizations are highly hypothetical. It is evident that modern science still cannot localize the Indo-European homeland.

The problem of ethnogenesis is oversimplified when it is directly associated with the Indo-European homeland. Moreover, the formulation of any hypothesis on the basis of a certain localization of the Indo-European homeland can devalue it. The period of the homeland frequently dates from earlier than the 4th millennium B.C. The independent development of the Armenian language probably began as early as the beginning of the 3rd millennium B.C. (Djahukian 1987:25). Any localization far from Armenia does not theoretically rule out the possibility that the Armenians’ linguistic ancestors were in the Armenian Highland in the 2nd millennium B.C. or even earlier. On the other hand, any localization near Armenia theoretically does not rule out the possibility of the roaming of the Proto-Armenians elsewhere and coming to Armenia later.

The Armenian Ethnonyms

The scientific theories of the identification of the Proto-Armenians and, respectively, the Armenian ethnogenesis, can be differentiated according to the viewpoints identifying the Armenian ethnonyms with the ethno-toponyms attested in ancient sources. On the other hand, essential is not only the historically attested prototype of the ethnonym, but also its genesis and etymology. If the ethnonym is of Armenian origin, then its first mention will indicate the existence of the community speaking in (Proto-) Armenian, in a given epoch and area, while if it is of non-Armenian origin, i.e. a borrowing, then the problem becomes compli-

cated. The ethnonym could have been borrowed before or after its first attestation, i.e. it would be impossible to identify the Armenian speaking community based solely on this data.

Ethnonyms, like proper names, are hard to etymologize. We need more light on the subject, additional evidence, which can reveal their original meanings (otherwise the etymologies can only be speculative). It is the ethnogonic myth that provides us with an exceptional opportunity to interpret them. In the given insufficiency of other data the characteristics of the mythological eponymous forefathers can help reveal the etymologies of their names and respective ethnonyms.

The etymology of Hayk's name and the related ethnonym *Hay* is essential for our problem. It was believed, for a long time, that it goes back to the Indo-European **poti-* "master, lord, master of the house, husband." Later this was disputed (see e.g. Djahukian 1987: 284, with bibliography). However, our analysis shows its validity. In several dialects the elderly women mention their husbands in their absence as *mer hayə* "our hay," i.e. "husband, chief of our family," cf. synonymous *glxavor* "chief, head," *glxater* "lord of (my) head" (H. Khach'atryan 2003: 19). This word, very plausibly, can be etymologized from **poti-*.

Hayk is the head of a patriarchal family consisting of three hundred men and their own families. Thus, Hayk's name can also be associated with **poti-*, with the diminutive/venerable suffix *-ik* peculiar to the appellations of the elders and mythological names: *Hay-ik* > *Hayk*, cf. *hayr* / *hayrik* "father," *pap* / *papik* "grandfather," theonymic *Astlik* "Venus," lit. "Little star," and Aramaneak (son of Hayk), with an analogical suffix *-ak*. It is characteristic that the second part of Hayk's constant epithet *nahapet* "patriarch" presents the Iranian reflex of the Indo-European **pot-*, while the name of Hayk's adversary *Bel* also means "lord, master," used as an independent theonym as well (Petrosyan 1986; Petrosyan 2002: 58, 61, 161).

In Armenian tradition, the constellation Orion was named after Hayk (Alishan 1895:119). Hayk kills his adversary *Bel* with an *erek't'ewean* "three-winged, triple-fleshed" arrow (Xorenac'i 1.11). In

this context the best Indo-European parallel of Hayk is the Indic god Rudra, the father and leader of the Rudras called by his name (cf. the correlation of the name of Hayk with his descendants and followers *Hays* “Armenians”). In India, the constellation Orion is personified by the god Prajāpati who was transfixed by the three-jointed arrow (*iṣus trikāṇḍa*, the belt stars of Orion) shot by Rudra (Allen 1963:309-310; Fontenrose 1981:239-240; Tjomkin and Erman 1985:16-18,276-277). Significantly, the second element of the characteristic epithets of Rudra (*ganapati*, *vrātapati*, *bhūtapati*, *paśupati*, *grhapati*, *sthapati*, *sabhapati*), as well as the name of Prajāpati, are derived from **poti-* (Petrosyan 2002: 55; Petrosyan 2003: 193).⁴

The plural genetic *Hayoc'* lets us assume that before the regular disappearance of the last vowel in Armenian in the first centuries A.D. it sounded **Hayo*. This form could originate from **poti-*, suffixed with the Indo-European suffix **(i)yo-* either in ancient times or in a relatively later period: **poti-* > **Hay(i)-*, suffixed with **(i)yo-*: **Hayo-*. Although, it is possible also that the stem in *-o* is a late formation (Djahukian 1961: 388), developed, for example, on the analogy of similar ethno-toponyms (*Tayk'-Tayoc'*, **Vayk'-Vayoc'*).

Several etymologies have been suggested for the ethnonym *Armen*. In historical context it is frequently considered as a derivative of the ethno-toponym *Arme* attested in Urartian sources (Piotrovskii 1959: 124; Diakonoff 1984:199, n. 115; Djahukian 1987: 285-288, with bibliography). In a posthumously published article Diakonoff suggests a new hypothetical etymology from Gk. ἄρμενος “fit, favorable,” i.e. “non-hostile,” as opposed to other peoples of Asia Minor, who were hostile to the

4 For various considerations on the etymology of the ethnonym *Hay* see Djahukian 1961: 386 ff.; Djahukian 1987:284. In his later works Djahukian accepted this etymology (Djahukian 1988a (1): 68; Djahukian 1990: 26; Djahukian 1992a: 50; Djahukian 1992b: 18), which makes unnecessary its special linguistic argumentation in the present article. Some folklore data provide possibility for an alternative etymological solution of Hayk's name, cf. IE **Hā(s)-* “bum,” which in later times (after the **p->h-* and **-t->-y-* changes) could have been confounded with *hay* < **poti-*, see Petrosyan 2002:59-61.

Greeks (Diakonoff 2005: 277). This shows that the author was unsure of his previous etymology, which became very popular due to his works.

In Xorenac‘i, the ethnonym Armen is eponymized by the patriarch Aram. He kills the Syrian hero Baršam, i.e. the epic version of the god Baršamin (i.e. the Syrian *Ba‘al Šamin* “Lord of Heaven”). The latter was called *spitakap‘ar* “of white glory” (Agat‘angelos 784) and his idol was “embelished with ivory, crystal and silver” (Xorenac‘i 2.14). In this context, Aram is best comparable with the Indic Rāma (Indo-European **rē-mo-* “dark, black”). In epic India, the first Rāma – Paraśurāma “Rāma-with-the-axe” – defeats Arjuna Kārtavīrya, whose name is derived from the **Harg’-* “bright, white” (*Mahābhārata* 3.115-116; the story is also told in the *Purānas*). Notably, the name of Mt. Argaeus, where Aram defeats another adversary, is derived from the Hittite version of **Harg’-* (Laroche 1985: 88-89). These myths can be considered in the context of the theme of black and white or dark and light, which appears in myths and epics elsewhere. Moreover, Aram would represent the epicized version of the black thunder god who fights with his white adversary (Petrosyan 1997; Petrosyan 2002: 43 ff.; Petrosyan 2003: 194 ff.). His name can be regarded as the regular reflex of **rHmo-* (**rēmo-* and **rōmo-* would yield **Arim* and **Arum*, respectively, and *Arm-* in derivatives and compounds). The name of Aramaneak / Aramenak, who figures as the eponym of the ethnonym Armen in Anonym, seems to represent a conflation (see below, n. 20).

Proceeding from the Armenian ethnonyms *Hay* and *Armen* an opinion has been advanced that two ethnic units played an essential role in the Armenian ethnogenesis: the Hays and the Armens (Patkanov 1881: 88-90). This opinion has been repeated by many scholars, who have attributed different origins to these tribes (e.g. the first has been considered a local, non-Indo-European tribe, while a Balkanic origin has been attributed to the second). This idea is only hypothetical.

The Proto-Armenians in the Armenian Highland

Many scholars have written about the linguistic traces of the Armenian ethnic element in Ancient Near East. The most significant are Djahukian's works, where he examines the borrowings of the Armenian language from ancient cuneiform languages and shows that it is possible for some cuneiform languages to have borrowings from Proto-Armenian and that numerous ancient names of the Armenian Highland and adjacent regions can be etymologized in Armenian. Furthermore, the arguments adduced by Diakonoff are important, as he, more than any other scholar, was familiar with the ancient history, cultures and languages of the region (Djahukian 1986; Djahukian 1987: 312-321, 417-474; Djahukian 1988: 148-161, Djahukian 1988a; Djahukian 1992; Djahukian 1992a: 34-38, 53-59; Diakonoff 1967: 135; Diakonoff 1985: 602-603; Diakonoff 1992).

Even the most credible reciprocal borrowings of Armenian and cuneiform languages cannot localize Proto-Armenians more precisely than "not far from the speakers of those languages." In order to localize them in the Armenian Highland first of all we need to examine the onomastics of the Highland. Until the first millennium B.C., our data are poor and concern only the southern and western regions. It is the Urartian sources that mention a large number of proper names throughout the Highland (names of men, deities, tribes, cities, lands, rivers, mountains). Unlike, for example, the Hayasian names, a significant number of the Urartian place names are localized fairly accurately, and moreover, many of them present early versions of the well known Armenian toponyms.

The following question is essential: were there speakers of Proto-Armenian in the Armenian Highland in the pre-Urartian period (i.e., before the mid-9th century B.C.) or did they appear here during the existence or after the fall of Urartu? If we show that there is at least one borrowing in Urartian from Armenian and that some place and personal names mentioned in the Urartian sources have Armenian origin, then we can say that Earliest Armenian was spoken along with Urartian in the Armenian Highland.

Below are presented a few indicative examples from the dozens adduced by various authors.

The Armenian conjunction *ew* “and” originates from the Indo-European **epi-* (> **ewi* > *ew*). The native origin of the conjunction is beyond all doubt. It is borrowed in Urartian, where it appears as *eue*, *e’a* (to read: *ewa*), *eia*, *eai* (the two last forms are the results of a development peculiar to Urartian). They are known from the first Urartian records of the last quarter of the 9th century B.C. (Arutyunyan 2001: 442). Hence, Urartian was in contact with Armenian prior to this time. In order to show that this conjunction is borrowed from Armenian, Diakonoff notes that it is not known in earlier attested Hurrian and other North-Eastern Caucasian languages (which are considered to be related to Hurro-Urartian). Hurrian is an ergative language and does not use non-affixed conjunctions. There exists a good analogy: another ancient ergative language, Old Sumerian, does not have non-affixed conjunctions, but Neo-Sumerian has acquired a new conjunction *u* “and” from Akkadian with which it co-existed (Diakonoff 1992: 52-53).

The river name *Arşania*, attested in an Assyrian source in the mid-9th century B.C., corresponds to Arm. *Aracani* < **Arcaniyā*, Gk. Ἀρσάνιας (Turk. *Murat-su*, Arutyunyan 1985:44). Notably, there was a homonymic city to the southwest of Lake Van. This name has an apparent Armenian etymology: cf. Indo-European **Harg’-* “bright, white,” with the reflection *arc-* peculiar to Armenian (e.g. *arcat* “silver”), and the suffix *-ani* < **-a-niyā* (for the Indo-European hydronyms from **Harg* see e.g. Krahe 1962: 8, n. 2,31-32).

The Upper (Western) Euphrates in different languages and in different periods has been called: Hitt. *Mala*, Urtart. *Melia(ini)*, Gk. Μέλας (Arutyunyan 2001: 514); cf. Indo-European **mel-* “black,” with the suffix **-iyā*, and the Turkish name of the river: *Kara-su* “Black water.” Significantly, the main tributary of Aracani Melrağet has similar appellations: its ancient name is *Mel* (cf. **mel-* “black”), while currently it is called *Kara-su* (Eremyan 1963: 70). Evidently, these names reflect certain mythological and cosmological ideas on the black and white contrast, localized along the river Arşania (Petrosyan 2002: 186).

The “royal city” of the first known Urartian king Aramu, Arsašku(nu) may be identified with the Armenian *Arčēš* (Turk. *Ercis*) to the north of Lake Van and etymologized from the Indo-European **Harg'es^(h)o-* (derivative of **Harg'*- “bright, white”) > **Arcesk'o-* > *Arčēšo*, Gen. *Arčišoy* (an almost precise rendering of *Arcesk'o* is Assy. *Arsašku-*). *Arčēš* was the denomination of the northern gulf of Lake Van as well as the whole lake itself (cf. also Gk. Ἄρση(ση)νη/Strabo, 11.14.8/, Arab. *Arjīš* “Lake Van”); a city to the north of the lake was called *Arcak* ‘small *Arc*’ (later: *Arcke* = Turk. *Adilcevaz*); moreover, a small lake to the east of Lake Van is called *Arčišak* > *Arčak* “small *Arčēš*,” Turk. *Erçek*. Thus, this early Urartian capital could have been named (and once populated) by the Proto-Armenians (Petrosyan 2002: 71 ff., with bibliography).⁵

Aramu (var. Ararne, Arama) coincides with the name of the second Armenian eponym Aram (**Aramo/ā*, with the regular disappearance of the final vowel in Armenian). As has been noted, this was the epithetal name of the “black” thunder god. In the ancient states of the region, theonyms were frequently used as anthroponyms, cf. Hitt. Telepinus, Arnuwandas, Luw. Tarḫunzas, Yarns, Runtiyas, Assy. Ašur, Hur. Kumarpi, etc.

Ṭuarašinieī ḫubi “Tuarasian valley,” attested in the second quarter of the 8th century B.C. (may correspond to *Tuarizu* of an Assyrian source of the mid-8th century B.C.), corresponds with the Armenian *Tuaracoy tap'*, *Tuaracatap'* “plain of *tuarac*,” located to the north of the upper streams of the river Aršania, north from the district of Hark' (Arutyunyan 1985: 185-186). For the etymology of this name cf. Arm. *tuarac* “graze cattle, cowherd,” *tuaracatap'* “place for grazing bull-calves,” consisting of the words *tuar* “bull-calf” and *aracil* “graze,” from which the latter is doubtlessly native Armenian (Indo-European **treg'-*); *tuar* is usually etymologized from the Indo-European **dīpHro-* (cf. also Semitic **taur-*, see Djahukian 1988:154, n. 52).

5 For the localization of Arsašku(nu), see Arutyunyan 1985: 34-35; for the Indo-European “white” cities: Petrosyan 2002 : 71 ff.

Diuşini/Tiuşini (*di* can also be read as *ti*, see Diakonoff 1958: 32): the name of a king, ruler of the federation of Etiuni, which encompassed the northern regions of the Armenian Highland. This name, attested in the middle of the 8th century B.C., is comparable to the Indo-European (especially Balkanic) anthroponymic pattern **deiwo-* “god” + **g'en-* “birth, kin,” cf. Gk. *Διογένης*, Thrac. *Διζενι*, *Diuzenus*, also Gk. *Θιογενεις*, from *θεός* “god” (Gindin 1981: 42, 77). For the Armenian interpretation, cf. *tiv* “daytime” (< **deiwo-* “god,” “day”), or *dik'*, gen. pi. *diwc'* “gods” (**dhēs-*) and *cin* “birth, kin.”

In these names the presence of the sound /c/ is essential, as it represents the reflection of the Indo-European **g'* peculiar only to Armenian (this sound does not exist in other Indo-European languages). In Armeno-Urartian lexical and onomastical parallels Urart. *ṣ* corresponds only to Arm. c (Diakonoff 1958: 36; Djahukian 1987: 430-431), which in the considered etymologies is indicative of the Armenian language.

These names may substantiate the presence of the Proto-Armenians in the Armenian Highland, particularly in the area of the upper streams of Arşania, north of Lake Van, the domain of the patriarch Hayk, as well as to the west and north of it before the formation of the Urartian Empire.⁶ Judging by the Proto-Armenian etymologies of

6 Following are some other examples of Armenian elements in the Urartian language and onomastics from Djahukian 1992 (the adduced Armenian words are considered Indo-European). Words: Urart. *abili-* “to add” = Arm. *awel-* “id,” Urart. *Arşibi* (the name of King Minua’s horse) – Arm. *arcui* “eagle,” Urart. *z/şari* “garden” – Arm. *car* “tree,” Urart. *şuri* “edge, spearhead; weapon” – Arm. *sur* “sharp; sword,” Urart. *armuzzi* “family” – Arm. *arm(n)* “root, tribe, generation,” Urart. *arniuse* “deed” – Arm. *arnem* “to do, make,” Urart. *aniarduni* “independent” – Arm. *anyar* “unrelated, separate,” Urart. *bauşe* “speech; order, thing” – Arm. *ba-n* “word, speech; thing,” Urart. *zil(i)beli* “breed, generation” – Arm. *c'el* “tribe”; theonyms: *Airaini* – Arm. *ayr* “cave” (**ayrayin*), *Arşibedini* – *arcui* “eagle,” *Şinuiardi* – *cin-o-* “birth, *clan” + *ardi* “order” (goddess of birth and tribe), *Turani - tur(k')* “giving, gift” (**Turan-* the god who gives, presents); hydronyms: *Alaini* (cf. also town names *Aliala*, *Alištu*) – *al* “salt,” *Gugunaini* – *gog-o* “gulf, sinus,” *Ulurus - olor* “winding;” mount names: *Arşabia*, *Arşidu* (cf. also place names *Arşugu*, *Aluarşa*, *Balduarşa*, *Gizuarşu*) – **arc-* “white, bright,” *Kamişe* – *k'ar* “stone” (PI. Acc. *k'arins*)', other place-names: *Alburi* – *albiwr*

Aramu and Arsašku(nu) one cannot rule out the possibility that Aramu was an Armenian ruler who fought against the Assyrians in the north of Lake Van and surroundings, i.e., in the area of Hayk's domain. After Aramu, the ruling dynasty of Urartu was changed and the new capital city Tušpa (Van) was established (see below, in the discussion of the Etiuni hypothesis).⁷ Toponyms, especially hydronyms, present the earliest strata of languages, and might have existed in pre-Urartian times, many centuries before their first attestations.

The Arimoi Hypothesis

The author of the first complex studies on the Armenian ethnogenesis is Josef Markwart, a pivotal part of whose work is the examination of the ethnonym *Armen* (previous authors have generally examined the linguistic aspect of the problem).

According to him, the ethnonym *Armen* could have originated from the stem **arm-*, **arim-* or **arum-*, combined with the Urartian ending *-ini* (**arim-ini* and **arum-ini* both would yield **armini*). He compares this stem with the Greek plural *Arimoi* mentioned in the Iliad (2.781-783) as the place of the battle of Zeus and Typhon (εἰν' Ἀρίμοις). Ancient and modern authors have localized the *Arimoi* in different places. One such place is Mt. Argaeus to the west of the Armenian Highland in Cappadocia, the highest mountain of Asia Minor, and once active

“spring, source,” *Meluiani* – *melu* “bee,” *Sarni* – *sarn* “ice, cold,” *Zirma* – *žerm* “warm,” *Dilizia* – *delj* “yellow,” *Barzuriani*, *Barzaništun*, *Kulibarzini* – *barjr* “high.” For many of these and other etymologies coherent reasons could be adduced.

7 Alternatively, it has been hypothesized that Aramu the Urartian might have been a “condotier” of Aramaean ancestry, while Arsašku(nu) was localized in the basin of Lake Urmia (van Loon 1966: 7; Salvini 1987: 399 ff.; Salvini 1995: 27 ff.). For the relation of the Aramaean and Armenian ethnonyms see Petrosyan 2002: 163 ff. According to Y. Grekyan (personal communication), Mt. Adduru, mentioned in the area of Arsašku, is to be identified with the Urartian Mt. Eiduru (modern Süphan). If so, Arsašku was situated not far from Süphan and thus should be identified with Arčēš.

volcano. Markwart considered the *Arimoi* as the ancestors of the Armenians, who had moved to Asia Minor from the Balkans and settled down in the region of Mt. Argaeus, and later moved to Armenia. In Xorenac'i, the patriarch Aram defeats his third adversary in the area, where later the city of Mazaka / Caesaria was built (i.e. near Mt. Argaeus). There he leaves his kinsman Mšak to govern the country and orders the local inhabitants to speak Armenian. Hence, the Greeks call this region "First Armenia" (Πρώτη Ἀρμενία). According to Markwart, the Armenian eponym **Arimo* became Aram under the influence of the Biblical Aram (the eponym of the Arameans) and the name of the first Urartian king Aramu. As for the ethnonym *Hay*, it is a later form, which originated in Armenia (Markwart 1919: 67-68, Markwart 1928: 215 ff.).

Markwart adopted a critical attitude towards the Greek data on the Phrygian origin of the Armenians, and believed that the Proto-Armenians had moved from the Balkans to Asia Minor earlier in prehistoric times. He also pointed to the presence of numerous non-Indo-European words in Armenian and considered that the Armenians had formed through the merging of different ethnic groups.

Several of Markwart's linguistic, historical and mythological analyses have been accepted and developed in later works (Manuk Abeghian, N. Adontz, Hakob Manandyan, Boris Piotrovskii, Diakonoff, Suren Eremyan, Vlad Bănăteanu, G. Sargsyan, present author, et al.). Some have accepted the *Arimoi-Armen* association, while Cappadocia's "First Armenia" appellation has been a basis for considering this territory as the "Primary Armenia." The ethnonym Armen is frequently associated with the ethno-toponym Arme to the southwest of Lake Van: Urartian **Armini* "inhabitant of Arme," "Armean country" (Diakonoff 1984: 199, n. 115). The *Arimoi*, like Aram, seem to be derived from **rēmo-* "dark, black" (Petrosyan 2002: 45-46).

An essential drawback in Markwart's theory is that as a starting point he acknowledges not the Armenian self-appellation (autonym) *Hay*, but the name given by foreigners (allonym) *Armen*. In historical times the Armenians called themselves exclusively *Hay*. Though it is

possible that some groups of the ancestors of the Armenians have been called *Armen*, nevertheless, when discussing the problem of the Armenian ethnogenesis, the ethnonym *Hay* should be regarded as the primary identification marker. This approach is currently not being argued: the contemporary hypotheses of the Armenian ethnogenesis are based on the viewpoints identifying the ethnonym *Hay* with ancient ethno-toponyms attested in cuneiform sources (for the predominant role of the autonym *Hay* in ethnogenetic studies see also Diakonoff 1983a: 167).⁸

The Hatti Hypothesis

Hay originates from the Hittite ethnonym Hatti (cuneiform h is pronounced /x/ = German *ch*). The Hittites adopted this name from the previous inhabitants of Asia Minor, the Hattians. It could have become *Hay* through the regularities characteristic for the Armenian language (cf. Arm. *hayr* “father” < *pHter-). This hypothesis has been suggested by Peter Jensen (Jensen 1898). It had been supported by Hrachya Acharyan and Hakovbos Tashean (Acharyan 1901: 235; Tashean 1920: 36-37, 83), who after the emergence of the Hayasa hypothesis associated themselves with the latter (Tashean 1934: 339-343; Acharyan 2004: 25). Concerning the historical context, Jensen considered the Armenians as the linguistic successors of the Hittites, which is unacceptable (Hittite is an Indo-European language very different from Armenian). In our times a fervent advocate of this hypothesis was Diakonoff who has elaborated on the problem of Armenian ethnogenesis in detail (Diakonoff 1956;

8 Hence the idea that the Armenians are first attested in the Behistun inscription of the Persian king Darius I (521-520 B.C.) as *Arminiya*, which has circulated in Western publications since the dawn of European Armenology, cannot be regarded as correct. It is only in the sounds of the European languages that the first attestation of the Armenians and Armenia (i.e. the *Hay* tribe and its country) maybe associated with the Persian appellations *Arminiya* and *Armina*. It could be said that this is the first time that we can identify the *Hay* tribe as *Arminiya*, but this is also disputable (some scholars identify the *Arminiya*s of Darius as non-Armenians: e.g. Urartians, Scythians, see Tashean 1934: 343; Struve 1946; D. Sargsyan 1991).

Diakonoff 1968; Diakonoff 1981; Diakonoff 1983; Diakonoff 1983a; Diakonoff 1984; Diakonoff 2005, etc).

The Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser I (1116-1090 B.C.) wrote that in the year of his accession, “20,000 Mušku . . ., who had held for 50 years the lands Alzu and Purulumzu . . . captured the land Kadmuḫu” (the first of these countries is the Armenian *Aljnik* the second is not identified, and the third is Arm. *Kadmeac’ tun* to the south of the Armenian Highland). The king “conquered 12,000 of the troops of the land of the extensive Mušku in battle,” deported the rest of the people and united the entire land of the Mušku with Assyria. 4,000 Kašku (another name: Apišlu) and Urumu, “insubmissive troops of the Ḫatti land, who had seized by force the cities of Šubartu” (in the same region), “fearing battle,” submitted to the king and were uprooted (Grayson 1976: 12, 18, 66, 67, 92, 93).

Diakonoff identifies these Muškians as the Proto-Armenians. After the fall of the Hittite empire (ca. 1200 B.C.) the entire multilingual population to the west of the Upper Euphrates was called by the term Ḫatti. In Urartian inscriptions Ḫâte is the name of the land to the west of the confluence of the Upper Euphrates and Arsanian (modern Malatia and surroundings). The Muškians, i.e. the Proto-Armenians, might have populated this area as well, as a result of which they were called Hâte by the Urartians. Later, this name passed to the Muškians themselves. The Armenized Urartians, appropriating the Muškian-Armenian language, made this term their self-appellation with a derivative form **hātiyos* (i.e. with the Indo-European suffix **(i)yos*), from which the ethnonym *Hay* originated (Diakonoff 1984: 126-127; *Hatio*, as the prototype of *Hay*, figures already in Jensen 1898: 3-4, et passim).

These Muškians are conditionally called “Eastern Muškians” as opposed to the “Western Muškians,” i.e. Phrygians, who in cuneiform sources also have been called Mušku. The “Eastern Muškians” are considered a Balkanic tribe, related to but not identical with the Phrygians. The “Thraco-Phrygian” ethnonym *Mus-* known in the Balkans and Western Asia Minor (Μοσία, Moesia) could have spread among all of

the related tribes. Moreover, *-k* in the ethnonym *Mušku* is assumed to be the Armenian plural marker *k'*.

According to Diakonoff, these Balkanic ancestors of the Armenians could not have passed through all of Asia Minor without leaving any information in the region's written sources during the existence of the Hittite empire. Thus their migration would have occurred after the fall of the Hittites and before the formation of Urartu (i.e. anywhere between 1200 and 860 B.C.). The "Eastern Muškians" would have been the vanguard of the Armeno-Phrygian tribes, which moved from the Balkans to Asia Minor and settled down to the west of the Armenian Highland. There, in Cappadocia, in the land of Tegarama (later Tilgarimmu) they formed their primary cradle, which was echoed in Hayk's patronym T'orgom. Their spreading out in the other regions of the Armenian Highland was greatly assisted by the policy of the Urartian kings, who used to resettle the inhabitants of the conquered lands. Concerning the Armenization of Armenia's historical center – Ararat and the Ararat plain – it is notable that Arğišti I in 782 B.C. populated the newly built Erebuni fortress (modern Erevan) with 6,600 "military people" from the lands of H̄ate and Şupani (i.e. to the west and east of the confluence of the Euphrates and Arşania), who would have been speakers of Proto-Armenian, partially or completely. Initially, the Proto-Armenians had been considerably less in number than the local inhabitants of the Armenian Highland. Nevertheless, due to historical circumstances, their language became the common means of communication, and the other ethnic groups merged with them.

Diakonoff's theory, like others, has several strong and weak points.

- a) The most significant of the strengths is subjective: this is the only theory that has been developed at a high level of science and from various aspects. It represents the problems of Armenian ethnogenesis and prehistory based on historical, linguistic and, to some extent, archeological, anthropological, and cultural data.

- b) Its conformity with ancient Greek data that the Armenians are related to the Phrygians.
- c) The territory of Urart. Ғāte was later joined to Lesser Armenia. The epithet “lesser” may allude to the primary territory of the tribe, from where its further spreading out started (see below, in connection of the Hayasa hypothesis).
- d) The ethnonyms Urumu and Mušku are comparable with the names of the patriarch Aram and his relative Mšak, governor of Cappadocia, who can be considered the eponyms of these ethnic tribes. This is consonant with the Urumeans’ characterization as “troops of the Hatti land” (i.e. Cappadocia) and with the hypothetical spread of the Muškians to the west of the Euphrates (though, according to legend, Aram moves to Cappadocia from Armenia, while, according to this hypothesis, the Armenians came to Armenia from Cappadocia).
- e) The river names Aršana and Melia(ini) indicate that the Armenian element existed in this area before the 9th century B.C.

The weak aspects of the hypothesis are:

- a) The identification of the cuneiform Ғ (i.e. /x/) with the Armenian /h/;
- b) Relating the phonetic change *-t- (> t') > -y- in Armenian to later than the 12th century B.C. (there are no other data for this chronology);
- c) The consideration of the ethnonym *Hay* as borrowed, while the eponym is etymologized best as native Indo-European;
- d) The Mušku tribe, in contradistinction to Urumu and Apišlu/Kašku, are not mentioned as “troops of the Hatti land;”
- e) The Armenian hypothetical ethnonym **hatiyo-* is not mentioned in the west of the Armenian Highland in Urartian sources;
- f) The Μοσχοί of Greek sources, whose ethnonym is apparently identical with the Musku (in cuneiform writing Io/ is presented

- as u, and /s/ as š), were a different ethnic group than the Armenians and Phrygians.
- g) The mention of Hate and Muškini as two separate ethno-toponyms in late Urartian sources (i.e. even during the period immediately preceding the fall of Urartu the Muškians were not called *Hatiyo*);
 - h) The absence of Proto-Armenian personal names to the west of the Upper Euphrates;
 - i) The contradiction with the Armenian ethnogenic myth, where the southwestern areas of the Armenian Highland and, moreover, the western bank of the Euphrates are not mentioned as the stage of activity of the first ethnogenic patriarchs; on the contrary, the Armenization of this area is introduced as a later event dated to the time of the seventh patriarch Aram.

The weaknesses can be overcome theoretically, and the author has touched upon many of them. However, certain problems need special elucidation. First of all, the alleged Armenian protoform for the ethnonym *Hay* **hātiyos* should be revised. For Earliest Armenian the best of all would be the protoform **hāt'iyō-* / **hat'iyō-*: the Indo-European *-s* ending could have been disappeared in the 12th century B.C.; the Urartian *t* would correspond to Arm. *t' / t^h*, which yields *y* in the intervocalic position (for the history of Proto-Armenian and earliest Armenian phonology, see Djahukian 1987:225-228,345-348).

Furthermore, the most probable native Armenian etymology of the ethnonym *Hay* contradicts the association of *Hay* with *Hāte*. As it is mentioned above, the figures of the Armenian eponyms are interrelated members of a tripartite mythological system; they have Indo-European parallels, and moreover, their names are at best etymologized from Indo-European roots. If the *Hay* < *Hatti* / *Hāte* etymology is correct, then the Proto-Armenians would have borrowed the ethnonym in the form *Hat'i*, then reinterpreted it in their own language as “master, lord” and only thereafter created the figure of the patriarch Hayk. It is hard to

believe that the conflict and the system of the figures of the ethnogenic myth (Hayk, opposed to Bel, whose name has the same meaning “master, lord”) was invented on the basis of a “folk etymology” of a borrowed ethnonym.

It is necessary to postulate certain preconditions for the *Hay* < *Hatti*/*Hate* etymology: e.g. the pronunciation of *Hatti*/*Hate* was *Hat^hi/e*, or: in the 12th century B.C. there was no sound /x/ in Armenian and the local /Xat^hi/e/ had been perceived as *Hatⁱ/e*. However, the *Hittite* *Hatti* in other cuneiform languages has also been recorded with *ḫ*, and *ḫtym* in Hebrew (i.e. with the sound /x/). In ancient Greek, where there was no /x/, the first sound of *Hatti* has been presented with κ: Κήττειοι “Hittites” (*ḫ* in other cases was also transcribed as Gk. κ, cf. e.g. *Ḫilaku* = Κίλικης; for the Urart. *ḫ* cf. e.g. *Aḫuriani* = Arm. Axurean, *Ḫalitu* = Arm. *Xaltik*‘ (Gk. Χαλδαῖοι). Thus, the Hittite and Urartian cuneiform *ḫ* in *Hatti*/*Hate* would correspond to /x/. According to linguistic reconstruction, Proto-Armenian would have had the sound /x/ before 12th century B.C. (Djahukian 1987: 25, 228, 346).

However, in Armenian there are cases of correspondence of the cuneiform *ḫ* with both /x/ and /h/. According to John A.C. Greppin, who has especially examined this problem, if there is a correspondence between the Hittite *ḫ* and the Armenian *h*, then the words have a common origin (and Arm. *h* and Hitt. *ḫ* are derived from the Indo-European laryngeals); if there is a correspondence between the Hittite and Hurro-Urartian *ḫ* and the Armenian *x*, then the Armenian words are borrowed (Greppin 1995). If that is the case, *Hay* is not borrowed from the cuneiform *Hat(t)i/e*. There are only some theoretical possibilities left: e.g. in an Urartian dialect *Hate* was pronounced *Hāte*¹, and Arm. **Hat*‘*yo*- was derived from that dialectal form.

Diakonoff himself notes the doubtfulness of the equalization of the cuneiform *ḫ* and Armenian /h/, especially as an argument brought

1 In one inscription the name of the supreme god of Urartu, Haldi, is rendered as Aldi (= Haldi?), which has been considered as a dialectal form, see Melikishvili 1960: 84, 86; Arutyunyan 2001: 476.

against the *Hay* < *Hayasa* etymology, which betrays bias on his part (Diakonoff 1984: 113,191, n. 52; van Loon 1987: 231). However, he writes in his monograph:

Because of the linguistic uncertainty, the derivation of the term *Hayk'* from *Hāte*, although most probable, cannot be considered to be conclusively proven . . . and therefore, other etymologies are also possible (Diakonoff 1984: 201, n. 120).

Numerous times he tried to clarify his position, which indicated that he himself was not certain of it (Diakonoff 1968: 211,236-237, n. 119; Diakonoff 1981: 55, n. 98; Diakonoff 1983a: 172; Diakonoff 2005: 278).

After the fall of the Hittite empire the term *Ḫatti* appears in Assyrian and Babylonian sources as the name of “late-Hittite” lands to the west and southwest of the Upper Euphrates (usually from North Syria to the west of the Armenian Highland, though sometimes it has also been the designation of southern Syria). *Hāte* of the Urartian sources is not the alleged Proto-Armenian **hat'iyō-*, but one of the late Hittite lands, Luw. Melid, Urart. Meli tea (modern Malatya). The history of these lands ends in 708 B.C., with the downfall of Kummuh (= Gk. Kom-magene). *Ḫatti/Hāte* was an appellation used by foreigners which never occurred in the records of the “Ḫatti lands” themselves. The population of this area was diverse: Hittite-Luwian, Hurrian, West Semitic, and the term *Hatti* appears to be used rather geographically than ethnically or linguistically (Hawkins 1957-71: 152).

According to Diakonoff, the Muškian Proto-Armenians, as one of the peoples which populated that land (like the Urumeans and the Apišlaians, the “troops of the Ḫatti land”), were probably called *Ḫāte* by the Urartians and later made this term their self-appellation by adding the **(i)yo-* suffix to *Ḫāte*. However, there is no evidence of the presence of the “Eastern Muskians” to the west of the Upper Euphrates. Furthermore, in the records of the Urartian king Rusa II (685-645 B.C.) the land Muškini along with Ḫāte and some other lands is mentioned

(Arutyunyan 2001: 516; Salvini 2001: 258,261). Diakonoff and some others identify Muškini with Phrygia. Nevertheless, Muškini is listed between Hāte and Hālitu (the latter is identified with Arm. *Xattik'*, Gk. Χαλδαῖοι to the northwest of the Armenian Highland, in Pontus), and may be localized not far from those lands, somewhere in the west of the Armenian Highland (Arutyunyan 1985: 146-147; (Çilingiroğlu and Salvini 2001: 20; Salvini 2001a: 266).² As has been noted, Hāte represents the region of Malatya, and not the alleged **hat'iyō-* 'Proto-Armenians.' If in the middle of the 7th century B.C. a tribe was still called *Muški-* in Urartian and was contrasted with *Hāte*, then it could have not been called *Hāte* (and later by a derivative of *Hāte*) anymore, as the Hatti/Hāte lands had already vanished and Urartu would follow soon.

Diakonoff's hypothesis identifying the "Eastern Muškians" as Proto-Armenian newcomers from the Balkans is based on the identity of the ethnonym *Mušku* with the Assyrian appellation of the Phrygians (Assyrian sources of the end of the 8th century B.C. mention the Mušku king Mita, who is identified with the Phrygian king Midas). This is nothing but a speculative assumption, as there is no evidence of the language of the Muškians. Moreover, there are other hypotheses on the "Eastern Muskians," whose ethnonym seems to be preserved in Gk. Μοσχοί and Georgian *Mesxi*: e.g. they could have been early inhabitants of the Armenian Highland or a neighboring area, who later constituted a part of the Phrygians and gave them their own name (for the Muškians see Melink 1965; Sevin 1991: 96-97; Kosyan 1997; Kosyan 1999a: 162-167, with bibliography; Kosyan 2002; Khazaradze 2002; Petrosyan 2002: 139 ff, 152 ff.; Petrosyan 2006: 56 ff).

Diakonoff's localization of "Primary Armenia" is also questionable. According to him, the ancient legends consider the "basin of Up-

2 According to A. Kosyan, it seems unlikely that, prior to its downfall, Urartu would raid the depths of Asia Minor through the powerful realm of Melid and bring back captives from Phrygia (Kosyan 1999: 247, 250). The name of the city of Muš (Turk. Muş) to the west of Lake Van may be derived from the ethnonym of the Muškians (Diakonoff 1984: 195, n. 87), which leads to the localization of Muškini in Šubria (Petrosyan 2002: 142).

per Euphrates” as the Armenian homeland. This is what the researchers have thought, while the Armenian legend localizes the domain of the patriarch Hayk to the north of Lake Van, in the area of the Arşania’s (Eastern Euphrates, Murat-su) upper streams in the district of Hark’. Only Strabo’s legend considers the area of the (Western) Euphrates’ most upper streams (Gk. Akilisene) as the Armenians’ primary territory. Diakonoff, as a result of poor knowledge of the Armenian data, confounds these two territories (Diakonoff 1984: 115, 192, n. 61). The straight-line distance between the centers of these districts – Manazkert and Erzinka (Turk. Malazgirt and Erzincan) – is 240 km. Both these districts are located very far from Hate-Malatya (370 km. from Manazkert and 170 km. from Erzinka), where, according to the author, the Proto-Armenian “Eastern Muškians” should have adopted their “Hittite” ethnonym.

Diakonoff considers the lands of Işua and Alzi as the country of the “Eastern Muškians” and views the area lying from Şubria to the basin of the Upper Euphrates on both sides of the river, i.e. Paḥḥuwa, Zuḥma, Tegarama, Işuwa, Maldia, and Alzi of Hittite sources and Arme (Şubria) of Urartian sources, as the territory where the Muškian-Proto-Armenians spread out (i.e. historical Sophene/ Cop‘k’ and its neighboring areas). The prototypes of the ethnonyms *Hay*, *Armen*, and *Somexi* (Georg. “Armenian”) are seen in the toponyms Ḥatti, Arme and Suḥmu located in this area. Nonetheless, as we have seen, the *Ḥatti* > *Hay* etymology is highly hypothetical, the connection between Suḥmu and *Somexi* is unacceptable (Djahukian 1987: 288), and moreover, Arme is situated very far from Cop‘k’ and the basin of the Upper Euphrates. The fact that Diakonoff does not mention Hayasa, to the north of Cop‘k’, exactly in “the basin of Upper Euphrates” betrays his bias against the Hayasa hypothesis.

The weakest point of Diakonoff’s theory is that he does not present names from this hypothetical broad cradle of the Armenians and its neighboring territory that can be etymologized in Armenian more or less reliably. From the data of that period the only valid argument of people’s ethnic origins can be the linguistic affiliation of their personal names. As Diakonoff has pointed out, in the pre-Achaemenian ancient Orient there

were only local community cults. “Confessional” names were not in use and personal names usually had some specific well-wishing meaning in a person’s native language and in connection with his/her local cult (Diakonoff 1984: 203, n. 135). Among the personal names of this area none have an Armenian appearance. According to onomastic and historical data the region was populated by the Hurrians and Luwians since the second half of the second millennium B.C. Until the 8th century B.C., the names of the rulers of the Upper Euphrates’ right bank, including Melitea-Melid, were primarily Luwian,³ while in areas southwest of Lake Van they were Hurrian. Later, to the west of the Euphrates there appeared a few new names that would have been connected with a new ethnic unit. Some of them are comparable with Phrygian names known from Greek legends.⁴

While writing about the difficulty in identifying the Armenian element in the names of the territory marked out as the earliest Armenian lands, Diakonoff mentions that local onomastics is incomplete and theoretically it is possible that the Armenians also bore Hurrian and Luwian personal names (Diakonoff 1984: 124, 129-130, 197-198, n. 106, 203, n. 135). However, the Urartian onomastics is incomplete elsewhere and the same speculative assumption may be admitted for the personal names of the other regions of Urartu. At the same time he adduces a few names which, again theoretically, can be of Armenian origin or have an Armenian part (Diakonoff 1981, 58-60, n. 115; Diakonoff 1983a: 164-165, n. 53, 170, n. 65; Diakonoff 1992: 51-52). Nevertheless, these etymologies are speculative and absolutely unconvincing.⁵

- 3 For the etymologies of approximately 200 names of the rulers of the post-Hittite “Hatti lands,” the overwhelming majority of which are apparently Luwian, see Kosyan 1994: 88-97 (there are also approximately 10 Hurrian, one Semitic, and several Phrygian and unidentified names).
- 4 Those new names are: Kurtis/ Gurdi, Mitas, Asku(i)s, Iš(ik)kallu, Mugallu, from which the first three are compared with Phryg. Gordios, Midas, Askanius, while the others remain obscure.
- 5 Thus, Iš(ik)kallu is interpreted as Arm. **hskeal*, **hskawl*, cf. *(h)skem* “to work, fag, watch” of obscure (Hittite?) origin (suggestion of A. Perikhanyan); the end-

The newcomers would have probably formed the ruling elite of the population. However, nowhere in Urartu are the non-Armenian origins of the personal names of the local governors so evident than in this alleged area of “Primary Armenia.” Obviously, the governors, whose names were Luwian or Hurrian, would have had respective Luwian or Hurrian origins. There is also no objective (i.e. linguistic) basis for attributing an Armenian origin to the 6,600 settlers of Erebuni (for their probable Luwian origin see Melikishvili 1958; Petrosyan 2006: 31 ff.; Tiratsyan 2006). To sum up, the theory of the Armenian origin of the population of this region does not have objective arguments.

If that is the case, where have the Armenians been hidden? There is no other way to identify the Proto-Armenian speakers in any area, but to display believable Proto-Armenian names. A strong argument in favor of Diakonoff's theory could have been the above-mentioned Proto-Armenian etymologies of the river names Aršana and Melia-*ini*. However, as we will see, these names could have been derived from the language of the migrants from Hayaša and/or the eastern territories of the Armenian Highland and hence considered as arguments for not only Diakonoff's but also for the following two hypotheses.

At the beginning of the Iron Age (12th century B.C.) in the territories lying to the east of the Upper Euphrates (historical Cop'k') new archaeological evidence appears that essentially differs from the previous period and can be characterized by the peculiar pottery of “Transcaucasian” type. Moreover, the local old archeological monuments have all been destroyed by fire. The Late Bronze Age culture vanishes entirely and is replaced by a new one. On the other hand, on the western bank of the Euphrates, in Malatya, the previous (Hittite) period culture continues; the new pottery that has flooded the eastern bank appears in the west later (the 8th century B.C.). This could be connected with the

ing of the toponym Tumeiški, as well as of the ethnonym Mušku/i is identified with the Armenian plural marker k'. Such arbitrary interpretations of a few sporadic names cannot be regarded as serious. Note that many more probable if not obvious Armenian names can be found in Urartu elsewhere (see above).

invasion of the “Eastern Muškians” and the tribes accompanying them (Sevin 1991: 96-97). As we have seen, the Assyrian sources call some of these invaders (except the Muškians) “troops of the Ḫatti land,” thus attributing to them a western origin, which seems to contradict the eastern (“Transcaucasian”) associations of the newly appeared pottery. According to A. Kosyan’s detailed discussion, the only plausible assumption which will fit these two sources (Assyrian and archaeological) is a location of the Muškians and others before their migrations in the area which in some earlier date was under Hittite political influence, i.e. the region of Ḫayaša (Kosyan 1997; Kosyan 1999a: 160-162, with bibliography).

According to P.S. Avetisyan, the assortment of the new pottery that appeared in the west of the Highland at the beginning of the Iron Age “by its morphological characteristics is literally identical” with the assortment of the area of the present-day Republic of Armenia of the previous epoch (last stages of the Late Bronze Age). Moreover, there is every reason to believe that during the 13th-12th centuries B.C. the population in some regions of present-day Armenia had abruptly decreased. Hence, this movement could have originated from the territory of present-day Armenia (Avetisyan 2004). These interpretations of the archaeological data exclude the immigration of the “Eastern Muskians” from the Balkans and their settlement in Ḫate-Malatya.

Thus, the main points of Diakonoff’s theory have strong counter-arguments. The *Hay* > Ḫatti etymology remained doubtful even for Diakonoff. The Mušku/i- Moschoi probably played an important role in the prehistory of Armenia and Georgia, although their identification with the Proto-Armenians is speculative and indefensible. As concerns the prehistory of Armenia, elaboration of the problem, and theoretical theses, Diakonoff’s works maintain their value.

The Hayasa Hypothesis

The ethnonym *Hay* is connected with the ethno-toponym Hayasa (Ḫayaša, Hajasa, /Xayasa/) attested in Hittite sources. The ending *-(a)ša* is considered a suffix. This kingdom, or, to be more exact, the west-

ern part of this kingdom, was also known as Azzi. Ḫayaša-Azzi was the most significant state of the Armenian Highland in the second millennium B.C. (mentioned in the 14th-13th centuries). It included some territories of Lesser and Greater Armenias, especially the area of the upper streams and headwaters of the Euphrates. The Ḫayaša hypothesis has been supported by the overwhelming majority of the specialists familiar with the problem, as well as numerous distinguished scholars who have touched upon it. Nshan Martirosean (1924) was the first to express an opinion on the Ḫayaša-Hay association, followed by Karl Roth (1927), Grigor Kapantsyan (1931-33), Paul Kretschmer (1932), A. Khachatryan (1933), et al. Kapantsyan has presented this hypothesis as a monograph (Kapantsyan 1947). Among the supporters of this hypothesis, in its various formulations, one can mention such authorities as H. Manandyan, B. B. Piotrovsky, G. A. Melikishvili, S. Eremyan, V. Georgiev, V. Bănăteanu, C. Toumanoff, G. Djahukian, Ch. Burney, D. M. Lang, V. Ivanov, T. V. Gamkrelidze, G. Sargsyan.⁶ Diakonoff was the only celebrated expert familiar with the problem who did not accept this viewpoint.

The most complete work on the Hayasa hypothesis remains Kapantsyan's monograph *Hayasa—Cradle of Armenians*. Kapantsyan was exceptionally knowledgeable in the history, languages and cultures of Armenia and neighboring ancient and contemporary peoples, however he was also a follower of N. Marr and had unacceptable views in linguistics. This substantially weakens and in some points devalues his work. He considered Armenian the successor of the Hayasan language, but denied the essential role of the Indo-European succession in it. He etymologized the place, personal, and deity names of Ḫayaša mainly

6 Manandyan 1944: 32-33; Manandyan 1956; Piotrovsky 1945: 25-26; Piotrovsky 1946: 33-35; Melikishvili 1954: 85,418; Eremyan 1958; Georgiev 1958: 71; Georgiev 1960: 39; Bănăteanu 1961; Djahukian 1961; Djahukian 1988a; Toumanoff 1963: 59; Burney and Lang 1971: 179; Ivanov 1983: 30-33; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984: 913; G. Sargsyan 1988: 51-52; G. Sargsyan 1992. The Hayasa hypothesis has also been embraced by many other scholars, see Barseghyan 1996: 156 ff.

from Hurrian and, to a lesser degree, other ancient, mainly non-Indo-European languages of the region. From a correct linguistic standpoint these interpretations can be regarded as proof of Hayaša's non-Armenian nature (Bănăteanu 1961: 105-106; Djahukian 1961: 354- 356; Djahukian 1987: 322-323; Diakonoff 1984: 114).

Scholars of the next generation have accepted the *Hay-Hayaša* link based on a correct methodological basis (not questioning the Indo-European nature of the Armenian language). Some have considered Hayasan as a local language different from Armenian, others as the predecessor of Armenian, although without bringing satisfactory and convincing linguistic arguments. Some have juxtaposed the Hayasan and Balkanic standpoints, assuming that the Armenians, after coming from the Balkans, adopted their ethnonym from the aborigines of Hayasa (Manandyan, Toumanoff, Djahukian, Burney and Lang, et al.).

The works of Djahukian have played a significant role in the development and outreach of this hypothesis. Accepting Hayasa's essential role in the process of development of the Armenian people, Djahukian, based on an examination of the available onomastic data, initially considered Hayasan as an Anatolian, i.e. Indo-European, though not Armenian, language. He localized the Proto-Armenians in the Balkan Peninsula until the 12th century B.C., when along with the Phrygians, they moved to the east of Asia Minor, where they merged with the Hayasans, Luwians, Urartians and other local tribes (Djahukian 1961; Djahukian 1967: 331-332; Djahukian 1976; Djahukian 1987, 282-285, 322-341). However, in 1987 he changed his opinion and suggesting Armenian etymologies for some Hayasan names joined those who considered Hayasan as Proto-Armenian (Djahukian 1988a; Djahukian 1990; Djahukian 1992a: 46-53).

Following are two more versions of the hypothesis:

- a) Some scholars link the ethnonym *Hay* with the Balkanic tribe Πάιοιες (based on the **p->h-* change in Armenian), which is mentioned among the tribes fighting against the Greeks at Troy.

Georgiev, proceeding from the assumption that the *Paiones* have a Phrygian origin, has interpreted their ethnonym from the Indo-European **pow-* “little, small” (from the protoform **pawyon-*). This tribe could have migrated into Asia Minor and established Hayasa. Notably, the name of Lesser Armenia calls to mind the presumed meaning of the ethnonym “little, small” (Georgiev 1958: 171; Georgiev 1960: 39). Even though G. Djahukian regards this view as improbable, he still adduces the word *hay* “little, small” in the medieval dictionary of Eremia of Meḡri as a supporting argument (Djahukian 1961: 386-387; Djahukian 1987:283). L.A. Gindin, based on O.N. Trubachev’s interpretation of the *Paiones*, considers it possible that they were the predecessors of the Armenians, who in the 15th century B.C. passed through Troy and established Hayasa (Gindin 1993: 82-85, cf. Trubachev 2003: 162-163).

- b) Certain names taken from the earliest cuneiform sources that are similar to the ethnonym *Hay* have been associated with the Hayasa hypothesis. Ivanov adduces the onomastic element *Ḫa-a* (possible pronunciation: *haya*) known from the third millennium B.C. inscriptions of Ebla and Mesopotamia. It appears along with the names *Armi* and *Azi* (cf. *Arme/Urme* and *Azzi* in the Armenian Highland), which may substantiate this assumption (Ivanov 1983: 30-33).

According to Artak Movsisyan, the ethnonym *Hay* may be connected with the Sumerian *ḪA.A*, one of the Sumerian denominations of the land Š/Subur / Šubari (Sumer. *ŠU.BUR*, *SU.BUR*, *SU.BIR*, *SU*, *SU.A*, Akkad. *Šubartu*, *Subartum*, *Šubari*), which embraces the territory of Northern Mesopotamia and the southern parts of the Armenian Highland. Furthermore, Aratta of the Sumerian epic texts should be identified with Š/Subur (they both were ideographically rendered as *SU.KUR.RU*). The name of the eponymous ancestor Hayk is comparable with that of the Akkadian god *Ḫaya/Ea* (Sumer. *Enki*), who has been portrayed with the rivers Euphrates and Tigris flowing from his shoulders and should

be localized in the region of their springs, i.e. in the Armenian Highland. The name Šubur / Šubari has been preserved in the Assyrian name of the land Šubria to the southwest of Lake Van, mentioned in the 11th-7th centuries B.C., whereas the latter has been called Arme (and its eastern part Urme) in Urartian sources. Thus, the names of Š / Subur are comparable with the Armenian ethnonyms *Hay* and *Armen*, and the inhabitants of Šubur and Aratta may be identified as Proto-Armenians (Movsisyan 2000: 7-8, 36-38, 40-47).

Kapantsyan represented the transition Hayasa-Armenia, which was interrupted by the Urartian period, as follows. The collapse of the Hittite Empire resulted in the consolidation of Hayasa. An ethnic advancement of Hayasan-Armenians from Hayasa towards Malatya, and, consequently, the occupation of all territories of Lesser Armenia, is assumed. The local population merged with the Armenians. At the end of the 7th century B.C. they started to advance southeast from Malatya to Cop'k', then towards Aĭjnik' and further southeast. In the 6th century B.C., because of the strong opposition of the local tribes and the Persian state they started settling in the western territories of Urartu and ultimately appropriate the whole Highland. There had also been a movement to the east from Hayasa, as a result of which the Ararat valley became Armenized in the 4th century B.C. Kapantsyan compares the movements of the Armenians from the southern parts of Urartu to the north with the legends of Hayk and his son Aramaneak. These legends are considered reflections of historical movements of the Armenians in the late Urartian period (Kapantsyan 1947: 123 ff., 155 ff.).

This problem has also been developed in the works of other authors (Manandyan, Eremyan, G. Sargsyan and others). Many of them have tried to reconcile the existing viewpoints. Manandyan, following Markwart, considered the *Arimoi* of Homer as the speakers of Proto-Armenian. He localized Hayasa in the area of Lake Van, hence identifying it with Hark', the domain of Hayk. Eremyan identified the Proto-Armenian-Arimoi with the Urumeans, who have been called *Hay* by the name of Hayasa. Both authors have dated the occupation of the main territories of Gretaer Armenia by the Armenians around post-Urartian times.

G. Sargsyan also does not stray too far from the theses of previous researchers. He notes that the experts (Kapantsyan, Eremyan, Piotrovsky, Diakonoff, Melikishvili and others) distinguish the valley of the upper reaches of the Euphrates as the primary cradle of the formation of the Armenian people in the second half of the second millennium B.C. This is the area mentioned by Diakonoff, plus the territory of Hayasa. This area, i.e. Hayasa and the “late-Hittite” kingdoms, was “ethnically saturated with the Armenian element.” The Armenians came to Hayk’s cradle Hark’ through Malatya and its neighboring lands. The evidence of this is the representation of Hayk as T’orgom’s son (the latter is the eponym of the Biblical “house of T’orgom,” i.e. Cappadocia). In the 12th century B.C. the Urumeans (with whom the ethnonym *Armen* is connected) and the Muški conquer the southwestern parts of the Armenian Highland. As a result there arises a huge Armenian “ethno-linguistic mass,” stretching to the center of the Highland and being mentioned by various names. These masses were in conflict with Urartu. The Muš valley (Taron) and the country of Urme are considered the boiling point of the collision, the “bastion of the Armenian ethno-linguistic mass.” The existence of the Armenian islets in the east of the Highland also cannot be excluded, from which the 6,600 captives resettled in Erebuni by Argišti I are mentioned. The movement of Hayk from Babylon to Hark’ is to be regarded as the biblicalized version of the original legend reflecting the historical movement of the Armenians from Cappadocia to Hark’ (created in the second half of the second millennium – the beginning of the first millennium B.C.). The assumption of the eastern regions of the Highland by the successors of Hayk is dated by the historical events of the 8th-6th centuries B.C. Thus the formation of the Armenian nation ends (G. Sargsyan 1988; G. Sargsyan 1992).

This reconstruction, like its predecessors, is mainly speculative. There is no linguistic or other real evidence for considering the late-Hittite kingdoms and the neighboring countries in the east (which, except for the western part of Cop’k’, can hardly be regarded as “late Hittite”) as “saturated” with an Armenian element, Taron and Urme as an

Armenian “bastion,” and the language of the resettlers of Erebuni as Armenian. If such evidence did exist, then problem of the Armenian ethnogenesis would be much closer to its solution.

There are several strong arguments supporting the Hayasa hypothesis:

- a) The localization of Hayasa-Azzi in the primary territories of Lesser Armenia (Μικρά Ἀρμενία, Armenia Minor, Arm. *P'ok'r Hayk'*, the area of the upper flows of the Euphrates, Čorox, Gayl and Halis rivers) is suggestive. This term is first attested in Greek sources (since the 3rd century B.C.), however it can imply earlier ideas. The epithet “greater, major” was usually given to the late, secondarily subdued lands, while the primary homelands were labeled as ‘little, lesser, minor’, e.g. Lesser Phrygia, Lesser Poland, Lesser Russia (Trubachev 2003: 165-166, cf. Kapantsyan 1947: 234; nonetheless cf. also “Little Armenia” used for Cilicia, Armenized in the Middle Ages, or an area in modern Hollywood).
- b) According to the Greek legend, the Argonaut Armenos initially settled in Akilisene, i.e. Arm. Ekeleac‘ district and surroundings, which has been regarded as the core area of former Azzi-Hayasa.
- c) The land to which the Argonauts set off is called Aĩa (Aia) in ancient sources. This term can be juxtaposed with Hayaša (Toumanoff 1963: 57-58, with earlier bibliography; Petrosyan 1997: 65-69; Petrosyan 2002: 44) and regarded as an argument for the pronunciation /Hayasa/ rather than /Xayasa/; if so, this ethnotoponym has only been transcribed as Ḫayaša in Hittite cuneiform writing.
- d) The main temples of the majority of the Armenian pre-Christian gods – Aramazd, Anahit, Mihr, Nane, and Baršamin – were concentrated in the area of Akilisene (the districts of Daranali, Ekeleac‘, and Derjan).

- e) Armenos, as an Armenian eponym, corresponds to the patriarch Aram, who, on the other hand, could eponymize the Urumeans. As we have seen, the initial territory of this tribe could have been in Hayasa.

The weak points are:

- a) the identification of the cuneiform ḫ as /h/;
- b) the cuneiform Ḫaya- instead of the anticipated cuneiform *Ayu* (= **Hayo*);
- c) the suffix *-(a)ša* was not widespread in the region;
- d) the Proto-Armenian element is not evident in the onomastics of Hayasa;
- e) the primary territories of Hayasa do not play a role and are not even mentioned in the legends of the Armenian ethnogenesis; and
- f) the absence of ethno-toponyms comparable with Ḫayaša after the Hittite epoch.

Despite its apparent similitude the correspondence of the sound /h/ with the cuneiform ḫ in the *Hay* < Ḫatti and *Hay* < Ḫayaša etymologies is not identical. In the first case the ethnonym *Hay* is considered borrowed from Ḫatti , while in the second it is the ethnonym *Hay*, foreign for the Hittites, that is considered to be presented in the cuneiform writing as Ḫay- (in the first case the foreign /x/ is assumed to be reflected in Armenian as /h/, while in the second the Proto-Armenian /h/ is assumed to be presented in the cuneiform writing as /x/). As has been said, according to Greppin, in the Armenian-Hittite parallels the correspondence of the Armenian h and the Hittite h hints at a common Indo-European origin. Ḫayaša is not a Hittite word, but the name of a country foreign to the Hittites, so this approach is not applicable here. Nevertheless, we can note that if *Hay* and Ḫayaša /*Xayasa*/ are somehow connected with each other, then it is the Hittite Ḫayaša that originates from the local, possibly Armenian, *Hay*.

The land Aia later has been identified with Colchis (in late sources Aia is a city located on the river Rion). Early Colchis, Urart. Qulḫa, attested in the 8th century B.C., was located in the basin of the Čorox (Turk. Çoruh) River (Melikishvili 1962), and thus overlapped the territory of former Hayasa. Therefore, Aia may be equated with Hayasa. The legend of the Argonauts and the land Aia are dated to the generation prior to the war of Troy (13th century B.C.), which is the period of Hayasa's existence. Thus, notwithstanding the skepticism of some scholars, the mythical Aia really could correspond to the terrestrial Hayasa (can such a similarity between two names of the same territory dated to the same period be coincidental?). A comparison of the Hittite *Ḫayaša* and the Greek *Aia* shows that the stem of this country name would be *Hay*. The ethnonym *Hay* is restored as **Hayo-*, however, as mentioned above, the *-o* ending could have been added at a later stage of development. Is it not possible that *Haya-* was a toponym derived from the ethnonym *Hay* (with the suffix **-ya*), further suffixed with the Anatolian *-ša*? In any event, it is more probable that the foreign /h/ was communicated as the cuneiform ḫ, than that the foreign sound /x/ was perceived as the sound /h/ in earliest Armenian.

In this hypothesis the Armenian ethnos does not appear in the Urartian records by its name. In the ocean of the Urartian onomastics there are no names that contain the element *ḫay(a)-* (Hayasa is not recalled after the Hittite period; in its place the Urartian sources mention the kingdom of Diauhī). Also, there is no information in the Urartian sources that would hint at the conquest of the Highland by the people of Hayasa. The absence of historically recorded succession from Hayasa to post-Urartian Armenia is considered one of the primary important bases for negating the Hayasa hypothesis (Diakonoff 1983a: 172; Diakonoff 1984: 113). This is the main reason for G. Sargsyan's historical interpretation of this hypothesis being in some points almost identical with Diakonoff's theory (except the including of Hayasa in the territory of the primary cradle of the formation of the Armenian people). This, of course, does not mean that there are no other possibilities. In his works

G. Djahukian has proposed an alternative standpoint on the Hayasa-Hayk transition based on onomastic evidence, which, regrettably, has not been discussed in a historical context.⁷

As has been noted, the localization of the domain of the forefather Hayk to the north of Lake Van in the district of Hark‘ cannot be explained mythologically, but could have a historical basis. The Hayasa-Hayk‘ succession would be acceptable if Hayasa included the territory of Hayk’s domain. Several arguments in support of this thesis may be adduced.

- a) One of Hayasa’s cities has been situated on the shore of the sea, which, according to some researchers, could have been Lake Van (Forrer 1931: 17-18; Manandyan 1956: 99 f.; Haas 1986: 23; Kosyan2004: 38-39). However, there is no reliable data and any localization is very conjectural.
- b) The Hayasan toponym Arhita may correspond with the Urartian Arhi located not far from Muš (Djahukian 1964: 19).⁸ G. Sargsyan identifies the latter with Arm. Hark‘, the domain of the forefather Hayk.

One of the essential weak points of this hypothesis, like in the previous one, is the absence of names reliably etymologized from (Proto-) Armenian in the supposed primary territories of the Proto-Armenians. It has been noted that the Hayasan names are few in number. Furthermore, while the names derived from any language are indicative of

7 Adducing some parallels between the onomastics of Hayasa and other regions of Armenia, attested in Urartian times (Azzi-’Aza, Ҳuggana-Ҳука, Baltaik-Baltulḫi, Arḫita-Arḫi, Amiya-Ama, Duqqama-Duqama, Ҳalimana-Ulmania, Elamunia-Alamun, Parraya-Parra) the author assumes that there could have been a movement from Hayasa to the south and east up to the south of Lake Urmia, see e.g. Djahukian 1988: 159-161. For a criticism of this view, see Diakonoff 1984: 191, n. 50.

8 Note that this may be regarded as an argument for the chronology of the Armenian change **t > y* (*Arḫita > Arḫiya > Arḫiḫ*), which, in this case, could be dated from the last epoch of the Hittite Empire to the formation of Urartu (13th-9th century B.C.), which is important for the Hatti hypothesis

the presence of that language in a country, the absence of such names cannot be considered as a proof of the absence of the language; e.g. in late Hittite onomastics the Hittite element is insignificant (Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984: 913). Djahukian has tried to fill this gap in his later works, yet nevertheless the suggested Armenian etymologies of the names of Hayasa (especially of the personal names) are speculative and disputable,⁹ whereas there are names that seem to have apparent Anatolian and Balkanic parallels.¹⁰ The Armenian etymologies suggested by other authors are more questionable.

It is necessary to give special consideration to the theory of the Armenization of the west of the Upper Euphrates. The idea that the Armenians had a cradle somewhere in southern Cappadocia, to the west of Malatya (e.g. at Mt. Argaeus), for a long time has been the point of departure of researchers. This approach has been dominant not only in the circles of the supporters of Markwart and Diakonoff, but also of the Hayasa hypothesis (Kapantsyan, Manandyan, Eremyan, and G. Sarg-

9 Here I represent some examples from Djahukian 1990: 26-27: toponyms: Hayaša – Arm. *Hay* “Armenian” (< **poti*- “master”), *Azzi* – *az*- “dry,” *Ingalawa* – *ankal* “to receive,” or *angl* “vulture,” *Arziya* – *arc*- “white, bright,” *Laḫirḫila* – *hiwl/xul*³ “hut”; anthroponyms: *Aišiya* – *ayc-i* “goat,” *Aniya* – *hani* “grandmother, ancestor,” *Mariya* – *mari* “she-bird”; theonyms: *Terittitunni* – **erttun* “three-tailed,” *Silili*[...] – *silel* lover.” Unfortunately, it is impossible to consider these etymologies in this article, however, I would like to make a few remarks: the *Hay* < **poti*- etymology may support the Etiunian hypothesis as well (see below); the correspondence of the Hittite cuneiform š(=s) and Arm. c, zz (=ts) and z, i and u are doubtful; *Terittitunni* is reminiscent of Balkanic theonyms (cf. Gk. Τριτων, Τίθωνός, Τιτωός, Τιτῶνες); *Silili*- is a conjectural reading (only the Ši-il-fragment is preserved); the localization of *Arziya* in *Hayasa* is questionable (for updated localizations and readings see Kosyan 2004; Kosyan 2005). All of the etymologies are arbitrary, because we do not have any data for the interpretation of names. This does not diminish the value of Djahukian’s work, but emphasizes the hypothetical character of such etymologies.

10 Huggannaš is comparable to Lycian *ḫuga*- “grandfather;” while *Midaš* (a 15th century chieftain of the region of *Hayasa*) and *Karanniš* may be compared with the legendary kings of Macedonia *Midas* and *Karanos* (Petrosyan 1997: 82-86; Petrosyan 2002: 154, n. 523).

syans), who also take the Proto-Armenians from Hayasa to Cappadocia, the region of Malatya, and only then to Greater Armenia (see especially Diakonoff 1981; G. Sargsyan 1992; Kosyan 1998). However, as we have seen, in Malatya and in the neighboring western areas no traces of the Proto-Armenians have been discovered, while in the legends of the Haykids those territories are not mentioned until the patriarch Aram's mythical victory near Mt. Argaeus in Cappadocia.

"First Armenia" is the name of a Roman province in Cappadocia, created in the 4th century A.D. and there is no real basis to regard it as a reminiscence of prehistoric times. Hayk's patronymic T'orgom has been brought forward to confirm the Cappadocian origins of the Armenians. T'orgom eponymizes the Biblical Beth Togarmah, Arm. *Tun T'orgomay* "T'orgom's house" (Hebr. *Twgrmh*, *Tgrmh*, *Trgmh*, Gk. *Θοργαμά*, *Θωργαμά*, *Θεργαμά*), which corresponds to Assyr. *Tegarama*, Hitt. *Te/akarama*, Luw. *Lakarama* located to the west of Malatya. T'orgom is a descendant of Gomer/Gamer, who eponymizes Cappadocia (Gen. 10.2-3; Xorenac'i 1.5; 1.9; 1.12; cf. Arm. *Gamirk'* "Cappadocia"). However, the Torgomian genealogy of the Armenians is a late invention. In Josephus Thorgames figures as the forefather of the Phrygians, while the Armenians are represented as the descendants of Aram's son Oulos. For the first time Thorgama is associated with the Armenians in the works of the early Christian authors Hippolytus and Eusebius, in the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. (Adontz 1927: 190-191; Adontz 1946: 319 f.). From there this genealogy passes to the works of the Armenian authors: Agat'angelos, P'avstos, Xorenac'i, Anonym, and others. The idea that T'orgom is the Armenians' ancestor could have originated from the traditional Phrygian origin of the Armenians and the fact that Armenia borders Cappadocia. The next step was to consider T'orgom's brother Ask'anaz as the ancestor of the Armenians (for the first time in Koriwn, in the 5th century A.D.).

Thus, while there is significant literature on the Armenians' T'orgomian-Cappadocian cradle, it is based only on a later interpretation of biblical genealogies and their reconciliation with the legend of

Aram's battle in Cappadocia. This is a result of scholars' aspiration to prove the thesis of the western origin of the Armenians. Hayk's Torgomian genealogy can also have a mythical basis: Torgom/Tegarama could have been confounded with the name of the Anatolian thunder god Tarḫu-/Tarku- (Adontz 1927: 191; Petrosyan 2002: 57). It should be noted that the early Lesser Armenia was situated to the northwest of Greater Armenia and northern Cappadocia and did not include the area of Malatya and its western region.

Concerning the comparison of the early Mesopotamian *ḪA.A*, *Ḫa.a* and *Ḫayaša*, even though it is not sufficiently developed it is still promising. In this case, we need to work out the ways in which the historical development of *ḪA.A* (Šubur)-*Ḫayaša*-Hayk' could come about.

Thus, the Hayasa hypothesis, which is widely held among specialists, also has its weak points and underdeveloped theses. On the one side, it seems difficult to deny that two such similar names – Hayasa and Hay-k' – are connected with each other (other arguments in favor of the hypothesis are the localization of the followers of the forefather Armenos and Armenian pre-Christian temples in the region of former Azzi-Hayasa). On the other side, there are difficulties that make it hard to accept the Hayasa-Armenia succession.

The Etiuni Hypothesis

The ethnonym *Hay* is connected with the ethno-toponym *Etiu-* attested in Urartian sources of the 9th-7th centuries B.C. (presented in derivative forms: ^{KUR}Etiuni/Etiuḫi “Etiunian land”). The territory of this country basically corresponds with the Ayrarat province of Greater Armenia (Arutyunyan 1985: 262 f.). One of the possible prototypes of the ethnonym *Hay*, as we have seen, could have been **hat'iyō-* from the Indo-European **poti-yō-* or, if it is linguistically and historically possible, from *Ḫatti*. There are no cuneiform signs for the sound /o/. It has been conveyed as u; almost always the Urartian cuneiform u conveys /o/, and Diakonoff, in the English version of his book, transcribes Etiu

as Etio (Diakonoff 1984: 133-134, n. 21). There are no cuneiform signs for the sound /h/ either, and it could have been left out.¹¹ The Urartian *e* probably sounded like wide / ε / or even as / \ae /. This is possibly the reason that in Armeno-Urartian parallels in the beginning of words the Urartian *e* usually corresponds with the Armenian *a* (Diakonoff 1958: 48-49; Djahukian 1987: 428, 431, 441, cf. e.g. Urart. *huri* “master,” vs. Arm. *awriord* “maiden, master’s daughter”). It can be assumed that in ancient Armenian, or at least in one of its dialects, the sound /a/ had such a (closed) pronunciation, that it was perceived and transcribed as *e*/ ε / \ae / in Urartian. Hence, the Proto-Armenian **hat’i(y)o-* could have been transcribed in Urartian as *etiu* (the *e/a* variance is common in the renderings of foreign names, cf. e.g. Assyr. Enzite = Arm. Anjit, Arm. Ekeleac’ = Gk. Ἀκλισηνή).

In this hypothesis, it is not obligatory to date the Armenian change of the Indo-European intervocalic **t > (t’) > y* after the 9th century B.C. As the ethnonym of the tribe dominating over a significant part of the Highland *Et’io* < **hat’iyo-* could have passed to Urartian sometime long before the formation of Urartu. It could have remained in Urartian in this archaic form, whereas the original **hat’iyo-* could already have been transformed into *hayo* in Etiunian-Armenian in the Urartian times.

Thus, according to this hypothesis, Armenia of the Urartian period appears in Urartian sources as *Etio-ni/h̄i*. This was proposed by the present author in 1983.

At the beginning of the first millennium B.C. Etiuni was a significant tribal confederation that included the central and northern regions of the Armenian Highland. Unfortunately, the history of Etiuni, as well as the histories of other tribal groups and alliances of the Highland, still awaits its author.

Judging from the records of the Urartian kings, during their invasions the constituent principalities (“kingdoms”) of Etiuni were repeat-

11 In Urartian writing the transcript of /h/ as *h̄* is doubtful, see Diakonoff 1958: 42, 52; Khach’ikyan 1985: 41. For the omission of /h/ cf. e.g. the identification of the Urartian toponym Abuni with Arm. Haw(n)uni (Arutyunyan 1985: 9-10).

edly conquered and destroyed, and the population taken captive. At the end of the 9th century B.C. the Urartian kings Išpuini and Minua mention the “kings of Etiuḫi” that fought against Urartu. The successive Urartian kings recount their further invasions and victories over Etiuni. These declarations are unilateral. Only the victories and the conquests of the kings of Urartu are recalled. However, in some cases there appear opposing facts. According to one interpretation of a passage from the annals of Argišti I, during the reign of this powerful king, the Etiunians invaded Urartu and stole the *aštiuzi* of the city of Ardini (to the southeast of Lake Urmia), which is interpreted as “idol, god” and is compared with Arm. *astuac* “god” (Melikishvili 1979; cf. Arutyunyan 2001: 178, 180, n. 44). According to an Assyrian reconnaissance report of the times of Rusa I (ca. 730-710 B.C.),

Twice the Etinaeans have made an uprising against him [i.e. Rusa I – A.P.]. They are causing him military loses. They have plundered him. For a third time they are joining up against him. Ursa [Rusa – A.P.] has come straight from Turušpa [the Assyrian name of the capital of Urartu Tušpa – A.P.], [and] is going yet again against the Etinaeans.

According to another Assyrian analogous text “Urartu is destroyed” and the “people of Etuna” are mentioned, who, apparently, destroyed the country (Saggs 2001: 117,147). There is no doubt that these “Etinaeans” and “Etunaeans” (*e-ti-ni-a-a*, *e?-tu?-na-a-*, the second text is damaged) are the Etiunians, whose appellation is borrowed from Urartian (Grekyan, forthcoming). During this period there was no other country or tribe by this name that could have organized several invasions and destroyed such a powerful kingdom as Urartu. The variation Etina/Etuna also hints at this.

As repeatedly pointed out by Diakonoff and others, the policy of resettling captives carried out by the kings of Van played a significant role in the process of the Armenization of the Armenian Highland. Many captives were taken from Etiuni, who, according to only partially pre-

served sources, widely outnumbered the captives brought from the West (especially the 6,600 resettlers of Erebuni, not numerous by Urartian standards). According to an inscription, King Minua (810-786 B.C.) took from Etiuni 50 *atibi*, i.e., half a million people (Dinçol 1976: 25-26 [misprint: fifty thousand]; Salvini 1980: 167). It is hard to believe in the authenticity of this number; however, this indicates the enormous scale of confrontation between Etiuni and Urartu (this number of captives would have been enough to make the language of Etiuni dominant over the whole Armenian Highland). Minua's successors also took large numbers of captives from Etiuni. Prior to the downfall of Urartu, Rusa II (c. 685-645 B.C.) recalls Etiuni as one of the enemy/foreign countries (among which are mentioned Assyria, Hatti, Muškini, etc), from which he had resettled captives in the Van area (Salvini 2001: 258, 261). Etiuni was once again in conflict with the kingdom of Van. However, Etiuni, despite being frequently attacked by the kings of Van and having suffered heavy losses, was able to resist and, until the downfall of Urartu, maintain its non-Urartian identity.

Ayrarat was the central province of Greater Armenia, its mainstay, its political, religious, and cultural center, and domain of the kings. In the ethnogenic myth, the forefather Hayk settles in the region of Hark', but his eldest son and successor Aramaneak moves to Ayrarat, the Ararat valley, where the creation of Armenia ("the Armenian universe") took place after Hayk. The neighboring mountains of the Ararat valley (Aragac, Masis, Gełam) are named after the successors of Aramaneak. The whole province and its central plain is called the "plain of Ara" after the last ethnogenic patriarch Ara the Handsome, who perished here. Thus, starting from mythical Aramaneak till now Ayrarat remains the center of Armenia. Almost all of the capital cities of Armenia were located here (Armawir, Erwandašat, Artašat, Duin, Ani, Erevan, etc).¹²

12 The toponym Ayrarat and its eponyms Aramaneak and Ara bring to mind the Indo-European **ar(y)o-* and **aryomen-*, which appear as the names of Indo-European tribes, homelands, sacred centers and corresponding eponyms: cf. Indo-Iran. ethnonym **aryo-*; homelands and sacred centers: Ind. *Āryāvarta*, Avest.

In the ethnogonic myth the father of Ara the Handsome, Aram, figures as the conqueror of the southern areas of the Armenian Highland, while his domain was the Ararat valley in the north (i.e. Etiuni). The mythical Aram would inevitably have embraced the reminiscence about the first known historic king of Urartu, Aramu. After Aramu the dynasty and the center of Urartu were changed (Melikishvili 1954: 202; Salvini 1995: 35). Urartu's next known king was Sarduri I, son of Lutipri, whose capital city was Tušpa (Van) to the east of Lake Van.

Šamiram-Semiramis is famous in the myths of many peoples. In Armenian tradition, though represented as the queen of Assyria, she figures as the eponym of Urartu. She is the one who established the city of Van, which has also been called *Šamiramakert* ‘built by Šamiram,’ and *k'alak* ‘*Šamiramay*, “city of Šamiram,” by the Armenians. Van is attested as Tušpa in Urartian and was the center of the goddess Tušpuea, the wife of the sun god. Hence, Šamiram would have assimilated the figure of Tušpuea. Van-Tušpa was rebuilt and established as the center of Urartu by Sarduri I. Even the construction of the famous irrigation canal of Van, built by King Minua, is ascribed to Šamiram (“Šamiram’s canal”). Šamiram perished on the shores of Lake Van (Xorenac’i 1,18; for the legends, see Abeghian 1966: 70-71). Šamiram was the one who defeated Ara the Handsome and conquered Armenia, Ara’s country, i.e. Ayrarat, “plain of Ara” (note that mythological heroes frequently eponymize the territories where they were killed.). The legend recounts the opposition of Assyria and Armenia. However, taking into account the mythological nature of the legend, the area of Van (eponymized by the queen Šamiram) and Ayrarat (eponymized by Ara) can be regarded as the two parties of the conflict. In Urartian terms these would be Biainili (“Urartu,” the area of Van) and Etiuni, respectively.

Airyana vaējah, (Pehl. *Ērān* “Iran,” Old Osset. **Alani* “Alans” < **aryana*); theonyms: Hitt. *Āra* (< **ār-o-*), Ind. Aryaman, Iran. Airyaman, Irish Eremon, Germ. Irmin. Note that **aryo-* “friend, master, lord,” would regularly yield Arm. *ayr-*, while Aramaneak/Aramenak can represent a conflation of **aryomen-* with the name of the ethnogonic patriarch Aram (Petrosyan 2002: 83-87).

Aramu reigned ca. 860-840 B.C., while Šamiram's historical prototype, Queen Sammuamat, ruled Babylon in 810-806 B.C. Thus, the conflict between Šamiram and Ara may be regarded as the mythological reflection of Etiuni's conquest by the kingdom of Van, which took place during the same period (the end of the 9th century B.C.). Moreover, the domain of Ara, i.e. Armenia of the time of Šamiram, unequivocally coincides with Etiuni.

According to the legend Ara was the seventh Haykid, i.e. Armenian, ruler in Ayrarat. Thus the whole pre-Urartian period of Armenian history is embedded in the legends of these seven generations. After Ara the Armenians fall under the rule of Assyria and were only able to free themselves after many generations, as the result of the latter's downfall (Xorenac'i, 1.21). According to the Arab historian Masudi, after Šamiram the Armenians for a long time ruled over the kings of Assyria (Ter-Ghevondyan 1965). In reality, during this period Urartu retained a dominant position in the region. Urartu was forgotten in the folk-memory of the peoples, and the contradiction of these data can be explained, if we accept that Urartu has been identified with Assyria in the subsequent folklore of the northerners (the Armenians) and with Armenia in the folklore of the southerners.

An echo of the Armenian's Etiunian descent seems to have survived in Xorenac'i (1.20; 1.32): the Assyrian king Tawtamos sends the Armenian patriarch Zarmayr with an Ethiopian army to aid Troy, where he falls victim to the Hellenic daredevils (Zarmayr seems to be identified with Memnon of the *Iliad*). Why would the Armenian patriarch have become the captain of the Ethiopian army? It is possible that Urt. *Etio/et^hio-* and/or Assy. *etina/etuna* somehow reached the later authors who confounded it with well-known Ethiopia (Petrosyan 1991:114; Petrosyan 1997:124).

The other hypotheses do not present ethnic names comparable to their preferred prototypes of the Armenian ethnonym *Hay* in the huge corpus of the Urartian onomastics where even the most minor tribes of the Highland are mentioned. According to this hypothesis, Armenians and their land are identified with a powerful confederation, the second

ethno-political unit of the Highland next to the kingdom of Van (Biainili, Urartu), situated exactly in the area which figures as the center of Armenia both in the ethnogonic legends and in history.

This hypothesis can explain the Urartu-Armenia transition in a simple way, as a result of the conflict between the northern and southern ethno-political centers of the Highland. After approximately two centuries of dominion by the south the hegemony passed to the north. The population of these two centers and even the ruling elites could at least partially have belonged to the same ethnic groups. The age-long confrontation of the kings of Van (Biainili) and Etiuni is incomparable with the episodic conflicts between the kings of Van and the land of Urmetaron, emphasized by G. Sargsyan (and perhaps over the wars of the kings of Van with all of the western lands of the Highland: Arme, Urme, Muškini, Ḫatti, Supani, etc.).

This hypothesis would explain the evidence of Xenophon dated from 401 B.C. that one part of the country was called “Western Armenia” (*Anabasis*, 4.4.4). Accordingly, the eastern territories, i.e. former Etiuni and surroundings could have been perceived as the “Essential Armenia” (G. Sargsyan 1988: 61-64).

The authors of the other hypotheses have sought the cradle of Armenia in the south and in the west of the Armenian Highland. There are several subjective and objective reasons for this. The information provided by ancient sources concerns the southern and western regions of the Highland; the ethnogonic legends localize the first Armenian centers to the north of Lake Van or the headstream of the Euphrates; the main cult centers of the Armenian pre-Christian gods were also located in the upper flows of the Euphrates; and according to Greek authors, the Armenians came from the west (Phrygia). All of the serious researchers of recent times – Diakonoff, Djahukian, Ivanov, G. Sargsyan, et al. – have accepted the presence of the Proto-Armenians to the west of the Armenian Highland in pre-Urartian times. For the Etiuni hypothesis too there is no reason to deny the western origin of the Proto-Armenians (this is not an essential condition though). Nevertheless, the search for

the Proto-Armenians in the west during the Urartian period implies that they entered the central and northern areas of the Highland during and/or after the existence of the Urartian Empire. While if we accept that the Proto-Armenians already populated the territory of the domain of Hayk and neighboring regions before the Urartian period, then we can also date to pre-Urartian times the Armenization of Ararat, presented in the ethnogonic myth as the settlement of the second Armenian eponymous patriarch Aramaneak/ Aranenek in the Ararat valley.

One more argument: of Hayk's three sons it is Aramaneak who leaves his father's domain and resettles in Ararat. The two other sons, Xor and Manawaz, stay in the domain of Hayk and eponymize the districts of Xorxorunik' and Manawazeank'. This needs explanation. The eldest son of the patriarch, second eponym of the people, would have stayed in his father's domain, as it happened in the case of Aramaneak's successors. This discrepancy in the legend's logic can be explained by historical reasons. Hayk's son *Xor* is considered the eponym of the Hurrians (cuneiform *hurri* = *xorə* > Arm. *Xor*; cf. Hebr. *hōrī*, Gk. *χորαῖος*) (Kapantsyan 1961: 114-115; Djahukian 1981:55), while Manawaz, being interpreted as an Iranianized form of the Urartian name Minua, can be considered an Urartian eponym (Markwart 1901: 162; Djahukian 1987: 441). The ethnogonic myth dates these events to six generations earlier than the patriarch Aram, who, in historical context, should be identified with the first king of Urartu Aramu (mid-9th century B.C.). Thus, in spite of the methodological problem of the historical reconstruction on the basis of myth, Aramaneak's move from his father's domain may be interpreted as the move of the Proto-Armenians to Etiuni under the pressure of the Hurro-Urartians, occurring before King Aramu's reign. Nevertheless, those movements lack exact chronology (Petrosyan 2002: 179 ff., 187).

To sum up, we can say that according to the logic of the existing data, even if the ethnonym *Hay* is not connected with Etiuni, nevertheless, this country could have been the center of the Armenians as early as pre-Urartian times.

We can point out the following arguments supporting this hypothesis:

- a) The space and time correspondence to the data of the ethnogenic legends, where Ayrarat and the Ararat valley are presented as the center of post-Haykid Armenia;
- b) The identification of the Armenians as one of the most important peoples among the Highland's population in Urartian times, as opposed to other viewpoints, where the Armenians, inexplicably, do not appear in the vast material of the Urartian onomastics;
- c) The simple historical interpretation of the Urartu-Armenia transition, as the change of the predominant center of the Armenian Highland: geographically from south to north, ethnically from the ruling elite of Urartu to the Armenians;
- d) The evident Armenian etymology of at least one king's name (*D/Ṭiusini*). The other hypotheses localizing the Armenians in the south and west of the Highland, do not identify even one single personal name which could be more or less reliably etymologized in Armenian.

The weak points are:

- a) The form *Etiu* instead of *Atiu*;
- b) The obscurity of the chronology of the transition $*t > y$ in Armenian;
- c) The presence of probable non-Armenian names in Etiuni, etc.

The Subjective Factors

Abstaining from a final conclusion let us state that these three hypotheses are presently circulating in scientific studies. All three are indeed hypothetical, resulting from the deficiency of data and the possibility of alternative interpretations. The hypotheses in whole are not necessarily alternative and, at least on some points, can be reconciled. Nevertheless, this is only a theoretical possibility and for the present time they should be considered as independent.

In the spreading and estimation of these hypotheses the role of personalities has been significant. Diakonoff, the author of the monograph on the prehistory of the Armenian people, was a world-famous orientalist, who presented and supported his hypothesis in numerous works, published in Armenian, Russian, and European languages. His monograph was translated into English and became the only guide for Western specialists in the study of the Armenian ethnogenesis and prehistory. Thus, Diakonoff's theory, even though it has never been supported in whole by other competent scholars, is widely referenced in various scientific works of the world.

The Hayasa hypothesis has been criticized for its proponent Kapantsyan's unacceptable linguistic approaches. In later (post-Kapantsyan) versions, it is in fact the only hypothesis widely accepted by competent scholars. As concerns the Etiuni hypothesis, it has not been discussed widely.¹³

Diakonoff and the adherents of the Hayasa hypothesis have analyzed the strengths and weaknesses of the two theories and have criticized and considered unlikely the one negated by them (Diakonoff 1968: 209-213; Diakonoff 1983a: 158; Diakonoff 1984: 106ff.; Bănăteanu 1961: 107-110; Djahukian 1961: 387-388; Djahukian 1987: 281-283; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984: 913) (note that Western readers are well-informed about Diakonoff's ideas and his criticism of the Hayasa theory, while Diakonoff is criticized mostly in Armenian and Russian publications). Sometimes the criticism has been categorical and rude.¹⁴

13 In some of his works H. Karagyozyan tried to maintain this hypothesis, but on the grounds of unacceptable arguments, see G. Sargsyan 1988: 169; Petrosyan 1991a.

14 According to Ivanov (1983: 30, n. 31), new discoveries, particularly pertaining to the toponym and ethnonym *Haya* and its relation with *Armi* and *Azi*, "corroborate the correctness of G.A. Kapantsyan's conclusions on the Hayasan origin of the Armenians and the absolute fallacy of all of the constructs of I.M. Diakonoff on the origin of the ethnonym *Hay* < **hati* and other problems of Armenian ethnogenesis." In return, in the English version of his monograph, Diakonoff calls the Hayasa theory "fallacious" and "unacceptable;" in another work, written with a co-author, we read: "Barrels of ink have been spilled in attempts to prove that

Armenology, like the other branches of Oriental Studies, is politicized. Colossal means and energy are spent on supporting viewpoints and pursuing political objectives rather than on unbiased discussion of scientific problems and revealing historical truth.

Most of historical Armenia presently constitutes a part of Turkey (renamed “Eastern Anatolia”), which conducts a policy of minimizing the role of the Armenians in history. The terms Armenia and Armenian are almost excluded from the lexicon of some studies on the ancient history of the Armenian Highland. In these works the hypothesis of the Balkanic origin of the Armenians is widely accepted. This theory attracts authors by the supposition that the (Proto-) Armenians were a small group of Balkanic migrants. It is Diakonoff’s monograph that is frequently referenced, although the various theses argued in the monograph and in other works of the author, which are considered “pro-Armenian,” are not taken into consideration (e.g. that the Proto-Armenians inhabited the Armenian Highland before the formation of Urartu; that there are Armenian borrowings in Urartian; that Armenians are the genetic and cultural successors of the ancient population of Urartu and the pre-Urartian states of the Armenian Highland; and that the history of the Armenian people should not begin from the post-Urartian period but should also include the period of Urartu and pre-Urartian states, etc).

On the other hand, there are pseudo-scientific ethnocentric “theories” circulating in Armenia. Today in the West studies on nationalism have become fashionable. These theories are the focus of attention and are considered in the context of the development of nationalism in Armenia. Some devotees of Diakonoff in the West consider the other scientific hypotheses as nationalist or even anti-scientific, invented and accepted only in Armenia. Were it not for these factors we would be closer to the solution of many questions at issue.

the Hayasans were the ancestors of the *Hayk*’ (Armenians): a severe case of the malady called ‘Sirene des Gleichklangs’” (Diakonoff 1984: 182, n. 24, 201, n. 120; Diakonoff and Medvedskaya 1987: 386).

First Capitals of Armenia and Georgia: Armawir and Armazi (Problems of Early Ethnic Associations)*

The foundation legends of the first capitals of Armenia and Georgia – Armawir and Armazi – have several common features. A specific cult of the moon god is attested in both cities in the triadic temples along with the supreme thunder god and the sun god. The names of Armawir and Armazi may be associated with the Anatolian Arma-‘moon (god).’ The Armenian ethnonym (exonym) Armen may also be derived from the same stem.

The sacred character of cultic localities is extremely enduring. The cults were changed, but the localities kept their sacred character for millennia. At the transition to a new religious system the new cults were often simply imposed on the old ones (e.g., the old temple was renamed after a new deity, or the new temple was built on the site or near the ruins of the old one). The new deities inherited the characteristics of the old ones, or, one may say, the old cults were simply renamed, which could have been accompanied by some changes of the cult practices. Evidently, in the new system more or less comparable images were chosen to replace the old ones: similarity of functions, rituals, names, concurrence of days of cult, etc (Petrosyan 2006: 4 f.; Petrosyan 2007c: 175).¹⁵

On the other hand, in the course of religious changes, old gods often descend to the lower level of epic heroes. Thus, the heroes of the Ar-

* First published as Petrosyan 2012b.

15 For numerous examples of preservation of pre-Urartian and Urartian holy places in medieval Armenia, see, e.g., Hmayakyan and Sanamyan 2001).

menian ethnogenic legends and the epic “Daredevils of Sasun” are derived from ancient local gods: e.g., Sanasar, who obtains the “lightning sword” – from the thunder god; Mher from Mithra/Mihr, etc (Abeghian 1966: 417; Petrosyan 2002 passim; Petrosyan 2007c: 191 ff.).

Aramazd and Vahagn

The name of Aramazd, the supreme god of pre-Christian Armenia, is borrowed from the Parthian version of the Iranian Ahura Mazdā, attested in the first century BC in Greek as *Aramasdēs* (Meillet 1916: 25). He, like the Iranian Ahura Mazdā, was regarded as the creator of heaven and earth. Aside from that, Aramazd, like the other Armenian gods whose names are derived from the Iranian prototypes, had little in common with his Iranian namesake (Petrosyan 2007c: 178). Aramazd was identified with Zeus and, like Zeus, had a thunderous nature: according to Khorenatsi (II.86), St. Nunē “destroyed the image of the thunderous (*ampropayin*) Aramazd” in Mcxheta, capital of Georgia. From this evidence one can conclude that the Armenian Aramazd was identified with the Georgian god Armazi and they both were considered thunder gods.

The cult center of Aramazd was the fortress Ani in the Daranali district of the province of Higher Armenia, or Ani-Kamax (modern Turk. Kemah in Erzincan Province), which is attested as Kummaha from the mid-second millennium BC in Hittite sources. It was a significant cult center of the local thunder god, represented by the ideogram ^{DU} (KUB XXXVIII.12), who was included in the list of cults of the official Hittite pantheon (Kosyan 2002a: 225 f., 235, 239, with bibliography). The name of Kummaha is, obviously, inseparable from those of the cities Kumme and Kummana, the cult centers of the Hurro-Urartian and late Hittite thunder god Teššub (Urart. Teišeba) (Kapantsyan 1956: 50; *-ni* and *-ha* are typical suffixes in the ancient toponyms of the region).¹⁶ The first one was in the Kashiari mountains, near the Mountain of Corduene

¹⁶ For the aspects of the cults of those cities, their legends, and etymology of the element *kum-/kom-*, see Petrosyan 2006b: 11 ff., 59 ff.; 2012.

(Arm. Ararat of Korduk', Turk. Cudi), and the second one in Cappadocia, west of Malatia. Thus, the thunder god of Kummaha should have been a local variety of Teššub, who could be regarded as the oldest local predecessor of the "thunderous" Aramazd (Petrosyan 2006b: 11ff.; 2007c: 177 ff.). Aramazd was also called "father of all the gods." The burial site of the Armenian Arsacid kings of the first centuries AD was in the fortress of Ani (Agathangelos 785; Pawstos III.11; IV.24; Khorentsatsi III.10; III.45).¹⁷ Consequently, Aramazd, the patriarch of gods and maybe also their king, was related to the royal ancestors, who would join him in the other world.

The name of Vahagn, the valiant warrior god of the Armenian pantheon, is derived from the Parthian **Varhragna* (Avest. *Vərəθraϥna*, the etymological parallel of the epithet of the Indian thunder god Indra *Vṛtrahan* 'slayer of the dragon Vṛtra'). He fought and overcame dragons and was called *višapak'al* 'dragon-reaper,' i.e., 'dragon-slayer' (Khorentsatsi I.31; Agathangelos 809). Vahagn, who was identified with Herakles, was worshipped in the province of Tarawn, at a temple complex situated in the village Aštišat on Mt. K'ark'é in the Muš district (Turk. Muş), which probably was an important cult center in the cuneiform stage as well. Vahagn is considered to be a thunder god, successor of the local Teššub of Šubria (the oldest kingdom of this region, situated in the Sasun highlands and Mus valley, to the west and south-west of Lake Van). Thus, he may be regarded as the second, "junior" thunder god of the Armenian pantheon.¹⁸

17 For the English translations of the referred medieval Armenian authors, see Thomson 1976; 1978; Garsoiān 1989; Avdoyan 1993.

18 For Vahagn, as the thunder god, see Abeghian 1966: 72 ff.; Harutyunyan 2000: 83 ff.; as the heir of the local Teššub: Russell 1987: 33, 213, 362; Diakonoff 1990: 211, n. 48, 224, n. 78; Hmayakyan 1990: 117 f., n. 183; as a complex figure: Petrosyan 2002: 34 ff.; 2007c: 181 f.

Legends of Armawir

According to the ethnogonic legends (Khorenatsi I.10 ff.; Sebeos I), the first eponymous patriarch of the Armenians was Hayk, son of Togarmah, descendant of Noah's son Japheth (cf. the Armenian autonym *hay*). After the construction of the tower of Babel Hayk refused to obey the Babylonian tyrant Bel the Titanid (identified with the Biblical Nimrod), and with his large patriarchal family moved to the north and settled in Armenia, to the north of Lake Van. Hayk's elder son Aramaneak (var. Aramenak, Armenak) moved to the Ararat plain and settled down at the base of Mt. Aragac. The latter's son Aramaysis (var. Armayis) established there on a hill the first capital of Armenia and called it after his own name Armawir. Later on, Aramaysis' great-great-grandson Aram extended the borders of Armenia on every side and became the second eponym of Armenia (cf. the Armenian exonym *Armen*).

Many generations after Hayk, the legendary (nonexistent) King Vałaršak, who is presented as the founder of the Arsacid dynasty of Armenia, built a temple at Armawir and erected there the statues of the sun and moon (gods) and his ancestors. During the reign of Vałaršak's descendant Artašes, the statues of sun and moon gods were replaced by the Hellenistic statues of Apollo and Artemis (twins, sun god and moon goddess, respectively) brought from Asia Minor, while the statue of Herakles, which was to be erected along with them, was set up in Aštišat, at the cult center of Vahagn/Herakles, by the priests of the Vahuni family, who regarded themselves as the descendants of Vahagn (Khorenatsi II.8, 12).

In traditional historiography, the mythological figures of Hayk and his descendants feature as historical characters and the Artaxiad kings are represented as Arsacids; moreover, the stories of the early historical kings are of epic nature. However, it is possible to date them as follows. In historical context, the legendary patriarch Aram is to be identified with the first king of Urartu, Aramu (mid-9th century BC). Aram's son Ara the Handsome was a contemporary of the Assyrian queen Semir-

amis (end of the 9th century BC). The forefather Hayk is dated seven generations earlier, which would mean a whole epoch of pre-Urartian times (Petrosyan 2007b: 51 f.). Artašes was a historical king (189-160 BC), the founder of the Artaxiad dynasty, while the legendary Vałaršak is presented as the grandfather of Artases. Thus, the story of the temple of Armawir and its Hellenistic statues is to be dated from the third-second centuries BC.

The legends about Hayk and his seven generations represent the Armenian historicized version of the myth of Creation, which combines theogony, cosmogony, and ethnogony (Petrosyan 2002: 159 ff.; 2007, 192; 2009: 155 ff.). Hayk, the creator of Armenia (Armenian universe), father and ancestor of the first divine patriarchs, corresponds to the creator god, the father of the family of gods. The second eponym of the Armenians, Aram, is considered to be the second incarnation of Hayk or the “second Hayk” (Abeghian 1966: 55; Petrosyan 2002: 56, 62, 83; 2007a: 299 f.). A detailed analysis reveals that both Hayk and Aram were the oldest Armenian thunder gods, counterparts of Teššub (Petrosyan 2002: 46 ff., 57; 2009: 160 f.). The sameness of the name Aram and the first part of Aramazd is suggestive. Moreover, Aram is the predecessor of Sanasar, the later epic incarnation of Tessub, the predecessor of the image of Aramazd (Petrosyan 2002: 20 f., 50 f., 64 f.; 2007c, 193). Thus, it may be inferred that homophony of names was one of the reasons for the identification of those figures.

Nevertheless, Aram cannot be regarded as an absolute double of Hayk. Hayk represents sovereignty (first function of Indo-European mythology), while Aram, the only warlike figure of the ethnogonic legends, is a warrior (second function) (Ahyan 1982; Dumézil 1994: 133 ff.; Petrosyan 2002: 124 f.). Therefore he can be regarded as the epic counterpart of Vahagn the warrior, the second “junior” thunder god of Armenian pre-Christian pantheon.

In Armenian epics, the significant cities/capitals, which give rise to the new traditions, are built by twins, twin-like figures or one of them: e.g., Eruandašat (in Khorenatsi), Višap (in Yovhan Mamikonean), and

Sasun (in the “Daredevils of Sasun”). The first successors of forefather Hayk, Ar(a)maneak and Ar(a)mayis, the first Haykid (i.e., Armenian) dweller of the Ararat valley and his son the builder of Armawir, can be regarded as the heirs of the early divine twins. The mythic twins frequently bear homophonic names and sometimes are presented as elder and younger brothers or even as father and son (perhaps as a result of their hierarchic differentiation).¹⁹ In the context of Armenian mythology these figures are to be compared with Eruand and Eruaz, Gisanē and Demetr, Sanasar and Baldasar, twins or twin-like figures, founders of new (capital) cities, princely houses and new (epic) traditions (cf. the figures of Remus and Rōmulus, founders of Rome, see Petrosyan 2002: 115 ff.).²⁰

The sacred plane/poplar (*saws, sawsi*) trees of Aramaneak, whose murmurings in the wind were used for fortune-telling, were known to be at Armawir (Khorenatsi I.20). Considering a number of data (the possible oracular character of the Greek inscriptions from Armawir, the association of the oracles of the Hellenistic world with groves and with Apollo the sun god, the cult in the Hellenistic Armawir of Apollo, etc), K. Trever concluded that there should have been an early cult of the sun god and an oracle at Armawir (Trever 1953: 105, 109 ff.). Hence, Aramaneak, to whom were consecrated the trees of Armawir, could be considered an epicized sun god. Accordingly, Ar(a)mayis could represent the epic version of the moon god (in the myths, the deities of the sun and moon frequently occur as the father and son, brothers, twins, brother and sister, see Ivanov 1982a: 78)²¹: Thus, the first three forefathers of Armenia – Hayk, Ar(a)maneak and Ar(a)mayis – can be regarded as a

19 For example, Arm. Gisanē and Demetr, Iran. Luhrasp and Gustasp, Norse Njörðr and Freyr, see Petrosyan 2002: 71 ff., 115 ff.

20 For the twin founders of Armenian tradition, see Harutyunyan 2000: 338 ff.

21 For the twin characteristics of the figures of the sun and moon in Armenian mythology and folklore, see Harutyunyan 2000: 49 ff., 340 ff.; for the twin-like figures of Aramaneak and Aramaysis in the context of comparative mythology, Petrosyan 2002: 71 ff.

triad of epicized early gods: the father and patriarch of gods and his twin sons, the sun and the moon gods, respectively. This triadic cult was to be centered at Armawir, Aramaysi's city and the place of Aramaneak's sacred trees. Taking into account the closeness of the images of Hayk and Aram, there could be reconstructed another, equivalent triad with homophonic names: Aram ("second Hayk"), Aramaneak and Aramaysi.

This reconstruction matches well the triadic cult of the temple of Vařarřak: the royal ancestors, sun and moon (gods). The early rulers and kings of Armenia were regarded as the successors of Hayk and Aram. As mentioned above, the Arsacid kings of the first centuries AD were buried at the cult center of Aramazd, which would mean that their royal ancestors were associated with Aramazd. Judging from the Hellenistic statues which were erected or to be erected at the temple of Armawir, the royal ancestors, the sun and the moon correspond to Herakles, Apollo and Artemis (i.e., Armeno-Iranian Vahagn, Tir and Anahit), respectively. That is, the ancestors of the Hellenistic Armenian kings of Artaxiad dynasty were juxtaposed with Vahagn/Herakles, or, it may be said, they derive their line from Vahagn ("second Aramazd"). Khorenatsi (II.14) tells that the son of Artařes, Tigran, "angered at Vahuni (priests)" who established the statue of Herakles in their village, dismissed them from the priesthood and confiscated to the crown the village of Ařtiřat, the center of Vahagn's cult. This would mean, probably, that Tigran claimed Vahagn's ancestry and assumed the duties of the priesthood of Vahagn himself (Petrosyan 2008a: 175).²²

The substitution of the male moon deity (Aramaysi) by the goddess Anahit/Artemis would have been conditioned by the peculiarities of syncretization of the local Armeno-Iranian and Greek gods (in this course the function, and not the gender of the deity was instrumental). On the other hand, in the developed mythological systems the role of the moon, compared with that of the sun, is secondary (this can explain,

22 Notably, according to G. Sargsyan (1966: 14 f.), Tigran the Great was deified as Vahagn.

e.g., the occurrence of Aramayis as the son of Aramaneak). The cult of the moon, in the course of further development of society, falls into the shade, which may manifest itself in the substitution of the moon gods by goddesses (Ivanov 1982a: 78 f.).

Legends of Armazi

According to Georgian ethnogenic tradition, attested in the “Life of Kings of Kartli” (part of Georgian Chronicles *Kartlis Cxovreba*) attributed to the 11th-century chronicler Leonti Mroveli, the eponymous forefathers of the Georgians and several Caucasian peoples were the sons of Togarmah, younger brothers of Haos, eponym of Armenia (i.e., Arm. Hayk), the king and lord of his brothers.²³ The Armenian, Georgian and Caucasian languages are not cognate, thus this legend could not have a real historic basis. On the one hand, it seems to be a variation on the Armenian ethnogenic theme. On the other, the legends of the beginning of Georgia may not be regarded as a simple invention and would have some real folklore sources.²⁴

Kartlos (K^hart^hlos), the eponymous ancestor of the Georgian nation, founded his home on a mountain and called it by his name, Kartli (cf. the ancient appellation of Eastern Georgia Kartli, and Kartvel- ‘Georgian’). His grave on Mt. Kartli became the main sanctuary of the local population, where the sun, the moon and the five stars were worshipped along with Kartlos.

Many generations after Kartlos, Alexander the Great commanded Azo, his governor of Kartli, to serve the invisible god—the creator and worship the sun and the moon and the five stars. Azo was succeeded by Parnavaz, the legendary founder of the first royal dynasty of Kartli, who erected at the same site the great image of the god Armazi, of his own name (for he was allegedly called Armazi in Persian). He himself was

23 For the English translation of the Georgian sources, see Thomson 1996.

24 For the “Armenophil” character of this source and its historical value, see Melikishvili and Lordkipanidze 1989: 23 ff.; Petrosyan 2002: 169 f.

buried in front of that idol. The temple of the god Armazi was built at the same spot and Mt. Kartli, as well as the surrounding first capital city of Georgia, was renamed after Armazi.

In the “Conversion of Georgia,” another medieval source attributed to Leonti Mroveli, the statue of Armazi is described as an armored man, who held a sword glittering like lightning, which turned round in his grasp. To his right was the golden statue of Gaci (Gatsi) and to his left the silver statue of Ga (sometimes referred as Gaim). After St. Nino’s prayer, God destroyed the temple and its statues by winds, thunderstorm and hail.

The legend of destruction of the temple and idols of Armazi may verify the identification of the god Armazi with Aramazd as the god of thunder, storm and lightning.²⁵ Moreover, the sword of Armazi, obviously, corresponds to the “Lightning sword” of the heroes of the Armenian epic, acquired by Sanasar. Kartlos, predecessor of Armazi on Mt. Kartli/Armazi, may be regarded as the early counterpart of Armazi, god thunderer and creator. As an epic hero he would represent the Georgian equivalent of the Armenian Hayk and Aram.

Those stories are dated as follows: Kartlos was a contemporary of Hayk, Azo – of Alexander the Great, and Parnavaz succeeded Azo (fourth-third centuries BC); Nino, Enlightener of Georgia, lived in the first half of the 4th century AD.

Thus, we meet three triads in Georgia, too, dated from the times of Kartlos, Azo and Nino, respectively: 1) Kartlos, sun and moon deities (and five stars); 2) god creator, sun and moon deities (and five stars); and 3) Armazi, Gaci and Ga(im). Evidently, the figures of Gaci and Ga(im), located at the spot of the ancient worship of sun and moon (and supreme god) may be identified as the sun and moon gods (homophony of names

25 On Armazi, as the Georgian version of Ahura Mazda and Aramazd, see Marr 1902: 4; HAnB I 1942: 268; Gvelesiani 2003, with bibliography. For a similar Armenian legend on the destruction of Nimrod’s palace by the “Armenian king” (= Hayk), in the context of comparative mythology, see Petrosyan 2002: 74 f.; 2009: 159 f.

allude to the twin character of those figures, while the gold is associated with the sun and the silver with the moon universally).²⁶ The cult of the five stars, i.e., planets, which would have early sources in Georgia, is reminiscent of the Mesopotamian idea of identification of the planets with the great gods, which passed to other ancient countries (Persia, Greece, Rome) and had some reflections in Armenia as well (Vander-Waerden 1991: 195; Petrosyan 2007c: 186, 193).

The three Georgian triads match well with the considered Armenian ones. Indeed, Kartlos, sun and moon parallel with Hayk, Aramaneak and Aramays; the god creator (which corresponds to the statue of the founder of dynasty Parnavaz), sun and moon correspond with the triad of Vałaršak – the royal ancestors (Vahagn/Herakles), sun and moon; and the triad destroyed by Nino – Armazi, Gaci, and Ga – is congruous with that of Herakles, Apollo and Artemis (Arm. Vahagn, Tir and Anahit, respectively).

26 The triad of the supreme/thunder god with the gods of the sun and moon have parallels in the region, cf. the triads of Ahura Mazda, Mithra and Anahita (since late Achaemenid times); Zeus, Apollo, and Artemis (Seleucid Syria), Baalšamin, Malakbel and Aglibol/Iahribol (Palmyra, first century AD), etc, see Tiratsyan 1985: 60, where they are considered in connection with the triad of Armawir as the protectors of the royal dynasties (see also below, n. 15). For the identification of Gaci and Ga as the sun and moon deities, counterparts of Apollo and Artemis, see Kavtaradze 2009. The author derives the triad of Armazi, Gaci and Ga from the cult of the Roman Jupiter Dolichenus, where the images of Artemis and Apollo were prominent. However, this cult was originated from Doliche of Commagene, to the south-west of Greater Armenia, and this Jupiter, like the Commagenian Zeus-Oromasdes, would have been derived from the local Teššub (Commagene, i.e., Assyr. Kummuh, Urart. Qumaha, was one of the toponyms from the root kum- /kom-/ associated with the cult of Teššub, see Petrosyan 2007c: 187 f.). For Jupiter Dolichenus, his origination from Teššub, association with Apollo and Artemis, or Sol and Luna, the twins Castor and Polideukes, see Speidel 1978: 21 ff.; 25 ff. The Armenian triad, which is obviously older than the Achaemenid epoch, later was transformed under Iranian (Parthian) and Hellenistic influences. It would have originated from the same ethnocultural sources as the cult of Jupiter Dulichenus of Commagene, but not from it. The same probably holds true for the Georgian triad.

Names of Armawir and Armazi

The name of Armawir is attested from post-Urartian times (Greek Armaouira, Lat. Armavira, Old Arm. Armawir, gen. Armawray), yet nevertheless, it could be of early origin.²⁷ It is incomprehensible in Armenian and in neighboring languages. The only plausible etymology derives it from Hittite *Arma-* ‘moon, moongod’ + *pir-* ‘house,’ in the religious sphere: ‘god’s house, temple,’ where *-w-* is the regular Armenian reflex of the intervocalic *-p-* (Petrosyan 2009a: 68 f., cf. Kapantsyan 1975: 49 f.).²⁸

In ancient Armenian tradition, the moon cult is attested only once, just in connection with the triadic temple of Armawir and, as mentioned, Ar(a)mayis, who founded and called Armawir by his own name, could have been a moon deity. Moreover, Ar(a)mayis is almost identical with the Lycian personal name *Armais* (attested in Greek script), considered in connection with the same Anatolian *armas* ‘moon, moongod’ (-s is the nominative ending) (Howink ten Cate 1961: 132). In Greek tradition, another Armais, identified with Danaus, is known, attested as the brother of King Seth of Egypt (Flav. *Contra Apion* I, 15 ff.; Euseb. *Chron.* I, 215 ff., see Petrosyan 2002, 100 ff., 182 f.). Note that from the name Armawir it is evident that the original form of its eponym would have

27 According to archaeological data, the hill of Armawir was an important cultic center since the end of the fourth millennium BC. Later on, in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages (16th-9th centuries BC) it became one of the main religious centers of the region. In Urartian times (8th-7th centuries BC) the hill of Armawir, with its numerous temples, constituted the eastern, sacred area (“holy town”) of the city of Argistihinili built by Argišti I in 776 BC. Afterwards Armawir was the capital of Armenia until the third century BC. For the archaeological history of Armawir, see Martirosyan 1974; Tiratsyan 1998-2000; Karapetyan et al. 2004; Karapetyan 2011. In this respect Armawir is different from Armazi, whose three main cultural layers are dated from the 4th century BC-6th century AD.

28 For the interpretation of the second part of the name, cf. Khorenatsi’s and Sebeos’ information on Armawir’s foundation as Aramayis’ *tun bnakut’ean* ‘house for habitation.’ Note that in the other Anatolian languages this stem for ‘house’ appears in different forms, cf. Luv. *parna-* (this form is known in Hittite as well) and Lyc. *prnna*, thus this name cannot be of Luvian origin.

been Arm(a)- and not Aramays (the latter is a result of conflation with the homophonic names of the protagonists of the ethnogonic legends Aram and Ara, possibly, with an “artificial” Greek suffix, or conflated with Armais, known to Khorenatsi’s source from the Greek tradition).

There are two reliable etymologies for the theonym Armazi, identifying it as the Georgian transformed versions of: 1) the Iranian Ahura Mazdā and Armenian Aramazd (see footnote 11); 2) the Anatolian moon god Armas (with the Georgian nominative ending -i and sonorisation of -s-) (Boltunova 1949; Melikishvili 1954: 420 f.; 1959: 229; Melikishvili and Lordkipanidze 1989: 394 f.). The Armenian and Georgian data under consideration seems to be inseparable. Armazi’s association with the Armenian Aramazd is beyond all doubt (Gvelesiani 2003). However, A. Boltunova and others have adduced arguments for the association of this god with the Anatolian Armas, among which is prominent the cult of the moon as the supreme god in early Georgia. Taking into account the closeness of the Armenian and Georgian data, the adduced etymology of Armawir may be regarded as a new argument for the “lunar” etymology of Armazi.²⁹

The identification of Armazi as the second name of Parnavaz is suggestive. The latter is derived from Iran. *farn* ‘glory’ (in Zoroastrianism, *hwarena/farn* is in the possession of Ahura Mazda and peculiar to the gods and kings). Notably, in the kingdom of Pontus, the western neighbor of Armenia and Georgia, the moon god *Mēn Pharnakou* was the protector of the local dynasty (Strabo XII.3.31), whose temple

29 As mentioned, during the discussed period, the cult of the moon as a great god/goddess and a member of the divine triad of chief gods was widely known in the region. However, it should be noted that the cult of the moon as the supreme god among the ancient Georgians is comparable with Strabo’s information about the cults of the Caucasian Albanians (XI.4.7), who worshipped Zeus, Helios and Selene, but most of all Selene. This is akin to the cults of Armawir, especially if we consider that the same author (XI.14.16) mentions that the most prominent cult of Anahit/Artemis was characteristic for the Armenians (see also Plutarch, *Lucullus*, 24). Note also that the Persians worshiped Zeus, Helios/Mithra, Selene and Aphrodite (XV.3.13).

estate was founded by King Pharnakes I (first half of the second century BC). There he was syncretized with the supreme god Zeus Stratius and was depicted with a thunderbolt, attribute of Zeus, on the coins of Mithridates VI Eupator (Saprykin 2009: 258 f.). This is reminiscent of the situation in Georgia, where Armazi, identified with King Parnavaz, probably combined the traits of Ahura Mazda/Aramazd and Armas, the moon god.³⁰ Ani-Kamax, the cult center of Aramazd, situated in the border of Pontus, before its occupation by Tigran the Great of Greater Armenia (beginning of the first century BC) was the center of Lesser Armenia. Thus, the local prototype of the Pontic Zeus Stratius was, probably, identical with the local Teššub, predecessor of Aramazd (Saprykin 2009: 257). Notably, the influence of Pontus and its neighbor Lesser Armenia on ancient Georgia was prominent (Melikishvili and Lordkipanidze 1989: 251 ff., 276, n. 3.).

Thus, the names of Armawir and Armazi could have been derived from the name of the moon god Arma(s). In Armenia, this theonym was transformed under the influence of the names of the patriarchs Aram and Ara, while in Georgia it was conflated with Ahura Mazda/Aramazd.

It cannot be said that the term *arma-* ‘moon’ has a native Anatolian, Indo-European origin. It does not have Indo-European parallels and, despite several efforts of Indo-European etymologizations, is derived, most probably, from a local non-Indo-European substratum (Tischler 1983, 62).³¹ Obviously, of non-Indo-European origin is Hitt. *per/pir* ‘house,’ too, cf. Egyptian *pr*, Hurrian *pur(l)i* ‘id’ (Tischler 2001, 569 ff., with bibliography) That is, besides the probability of the Anatolian origin of Armawir and Armazi, there is a probability of their deriva-

30 For this temple estate, see Saprykin 1996: 264 ff., with bibliography. For the cult of the god Mén, in this context, see Boltunova 1949: 238 f. According to N. Marr, Parnavaz could be regarded as the epithet of the god Armazi/Ahura Mazda, see Marr 1902: 4 ff. Also, it may be inferred that this figure was conflated with the Pontic Mén Pharnakou.

31 For the tentative Indo-European etymologies, see Puhvel 1984: 154 f.; Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1984: 685, with literature.

tion from another language (especially for Armawir, both components of which could have non-Indo-European origins).

Aram, Arma and Armenia

The Armenian exonym Armen seems to be inseparable with the ethno-cultural complex associated with Arma- the moon god. In Sebeos, this ethnonym is associated with Ar(a)maneak/Armenak, son of Hayk (Sargsyan 1998: 123). The names of the divine twins are frequently derived from a single stem, thus this eponym may also be associated with Arma- the moon god.³² Moreover, it may be inferred that the name of Aram, the eponym of Armenia in Khorenatsi, originally was also associated with the theonym Arma-, and was transformed under the influence of the names of Aramu, the first king of Urartu (mid-9th century BC), and Aram, the biblical eponym of the Aramaeans (cf. Markwart 1928: 215, 224 f.). This interpretation of outside influence is probable linguistically as well since the etymological association of the forms *aram-* and *arm-* in Armenian is questionable. Accordingly, the image of Aram as the thunder and war god may be regarded as secondary, resulted from later transformation of the moon god (becoming the head of the pantheon he gains the functions of the thunder and war god, as it is apparent in Pontus).

The ethnonym Armen, according to a widespread opinion, is derived from the appellation of the land Arme in Šubria, situated in the Sasun highlands, to the southwest of Lake Van, with the Urartian suffix *-ni*: *Arme-ni* ‘inhabitant of Arme,’ also ‘Armean (country)’ (Diakonoff 1984: 126, 199, n. 115).³³ In the epic of Sasun, Sanasar figures as the

32 Ar(a)maneak/Armenak, most probably, represents a conflation, see Petrosyan 2007b: 51, n. 20. Theoretically, it could have an Anatolian origin: cf., e.g., the Luvian archaic personal name Arma-nani ‘brother of the moon (god)’ (haplologized to Armani, with the diminutive suffix *-ak*). As we have seen, Aramaneak was to be Armayis’ brother, a sun deity in the early version of the myth, and this descriptive appellation could have replaced his original name.

33 For the other interpretations of this ethnonym, see Djahukian 1987: 285 ff.; Diakonoff 2005; Petrosyan 2007b: 31 f., with bibliography.

eponym of Sasun. Consequently, Aram, the predecessor of Sanasar, may be regarded as the eponym of the same land Arme (which shows, once more, the original antiquity of the form Arm- and the secondary character of the form Aram). In this context suggestive is the name of the Assyrian king Sennacherib, the father of the twin brothers in the early versions of the epic of Sasun: *Sīnahhī- erība* ‘*Sīn* (the moon god) has replaced (lost) brothers for me.’

Theophoric ethnonyms are known ubiquitously (cf. the images of the divine eponymic forefathers). For our subject one may adduce the following: in the 12th century BC, the south-western regions of the Armenian Highland were occupied by the tribes of the Muškians, Urumaians, and Kaškians or Abešlaians (*mušku*, *urumaia*, *kaškaia/abešlaia*). The Urumaians and Kaškians/Abešlaians are referred to as the “recalcitrant warriors of the Hatti (=Hittite) country, who had captured the towns of Subartu” (the latter is the land Šubria of the later Assyrian sources) (Grayson 1976: 12, 18, 66, 67, 92, 93; AVIUI: 270, 278, 279).

Muš is probably connected with the ethnonym of the Muškians: (**musk^ho-* / *mōsk^ho* > *Muš*, gen. *Mšoy*, see Petrosyan 2002, 142).³⁴ Furthermore, the lands Inner Urumu and Urme in the area of Mus may be derived from the ethnonyms of the Urumaians. The land Arme was situated in the same region (to the south of Muš and south-west of Urme; some scholars identify it with Urme). All of those lands were component parts of the kingdom of Šubria (TU: 39, 210 ff.). The Kaška or Kaškians were a group of tribes inhabiting the north-east of the Hittite Empire, i.e., Pontus (to the north-west of the Armenian Highland), during the second millennium BC. Because of scarcity of data it is difficult to say anything about their language (they are frequently considered to be related with their neighbors, Hattians, the early non-Indo-European dwellers of Anatolia, and/or the modern Northwest Caucasian Abkhazo-Adyghian peoples; there is also an opinion that they were of west-Kartvelian origin).

34 For the association of this toponym with the ethnonym Mušku on the basis of simple homophony, see Djahukian 1970: 78; Diakonoff 1984: 195, n. 87; 1992.

Nevertheless, the names of Kaška and Abešla seem to have survived in the Northwest Caucasian ethnonyms, cf. Old Arm. *Gašk'*, Old Georg. *Kašag/k-*, Byz.-Gk. *Kasachia*, Old Russ. *Kosog* 'Circassian' and Gk. *Apsilai*, Lat. *Absilae*, Old Arm. *Apšilk'*, Old Georg. *Apšileti*, the designation of one of the ancient tribes of Abkhazia; Abkhaz. *A-ap'swa*, *Aap'swa* 'Abkhazian' (Melikishvili 1954: 76; 1959: 98; Diakonoff 1984: 131, n. 7).

Kaška is considered to be connected with the Hattian moon god Kašku (Giorgadze 1961: 199 f.). Probably, it was the general Hattian appellation of all of the Kaška tribes, while Abešla could be regarded as their endonym, or the ethnonym of one of the tribes.³⁵ This interpretation would imply a special cult of the moon among the Kaškians. The later localization in the region of a prominent cult of the moon can be regarded as another argument in favor of the "lunar" interpretation of Kaška (while the moon cult of the region attested in the Hellenistic times could have its roots in the religion of the Kaškians, see see Giorgadze 1961: 200, with literature).³⁶

Even without these speculations it might be said that the idea of the connection of the toponym Arme with the name of the moon god is plausible (Arme, i.e. /Arma/ < Arma-, with the Hurro-Urartian weakening of the final vowel; cf. also the Old Persian appellation of the Armenians: Armaniya, which is frequently considered the source for the Greek Armen-). The above can show the connection of the considered Armeno-Georgian ethnocultural complex with the north-west of the Armenian Highland: Pontus and Lesser Armenia.

On the other hand, Arme and Armen, as well as probably associated with them Ar(a)maneak, Ar(a)mays, and Armawir, are hardly separa-

35 For the Kaska tribes, see Melikishvili 1954: 73, 410; Giorgadze 1961; 1999; von Schuler 1965; Singer 2007, with bibliography.

36 Interestingly, the ethnonym of the Urumaians, allies (and relatives?) of the Kaškians/Abešlaians, as well as the toponyms Urme and Urumu, in theory, could have been related with a dialectal version of the theonym Arma (/or(o)mo/: in cuneiform writing the sound o is rendered as u), cf. Diakonoff 1984: 120.

ble from the multitude of the homophonic ethno-toponyms concentrated in the north of Mesopotamia and Syria and the south of the Armenian Highland, attested to in the third-first millennia BC, e.g., Armen, Armanum, Armi, Armuna, etc (see, e.g., RGTC I: 18; II: 15; III: 21; V: 38; XII: 50 ff.; TU: 37 ff.; Petrosyan 2002: 163). It cannot be theoretically ruled out that at least a part of those names are derived from the local stem for ‘moon, moon god,’ which was borrowed in common Anatolian and, possibly, some other languages of the region.

Mšak, Muš, and Mcxeta

According to Khorenatsi (I.12; 14), the patriarch Aram occupied Cappadocia and ordered the inhabitants of the country to learn the Armenian language. Therefore, the Greeks call that area *Protē Armenia* ‘First Armenia.’ Aram’s successor in Cappadocia, his relative Mšak built there a town and called it by his own name, which was distorted into Mažak (Gk. Mazaka, later: Caesarea, Turk. Kayseri) by the old inhabitants of the country.

While Khorenatsi mentions Aram and Mšak in Cappadocia (to the west of the Euphrates), the corresponding epic heroes and homophonic ancient ethno-toponyms are centered in the southwest and west of Lake Van (Sasun and Muš). In Urartian and Assyrian sources there the lands Arme, Urme and Inner Urumu are attested, which, as mentioned, may be associated with Aram. In an archaic variant of the epic “Daredevils of Sasun,” retold by an Arab historian of the 12th century (Pseudo-Waqidi), Sanasar’s son Muš figures as the eponym of the city of Mus (Abeghian I: 333, 385 ff., 417; Ter- Ghevondyan 1978; Harutyunyan and Bartikyan 1975). Sanasar, as has been said, is the later incarnation of Aram, while Mšak (< Muš-ak), is a diminutive of Muš, thus Sanasar and Muš correspond with Aram and Mšak.

Near Mt. Armazi, Kartlos’ elder son Mcxetos establishes the ancient Georgian capital Mcxeta (Mtskheta), the name of which, according to one opinion, can be associated with the ethnonym of the Mesxians, one of the tribes of Southern Georgia (cf. the Georgian name of the

land of the Mesxians: *Sa-mcx-e*, see Melikishvili 1954: 420 f.).³⁷ Mesxi is regarded as the late Georgian version of the cuneiform *Mušku* and Greek *Mosch*. In Josephus Flavius (*Ant. Jud.* I.6.1), the eponym of the city of Mazaka Mesches (i.e., Mšak of the Armenian legend) is represented as the brother of the Iberians (Georgians). The same personage, Mosoch (Hebr. Mšk), usually regarded as the eponym of the Phrygians, is represented in the Bible as the son of Aram, the eponym of the Aramaeans (1 Ch I. 17).³⁸

Evidently, these legends represent reinterpreted local oral traditions coordinated with the biblical genealogies. It is difficult to separate the local authentic material from the late folk etymological compositions and pseudo-scientific redaction of the early authors. Several Armenian scholars (G. A. Kapantsyan, H. A. Manandyan, S. T. Yeremyan, G. Kh. Sargsyan) consider Aram and Msak as the eponyms of the Urumaian and Muškian (Petrosyan 2002, 140, with bibliography). While the first identification is disputable (it is not evident that Urme and Urumu are variants of Arme), the identity of Mšak and Mosoch is unquestionable – they both are represented as the eponyms of the city of Mazaka. The Aramaean, Armenian and Georgian languages are not cognate, which lowers the historical value of the genealogy Aram-Mosoch. But it may be said that in the considered legends Kartlos and Mcxetos figure as the equivalents of the Armenian Aram and Mšak, where Kartlos and Aram are the eponyms of Georgia and Armenia, epicized figures of the thunder god, while Mcxetos and Mšak – of the Muškians.

There are different opinions on the Muškians (more precisely: “Eastern Muškians,” since the Assyrians identified the Phrygians of Cappadocia, attested to in the 8th-7th centuries BC, as the Muškians, too). I.M. Diakonoff identified the “Eastern Muskians” as the “Proto- Arme-

37 However, this viewpoint, prevalent in Georgia, is hypothetical and even is not mentioned in Melikishvili and Lordkipanidze 1989. For the relationship of the ethnonyms *Mušku*, *Moschoi* and *Mesxi*, see Diakonoff 1984: 115 ff.

38 For Mosoch/Mšk, as the eponym of the Muškians, see Diakonoff 1981: 49, 56, n. 71, 104.

nians,” i.e., an Armenian speaking tribe, who came from the Balkans after the collapse of the Hittite Empire and settled down in the south-western regions of the Armenian Highland, and then populated the whole Highland. According to Georgian scholars, the Muškians were a Georgian tribe, who in early times lived in the north-eastern regions of Asia Minor and were strongly influenced by the Hittite culture. Later on they settled down in the south-west of Georgia (Moschoi, Mesxi), bringing with them Hittite cultural elements, including the worship of the Hittite moon god Armas.³⁹ All of these theories are highly hypothetical. The Muškians were, probably, an Indo-European, non-Armenian tribe, who played an important role in the early history of Armenia and Georgia (Petrosyan 2002, 43 ff., 152 ff. et passim.).

39 For the Muškians in general, see Wittke 2004; as an aboriginal tribe of Anatolia: Mellink 1965; Kosyan 1997; as the Proto-Armenians: Diakonoff 1984: 115 ff. et passim; as a Georgian tribe: Melikishvili 1954: 410 f.; 1959: 104 ff.; Melikishvili and Lordkipanidze 1989: 393 ff.; Kavtaradze 1997, 352 ff. In the context of this study, it is notable that the Mesxians worshipped Artemis and Apollo, see Thomson 1996:358.

Collegiality and Interchange in Armenian Studies*

From the Bolshevik Revolution through the Cold War to the downfall of Communism, the ideological divide that scarred the political landscape of the 20th century produced regrettable consequences for scholarship in the social sciences and humanities. The physical barriers erected to deter contact facilitated the erection of others in the psychological sphere, giving rise to conceptions of alterity in theory and working method and perceptions of scholarly counterparts in terms of the Other. Lack of personal interchange and exchange of publications led to tensions, misunderstandings, and superficial generalizations resulting in a narrowing of scholarly horizons on both sides of this artificial boundary.

The presence of such perspectives two decades after the events of 1991 demonstrates the persistence of mental constructs with the difference on occasion that whereas previously partisanship in the West expressed itself through deeming scholars and their works unacceptable as Soviet, now there are tendencies to dismiss them as nationalist. Thus, the distinction remains while the categories change. Of course, the downfall of the Soviet Union and its ideology has led to the creation of a new set of nationalist discourses in the successor states – a quite natural, normal process. At the same time, I regret that this movement has resulted in a number of extreme manifestations of this ideology in certain countries, Armenia included, and condemn the support such views have received in some academic circles. Indeed, I organized a scholarly response to such pseudo-scientific approaches.

Unfortunately, some of the factors underlying this divide are still to be found, inhibiting communication and mutual understanding, lack

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of easy access to each other's publications and, in some cases, lack of knowledge of each other's languages, in which context I would like to highlight a widespread unfamiliarity with the important tradition of Russian-language scholarship in the West that leads to its marginalization or exclusion from the narrative. It is in hopes of encouraging more open dialogue and scholarly exchange that this piece is written to bring down the psychological barriers to communication and in a plea for the application of more uniform academic standards and expectations of scholarly writing across the board regardless of background and location. The occasion for writing is a series of reviews and articles published in this journal and elsewhere reflecting views and positions expressed in my monograph on Indo-European and Near Eastern sources for the Armenian epic tradition that appeared in 2002.¹ John Colarusso and B. Sergent produced early reviews of my work,² while E. R. Anderson has contributed two articles on the Armenian epic that address my work directly or indirectly (the first coauthored with M. Host).³ Meanwhile, in reviewing a collection of essays on Armenian folklore and culture, J. R. Russell raised parallel issues on the origin of the Armenian people, which can conveniently be addressed together in this context.⁴ This will provide me an opportunity not only to respond to some of the specific questions they broach, but also to underscore certain general trends, which are worthy of more detailed consideration.

Nationalism

In the current post-Soviet political climate sketched above it is extremely important to distinguish serious scholarly work from popularizing theories lacking support in primary sources and cogent, comprehensive argumentation. For one's work to be judged as scholarly, it is

1 Petrosyan 2002.

2 Colarusso 2005; Sergent 2005. For other reviews, see Harutyunyan 2002; Areshian 2007.

3 Anderson and Host 2005; Anderson 2007.

4 See Russell 2002-2003, where he reviews Abrahamian and Sweezy 2001.

obvious that it should remain free of extraneous ideological partiality or presuppositions. I believe that this axiom is one that should be shared by all and should apply to all those engaged in scholarship regardless of their institutional affiliation and geographical location. In view of this, I would argue that a serious case must be made to justify labeling a colleague's approach as "nationalist" or "tendentious." Let me illustrate the point with reference to some of my reviewers' comments.

Colarusso suggests that I betray a simplistic approach to the problem of Armenian ethnogenesis, that I am eager to date as early as possible the existence of the Armenian ethnic element in the Armenian Highland and reject Iranian influence on Armenian culture. According to him "at the time depth with Akkadian the south-eastern highlands would more properly be called Anatolian than Armenian."⁵ In response, let me state that my employment of the term "Armenian Highland" to denote the region is not motivated by contemporary nationalist tendencies but derives from Hermann Abich, who proposed it as a geographical term in the 19th century, since when it has gained wide acceptance worldwide. Its appropriateness is parallel, I think, to referring to the American continent as America for the period predating Amerigo Vespucci's birth, even in the Mesozoic era.

I have also been criticised on similar grounds by Russell whose viewpoint on the formation of the Armenian people largely parallels that of I. M. Diakonoff. However, on certain issues Russell diverges from Diakonoff's perspective. Thus, Diakonoff maintains the history of Armenia began from the times of Urartu and the pre-Urartian states, and not the fall of Urartu, as Russell and several Western scholars have argued. Similarly, Diakonoff accepted P. Jensen's *Hatti* > *Hay* etymology of the Armenian ethnonym *Hay* from the late-Hittite land of *Hate* (the region of Malatia) and not from the Hittites, as presented by Russell. This latter derivation has often been criticized as improbable by

5 Colarusso 2005: 169.

certain leading scholars,⁶ and it is noteworthy that Diakonoff expressed his opinion on the matter with significant caution:

“Because of the linguistic uncertainty, the derivation of the term Hayk‘ [Armenia – A.P.] from Hate, although most probable, cannot be considered to be conclusively proven [...] and therefore, other etymologies are also possible.”⁷

Remarkably, in one of his last works, Diakonoff actually confessed that the derivation of *Hay* from Hayasa “cannot be excluded.”⁸ Russell, however, is less open to consider alternative etymologies of the ethnonym *Hay*. Thus, he ascribes the Hayasian theory of the Armenian origins to some Armenian scholars, whose ideas are not accepted by others. Yet the Hayasian theory was not fabricated by Armenian nationalists or Stalinists, nor by Kapantsyan, and evinces some versions based on the non-autochthonous character of the Armenian language on the Armenian Highland. Indeed, the Hayasa-*Hay* association was first observed by N. Martirosyan (1924), followed by K. Roth (1927), G. Kapantsyan (1931-33; 1948), P. Kretschmer (1932), A. Khach‘atryan (1933), H. Tashean (1934), et al. Moreover, the importance of Hayasa in the formation of Armenia was stressed by Meillet and Adontz, *inter alios*. Among the supporters of this hypothesis, in its various formulations, one can mention such authorities as H. Manandyan, H. Acharyan, B. Piotrovsky, G. Melikishvili, S. Yeremyan, V. Georgiev, V. Bănăteanu, C. Toumanoff, G. Djahukian, V. Ivanov, T. Gamkrelidze, G. Sargsyan, et al.⁹ Notably, Colarusso also proposes a new version of the Hayasian theory. Diakonoff was the only distinguished expert familiar with the problem who did not accept this viewpoint. For my part, I have pro-

6 See Bănăteanu 1961: 107-110; Djahukian 1961: 387-388; 1987: 281-283; van Loon 1987: 231; 1983: Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984: 913.

7 Diakonoff 1984: 201, n.120.

8 Diakonoff 1983a: 158.

9 Petrosyan 2007b: 36, 43-44, with bibliography.

posed a new theory on the origin of Armenia since 1983¹⁰. Obviously, none of the Germans Roth and Kretschmer, Russians Piotrovsky and Ivanov, Georgians Melikishvili and Gamkrelidze, Bulgarian Georgiev, Romanian Bănăteanu, nor any of the prominent Armenian scholars who touched upon the problem, were Armenian nationalists.

Continuing the charge of nationalism, Colarusso considers that I regard the Akkadian theonym Ishtar as borrowed from Armenian. In fact, far from suggesting it derives from Arm. *Astl*, I simply stated the opinion (citing Gamkrelidze and Ivanov) that it derives from **Haster-*, IE stem of Arm. *astl* ‘star.’ More significantly, the reviewer calls me to task over my exploration of the ethnic term Aram.

He [Petrosyan, AP] even finds the element Ar(a)m- in material as old as the third millennium BCE of northern Mesopotamia, and tries to link the Armenians with the Aramaeans (p. 163)! In mythic themes he would assign the originals of many elements common to Roman, Celtic, and Greek lore not to Indo-European, but to a source, in or near to Armenian territory if not in Armenia itself (pp. 152-158). This bias detracts from the excellent job he has done of compiling similarities between Greece and Anatolia that clearly suggest an old shared lore.¹¹

Since the onomastic element *Ar(a)m-* is known in Northern Mesopotamia from the third millennium BCE, I tried to link the ethnonyms of the Aramaeans and Armenians, not the actual Aramaean and Armenian peoples as such. What I actually wrote was: “it is hardly thinkable that two homonymous eponyms and almost comparable ethnonyms of neighboring ancient peoples etymologically may have been unrelated to each other.”

For the Armenian ethnonym Armen, Colarusso refers to Meillet’s view published in a work of 1936, that Greek *armenos* is borrowed from Old Pers. *Armina*. However, scholarship on the issue has not remained static. For example, Diakonoff, a scholar highly respected in the West,

10 Petrosyan 2002: 175ff.; 2007b: 49ff.

11 Colarusso 2005: 171.

writes in a posthumous article that the Iranian *Armina* is borrowed from Gk. *armenos*.¹² Consequently, it would have been preferable if the reviewer had consulted the continuing discussion in more recent publications by Diakonoff and others on the Armenian ethnonym Armen¹³ before adding the exclamation mark. As for the possibility of Indo-European myths originating in the Armenian Highland or its environs, it is noteworthy that, according to several non-Armenian scholars, the Indo-European homeland itself was situated in the Armenian Highland or not far from it¹⁴ (as is also true for the Nostratic homeland).¹⁵

In certain Abkhazian versions of the Nart epic, the mother of the Narts Sataney is depicted as descended from the *Hayxuz* tribe or clan, which, in accordance with the Abkhazian scholar G. Gunba's proposed etymology, I compared to the Armenian ethnonym *Hay*. Moreover, I compared the other name of Sataney's clan *Yerməĵ* with the Armenian ethnonym *Armen*. Colarusso, in contrast, interpreted *Yerməĵ* as "Armenian" in Abkhazian and, connecting it with the Adyghean *YermeL* "Armenian," interpreted them as "pace locative-not-omitted "not leaving anything out," as an allusion to the skill of Armenians at counting and keeping records." Here I present the opinion of the Abkhazian linguist V. Chirikba on this curious etymology (letters of 17 and 23 December, 2006). In Abkhazian, there is no such a term for "Armenian." Abkhaz. *A-yermanə* and Adyghe. *YermeLə* "Armenian" are borrowed from the

12 Diakonoff 2005: 277-278.

13 See, for example, Piotrovsky 1959: 124; Diakonoff 1984: 126, 199, n. 115, 204, n. 4. Diakonoff thinks that the toponym Arme, located between the Aramaeans and the mountainous tribes of Armenia, was the source of the ethno-toponym Armina/ Armenia, which might have been formed with the help of the Aramaic ending of the presumable Urartian **Armini* 'inhabitant of Arme,' 'Armean country.' Note also the homophony of the eponyms of the Armenians and Aramaeans (Aram).

14 See, for example, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984; Renfrew 1987; Heidelberg, 2003; Dolgopolsky 1987; Atkinson and Gray 2006: 91-92; Mallory and Adams 2006: 460 ff.; Cavalli-Sforza and Piazza 2006; Ivanov 2007; Starostin 2007: 825-826.

15 See, for example, Takacs: 3.

Turkish term for the Armenians Ermeni, while Colarusso's idea is mere "folk etymology."¹⁶

Colarusso also imputes nationalistic motives to my interpretation of certain Hurro-Urartian toponyms as Armenian. He adduces one example: "Arm. Ardini, which continues Hur. ardi 'city'." At the same time, it has to be admitted that there is no basis for considering all the ancient onomastics of the Armenian Highland as Hurro-Urartian. Moreover, Armenian etymologies like the above have already been proposed by several scholars, including Diakonoff.¹⁷ (Colarusso himself tries to derive the toponym Hayasa of the Hittite sources from the Armenian transformation of Hattusa). Also, it is important to appreciate that in a book devoted to the origins of the epic tradition it was impossible to adduce exhaustive corroborations for all the etymologies presented there.

One should also note that the toponym Ardini is not Armenian. It was mentioned only in Urartian sources (the Assyrian name of the same city is Musasir) and was the main cultic center of the Urartian supreme god Haldi, on whose cult, as I tried to show, Indo-European influence was significant. The area of this city was the earliest home of the Urartians. Urartian reveals affinities with Hurrian, yet the Urartians and Hurrians were absolutely different culturally.¹⁸ The deity Haldi finds no parallel in the Hurrian pantheons. Many Hurrian cultural terms, too, lack parallels in Urartian. In this way, as the Urartian term for city is *patari*, Colarusso's preferred Hurrian etymology of Ardini, so beloved by the Hurritologists and Urartologists, lacks a serious foundation.

According to Sergent, my comparison of the name of the ancient land Išuwa, located to the north-east of the Hittites (actually: to the east)

16 Curiously enough, Colarusso etymologizes the family name of the Russian general Yermolov, the conqueror of the Caucasus, from the Adyghean Yermel 'Armenian,' see Colarusso 2002: 47, n.12, and J. R. Russell in one of his works repeats this etymology. The surname in fact derives from the Russian personal name Yermolay, Yermola, Yermol, borrowed from the Greek form Hermolaos.

17 See, for example, Djahukian 1990; Diakonoff 1992; Petrosyan 2007b: 33-34, with bibliography.

18 Wilhelm 1992: 76.

with the Armenian *ēš* ‘donkey’ < ‘horse’ is erroneous (a nationalistic idea): yet I have tried to reason my case (e.g., this land was the center of the horseman god Pirua), and have mentioned closely homophonic words for the term “horse” in the early languages of the region: Luw. *ašuwa*, Hurr. *ešši*, *iššiya*.¹⁹ Colarusso, in contrast, finds this etymology probable. Remarkably, this Armenian etymology of Išuwa, was proposed by two brilliant non-Armenian scholars in 1995 on completely different grounds.²⁰

Sergent applies the hybrid epithet “Armeno-Georgian,” to the city of Ani to whose name, according to the critic, I groundlessly ascribe a Sumerian origin on the basis of nationalist motivation. Actually, the Ani Sergent is referring to was the capital of Armenia, which for a brief period fell under the rule of Georgian kings. On this analogy, one might argue that labeling Ani “Armeno-Georgian” is almost tantamount to calling Warsaw “Polish-Russian,” Seoul “Korean-Japanese” or even Paris “Franco-German.” More importantly, the Ani I was discussing in my book is a completely different city – Ani-Kamax, to the north-west of the Armenian Highland, which was never under Georgian rule. The distance between those cities “as the crow flies” is 400 km, an appreciable extent for the Armenian Highland. Sergent’s error is therefore comparable to confusing the cities of Brest in Belarus and France. The second component in the toponym Ani-Kamax, as stated in my monograph, according to Acharyan derives from Akkad. *kima(h)hum* ‘grave, sepulcher’ (< Sumer. *ki-mah*). This is the ground for suggesting a Sumerian etymology for this toponym. A propos, the cult of the Sumero-Akkadian An(u) continued into Iranian times, which thus removes any basis for contending that I was attempting to predate the Armenian presence in the area. It should also be noted that this etymology was first proposed by the non-Armenian scholar N. Marr.²¹

19 Petrosyan 2002: 23-24.

20 Gindin and Tsybursky 1995: 31.

21 Marr 1934: 18. For the various etymologies of this toponym, see Petrosyan 2006b: 69-73.

IE Basic Myth

Colarusso remarks that studies on mythology in the USSR and its successor states are characterized “by assertions about basic myths and themes that often seem bold by Western standards.” Nevertheless, there was only one reconstruction called the “basic myth” and the leading Soviet scholars never advanced such bold reconstructions as the Indo-European Creation myth conceived by B. Lincoln and J. Puhvel, or some of Colarusso's own reconstructions.²² Furthermore, though Dumézil's theory was subject to criticism in the West as well, I should mention its trenchant attack by Diakonoff.²³ In my own work I have utilized the ideas and reconstructions of both Western and Soviet scholars (e.g. Dumézil, Puhvel, Lincoln, Diakonoff, Ivanov, Toporov), following the normal scholarly approach of critical engagement with the ideas of leading specialists of the time.

Anderson finds impossible the etymology of the name of the mythic serpent from IE **wel-* (ascribed to V.N. Toporov) in the “basic myth” reconstructed by Ivanov and Toporov, resting on the etymology of the name of the Indic serpent *Vṛtra* from IE **wer-* (this is adduced probably from etymological dictionaries). For the “basic myth” he refers to only one of its authors' works, “cited from Petrosyan 2002.” Here one may query the probity of judging that reconstruction on the basis of information gleaned from my book and then, on discovering one “incorrect” etymology, rejecting the whole reconstruction. Surely Anderson does not think that the authors of that reconstruction were unfamiliar with the etymological dictionaries of Indic and other languages, bearing in mind their erudition and vast output on the Old Indic language. Quite apart from this, there are many other data (Baltic, Slavic, etc) that corroborate this reconstruction.²⁴

22 See the Indo-European etymologies of the Circassian material in Colarusso 2002; 2008.

23 Diakonoff 1990: 111-113.

24 As far as I am aware, there are two important articles in Western languages on

Sergent also criticizes the reconstruction of the “basic myth” by Ivanov and Toporov, on the basis of a work by Claude Sterckx. Unfortunately, I have not had the good fortune to read the latter, since, along with many other western publications, it is unavailable in Armenia. However, what Sergent writes betrays his imperfect grasp of this reconstruction. Perhaps I should repeat for my critic’s benefit that the “basic myth” is not characteristic of Indo-European traditions alone; the Indo-European versions are distinguished by the names of the figures and some peculiarities of plot. This is the context in which the Hurrian myth of Teššub was considered (see below), and the authors of the reconstruction are highly acquainted with the thunder god and serpent-slayer myths of various peoples. As already noted, many Indo-European mythological reconstructions are subjected to criticism, including those of Western scholars, yet this does not mean that they should be instantly discarded. It is significant that in reconstructing the “basic myth” the authors did not employ Armenian material. However, the heroes of “Sasna Ćrer” correspond with the Indo-European scheme of the “basic myth” more than the epic figures of many other traditions through the attribute of the lightning sword and several other traits.²⁵

The name of the great Urartian god Šiwini, according to the most authoritative and widely accepted opinion, is of Indo-European (Hittite) origin.²⁶ This is disputed (I think ineffectively), but as far as I know, this has not provoked a special anti-Indo-Europeanist reaction. Indeed, many names of the Hurrian kings and a few names of the Hurrian gods are of Indo-European (Mesopotamian Aryan) origin. Nevertheless, Anderson finds that my conclusion that the myths of Teššub and Ullikummi in Hurrian mythology are Indo-European rests on two implausible etymologies: 1) the comparison of Ullikummi with **wel-* (this is a mis-

this theme. See Ivanov and Toporov 1970; 1973.

25 Harutyunyan 1981: 2000: 167 ff.

26 See, for example, Diakonoff 1971: 81; 1988: 172, 240; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984: 897.

representation, as the whole reconstruction of the mythologem of IE *wel- is wrong); 2) the association of the name Teššub with the Greek Theseus (regarding it as merely a remote soundsimilarity). Sergent similarly qualifies the latter as “linguistique sauvage.”

In reality, I tried to demonstrate that the Hurrian myth exhibits Indo-European influence.²⁷ In this connection, the rejection of the mythologem of *wel- is surprising. I compared it with the name of the land Ueliku-ni/hi of the Urartian sources (= Arm. Gełak‘uni) where, by the way, the *višaps* or dragonstones are concentrated (the *višap* ‘dragon’ being the adversary of thunder deities in Armenian mythology). The name of the Hurro-Urartian thunder god Teššub/Teišeba who is depicted with an axe could be associated with IE *tek s- ‘axe.’

The relation of Teššub/Teišeba with Theseus is another matter. The Urartian Teišeba (to be read: / T^heis/šeba, T^heis/šewa/) can be the source of Gk. Theseus but not vice versa. Theseus is associated with the axe and his main exploit occurs in the labyrinth, which is derived from *labrys* “double axe.” In contrast, the existing Hurro-Urartian etymologies of Teššub are very speculative and highly hypothetical. They do not explain the termination of the name and lack a sound grounding in the Hurro-Urartian languages and the characteristics of the god.²⁸ By the way, this and some of my other interpretations were sympathetically received by Diakonoff, a respected expert of Hurro-Urartian culture and language.²⁹ Even Colarusso, whom Sergent hardly would call a “linguist sauvage,” considers my etymology of Teššub/Teišeba admissible.

Commenting on my treatment of the myth of the three brothers, Sergent expects that in writing about Armenian reflexes of the myth I should also refer not only to Indian, but also Germanic and Greek paral-

27 For the consideration of this myth in the context of the “basic myth,” see Toporov 1983: 123.

28 Schwemer 2001: 444-445, n. 3698.

29 See also, for example, Abrahamian 2006.

lels. Nevertheless, on the page of my study he cites³⁰ the possible ancient Near Eastern counterparts of the Armenian triplets are detailed. The myth of the three brothers who are forefathers of the Armenians is considered in another chapter, where I indicate that many Indo-European and non-Indo-European peoples possess such myths (cf., for example, the story of Noah and his three sons), but the Armenian material is most comparable with the Germanic and Iranian data, along with a possible Slavic parallel (which are all presented).³¹

Sergent does not consider as serious my reconstruction of the Indo-European myth of the contrast between black and white, arguing that such myths could be recreated time and time again in later epochs. Nevertheless, in my reconstruction the names of the opposing figures are derived from IE **rēmo-* and **(H)arg'-*. Apart from Indic, one or both of those roots are lost in the languages where the traces of this myth are found. For those more or less acquainted with Indo-European issues it should be clear that a myth reconstructed with such names would necessarily derive from earliest times before the process of linguistic diversification. Sergent states that the whole world thought that the name Rōmulus is derived from the city of Rome, while I derive it from IE **rēmo-/*rōmo-* 'black.' It is necessary to view the problem within its original context. I consider the question in a chapter devoted to black and white cities: Rōmulus comes from the city of Alba 'White' and founds Rome (Rōma), which is comparable to **rōmo-* 'black.' Thus, Rōmulus, as a derivative of Rōma, may ultimately be derived from **rōmo-*.³²

Sergent presents my etymological reconstruction as if I were comparing several unrelated names containing of the elements *arm-*, *arma-*, *arim-*, and then associating them with Hermes. Of course, this is not the case. I always list the existing etymologies of the names I adduce. As for Hermes, I compared the myth of his killing Argos with the Indian myth

30 Petrosyan 2002: 19.

31 Petrosyan 2002: 86, 120, 179.

32 Petrosyan 2002: 75.

where Rāma kills Arjuna. In both cases the name of the hero's adversary is derived from IE **arg-* 'white,' and the reason for their conflict is the ravished calf of the hero's father. Moreover, Hermes, who is called a "friend of dark night," entirely corresponds to the 'black' Rāma (I mean the character, not the name). What I actually wrote was: "the cult of Hermes probably absorbed certain traits of an early deity (or deities), a local version of the Indo-European **rēmo-*, slayer of **arg-*."³³ In view of this, Sergent's criticism appears unfocused and inept.

IE Etymology

Colarusso takes issue with a number of the etymologies I proposed or cited from other scholars. One of these is the etymology of the name of Hayk, eponymous ancestor of the Armenians, from the Indo-European root **poti-* on the basis of Meillet's view that the latter would be expected to result in the Armenian reflex *oy*. While I am naturally familiar with Meillet's work (which, by the way, was translated into Armenian in 1988), it is important to note that in this matter also scholarship has continued to advance since 1936 when Meillet's work appeared. A contemporary discussion of the problem requires us to take into consideration the monographs of Acharyan, Djahukian, and others on the history and comparative linguistics of Armenian and their investigation of the phonological developments Colarusso rejects. Granted my book's focus on mythology, I did not provide exhaustive citations from those works, except for Acharyan's etymological dictionary and Djahukian's excellent volume on the history of Armenian (1987). Briefly let me outline the steps behind the reconstruction. First, the **o > a* development is characteristic of Armenian in certain positions.³⁴ Second, although IE **p-* before *o* can disappear, this does not occur in all cases. After offering several examples on the reflections of IE **p-* in Armenian, Acharyan concludes, "it cannot be said that *p* becomes *h* before *e* and disappears

33 Petrosyan 2002: 46.

34 See, for example, Kortlandt and Beekes 2003: 40, 156.

before *o*.” Suffice it to list a few out of the many examples of this feature: *het*, *yet*, *et* (**ped-*); *hoł*, *holani* (**pol-*); *hov*, *hog*, *hogi* (< **pow-*).³⁵ The etymology *hay* < **poti-* may be reasoned in detail, and was accepted by Djahukian, one of the greatest 20th century authorities in the field of Armenian linguistics.³⁶ I have addressed the semantic aspect of the problem in several of my works.³⁷

Colarusso presents the form *ardzmn* as the regular Armenian reflex of Indo-European **aryomen-*, but this form is impossible in Armenian. Perhaps he was trying to represent *arjmn*, but that too would be incorrect; the **y > j* change occurs only if the previous vowel is not *a*. As I proposed, **aryo-* would yield *ayr*,³⁸ *o*, as in some other cases, would yield *a* to obtain **ayraman*, which, conflated with the name Aram, could form a basis for the name Aramaneak. Similarly, the name Eruand could be etymologized as a derivative of **peru-* (**perwnt-*). This etymology, as I have stated in my book, is not mine. My contribution was merely to mention that this name would have been conflated with the Iranian Aruand (which is frequently considered as the source of the Armenian Eruand).

Colarusso’s review also queries several views I allude to, which he regards as poorly grounded. He also ascribes them to me, though they have been advanced by others, often prominent Armenologists, as is clearly indicated in my bibliography. In one case he argues I etymologize the name of the Armenian epic hero Bałdasar from IE **bel* ‘white, shining’ and then derive the toponym Baghdad from Bałdasar. In contrast, what I actually did was to state a very well known fact: Bałdasar is the Armenian form of the Biblical Balthazar.³⁹ Then: “Bałdasar figures as the eponym of Baghdad... (the phonetic value of New Arm. *ł* ap-

35 Acharyan 1971: 519-520.

36 Djahukian 1988a: 68; 1990: 26; 1992: 50; 1992a: 18.

37 See, for example, Petrosyan 2007b: 30-31; 2009: with bibliography.

38 Petrosyan 2002: 85. See also Djahukian 1987: 182; Kortlandt and Beekes 2003: 161-162.

39 Petrosyan 2002: 137.

proximates to New Gk. γ [= *gh*]).”⁴⁰ Colarusso’s statement seems to suggest he reads me as arguing bluntly that the term Baghdad emerges from the Armenian personal name Bałdasar. The result is that this “folk etymology” is attributed to me while even the illiterate tradents of the oral epic do not directly remark that Bałdasar named Baghdad after himself. Moreover, it should be noted that there is no IE root **bel-* (there is **bhel-* ‘bright, white’). As for the issue of the phonetic evolution of the character *l*, not only am I well aware of it, but in fact remarked on it on the page in question.

In his review, Colarusso lists the conflation of homonymic stems as my most egregious error. In his opinion, I do not distinguish the various semantic levels of the homophonic stems **ner-* and **wel-*. Nevertheless, in my book I continually cite Toporov on the reflections of those stems in mythology.⁴¹ If the root of a mythological name has homophones, not only one, but several meanings would be associated with this figure and mythologem of necessity. For instance, for the mythologem of IE **wel-* Toporov refers to several homophonic roots: ‘death and the dead,’ ‘Kingdom of Death,’ ‘riches and power,’ ‘will, wish,’ ‘speech and poetic art,’ etc, to which I have added the stem **wel-* ‘to see.’ By the way, this is consonant with R. Jakobson’s analysis, which I also cite in my study.⁴²

Similarly, the Indo-European ethnonyms *Volcae*, *Velsounas*, *Volski*, etc. are compared with the name of the mythic serpent **wel-* by Ivanov and Toporov, the authors of this reconstruction, not by me⁴³ (I only adduced the Arm. *Getni* ‘Armenian’). It is noteworthy that Toporov was a great linguist who distinguished five periods of etymological approaches.⁴⁴ He worked on the fifth and highest level,⁴⁵ whose particularities

40 Petrosyan 2002: 68.

41 Petrosyan 2002: 8-9, 80.

42 Petrosyan 2002: 80.

43 Ivanov and 1979.

44 Toporov 1994: 126 ff.

45 See, for example, Abrahamian 2008.

and characteristics could not be discussed in detail in a monograph on the Armenian epic tradition.

Finally, Colarusso mentions some “minor errors, as with the Indic tradition, the eagle brings mead to Indra, not soma (p. 60), or with the etymology of “Ireland.” Nevertheless, in the text I cited (Rigveda IV.26), it is stated several times that the bird brings soma (e.g. “the Falcon took and brought the Soma”).⁴⁶ As for the etymology of Ireland, which is, of course, disputable to some extent, I presented it as is normally done in works on IE **aryo-* and etymological dictionaries.

Armenian Epic Issues

My ideas on the formation of Armenian epic are not well presented in Anderson’s treatment. The author also labors under other difficulties due to his inability to command the original Armenian material and his resulting dependence on secondary sources, not all of which are equally reliable. Thus, his overview of the history of the publication of “*Sasna C’rer*,” details of its oral performance, etc, includes a number of surprising errors, some of them paralleled by Sergent. According to both, the Sasun epic, most likely, was never performed in its entirety. However, three volumes of the epic’s original oral versions appeared around World War II, several of which contain all four cycles. These editions were then followed by further publications of the epic, including four volumes issued by the Armenian Academy, as well as editions of other versions collected by the individual folklorists (e.g. G. Grigoryan, R. Hambartsumyan). The first publications of the epic formed the matrix for later literary creations from the beginning of the 20th century such as those of H. Tumanyan, A. Isahakyan, N. Zaryan, etc.

Similarly, Sergent’s presentation of the Armenian epic tradition at the beginning of his review misrepresents many of its features. According to him, the sources of that tradition are Khorenatsi and “*Sasna C’rer*.” The latter, he avers, was unified as one epic by Armenian scholars in the 1930s,

46 See, for example, Griffith 1992: 218-219.

but the stories and characters contained in those two sources are very different from one other. Nevertheless, in reality, the Armenian epic tradition is known from many other early Armenian authors (Pawstos Buzand, Hovhan Mamikonian, Tovma Artsruni, etc.), as I will elaborate on below. As noted above, I reiterate that “*Sasna Çrêr*” is not an artificial epic pieced together by scholars from disparate sources. On the contrary, it is an integral epic that was frequently performed in its entirety. Scholars only edited it and created a composite text known as “*David of Sasun*.”

It should also be said that different kinds of affinities can be detected between “*Sasna Çrêr*” and various early Armenian authors. This applies particularly to some of the epic characters and their names. Thus, Sanasar figures in *Khorenatsi* and *Artsruni* as the founder of the *Artsruni* house in the dynastic saga. Moreover, some of the characters in “*Sasna Çrêr*” are almost identical in various respects with figures in other ancient epics (e.g., heroes imprisoned in mountain caves, *Artawazd* in *Khorenatsi* and *Little Mher* in “*Sasna Çrêr*”), as has been noted by Armenian and non-Armenian scholars, including F. Feydit, translator and author of the preface of the French translation of “*David of Sasun*.”⁴⁷ In this light Sergent’s “functional” criticism of my comparison of the twins Sanasar and *Baldasar* of “*Sasna Çrêr*” with *Khorenatsi*’s *Eruaz* and *Eruand* to the effect that the former are pure warriors (*purs guerriers*), while *Eruaz* is a priest and *Eruand* a king, is astonishing. It is only Sergent’s idea that Sanasar and *Baldasar* are “pure warriors.” In contrast, those figures are manifestly comparable: e.g., *Eruand* and Sanasar are twins, epicized versions of the thunder god, rulers, and founders of new cities. In Armenology those figures are considered as deriving from the archaic divine twin founders, and their myths coincide in many other details.⁴⁸

On the etymology of *Convinar*, a heroine of “*Sasna Çrêr*,” Colarusso quotes me as stating “The names *Tsovinar* (*tsov* ‘purple’ + *nar* ‘lake,’ cf. Akkadian *naru* ‘river’ (p. 10) and *Inara* are comparable,” adding by way of comment “I presume that he means the figures, not names.”

47 Feydit 1964: 40-41, 46.

48 See especially Harutyunyan 2000: 341-349.

Significantly, what I actually wrote was: “the characters and names of Covinar and Inara are comparable,” adducing texts to demonstrate that Covinar, both in her name and character, is parallel to the Hittite Inara.⁴⁹ However, I totally discount Colarusso’s etymology. How could anybody acquainted with the Armenian term *cov* ‘sea’ present it as ‘purple’ and cite the non-existent *nar* as ‘lake’? In contrast, the association of Covinar with *cov* ‘sea’ is obvious (she is also called by the derivatives of *cov*: Covean, Coveal). Hence, I suggest we may interpret her name as ‘Nar of the sea’ or ‘Inar of the sea’ where Nar is a reconstructed theonym (Kapantsyan) comparable to the Greek Nereids. Though, unlike Colarusso, Sergent is not a linguist, he nevertheless considers erroneous the above comparison of Convinar to the goddesses Nereis, Nerthus, and Inara. I can only state once more that I cited Toporov’s work where the etymological connection between those names is presented.⁵⁰

In the context of names of characters in other Armenian epics, although I presented the existing etymologies of the name of Payapis, the adversary of the Armenian patriarch Aram, citing various authors who compared it with Egyptian, Phrygian, and Hurrian names,⁵¹ Sergent misstates the case, presenting the matter as if I, ignorantly, compare the Egyptian name *Api* with the Hurrian stem *api*.

Caucasian Epic Issues

I have great respect and admiration for Colarusso’s research and translation in the sphere of West Caucasian epic.⁵² As an expert not only of Caucasian languages, linguistics, and epic traditions but also of Indo-European linguistics and mythology, I doubly appreciate his evaluation of my work. In view of this and by way of furthering scholarly dialogue,

49 Petrosyan 2002: 8.

50 Sergent reserves positive mention only for the juxtaposition of two ethnonyms: Arm. *Gašk’* and Hittite *Kaška* referred to in my book. I would like to set him at ease: this comparison was made long ago, not by me, in works I duly referenced. See Petrosyan 2002: 168.

51 Petyrosyan 2002: 98, n.353.

52 Colarusso 2002.

it may not be inappropriate to draw the reader's attention to certain inconsistencies with regard to a few specific issues broached in his review. One of these concerns the identity of the father of the great hero of these epics. In his review, Colarusso argues I am incorrect in stating that in the Abkhazian epic *Narjxow* generally appears as the hero's father, referring rather to *Sos* or *Zart* in that capacity. However, after reading many variants of the epics of Caucasian peoples and works dedicated to them, I still find that in the vast majority of the Abkhazian and Abazian versions the hero's father appears as *Yerjxow/Narjxow*, though in the composite text he is referred to as *Zartižav*⁵³ (not *Zart*). Moreover, in this sphere I referred to the best native Caucasian specialists of the Caucasian epics. Thus, in *Inala-Ipa's* study cited in my work, it is stated that *Narjxow* "most frequently figures"⁵⁴ in the role of the hero's father.

Turning to the Ossetian epic, Colarusso states that "the incest is between *Satana* and her son *Batradz*, rather than her husband *Uryzmag*." It appears that in this he is basing himself on the Circassian data, where, indeed, there is no allusion to any incest between *Uryzmag* and *Satana*.⁵⁵ However, the situation is completely the reverse with regard to the Ossetian evidence, all of which indicates that the incest takes place between *Satana* and her brother *Uryzmag*.⁵⁶ The issue has been analyzed by several scholars, two of whom I cite in my book.⁵⁷

In discussing the fundamental opposition between black and white heroes, *Sosruqo* the great hero of the West Caucasian epic features prominently. In Colarusso's review it is argued that, as his blackness derives from being tempered in the forge, he cannot be regarded as a "black

53 Gulia et al. 1988: 27; see also *Inal-Ipa* 1977: 66.

54 *Inal-Ipa* 1977: 14, 66-67; see also *Salakaya* 1966: 171-172, 179; *Dzhapua* 2003: 174, 250, 357.

55 For this difference between the Circassian and Ossetian epics, see especially *Shortanov* 1969: 222.

56 See, for example, *Miller* 1881: 48-49; *Abaev* 1945: 37; 1957: 125-131; 1981: 43-45.

57 See, for example, *Dumézil* 1968: 550ff.; *Ivanov* 1986.

hero” ‘in Petrosyan’s sense.’ At the same time, granted that he is persistently referred to as a “black man”⁵⁸ and pitted against a “white” hero, I would argue he emerges as an excellent embodiment of the black hero “in Petrosyan’s sense,” for which the circumstances of his nigritude (his body being fashioned from black iron) are secondary. Here, too, Colarusso calls into question the whiteness of Sosruqo’s adversary Tetraš/Totraš/Totradz as being “black and obscuring, not white.” Nevertheless, the hero, is commonly referred to as a “white hero with a yellow arm.”⁵⁹ Moreover, it would be strange not to compare the name of a “white hero” with the homophonic stem *tetr-* ‘white’ of the neighboring Georgian language. In view of this, the Indo-European etymology of the name Colarusso advances appears somewhat speculative and unconvincing.⁶⁰

Indo-European and non-IE Issues

According to Anderson, “Petrosyan presupposes that *all* details in the “Illuyanka myth” are PIE [Proto-Indo-European] in origin, that he bases on four tenuous etymologies.” He claims that I etymologize the name of the Hittite serpent Illuyanka from IE **wel-* ‘white, bright’ + **ang^wh-i-* ‘serpent.’ First, I have never written that *all* the details of the myth in question are Indo-European. Secondly, in the first part of this etymology from **wel-* Anderson misrepresents my view: I would not present such a preposterous etymology since there is no IE **wel-* ‘white, bright.’ With regard to the other points, I mentioned that Ivanov, Toporov, Lincoln, and Watkins consider this myth as Indo-European, and that the second component of the name Illuyanka “somewhat recalls IE **ang^wh-i-* ‘snake, serpent.’” This latter etymology is in fact most tenable and is widely accepted.⁶¹ The Indo-European interpreta-

58 See, for example, Broido 1936: 15, 23, 24, 29; Alieva et al. 1974: 199, 200, 215; Ardzinba 1985: 158-159; 1988: 271.

59 See, for example, Alieva et al.: 248, 384, n.6; Ardzinba 1985: 146-147.

60 See Colarusso 2002: 240-242.

61 Katz 1998: 320ff. Illuyanka is regarded as the same compound as Lat. *Anguilla* and Gk. ἄγγελος ‘cel,’ with the elements reversed.

tion of the name of the Purulli festival derives from Toporov (Anderson may have learned about this etymology from my work, but he rejects it without studying Toporov's arguments). Obviously, here is not the place to reprise all my argument. Furthermore, the etymologies in my book are presented in hypothetical form (in general, etymologies, as well as mythological reconstructions, are, to a certain degree, hypothetical). Thus, I wrote: "the myth and names of the considered text seem to be of Indo-European origins." It is clear that "Indo-European myth" everywhere is a mixture of Indo-European and local non-Indo-European elements. Hence the rejection of ideas on the basis of indirect information is not good scholarly practice.

While impugning reconstructions proposed by me and various Soviet scholars, Anderson appears surprisingly unfamiliar with the work of Dumézil, founder of the modern comparative method in mythology, regarding the first part of "Sasna Crer" (circumstantially presented in my book). In his analysis of the Armenian material, Dumézil underscores three Indo-European themes: the congenital inequality of the twins, the theme of the "tricked" *svayamvara* marriage, and the rejuvenation of the old men who had wooed Deĵjun-Cam,⁶² and shows that the best parallel to the Armenian twins is found in the Roman tradition.⁶³ There he also pinpoints the best parallel for Sanasar's entrance into the lake in the Ossetian epic.⁶⁴ Anderson, in contrast, mentions only the inequality of the twins and presents the non-Indo-European Circassian parallel to Sanasar's entrance into the lake (obviously borrowed from the Indo-European Ossetian). Furthermore, Anderson appears not to accept my analysis of the character of Mher/Mithra. Citing my comparison of Mher's slaying a bull with a similar episode in the life of the Western Mithra, he adds a "but," adding that there the semiotic focus is different. Unfortunately, the general nature of Anderson's comment does not

62 Dumézil 1994: 119-129.

63 Dumézil 1994: 119.

64 Dumézil 1994: 120-121; Petrosyan 2002: 74, n. 268.

afford the reader any clarification as to how precisely his statement relates to my proposal of affinities between Mithra and Mher. In this connection, I should underline that my proposal is based upon Diakonoff's insight on the derivation of the Western Mithra and the character Mher of the Armenian epic from the Urartian god Haldi.⁶⁵

Meanwhile, Sergent harshly criticizes my Indo-European etymologies of the names of the Urartian kings (absence of method, nationalist motivation, and ignorance). At the same time, it is actually a widespread phenomenon that the royal dynasties in many states were of foreign origin, and hence the names of their kings were not derived from the local languages. In this way, M. van Loon and M. Salvini ascribe Aramaean origin to the first dynasty of Urartu.⁶⁶ In general, the names of the Urartian kings are inexplicable in Urartian; this applies particularly to of the name Rusa, borne by four kings, for which Urartian origin can automatically be excluded in view of the fact that in Urartian a word cannot begin with initial *r*-. As I noted in my book, various European scholars have been comparing those names with Balkan names since the beginning of the 20th century already.⁶⁷ To the identification of Argišti with Gk. *argestēs* (note that in Urartian cuneiform writing *s* was rendered as *š* and *e* and *i* are interchangeable) I suggested identifying the name of the Urartian Minua with Greek Minuas (Minyas). For the existence of a Balkanic ethnic element in Urartu, I referred to the works of the most respected linguist G. Djahukian. Thus, this approach to interpreting Urartian names is hardly new in Urartology.

Inaccuracies in Orthography and Translation

Traditionally Armenian, Anatolian, and Caucasian cultures may have been regarded as somewhat “exotic” and hence a certain dilettantism regarding the specifics of orthography or precision in renderings

65 See Diakonoff 1983a and the extensive English summary appended; Petrosyan 2006b.

66 van Loon 1966: 7, n.24; Salvini 1987: 399-400; 1995: 26; cf. Petrosyan 2002: 79.

67 Lehmann-Haupt 1931: 902-903, with bibliography.

from those languages may have been acceptable. Nevertheless, in our current globalized environment with higher expectations of scholarly standards and accuracy, such inattention to detail finds less excuse. This naturally applies *mutatis mutandis* to exactness in the reproducing data from other languages as well, and, in that context, I acknowledge the criticism of spelling mistakes in some of the French titles listed in bibliography of my book. Because of my bad eyes I confided the drawing up of the bibliography to a person with an inadequate knowledge of French. At the same time, some of my colleagues reveal similar errors in their works with regard to Armenian material.

Thus, a range of Armenian names are transliterated inaccurately in Sergent's review: Mehr, instead of Mher, Movsikyán instead of Movsisyán, Erwaz, Erwand (inexplicably in reverse order) instead of Eruand and Eruaz. Moreover, Teššub is twice mentioned as "le dieu de l'orage urartéen." While it is true that Urartian and Hurrian are related languages, they are certainly not identical. The Urartian form of this name is actually Teišeba (this is analogous to presenting the Italian name Giovanni as the French counterpart of the English John).

There are several similar errors in Colarusso's article, too. He reads the Urartian theonym 'Aruba(i)ni as /warvani/ and /arvani/. Actually, the sign 'a in Urartian is read as *wa/va*, the same holds true for *ba*: thus the theonym can be read /warub/va(i)ni/. The Urartian toponym Argištihinili is incomprehensibly interpreted as "Argisht-nom. pl." The name of the powerful land of Etiuni, which covered the central and Northern areas of the Armenian Highland, he presents as a "city name." Also, there are many technical errors in the presentation of Armenian and non-Armenian names and terms (e.g. Gk Theseos instead of Theseus).

Likewise, a number of Anderson's interpretations of the names occurring in "Sasna Crer" are also incorrect: e.g. Deghtsun Dzam 'Goldyllocks,' Janp'olad 'Steel Monster' (respectively, 'Yellow Tress,' 'Steel-Body'). On occasion, Anderson's transliterations conflate Western and Eastern Armenian phonetic values, e.g. Dzam (Western) along with Deghtsun and Bałdasar (Eastern). Similarly, the name of the Urartian

king Arğišti appears as Arkistis, an inexact West Armenian rendering. More serious is his analysis of the name T'evat'oros as "Winged bull," an interpretation, which is also found in Russell's works.⁶⁸ In fact, T'evat'oros and T'oros are both Armenian variants of the Greek name Theodoros.⁶⁹ The former may be interpreted 'Winged T'oros' as a folk etymology, but never 'Winged bull' (there is no term t'oros 'bull' in Armenian). Anderson's most curious mistake, however, is to identify the Dev Hamdol with the angel of death Groł, presumably the result of mere confusion. Let me also clarify a further misunderstanding related to Russian. H. Orbeli did not edit I. Orbeli's Russian version of the epic, rather, both figures are the same person (the Armenian form of his name Hovsep' is transliterated in Russian as Iosif).

Conclusion

In concluding I should like to return to some of the points I made at the beginning regarding the unity of the scholarly project and the need to avoid narrow partisan perspectives to ensure the uniform application of the same high expectations of academic research and writing in our fields regardless of background and location. This process can be facilitated by increased dialogue and exchange, and, in this connection, I should like to direct readers' attention to the journal *Aramazd: Armenian Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, published in the major European languages, which was founded in 2006 by a group of enthusiasts including myself with the express aim of fostering contact between scholars in the Armenian Republic and outside. At the same time, I appreciate the opportunity to write for this journal and encourage my colleagues in Armenia to publish more frequently in periodicals such as this in order to advance our common pursuit of knowledge with integrity, responsibility, and mutual understanding.

68 For a discussion of a number of such questionable interpretations, see Petrosyan 2000; 2002: 95, n.341, 177, n.609.

69 HAnB II: 297, 345; Abeghian and Karapet Melik'-Ohanjanyan 1951: 841.

Abbreviations

- AJNES – *Aramazd: Armenian Journal of Near Eastern Studies*.
- AVIU – Diakonoff I. M. (trans.) *Assyro-vavilonские исто́чники по истории Урарту (Assyro-Babylonian Sources on the History of Urartu /in Russian/)*. *VDI* 1951, 2: 257-356.
- DELG – Chantraine P. 1968-80. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*. Vol. I-IV, Paris.
- DV – *Drevnij Vostok (Ancient Orient /in Russian/)*.
- IEIC – *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture* [eds. Mallory J. P. and Adams D. Q.]. London and Chicago, 1997.
- EWAia – Mayrhofer M. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*. Vol. I-III. Heidelberg, 1992-2001.
- GEW – Frisk H. *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Vol. I-II. Heidelberg, 1973.
- HAB – Acharyan H. *Hayeren armatakan baṛaran (Stem Dictionary of Armenian /in Armenian/)*. Vol. 1-4. Yerevan, 1971-1979.
- HAnB – Acharyan H. *Hayoc ‘ anjanunneri baṛaran (Dictionary of Armenian Personal Names /in Armenian/)*. Vol. I-V, Yerevan.
- HED – Puhvel J. 1984- *Hittite Etymological Dictionary: Trends in Linguistics*. Berlin, New York.
- HTB – Hakobyan T., Melik-Bakhshyan S., Barseghyan H. 1986-2000. *Hayastani yev harakic ‘ šrjanneri telanunneri baṛaran (Dictionary of Toponymsof Armenia and Adjacent Regions /in Armenian/)*. Vol. I-V, Yerevan (in Arm.).
- JIES – *Journal of Indo-European Studies*.
- JSAS – *Journal of the Sociaty for Armenian Studies*.
- KUB – *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*. Berlin.
- KUKN – Arutyunyan N.V. *Korpus urartskix klinoobraznyx nadpisej (Corpus of Urartian Cuneiform Inscriptions /in Russian/)*. Yerevan, 2001.
- LHG – *Lraber Hasarakakan Gitut’yunneri (Herald of Social Sciences /in Armenian/)*.
- MNM – *Mify narodov mira (Myths of the Peoples of the World /in Russian/)*. Vol. 1-2. Moscow, 1980, 1982.
- NHB – *Nor Baṛgirk ‘ Haykazean Lezui (New Dictionary of Armenian Language /in Armenian/)*. Vol. 1-2. Venice, 1836-37 (= Yerevan, 1979).
- PBH – *Patma-banasirakan handes (Historical-Philological Journal /in Armenian/)*.

- RGTC – *Répertoire géographique des textes cuneiformes*. Wiesbaden.
- TU – Arutyunyan N. V. *Toponimika Urartu (Toponymy of Urartu /in Russian/)*. Yerevan 1985.
- UKN – Melikishvili G.A. 1960, *Urartskie klinoobraznye nadpisi*. Moscow.
- VDI – *Vestnik drevnei istorii (Journal of Ancient History /in Russian/)*.

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