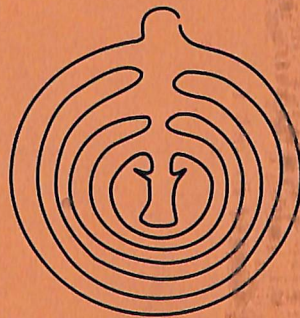


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**ՀԱՏՈՐ VI, ՀԱՄԱՐ 1 - 2011**

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# A PROBABLE STRUCTURE OF A PROTOFORM OF THE ANCIENT ARMENIAN SONG OF VAHAGN

*Vyacheslav V. Ivanov*

Երկներ երկին, երկներ երկիր,  
երկներ և ծովն ծիրանի.  
Երկն ի ծովուն ուներ և  
զկարմրիկն եղեգնիկ.

ընդ եղեգան փող ծուխ ելաներ,  
ընդ եղեգան փող բոց ելաներ.  
և ի բոցոյն վազէր  
խարտեաշ պատանեկիկ.

նա հուր հեր ուներ,  
... բոց ուներ մօրուս,  
և աչկունքն էին արեգակունք:

## I

- (1) *erknēr erkin, erknēr erkir*, (variant : *erknēr erkin ew erkir*)
- (2) *erknēr ew covn cirani* (variant : *cirani cov*)
- (3) *erkn i covown ownēr (ew)*
- (4) *zkarmrikn elegnikn*.

## II

- (5) *and elegan p'ol cowx elanēr*;
- (6) *and elegan p'ol boc' elanēr*;
- (7) *ew i boc' oyn vazēr*
- (8) (*xarteāš*) *patanekik*. (variant: *patanekik vazēr*)

## III

- (9) *na howr her ownēr*;
- (10) ... *boc' ownēr mōrows*,
- (11) *ew ač' kownk'n ēin aregakownk'*.

“(1) Heaven was in labor, earth was in labor (heaven and earth were in labor),  
(2) the purple sea was also in labor;  
(3) in the sea labor pangs also held  
(4) the little red reed.  
(5) Along the reed-pipe smoke ascended,  
(6) Along the reed-pipe flame ascended.  
(7) And from the flame  
(8) a (red-headed) young boy jumped out.  
(9) He had (celestial) fire for hair,  
(10) and had flame for beard,  
(11) and his eyes were suns” (see also an English translation with comments:  
Fortson 2004, pp. 347-348, German analysis in Schmitt 1981).

The song is presented by Movsēs Xorenac‘i as an ancient hymn to Vahagn. Arm. *Vahagn* comes from Iranian *Vərəθraγna*, a name of a dragon-slaying hero (cf. Inscr. Mid. Pers. proper name *Wrtgnpt* = Inscr. Parth. *Wrtgnpt*): “*Vahagn* from \**Varhagn* (with *h* from *rh*), which is derived by dissimilation from Parth. *Varhragn* (as attested at Nisa by *wrtgn*) from OIr. \**Varθragna-* (or perhaps *Vrθragna-* like Av. *Vərəθraγna-*), which contrasts with *Vahan* from the by-form Inscr. Parth. and Mid. Pers. *Warhrān* as against *Vahram* from Zor. Mid. Pers. *Wahrām*, a dissimilated form of *Warhrām* with secondary *m* (perhaps a sandhi variant) from *n*, or *Vrām*, which is the commonest Arm. form of this Sasanian royal name and is shortened from *Vahram*.” (Schmitt 2010-2011). On a place in *Yašt* XIV similar to *The Song of Vahagn* see: Dumézil 1985, pp. 195 ff.; Russell 1982, pp.1-7; Watkins 1995, pp.167, 253-254.

The Eastern Iranian correspondence of the OIr. \**Varθragna-* was reflected in Bactrian name of a mythological creature (god) OΠΛΑΓΝΟ represented on a coin of the Kushan king Kanishka I, see Fig. 1.

The old Iranian mythology helps to explain such elements of the image as the bird on the god’s head : it can be identified to a wonderful falcon as his 7<sup>th</sup> transformation, the bird *Vāragna* which reveals his essence of the ‘destroyer of the defense’ (Benveniste, Renou 1934, p. 34). Starting with the article by F.Tissot (1976) a continued search for iconography of this Iranian god has lead to the discoveries of many royal images with the symbol of a falcon in the king’s head-dress. (Carter 1995, Compareti 2010). A possible trace of this miraculous falcon may be seen in a number of the Armenian fairy-tales in which a bird producing oracles sits down on the head of a young man who becomes a prince (Gullakian 1983, p. 256: 13 texts with this motif has been found).

This falcon was borrowed with his partly changed names into several mythological traditions that had experienced strong Iranian influence; Roman Jakobson found some traces of this bird and of its name in Western Slavic mythology (Jakobson 1985). He wrote several times about the name of the Czech and Slovak demons of the fire and the ashes *Rarog*, *Rarax*, *Rarašek*-. It is possible to compare these names to the Old Russian

designation *Svarogъ* that referred to one of the main 7 gods of the prince Vlaldimir. It seems that to the Old Russian names of mythological birds similar to the Iranian *Vāragna* one can add the bird *Rakh- Strakh* (the second part of the compound means ‘Fear, Terror’) and *Vostrogor/t* (the latter is phonetically close to the cited Iranian words, but it can be also explained as a compound containing Russian stems ‘sharp’ + ‘mountain’). These names found in archaic Old Russian texts showing also other parallels to the Indo-Iranian mythology had been compared to Avest. *Vərəθraγna-* (Jakobson 1985, pp. 7, 26-28, 47-52; Toporov 1983; 1989).

Armenian *Vahagn* epic story reflects both a later Iranian myth of *Vərəθraγna* (Benveniste et Renou 1934) and an earlier Indo-European narration of a god persecuting the enemy (cf. on this plot Ivanov et Toporov 1970; 1974; Watkins 1995; Toporov 2010). It is supposed that the ancient Armenian hymn of *Vahagn* was built according to the principles of the Eastern Indo-European poetic language for which anagrams (“acrostics”, see Petrosyan 1981) and kennings were particularly characteristic. To reconstruct the probable Indo-European proto-form of the Old Armenian text it is necessary to sum up the present knowledge of possible etymologies of the main words used in the song. Not only ancient inherited Indo-European forms, but also Iranian and Northern Caucasian (including Hurro-Urartian) borrowings are important as they help to distinguish different chronological layers in the hymn.

(1) *erk-i-n* ‘sky’ (with a *-n-* in a function of a marker of an older “active” form or later Masc.gend.), and *erk-i-r* ‘earth’ (with an opposite function of *-r-*) may be understood as names of two elements (as suggested already in the medieval Armenian tradition). Both the Old Armenian (Grabar) nouns are connected to the numeral *erku* ‘2’ (< I-E \**dw-* with a change \**dw*>\**rkw*>*erk-*, cf. Luwian -Lycian [Southern Anatolian] \**dw*->*kw-*: Lycian *kbi-* “another< ‘2’””. Since the other IE forms in *n-*: *-r-* can be interpreted as “active”> Masc.: “passive”> Femin. it may be suggested that the two elements (the Sky and the Earth) were supposed to constitute a dual couple of the kind characteristic of the ancient binary systems (see Ivanov 2010 on their general typology), cf. a similar suffix in OInd. *pīva-n-* ‘fat’, the stem of a Masc.gend.= Gk. *πί(φ)ο-υ-*, OInd. *ukṣán* ‘ox’, Lat. *domi-n-us*, Pisani 1951) cf. O Ind. *pīva-r-ī-*= Gk. *πί - (φ)ειρ-α*, Fem. gend., Lat. *uxor*, Benveniste 1935, p.32; Chantraine 1984, p. 899, Lat. *uxor*, Gk. *δάμαρ* ‘wife’ as a possible derivation from ‘home’, Benveniste, op.cit., p. 30; Chantraine, ib., p. 250, Pisani 1951.

A verb (Knobloch 1961) probably derived from the same root is represented in Arm. *erk-n-el* “to be in travail, to be sad, to wait in great sorrow” (Gk. *δειδω*<\**δεδφοι*). Pisani (1938, p. 333) was the first to suggest this etymological connection. According to the observation of Benveniste (1954, p. 254-255) it can be supposed that the link between both the stems was revealed in Iliad, IX, 229: *λίην μέγα πῆμα ... εἴσορόντες δείδιμεν; ἐν δοιῇ δε σαωσέμεν ἢ ἀπολέσθαι νῆας* (“ we behold very sore destruction... and are afraid. Now it is in doubt whether we save the benched ships”, transl. A.Lang, W.Leaf,



E. Myers). In connection to this quotation from Homer Chantraine wrote (1984, p. 257-258) : "Il est probable enfin que \**dwei-* 'craindre' est issu en définitive du thème \**dwei-* 'deux', exprimant l'idée de division, de doute". Chantraine remarks about Gk. δεδω: "Le terme le plus proche pour le sens est arm. *erknčim*, aor. *erkeay* 'craindre' avec le nom d'action *erkiwl* 'crainte'. En posant \**dw(e)i(s)-*, *erke-ay* peut répondre à δφεῖσαι.; le présent arménien est d'un type propre à cette langue; avec les sens un peu différent on a évoqué av. *dvaēθā* 'menace, motif de crainte', p.ê. skr. *dveṣṭi* 'haïr', p. ê. lat. *dūrus* 'sinistre'" (ib., this Latin rare religious word for 'fearful' is a probable borrowing, maybe from another dialect, Ernout, Meillet 1994, p. 176; cf. Baldi 2003, p.183). A cognate verb with a similar meaning 'to fear' is supposed in Luvian \**ku-wa-ya-* «to be afraid»<sup>1</sup> with a Glossenkeil \* ; a derived form *ku-wa-ya-ta* 'fear' = Avestan *dvaēθā* «threat»: *yehyā mā āiθiš dvaēθā* 'cuius me (mihi) pernicios minatio (minax est)» (Bartholomae 1979, S. 763), cf. also Tocharian A and B *wi-* 'to frighten' (Adams 1999, p. 389).

Usually Latin *dubō*, *dubius* and their derivations that show the shift of meaning from 'doubt' to 'fear' (Ernout, Meillet 1994, p. 185) as in the Romance words like Provençal *dobtar*, French '*doute*' and '*re-douter*' are cited as typogically possible semantic parallels. Particularly Gothic *tweifls* 'doubt' (formally close to the Latin multiplicative *du-plex* 'two-fold', Umbrian *tu-plak* 'two-fold', Weiss 2009, p. 367, fn. 15, Baldi 2003, p. 357, Greek δῖπλαξ 'in a double bed', δῖπλοος 'double', Chantraine 1984, p. 286, cf. also Milyan *tbi-plē* '?' compared to Milyan *tbi-su* 'twice', Kloekhorst 2008, p. 826), German *Zwei-fel* 'doubt' (with similar loan-words in Western Slavic), Prussian *dvi-gubbus* 'double', *dvigubū(t)* 'to be in doubt', *dūrai* 'fearful' (Toporov 1975, pp. 391-393, 396) are interesting as examples of the words with the meanings 'doubt'- 'fear' belonging to a semantic field of the numeral '2'. Among semantic parallels in non-IE languages it seems important to point out to Coptic words derived from the Coptic (historically Ancient Egyptian) numeral '2': Coptic CHAT = *snat* 'fear' (Egypt. *snt*), CAHIC = *sanis* 'doubt' related to CHAγ = *snag* 'two' (Crum 1939, 345a, 346b, Černý 1976, p. 156). These and some other typological parallels support the etymology that establishes the connection of the words for 'fear'- 'doubt' with the numeral '2' (Egyptian *sn-wj- sn-tj*). But another etymology of the Armenian verb discussed above was suggested by Schindler (1976a) who thought on the IE root \**ed-* (with a problematic change of meaning towards 'to bite')+ the suffix *-w-*, cf. Fortson 2004, p.347; if this new etymology (at accepting which one should deny the link to the numeral 2) is correct (which does not seem plausible) the word is connected to the other forms of the beginning of the poem only by its sound structure. The first lines of the Armenian song are based either on a *figura etymologica* reflected in the alliteration or (if the new etymology is approved) only on a pure alliterative device.

*erk-n-ēr* : the Old Arm. ending of the 3 P. Sg. Impf. *-ēr* usually has been traced back

<sup>1</sup> It seems possible to compare the root of the name of Kizzuwatna priestess *Kuwa-talla-* that occurs in a mixed Hurrian-Luvian context (Yakubovich 2010: 18) and may contain a suffix similar to that in *Muwa-talli-* (see on a probable Luvian character of the latter ib.:141).

to *\*-e-tr-*; cf. comparable forms in Phrygian (αββερετορ), Tocharian, Luwian, Hittite, Palaic, Italic and Celtic. In Anatolian there were forms in *\*-tr* (Hit. *-mi* - conjugation) opposed to those in *-r* (Hit. *-Ai* -conjugation). The repetition of the verbs with this ending constitutes a grammatical scheme of the whole text. Only in the first two lines the verbal forms are used emphatically. It is shown by the inverted word order: only in these lines the verb (functioning as a predicate) occupies the first place.

(2) *ew* ‘and’ < *\*epi*, Gk. ἐπι ‘on, above’, Mycenaean Gk. *e-pi/ o-pi*, Skr. *api*, Avestan *aipi*, O Pers. *api*. In this particular form the grammatical word is characteristic for Eastern I-E. The semantic connections to Hittite *appa* ‘back’ and the other Indo-European forms traced back to *\*h<sub>2</sub>op-* are discussed in Kloekhorst 2008, p. 194.

*cov* ‘sea’, probably an old borrowing from Hurro-Urartian (as it was discovered as early as 1902 by L.Mseriants<sup>1</sup>): Urartian *šua* (*šui-ni*) ‘lake’ (cf. Diakonoff 1985, p. 600, word pair N 19, Greppin 1991, p. 725, word N 12, Khachikyan 2009). The word has correspondences in Nostratic and probably became a cultural migration term. In several written languages of that part of the Ancient Near East an ‘(inland) sea’ and a ‘large (salted) lake’ are designated by the same word and/or logogram. A recently suggested alternative connection of Arm. *cov* ‘sea’ to Lydian *kof-ul* ‘water’ (Fortson 2004, p. 347) is semantically weak; the Lydian stem can be traced back to the same IE Anatolian root as Hit. *Āap-* = O Ind. *ap-* < *\*Hop-*.

*cirani* ‘purple, of an apricot color’, from an old cultural word for ‘apricot’ probably borrowed from Iranian: Eastern Iranian Pamiri Yazguliam *čiray* ‘apricot’, Mudzhni *čiriy* (Steblyn-Kamenskiy 1982, p.97), Nuristani Prasun *čirə*, Kom Kamviri *čar’ij* ‘apricot’ [*čarij*] < PrAr. *\*car-in-*, Ashkun *čirə*, Sanu viri *čir’ej* ‘apricot’ (Morgenstierne 1974, p. 276; Fussman 1972, p. 37; Bailey 1959, p.124-125, 140; Strand 2011), Kati *čhīrə*; a form close to the Armenian one has been borrowed also into Georgian: (*čeram-i*).

The alliterative principle that in the first line might have had old I-E origin has been applied in the second line to these two ancient loanwords.

The sea might have become one of the 3 important elements and had been included in the series of these parts of the universe (together with the sky and the earth, cf. Toporov 1977, p.101-103; 2010) at a relatively late period of the evolution of the text. Thus it becomes possible to compare lexical layers of the text to propose a possible chronology of the development of corresponding cosmological concepts.

(3) *erkn* ‘travail, birth-pangs’, *\*-o* stem derived from a verb, see on its origin above.

<sup>1</sup> In the talk presented by Mseriants in 1902 at the XII International Congress of Orientalists and published 2 years later (Msériantz 1904) this brilliant linguist discovered first traces of the Urartian- Armenian linguistic contacts later on studied on the base of a larger corpus by such scholars as Kapantsian (1956), Benăţeanu (1962), Diakonoff (1985, 1991), Jahukyan (1985), Greppin (1982-2008) and others.

*i* “in” <I-E \**en*; combines with the forms of Gen. Dat. Loc. and Acc. of movement, with Ablative has the meaning ‘from’.

*-n* a postpositional determinative article, originally probably a pronominal particle (deixis of the 3 Pers., *Jener-* Deixis; cf. Slavic \**on-*, Hit. *an-*), here it follows the form *cov-u-*, Gen. Dat. Loc.

*own-(ēr)* “to hold, to have” < \**se/onH-* “to seek for, to strive” > Hit. *šanĀ-* (Schindler 1976b); previous etymologies were based on comparison either to \**op-n-eu-* (O Ind. *ap-no-ti*, Hit. *ep-nu-*) or to \**eun-/wen-*. The paradigm is suppletive: aoristic meanings are expressed by the forms based on a stem *kal-*.

(4) *z* ‘around’, preposition that may express the notion of Accusative.

*karmr-ik* is derived with the (diminutive/ affective) suffix *-ik* from the adjective: *karmir-* ‘red’, an Iranian loanword, cf. Mid. Pers. *karmīr*, Sogdian *krm'yr* [*karmīr*] “red”.

*elegn-ik-* “reed”: a diminutive suffix *-ik-* is repeated (a characteristic feature of folklore discourse in different languages). The nominal stem *eleg-n*, Gen. *eleg-an* contains a widely spread element *-n-*, but the etymology of the root is not clear.

(5) *and* preposition “together with, instead of”; it is supposed that it is cognate to Gk. *ἐνθα* and Old Irish *and* ‘there’: Lejeune 1939, p. 375-396; Chantraine 1984, p. 348. The accusative (of movement) is used here with the preposition *and*. A different etymology linking (Fortson 2004, p. 347) the word to Hit. *Āant-i*, *Āanza* < \**h2ent-i* (Kloekhorst 2008, p. 289) and other cognate adverbs or prepositions and postpositions based on IE and Nostratic (also Afro-Asiatic: Egyptian, Chadic) nouns for “forehead, nose” with the initial laryngeal has phonetic difficulties as such an initial phoneme often appears in Armenian (Austin 1942; Greppin 1974; 1988).

(5)-(6) The noun *p'ol* “reed-pipe” is a North Caucasian borrowing: Lak. *p:iHllu* ‘wooden part of a reed-pipe’, Tsez. *pelu* ‘pipe’, Av.- And. *pulV* < \**Hpēlù* ‘pipe’, Nikolayev, Starostin 1994, p. 601 with a suggestion of the connection of the N. Cauc. word to Urart. *pilā*, Hurrian *pala*, Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, p. 16<sup>1</sup>. Although in Armenian *p'ol* “tube” and *p'ol* “throat” may have different case- forms (with the exception of the Accusative used in these lines of the hymn), it seems possible that both the homonyms can be traced back to this loan-word of the ancient period.

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<sup>1</sup> In several publications on Urartian borrowings in Armenian (by Greppin 1991: 725, word No. 14, 2008 a.o.) it was supposed that the Hurro-Urartian form should be connected to the Armenian verb *pelem* ‘to dig’ (correctly rejected on phonological grounds by Diakonoff 1991: 728). But it seems important to compare phonetically similar Armenian and Northern Caucasian nouns with the same meaning.

*cowx [cux]* ‘smoke’: according to Kapancian (1956, p. 366-369) this Armenian word was borrowed from Hittite *tuhh-*, cf. the Hittite verb *tuhh-ae-* ‘to smoke’ (the meaning is confirmed by the contexts studied in Kloekhorst 2008, pp. 887; some of them refer to the description of the birth of a mythological child which may be interesting for a comparison to the birth of Vahagn). Despite Kloekhorst’s doubts concerning the shape of the suffix in a derived noun *tuhh-i-ma-* ‘smoke’ it seems evident that it is historically identical to the stem of OInd. *dhūmá-* ‘smoke’, Latin *fūmus*, Lithuanian *dūm-ai*, O Church Slavonic *dymъ* (the relation of Hit. *-ima-* and *\*-mo-* in the rest of Indo-European is the same as between reduplicated Hit. *lalukkmia-* ‘solar radiance’ and Tocharian B . med.-pas. participle *lyuk-mo-* (<*\*leuk-mo-*), Vedic *ruk-ma-* (about the sun in the mythological context). The change of the initial *d* > Armenian *c-* may be seen as parallel to the palatalization of the related phoneme in Nuristani Kati *dyum* ‘smoke’, Prasun *lyumo-* caused by the following vowel. In this probable correspondence Arm. [*cux*] = Hit. *tuhh-* one may see the phonetic equation Arm. *-x-* = -Hit. *-hh-* that in the middle of the word is found in the other Northern Anatolian (Hittite) borrowings in Armenian (cf. Greppin 1984): Hittite *ešha-š/-išha-š* ‘master, owner of a slave (also a god in respect to the king)’ – Armenian *išxan* ‘a ruler, prince’ (the idea of an Anatolian borrowing seems better than an alternative Iranian etymology); possibly also Hit. *ešh ahru* ‘tears’ – Armenian *ap-ašxar-em* ‘I repent’.

The verbal form *elanēr* is connected to Aorist *el-* (the 1 P.Sg. *el-i*) ‘to go away, to ascend’ (in the Old Armenian biblical translations renders Gk. ἀνέρχομαι ‘I ascend, go up’, ἀπέρχομαι ‘I go away, go forth’), the verbal noun *el-k-* ‘exit’. The verb has been compared to Gk. ἐλαύνω, ἔλωθον, Old Irish *lod, luid*, Latin *ambulo, ex-ul-*: I-E *\*(H)el-(e)u-(dh)-* (Ivanov 1981).

(6) *boc* ‘flame, fire’; the sound shape of the word as well as that of the probably comparable Latin *focus* does not correspond to the laws of IE root structure. The noun does not have an accepted etymology and may belong to substrate borrowings probably related to Enisseyan Ket *bok* and to many words of different “Boreal” languages that S.A. Starostin (2003) compared to the latter.

(7) the preposition *i* “from” (<*\*eks?*) combines with the Ablative (here *boc'-oy + -n*) and in this case is different from *i* ‘in’; these two words are homonyms ; *vaz-ēr* meant ‘jumped’ in the older language; the later meaning is ‘ran (out)’.

(8) *patanekik* “youth, young boy” ; the word does not decline since it contains two diminutive suffixes: *\*patani-* + *\*ak-* + *\*ik-*.

(9) *na* substantivized form of a demonstrative pronoun (cf. above on pronouns in the text), cf. I-E initial *n-*;

*hur* “fire”: the stem in *-r* was generalized in this nominal paradigm as in Gk. πῦρ, O Norse *fyr*, Toch. A *por* (B *puwar* ), but the trace of the ancient heteroclitic type (Hit. Nom.-Acc.Neutr. *paḫḫur*, Gen. *paḫḫuen-aš*, the stem of Quasi-Ergative Anim. *paḫḫun-ant-*) has been preserved in Arm. *hn-oc* ‘furnace’, cf. Goth. *fōn* ‘fire’.

(10) *mōrows* -Acc.Pl. of *mōrowk'* 'beard', Pluralia tantum. In this I-E word the palatal stop phoneme has developed into a fricative only in Indo-Aryan : Vedic *śmaśru* 'beard, mustache'(with an assimilation of the initial *\*s-* mobile , but see on a possibility to suppose a compound with a first element *śma-/śman-* 'body' in Sanskrit: Thumb-Hauschild 1953, p. 325), Pali *massu.*" beard", Nuristani Prasun *mušū, müšūy, múši* (probably borrowed from neighboring Indo-Aryan languages); cf. (archaic) Indo-Aryan affricate reflections in forms like Hindi *mūch* < *\*mucchā* , Orya *moch* < *\*mōcchā*. In some Middle Indo-Aryan forms there was a sequence *\*ur-* instead of *\*-ru-*: Prakrit *māsurī*, Bengali *māsurī* (Turner, p. 734 , n 12659)

The forms of this last type reflecting an old affricate were borrowed into North Eastern Caucasian: Lezgian *\*močor, \*močorij* "beard, chin, mustache" >Tabasaran *mučur, midžir-i* (Uslar 1979, p. 855), Archi *močor* (Nikolayev, Starostin 1994, pp. 800-801; the direction of borrowing from Indo-Aryan into N.-Caucasian and not vice versa is suggested if we take into consideration the phonetic features of palatals becoming affricates). In all the other *satəm* I-E dialects the palatal stop is changed into a velar one: *\*k'>k*. In Armenian *\*-kr->-wr-* (Jahukyan 1982, p. 73); in the other *satəm* dialects a non-palatal *\*-k-* is attested: Lithuanian *smakra-s* 'chin', *smakra*, Latvian *smakrs*, Albanian *mjekër*, Pl. *mjekër* (barytonic type according to Orel 2000, p. 135), cf. a normal *centum* development in Hit. *z/š(a)ma(n)gur* 'beard' (*-ur* as in Prakrit; *-n-* is absent in archaic Old Hittite attestations and probably the form is to be traced back to the proto-I-E one without a nasal in the syllable before the last one, Kloekhorst 2008, p.1029, with a reconstruction of a barytonic type for the prehistory of Hittite), O Irish *smech* 'chin', Middle Irish *sm(e)ig*, O Norse *smāera, smāri*, O English *smāeras* "lips". The contexts in which the beard of a god designated by this word in Old Hittite, Vedic and Old Icelandic are used look identical or similar (Ivanov, Toporov 1974, p. 16).

In Italic (Latin *barba*) and later Romance, Western Germanic (Old High German *bart* (Crim Gothic *bars* 'barba' if correct may be a Middle Low German borrowing), Western Baltic (Prussian *bordus*) and Slavic (O Church Slavonic *brada*, Russian *boroda* , particularly in an archaic rite *zavivat' borodu Velesu* "to tie up a beard for the agricultural god Veles"; from Pannonian Slavic the archaic Southern Western Slavic form was borrowed into Hungarian *borda*) a new term has been introduced; in Eastern Baltic an old Germanic both terms coexist: Latvian *barda/smakrs*, O English *beard/smāeras*.

(11) *ač'kunk'n* literally 'eyes-sources', an ancient compound: *ač'* -*kunk'* (<*\*ač'* (+*\*k'* + *\*akunk'* : Schmitt 1981, S. 219. Another interpretation of the form as a diminutive in *-k-*: Watkins 1995, p. 254). The first stem *ač'* (+*\*k'*) 'eye(s)' (in Armenian used only as the base of Pl. < Dual) *\*okwī* , OIndo-Aryan Vedic *ákṣī*, Nuristani Ashkun *ačī*, Kati *ačī*, Waigali *ačē*, Gk. ὄσσε, Church Slavonic *oči* .

From the etymological point of view the second part of both the compound nouns in this line is similar to this first element; they can be traced back to the I-E term for "eye".

*ak-unk'* is Nom. Pl. of *akn* "source". This double meaning of the word "eye, source, spring" is known also in Iranian ( Persian *čašm* "eye, source", cf. Avestan *čašm man* "eye", Ossetic *caes-t-* "eye" probably with the Scythian *-\*t-* suffix of Pl.; Old Indo-Aryan Vedic

*cákšuš-* “eye”) and in Semitic languages that might have influenced Armenian. But the meaning “source” in the word for “eye” is attested also in Slavic (Russian *oko* as a name of a “window”- *ok-n-o-* or the open water surface in a forest swamp), Baltic (Lithuanian *akis*) and Hittite (*šakui-* ‘eye, source’ < \**sokw-i*<sup>1</sup>, *šakuwa* “eyes”, *šakuni* “source” < \**sokw-n-* ), cf. Arm. *akn* with another initial; the verb Hit. *šakuwai-* “to look’ corresponds to Gothic *saihvan*, O English *sēon* “to see”, Middle Irish *ro-sc* ‘eye, gaze’, Albanian *shoh* “I see’, a \*-*sk’-* verb, Orel 2000, p. 100, like Hit. *šaku-išk*).

A mythopoetic correspondence to this semantic association may be seen in the Old Norse myth (in *Edda*) according to which an eye of the god Odin is a magical source at the roots of the world tree.

*ēin* ‘were’, 3 P. Pl. Imperf. of the copula (*em* ‘I am’) reconstructed as < \**es-ē* (< \**eH*)- *nt*.

The archaic compound (see Benveniste 1965; Olsen 2002) *areg-akunk’*, literally “suns-sources” contains as its first part Arm. *arew* ‘sun’ cognate to Vedic *ravi-*. The meaning of the compound has been compared to OIrish *suil* “eye’ from I-E noun for “sun”.

Compounds of the last line represent typical I-E kennings (for a description of the structure of ONorse kennings see: Ivanov 1994; Manin 1977, pp. 56- 58).

Technically it may be said that the Song of Vahagn combines kennings with anagrams. To find repetitions and to decipher anagrams one may try to reconstruct the original sound structure (parts of morphs are given with approximation; reconstruction of root vocalism and of laryngeals is tentative):

\**dw- tr...* \**dw-n...* *dw-tr...dw-r...*  
 \**dw-tr...*  
 \**dw-n...* \**sonH- tr...*  
 ...  
 ... \**(H)el-tr...*  
 . \**(H)el-tr...*  
 ...  
 \**n...* \**poHur ...* \**sonH- tr...*  
 \**sonH-tr ...* \**smok’ur*  
 \**ep-i* \**(s)okw-* ... \**(s)okw-* ... \**es-eH-nt...* \**(H)rew-* ... \**(s)okw-*...

A suggested archaic scheme of the text does not contain some parts (for instance, connected to the sea and red reed) that might have been added later and just because of this could have been designated by loan-word from Northern Caucasian (including Hurro-Urartian) and Eastern Iranian.

<sup>1</sup> Not to complicate the analysis I use the usual sign for the reconstructed initial phoneme although on the base of the Luwian *tawa* ‘eyes’ with the *t-* it might become necessary to reconstruct a separate IE phoneme.



Fig.1. A Kushan coin with an image of the Bactrian god OPAAΓNO. Crowned, diademed king standing facing, holding spear and sacrificing at altar at left, Bactrian legend around: ʔAONANOpAO KA ... NηʔKI KOpANO (King of Kings Kanishka Kushan) / Orlagno standing right, holding spear and sword hilt, nimbate, wearing a bird head-dress, Bactrian legend left: OPAAΓNO, tamgha at right (<<http://coinindia.com/galleries-Kanishka.html>>.GöBL 1967, III. Photo 63).

#### A NOTE ON I-E POETICAL LANGUAGE AND ARMENIAN

Most forms and phrases discovered as a continuation of I-E poetical language are found only in Indo-Iranian and Greek. From the point of view of dialectological grouping *Indogermanische Dichtersprache* may be called Eastern I-E mythopoetical discourse. Still there are some similar formulae also in Phrygian (for instance, *ονομων δαψ[= ξ]ετ* ‘nomen fecit’, Haas 1966, p. 195, cf. Gk. *ονομα-θέτης* = OIndo-Aryan *nāma-dheya*).

Armenian (particularly before and during a strong Iranian religious and linguistic influence experienced in a prehistoric/prewritten period) might have possessed some elements of such a discourse as seen in Arm. *mard* ‘human being’ < \**m̥r-to-*, Avest. *marəta-*, *martiya-/mašya-* ‘mortal, human being’: *aməša-/amaršant-* ‘immortal’; O Indo-Aryan Vedic *m̥r-ta-*: *a-m̥r-ta-*, Gk. Homer. *βροτός* : *ἄμβροτος* (Thieme 1952, SS.15-34). This Eastern-I-E innovation has substituted an older term found in Hit. *danduki-* ‘mortal, human being’: Tocharian B *on-uwaññe* ‘immortal’, cf. O Irish *ru-deda*, *con-ro-deda* ‘to vanish, to disappear’ (reduplication as in the Hittite noun) and O Hit. *mer-* ‘disappear’. On some other traces of Eastern I-E poetical structures in Armenian cf. de Lamberterie 2006; Watkins 1995, p. 117, 170-171 (see on the eagle below), 251-253, 363, 520-521.

In a special paragraph on the connections of Armenian and Indo-Aryan Porzig in his book on IE dialects (1954) saw traces of the old influence of the Indo-Aryan poetic language on the Armenian one in terms shared by Vedic and Armenian and used only in Vedic poetry, cf. also the hypothesis of Pisani (1959) on the spread of (prehistoric) Sanskrit as the explanation of the origin of I-E languages. Porzig referred to such words as the name of the eagle (Arm. *arcui*) which in *ṚgVeda* had stolen the drink of immortality<sup>1</sup>, the name of the sun (Arm. *arew*, cf. above), the name of the horse (Arm. *ji* that is related to Vedic *haya-*, in Armenian it had ousted the common I-E term,

<sup>1</sup> Greppin 1991: 725, n.52.

Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1995, p. 463), the name of the song (Arm. *erg* identified to Vedic *arka-* “song”, *arc-* “to sing”, *rc-as* “stanza, collection of hymns= RgVeda”, RV, X, 90, 9, cf. also Arm. *Inj* “leopard”: Old Indian *siṁhá* “lion”, Nuristani Waigali *si* “tiger” (but, different from the other words of this semantic group, it is widely spread in Indo-Aryan dialects including Dardic languages). The etymology and meanings of Vedic *arka-* (“ray=song”) and *ravi-* may point to a special role of the fire /sun cult in this connection.

From this point of view it is possible to compare the Song of Vahagn to the other Eastern Indo-European (IE) texts expressing the old cult of the Sun and the Sun-God.

The semantic structure of Indo-European compounds may help in solving problems of possible chronological connections between the Armenian continuation of the ancient poetic language and the time of early contacts between Armenian, Hurro-Urartian and other Northern Caucasian texts and vocabularies. According to I.M. Diakonoff, S.L. Nikolayev and S.A. Starostin the Urartian name of the horse of Menua [a]r-*ṣi-bi-ni* (for which no interpretation in the inscription is given) can be understood as a member of a large group of North–Eastern Caucasian names of the eagle the protoform of which despite a lot of phonetical and morphological difficulties<sup>1</sup> has been reconstructed by them as *\*(?ār)-čwām*!V. These scholars suppose that the Armenian form *arcui* ‘eagle’ (dialectal *arciw/arciv*) as well as Georgian *arc’ivi* “eagle” is borrowed from Northern Eastern Caucasian; Nikolayev adds to this as another borrowing also Hittite term *Aaštapi* describing a bird used in oracles (although it needs not be an “eagle” and phonemic relationship does not seem simple, cf. below on another possible solution).

There is another hypothesis according to which the Urartian term is a relatively late borrowing from Indo-Iranian (cf. Avestan *arəzi-pya-* “eagle<swiftly-rushing”, Old Persian *ἄρξιφος· ἀετς παρά Πέρσαις* “eagle in Persian” (Hes.), *ἀρδύφιος, ἀρτύβιος*, Modern Persian *ālūh* ‘eagle’, Old Indian *gṛīpya-* “flying straight ahead” usually as an epithet of the eagle in Rgveda<sup>2</sup>). From the semantic point of view the Indo-Iranian forms seem to produce a good

<sup>1</sup> The main morphological problem is the initial *\*?ār* - that besides the Urartian word is found in Proto-Nakh *\*?ār -čiw* ‘eagle’> (Chechen *är-zū*, Ingush *är-zi*, Baci *ar-čiw*), Lak *b-ar-zu*, Proto-Lezghian *\*m-ar-č* “eagle” and Proto-Dargwa *\*ar-čimi*, but is absent in Avar-Andi *\*čām*’i ‘eagle’, Tsezi *\*čūh*V, Khinalug *čimir* “bird”. Phonetically irregular is the place of metathesized labialization in the initial in Lak (*b-*), Proto-Dargwa and Proto-Lezghian (*m-* where also the feature of being nasalized had moved) and the kind of an affricate reflected in Dargwa as well as the initial consonants in several Tsezi languages, see on all these difficulties Nikolayev, Starostin 1994: 371. On the relations to the forms in other languages cf. Diakonoff 1951a: 115-116; Diakonoff 1978: 31; Nikolaev 1985: 61; Diakonoff, Starostin 1986: 45; 1988: 184; Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1995: 92, n.23; 457; Xachikian 1985: 54, 141-142, n. 59. A Hurrian equivalent to the Urartian word is not known, but in a Hittite Boğazköy text of Kizzuwatna provenance the name of a “golden eagle of Teshub” is given as *e-ri-bu-u-uš-ki-iš* (KBo XV 37 I 21) on the base of which Hurrian *eribuški* may be deduced (Laroche 1980: 83) where *-(u)ški-* can be a Hurrian suffix (cf. on another words with this suffix Xachikian 1985: 65); cf. on a possible link to Nuzi *erupu-* see: Haas 1982: 228, n.293; cf. on the name of the Urartian city *Erebu-ni*: Ivanov 1993: 119, n. 47. If Hurrian *eribu-* is equivalent to Urartian *arṣibi-* the retention of *\*-r-* before a lost fricative is exceptional in Hurro-Urartian diachronical phonology where such groups are usually simplified in the opposite manner through the loss of *\*-r-*; it might be seen as a trace of a foreign origin of the name. Cf. also discussion on *er-*‘eagle (?)’ (Akkadian *erū[m]*): Neu 1994: 45.

<sup>2</sup> Bartholomae 1979: 354, add. 144; Benveniste 1946: 67; Grantovsky 1970: 291-297 (N 63); Jahukyan



explanation to the use of the compound as a horse name. Avestan *ərəz-ra*<sup>1</sup> = Old Indian *ṛj-ra* “swift” is closely related to *ərəz -i-* = Old Indian *ṛj-i-* the latter being its substitute in the first part of an archaic compound according to the old Indo-European rule; the archaic use of adjectives in *-i-* in Indo-European compounds is supported by the Hittite name of a bird *pattar-palā-i-* <‘wing + broad’ where the first root may be identical to *\*p(t)-* in the compounds cited below. Later the rule on the change of *-ra-* >*-i-* ceased to be obligatory. In a period when the rule had been valid no more a stem in *-ra-* was combined with the name of a horse in a compound that might be easily reconstructed for the late stage of Indo-Iranian: Avestan *ərəz-rāspa-* = Old Indian Vedic *ṛj-rāśva-*<sup>2</sup> <*\*ṛg'-ra-ak'wa-* <*\*Hṛg'-ro-ek'wo-*. From this Indo-Iranian etymology it follows that the adjective formed from the stem *\*ṛg'-* was used to describe the quick movement of a horse or of a bird; the comparison of horses to birds is a usual one in ancient Indo-European traditions as seen both from mythopoetical texts and from material objects<sup>3</sup>. This semantic interpretation is supported by synonymous compounds: Homeric Greek *ὄκυ-πος* “swift-footed” (about horses), *ὄκυ-πέτης* “swift-flying”; with the reverse order of elements: *ποδ-ὄκης* “swift of foot, fleet-footed” (also *ποδ-ὠκεία* “swiftness of foot”), *πτερυγ-ὄκυσ* “swift-winged” (Aesch.). Thus these Indo-Iranian forms help to see clearly the internal semantic structure of this epithet as applying to *horse* and the role of *-i-* in a compound while the Northern Caucasian form is enigmatic from this point of view. This difference points to a probable borrowing from Indo-European into Urartian and later into some North-Eastern Caucasian dialects such as Nakh, Dargwa, Lak and Lezghian. Armenian where the form may be a normal correspondence of the Indo-Iranian one<sup>4</sup> might have been one of the sources of borrowing into Georgian and the Northern Eastern Caucasian languages. To the *satəm* dialectal Eastern (Indo-Iranian-Armenian) Indo-European compound *\*ṛg'i-pyo-* there is a *centum* correspondence in Greek Homeric *αἰγυπιός* ‘hawk’<sup>5</sup>, Ancient

1982: 136. Greek ξ in the first Greek form seems to stand for ζ = [z]. As it is supposed that the Indo-European adjective *\*H(e)org'-i-* had two meanings: “bright, brilliant > white” (Hittite *kariki* “white” = Tocharian A *ārki*) and “swift” (as for instance in the compounds related to the Urartian word) it is interesting that Northern Caucasian seemed to have borrowed also an Indo-European derivative from the first use meaning “silver” (Lafon 1933). A remark on the suffixed form of “silver” in Indo-European as different from the root forms in Northern Caucasian (Starostin 1988: 131-132) does not speak in favor of the Northern Caucasian provenance. As usually metals are named on the base of their color the adjective should be the original source. Indo-European adjectives always have suffixes.

<sup>1</sup> Bartholomae 1979: 355. On the relationship between suffixes *-i-*: *\*ro-*: Wackernagel 1905: 59-60; Benveniste 1935: 12, 80; Chantraine 1988: 104.

<sup>2</sup> Bartholomae 1979: 355. On the relative chronology of this element of a compound: Wackernagel 1905: 61.

<sup>3</sup> Ivanov 1974. On the emotional side of calling a horse “a bird” (Yagnobi *jarmār, janvār*) in an archaic Iranian tradition see: Andreev, Peščereva 1957: 146, n., 266. As B. Vine has suggested, the same association may be seen in the suggestion on a possible connection of Luwian *piāšaššāšši-š* (cf. Starke 1990: 103 ff.) “shine, lightning” and the name of Pegasus.

<sup>4</sup> Hübschmann 1972: 425-426; Acharian 1971, I: 319-320; Greppin 1978: 45; Lamberterie 1978: 251-262.

<sup>5</sup> D’Arcy Thompson 1936, s.v.; Chantraine 1984: 31; Meier-Brügger 1995 (with further bibliography). It is supposed that the initial syllable has been changed due an analogical influence of two other words of the same semantic field.

Macedonian ἀργιόπους-ἀετός, Μακεδόνες “an eagle in Macedonian” (Hes.), cf. Homeric Greek ἀργιπόδας “swift-footed”<sup>1</sup>; thus there is a possibility to reconstruct the compound \*Hr̥gʷi-p(t)yo-/ped/- for the early period of the history of the Indo-Iranian-Armenian-Greek (Macedonian seemed to be close to the latter inside the same Indo-European dialectal group). Nikolayev supposing together with Starostin a direction of borrowing from the Northern Eastern Caucasian into Indo-European suggested that “in Indo-European one may observe a regular substitution of palatalized velars for Northern Caucasian frontal affricates”<sup>2</sup>. But there is a possibility of such a substitution only in an earlier period when in Indo-European no affricates existed. If in this case the borrowing should be shifted to the dialectal period when Urartian was in contact with separate Indo-Iranian dialects such substitution would have seemed unnatural since the latter had affricates at that period. Thus the direction of borrowing from an Indo-Iranian dialect into Urartian can be corroborated by phonetic reasoning as well.

In *centum* Western Indo-European the reconstructed Eastern form has its semantic counterpart in Latin *accipiter* ‘bird of prey, hawk, falcon’ identified to Greek *οκύ-πτερος* ‘swift-winged’, see above on the other combinations of the same type. As in a Common Slavic name of a *hawk* (Russian *iastreb* <\**jasŭtrebŭ* <\**Hōk*ʷ-*u-* + *pet-r-* with voicing of the metathesized labial stop) a *satəm* correspondence to the Latin form is seen<sup>3</sup>, it seems that Hittite *Āaštapi* if it is borrowed might represent a corresponding form of a *satəm* Luwian dialect (\**Haš* + *tap/b-* <*Hōk*ʷ + \**pet-r-* with a loss of *-r* in a final non-accented syllable and a metathesis of a labial stop of the same type as in the Slavic word).

At the time to which the shaping of a later prototype of the song of Vahagn might be reconstructed the achaic prewritten form of Armenian might have been contacting with several groups of northern Caucasian languages including Hurro-Urartian<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> It is supposed that one has to read the Macedonian gloss as ἀργιόπους: Kallérís 1954: 106, 238; Chantraine 1984: 104; Poghirc 1983: 43-44.

<sup>2</sup> Nikolayev 1985: 61.

<sup>3</sup> Ernout, Meillet 1994: 5 (*-i-* may be explained by the use in a compound, see above on the old rule); Machek 1957: 177 (with a suggestion of *pet-r-* > \**trep-* > \**trebb-* and of a later change of the geminate *-\*ebb-* > *-eb-*); in Hittite the single *-p-* points to a former voiced (or glottalized) phoneme. However according to Vey the Slavic group *st* < \**pt-* that would have explained *jasŭt-* < *asŭst-* < *okʷ ŭ-pt-*, but in that case in the Slavic word the labial stop belongs not to the root, but to the suffix *\*-emb(h)-*.

<sup>4</sup> The essence of the article was presented at the Seminar on The Indo-European Dialects of the UCLA Program of the Indo-European Studies on February 9, 1999. I have continued to develop these ideas in my graduate courses on the Indo-European Mythology and poetics in 2003-2010. My previous analysis of the song of Vahagn was discussed in the articles Ivanov 1967; 1983; 1984. For the suggestion of some important data on the medieval Armenian grammatical tradition I was indebted to I.K. Kusikyan whose teaching had helped me on the early stages of the studies in old Armenian texts.

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# MISADVENTURES OF ZEUS IN THE LYCIAN KINGDOM 2500 YEARS AGO

Vitaly Shevoroshkin

## Introduction

To be able to discuss actions of Zeus, an insignificant god in ancient Lycia, though highly revered in certain circles, we will have to force our way through some exceptionally complex, but deeply systemic, structures, revealed by a few ancient inscriptions. We will mostly deal with Mil[yan] inscriptions (of which there are only two, so they are rather difficult to understand). Mil. language is closely related to Lyc[ian]; they belong, along with Lyd[ian], Car[ian], Sid[etic], to the Late Anat[olian], or Hittite-Luwian [Ht.-Luw.], languages which were spoken in western Asia Minor in the 1<sup>st</sup> millenium BC. Texts in Late Anat. languages are alphabetic.

Older Anat. languages (Ht., Luw., Pal[aic]) exist in Cuneiform writing; besides, there exist texts in Hieroglyphic Luwian [HierL.]; all were spoken in the Near East. Anat. languages make up a very archaic (now extinct) branch / group of the Indo-European [IE] language family.

Both Mil. inscriptions are poetic and consist of strophes with delimitations clearly marked; both are preserved on two large, historically important, monuments: the Xanthos pillar / stele (numbered 44 in the Corpus of Lyc. inscription; it contains texts in Lyc., Gr[reek], and Mil.) and the Antiphellos sarcophagus (numbered 55).<sup>1</sup>

The Xanthos pillar has four sides: a, b, c, d; Lyc. texts cover sides a-b and, partly, side c. Side c also contains a short Gr. elegy.

Mil. texts cover the remaining part of the side c and the entire side d.

The Xanthos stele (Xanthos, Lyc. Arīna, was Lycian capital) is dated by the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Mil. text of 44c-d was authored, by Lyc. ruler Xerēi (successor of his elder brother Xeriga); Xerēi also composed the Lyc. text 44a-c.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> My transcription is based on an updated transcription by D. Schürr who kindly provided me with his new revisions on several occasions. This transcription has been used in Shevoroshkin 2008: 64-76 (texts and their translation with some comment) and 79-95 (word lists with detailed linguistic comment). See Schürr's transcribed texts of 55 in Schürr 1997 and Schürr 2005. For more detail see Schürr 2009: 157, fn. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See Lyc. texts of 44a-c in revised transcription in Schürr 2007: 109-122 and Schürr 2009: 158-174. – Cf. Schürr 2009: 171, about connections between Xerēi and Xeriga.

Mil. inscription 55 of Antiphellos (harbor of Phellos) which was authored by Lyc. strongman Pixre, a de-facto ruler of the province of Phellos, seems to be both older and more archaic than the Mil. text of 44; I'll try and confirm this conception below.

When transcribing Mil. texts or referring to them, scholars use the number of the inscription (44; 55); for 44, a letter indicating the side (c or d) is also provided. Arabic numerals refer to the appropriate line in a given inscription. Roman numerals refer to the appropriate strophe in Mil. texts (for instance, 44c.V; 44d.III; 55.X).

Paradoxically, the structural complexity of Mil. inscriptions (see above) may contribute to our understanding of Milyan, as I'll try and show in the part 2.

Another factor which considerably facilitates our analysis is a profound similarity of Mil. texts of 44c-d and of 55 (an especially strong closeness exists between the texts 44c and 55, each comprising 14 strophes). It is practically certain that Xerēi has borrowed many words, expressions, topics, constructions from 55 into 44c-d.

All this leads us to a conclusion that Xerēi was an ardent supporter and follower of Pixre. Indeed, as we will see, both Pixre and Xerēi were devoted worshippers of Zeus, contrary to the vast majority of Lycians at that time (including Xeriga).

## 1. Lycian ruler Xerēi creates a highly egocentric image of himself.

On many occasions, Xerēi was presenting himself in his poetic work as a skillful commander, and later as a wise ruler of Lycia. But when telling about his predecessor, Xerēi frequently resorted to a denigration of Xeriga in many respects.

Both Xeriga and Xerēi were warriors (each appearing in a helmet on Lyc. coins);<sup>1</sup> still, Xerēi depicted Xeriga in 44c.V as being utterly unable, - despite god Trqiz's warning, - to prevent an enemy attack. Naturally, Xerēi came to a timely rescue (for more detail, see part 3.4 of the present paper).

According to Xerēi (part 3.2), Xeriga did not control tribute delivery, preparing instead various feasts (and seriously violating ritual instructions in the process).

Taxes imposed by Xeriga were too low to cover expenses for major offerings (part 3.3). This angered both Trqiz and his divine entourage, especially when Xeriga showed no intention to provide for Zeus, - so this latter was forced to act on his own to obtain libations and offerings (part 4).<sup>2</sup>

In this connection it is interesting to mention a recent study which provides (though on a totally different basis) Xerēi's image as a kind of a megalomaniac for whom the Xanthos pillar was not only the center of Xanthos but also the center of the

<sup>1</sup> Benda-Weber 2005: Table 4, ex. 3 (Xeriga) and ex. 5 (Xerēi). – Note that many linguistic and epigraphic data in this book are totally outdated (cf., e.g., Lyc., Car. and Cretan 'alphabets', Tables 5-6), and the text itself is full of mistakes and misprints.

<sup>2</sup> It is not excluded that Xerēi chose the widely forgotten Mil. language to present such a negative picture of the recently deceased ruler Xeriga. There seem to be no such verbal attacks against Xeriga in the Lyc. part of 44.

entire world. Such a conclusion has been drawn by D. Schürr exclusively on hand of his in-depth analysis of the Lyc. part of the Xanthos stele (44a-c).<sup>1</sup>

As a result, we get a highly sophisticated chart which, according to Schürr, reflects Xerēi's egocentric thinking: this latter may have considered, in his imagination, the Xanthos pillar as a focal point, surrounded by four types of statues in the agora of Xanthos and, at the same time but on a broader scale, by four cities (Kaunos left; Kyaneai right; Tlos above, Patara below): see Schürr's drawing.<sup>2</sup>

Schürr writes here about Xerēi: "Der Dynast, dessen Sitzbild den Pfeiler krönte ..., hat sich so nicht nur in den Mittelpunkt des Agora-Temenos und ins Zentrum von Xanthos gerückt, sondern imaginiert sich auch als Aktionszentrum und eine Art Weltmitte im Duodezformat". And later in a summary Schürr adds: "So werden der Grabpfeiler und der auf ihm thronende Dynast zu einer Art Weltmitte stilisiert... Der Dynast ist offenbar mit Cherēi identisch..." Schürr also sais here that Xerēi's inscription was strongly influenced by the epitaph of Persian king Darius I.<sup>3</sup>

### 2.1. Milyan texts reveal various complex structures based on the central symmetry.

It is not by chance that the Mil. text on the side 44c contains exactly 14 strophes: this text was composed by Xerēi in accordance with Pixre's inscription 55 which was clearly planned to have 14 strophes, - though the carver, who just began working on the strophe XIV, for some reason didn't continue his work.

We will compare (part 2.2) a passage from 44c (strophe XIV) with that from 55 (strophe VI) in order to show that the former is, actually, borrowing from the latter.

Right now, let us consider a very frequent phenomenon in Mil. texts, namely, their symmetric constructions (SC), or chiasmi. The most complex SC type is ABCDCBA (such SC appear in many passages). Mil. SC may show rhymes and alliterations; cf. a simple SC of the type ABBA in 44c.IX:

*tr̄mil-iz tbipl-ē trppl-ē tubur-iz*

(Note *tr- tb-* vs *tr- tub-*; etc.; -z is the ending of acc. pl., and -ē that of gen. pl.)

We may compare, formally, this SC with some chiasmic alliterative figures in Ht. texts (the following example comes from a recent paper by H. C. Melchert)<sup>4</sup>:

*lalaza\* ishanaza ishahruwaza lenkiyaza* (note *l- i- i- l-*).

In most cases, SC in Mil. texts contain a few non-belonging forms (full-meaning words and / or particles; in the exx. below, omission of a full-meaning word will be marked by the sign '...').

<sup>1</sup> Schürr 2009: 157-176.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.: 172.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.: 176.

<sup>4</sup> Melchert 2007: 121.

There exist two SC of the type ABCDCBA which represent two, semantically nearly-identical, passages: one in 44c, another one in 55 (see parts 2.2 and 4).

The principle of the central symmetry has been used in Milyan not only in composing of passages but also in structuring of whole texts (such as 44c and 55).

So, let us compare texts 44c and 55 from the point of view of their structure.

To make our analysis easier we may consider all 14 strophes of the given text (44c or 55, this latter with the strophe XIV not finished, but in this case it is not very important) as representing a long horizontal line. Then we may find certain (groups of) strophes on the LEFT (say, I-V) which are both symmetrically and semantically opposed to the appropriate strophes (X-XIV) on the RIGHT.

In the text 44c, five left strophes (I-V) depict events in Lycia before high commander Xerēi became Lyc. ruler (Xeriga was the ruler before Xerēi).

Accordingly, five right strophes (X-XIV) describe what happened after Xerēi came to power as Lyc. ruler (in the strophe X he starts to act as one; see part 3.2).

A more detailed analysis will reveal some symmetric subgroups of strophes:

Strophes I-II of 44c show gods (Natri; Trqiz and his entourage) who welcome Lyc. troops which are returning from raids / fights; both gods initiate feasts.

Symmetrically opposed strophes XIII-XIV deal mostly with gods (Trqiz and his entourage; Tunewāni seems to be a god as well) and with appropriate feasts.

Strophes III-V describe Xeriga's actions when he was Lyc. ruler.

Accordingly, strophes X-XII describe actions of Lyc. ruler Xerēi.

In the inscription 55, the first five strophes on the left (I-V) cover Pixre's active life: his commitment to the nymphad (I), his controlling of the tribute delivery (II), his offerings to gods (IV-V).

Accordingly, the last five strophes on the right (X-[XIV?]) tell us about Pixre's attempts to secure existing order (after he is dead and his kin is managing everything).<sup>1</sup>

Beside the left and the right groups of strophes, there exists a MIDDLE group of four strophes (VI-IX) which include two CENTRAL strophes (VII-VIII).

All four middle strophes of 44c (VI-IX) refer to Xerēi's fights. They include two central strophes (VII-VIII) where two gods (Natri of Kaunos and Natri of Turaxssa) are saving Xerēi from being killed in a fight and assist him in winning a major war.

In the middle part of 55 (strophes VI-IX), gods become active. In the central part (VII-VIII) god Trqiz (with his divine entourage) is speaking: he gives orders to an offering-priest (Pixre himself?) to take several [effigies of] gods to treats (see part 4).

<sup>1</sup> Though strophe XIV is lacking we may assume that its content deals with the well-being of nymph(ad)s after Pixre's death, since in the first strophe Pixre speaks about his intent to secure a lasting well-being of the nymphs in his nymphad.



## 2.2. Further comparison of Milyan texts: Borrowing of strophes from 55.

The factual absence of the strophe XIV in 55 (the carver produced just the first two letters *sñ*) might be the reason why a large part of 55.VI was borrowed (with a few slight changes) into 44c where it became strophe 44c.XIV, - the last in 44c.

This is a very clear example of borrowings of phrases and passages from 55 into 44. Both strophes under comparison (55.VI vs 44c.XIV) show a nearly identical meaning: God N is gathering / bringing gods-protectors of monuments for a libation, and (he is bringing) spectacular' (?) takes / spoils to a trophy-display.

Both passages in question (55.VI and 44c.XIV) contain a past form *xba-de* '(he-god N)-gathered / used to gather' which governs acc. phrases *kuli mruwasi* 'stele (adj. m.) detachment (k.)' (55), and its quasi-synonym *sabaka* : *qetbeleima* 'victorious' patrol (s.)' (44c). In a similar passage 44c.II, Trqiz gathers (*xba-ti*) the *qetbeleimis* (-gods) for a feast (d.-l. *xi*, as in Lyc., cf. Mil.-Lyc. *xi(s)*- 'to offer').<sup>1</sup>

Next, our ex. a presents the 2<sup>nd</sup> part of the strophe 55.VI with the relevant passage; ex. b presents 1<sup>st</sup> part of 44c.XIV, adopted from the strophe 55.VI:

a) *kuli-ke* : *mru[w]asi* (2x acc. sg.) : *tidñta* (d. or all.) : *xbade* (vb. 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. past) / *sebel* : *purese* (d.-l. pl.) : *mñnusama* : *lajata* (2x acc. neut. pl.).

'(He) gathered (*xba-de*) the stele[-related] detachment (*kuli*) for libations (*t.*), and (he gathered) marvellous (?) takes (acc. m. l.) at the [trophy] piles (d.-l. pl. *pures-e*).

b) *wixsaba laba* (2x acc.) : *me tñme* (d.-l. pl., to l.) *xbade* (vb. 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. past) : *lēm-pe* (-m̄ < -me) *tunewñni* (subj.) : *seb(e) erēpli* (d.-l. sg.) : *sabaka* : *qetbeleima* (2x acc.).

'Tunewñni(-god?) gathered attractive / spectacular' (lit. 'attraction', apposition to *laba*) spoils / takes at other (? d.-l. pl. *tñm-e*, attr. to next) takes / trophies (verbal noun *lēm-el* to Mil.-Lyc.-Luw. *la*- 'take'), and (he gathered) lucky<sup>2</sup>-in-fights' (acc. coll. *q.*) patrol(men) (*sabaka*, to *saba*- 'protection, patrol') to / at the *erēpli*-stuff'.

For Mil. *xba*- cf. Lyc. *xba*- 'inflict' : Luw. *hap*-, *hapai*- 'bind / attach to'<sup>2</sup> // d.-l. pl. *pure-s-e* : Ht. *pur-puris*- 'ball-shaped vessel', *pur-puriya*- 'to ball up'<sup>3</sup> // *mñn-u-sa*- 'marvellous' (?) : Lyc. PN *mñnuhe* (?) < \**mñna*- 'marvel' : Luw. *mā-mmanna*- 'look at > regard with favor'<sup>4</sup> // noun *wixsa-ba* (if indeed 'marvel') : Luw. vb. (*u*)*wī*- 'see' or 'appear' (probably to Ht. *uwaittari* 'appears');<sup>5</sup> *wi-x-sa*- < \*(*u*)*wi-hV-ssa*- 'appearance > marvel' (?) [alternatively, to Mil. *wa-x-sa*- 'guard(s)' with iterative suff. -s- : Ht. -sk- in *weh-esk*- 'to patrol regularly'; *weh*- / *wahh*- means 'to turn'<sup>6</sup>]

For d.-l. sg. *erēpl-i* 'beverage' (?), cf. 44c.II 'Trqiz gathers / gets together (*xbati*) for a feast (*xi*) the victorious' ones (= [gods] *qetbeleimis*, acc. pl.), and (he gathers / gets together) also all the beverage / vessels' (acc. pl. *uwedris erēpliz*)'.<sup>1</sup>

It is important to understand that d.-l. pl. (or all.) *tidñt-a* 'for libation(s)' of the ex. a matches semantically d. sg. *erēpl-i* in the ex. b. This latter noun refers to supplies, probably, beverage / vessels, used during offerings. All this is about libations and offerings for gods-protectors of monuments (cf. part 4 and Conclusion below). Non-fictional troops, guards, commandres, officials, commoners use *qrbbli* ('goblet / libation', cf. *qrbbl-ala*- 'libation'), *alba*- 'drink, libation' (: vb. *alba*- 'libate').<sup>2</sup>

The following translation covers both passages (exx. a & b):

'(God N) gathered the stele detachment at / for libations, and (he gathered) the marvellous (?) spoils / takes for the trophy-accumulation(s) / display'.

In a similar text 44c.II it is Trqiz who the gods-protectors for a feast.

Now let us go back to the SC / chiasmi. Two of them (type ABCDBCA; identical in meaning) can be extracted from the above exx. a & b. Each represents an enlarged acc.-obj. phrase, governed by the vb. *xba-de* '(he) gathered / used to gather'.

### 1) acc. acc. d. connector d. acc. acc.

noun adj. adj. noun

*kul-i mruwas-i tidñt-a ... sebe pures-e mñnusām-a lajat-a*

'detachment of stele for libation(s) and for accum-n marvellous spoiles'

### 2) acc. acc. d. connector d. acc. acc.

appos. obj. obj. appos.

*wixsab-a lab-a ... llēm/ sebe erēpl-i sabak-a qetbeleim-a*

'marvel takes for accumul-n and for libation patrol victorious'

[Cf. also non-grammatical rhyming *-ba-ba* and various cases of vowel alliteration].

Let us now turn our attention to Xerigs'a actions as presented by Xerēi.

## 3.1. Xeriga performs several rites simultaneously which is against regulations.

In his first appearance (in 44c.III, ex. a, below),<sup>3</sup> Xeriga provides (or 'gathers together', verb *trbb-di*) offering-tables for a major 'blood-offering' (*esānā-mla*) and, at the same time, libates (*uwe-ti*, lit. 'drinks'), at his *mrGG(i)d*-monument, the tomb-protecting *mrGGa*-gods (: Netherworld's Margwayas [Ht.] / Marwainzi [Luw.]):

a) *laGra* (acc.) *trbbdi* (vb.) : *xeriga* : *me xbadiz* (voc. ?) : *kudi* : *mrGGd[i]* (l. sg.) [ : *saba*] *kssa* (acc.) : *trñmili* { : } *ja* (acc.) : *uweti* (vb.) *pad(a) mruwasa* (2x acc.) : *kup<r>lle[si-be]* (?) *sebe* : *xbadasi* (attr. to next) : *esānā-mla* (d.-l. sg.).

<sup>1</sup> Shevoroshkin 2008: 65 ('vessels' seems the most adequate translation for *erēpliz*).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.: 88-89 (*qrbbli*; *qrbblala*-) and 79 (*alba*-, *albāma*-, *albrāna* < \**alw*-).

<sup>3</sup> Text, translation, and comment in Shevoroshkin 2008: 64-95.

<sup>1</sup> See Melchert 2004: 121 for Mil. / Lyd. *mruwa*-, and 135 for Mil. / Lyc. *xi(s)*-.

<sup>2</sup> Melchert 1993: 54-55.

<sup>3</sup> Ünal 2007: 555.

<sup>4</sup> Melchert 1993: 134

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.: 269

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 993-996.

'Xeriga arranges / provides offering-tables (*laGra*), Xanthians (voc. *xbadiz*), for the blood-offering (*e.*) for royals (adj. *kuprllles-i*) and Xanthians (*xbadas-i*), as he 'drinks' / libates (*uwe-ti*), at the monument *mrGG-id\**, the Lyc. protective detachment (acc. coll. *pad(a)*) of the stele'. (Note acc. coll. *mruwasa*, attr. to *pad(a)*; cf. synon. acc. sg. phrase *kuli mruwasi* in 55.V; see part 2.2, exx. a-b).

For *laGra* cf. Ht. *lah(h)ura-*, probably to *lah(u)- / law-* 'to pour'.

Both actions of Xeriga (preparing offerings for people; libating gods) are happening at the same time (as also in 44c.V where a gerund-like form *uwēti* 'when drinking / libating' is used to underline the simultaneity), though this goes strictly against the rite regulations. These latter are more than once mentioned in 44d: cf. 44d.II (our ex. b) which is a part of a relatively long offering description.

b) (1) *ālbrāna-ke mlati* (l. sg.) : *trqqñtasa* (acc. pl. neutr., attr. to *albrāna*) *qretu-pe* 'And let one fill up (imp. *qre-tu*) ... Trqqiz's drinking-vessel (*a. t.*) in the temenos!'

(2) *tuli<j>elije* (d. pl.) *putu* (imp.) *trlluba* (nom.?) *zrppedu* (acc.) 'Let Trlluba(-god) (?) add / join (imp. *pu-tu*) (god) Zarpedon(-effigy, acc. sg.) to the assembly-gods (d. *tulijelije*)!' (: d. sg. *masasi* : *tulijewi* 'for gods' assembly', 44c.II).

(3) *ni-ke qezrñmi* (nom.) : *wer[i]* (nom.) *ql(a)-eb(i) ēke* : *xñtabā* : *uweti* (vb.) : *sukrē* 'And (there shall be) no feast (*ni-ke qezrñmi*) when / as long as (*ēke*) the provider of drinks ([nom.] *weri* ... [gen. pl.] *sukr-ē*) 'drinks' / libates (*uwe-ti*) the ruler / lord (acc. sg. *xñtab-ā*)!' (This latter may be Trqqiz; similar: d. *trqqñt-i* and d. *wer-i* in 44d.VI).

### 3.2. Xeriga doesn't control / collect taxes; instead, he arranges feasts.

In 44c.IV, the only way to translate the beginning of the text *ebi n(e) ube kere* : *seb[edi]* is to interpret *n(e)* as a negation. In this way, *seb[e-di]* can be understood as 'does not control' and compared with *sebe-di* '(he) controls' in 44c.X.

The passage 44c.IV (our ex. a) is about Lyc. ruler Xeriga who doesn't control tribute delivery in cities (l. pl. *ker-e*); instead, he is busy with feast preparations.

The appropriate passage in 44c.X (Xerēi actis here as Lyc. ruler; our ex. b) states that Xerēi controls several cities during the delivery (*ziw-i*) of shares (gen. pl. *qirzē*). (Note that Xerēi collects taxes during his journey through the country: part 3.3).

a) (1) *eñi* (subj.) *n(e) ube kere* (l. pl.) : *seb[edi]* (vb.) : *kjudi* : *slāmati* (vb.) : *zrbblā* 'The Local one (Xeriga ?) doesn't control (*/ne sebe-di/*) how / where (*kudi*) one is enlarging the tribute in cities, at the monuments (l. pl. *ub-e*)'. - Note here *ub-e* 'at / near the monuments', a location where tribute was delivered; similar: *ñtada /ñtete / [xu]pe* 'at the tombs'; *mrGGd-i* 'at the *mrGGa*[-protected] monument' (:part 4, ex. f).

(2) *mñqrē* (gen. pl.) : *muri* (d.) : *tupleleimi* (-Xeriga ?) [: *me?* : *an]az* (acc. pl.) : *sebe sbirtē* (acc. pl.) *pzziti* (vb.) : *lelebedi* (abl.) : *xñtabasi* (attr. to *sbirt-ē*)

'The *tupleleimi* (? Xeriga's epithet; syn. to *qetbe-leimi* 'Lucky [l.] in fight [q.]') determines (*pzzi-ti*, as in Lyc.) delicacies (acc. *ana-z*) of prepared stuff / things (gen. pl.

*mñqr-ē*) for invigoration-rite (or sim.: d. sg. *muri*)', and ruler's share from spoils / takes (abl. l.)'. - 'Ruler's share' is possibly Xeriga's share, determined by himself (another possibility 'lord's share' = 'Trqqiz's share' seems less likely).

b) (1) *xāzbi* : *tuminesi* : *hñtawā* : *kridesi* : *sebedi* (vb.) : *qirzē* (gen. pl.) : *ziwi* (l. sg.)

'(Cities of) Kandyba, Tymnissos, Hñtawā, Kridesi (4x acc.) (he) patrols (*sebe-di*) during the delivery (l. *ziw-i*; cf. *ziw-ala-* 'deliverer, tribute-payer') of shares (*qirz-ē*)'.

(2) *dewis* (apposition to *z.*) : *asa* (d. or all.) : *muwati* (vb.) : *zrētēniz* (acc. pl.)

'(He) invigorates (*m.*) the Dewians (appos.), the protectors, for steadfastness / loyalty'?

(3) *ali* (acc. sg. coll.) : *muwi* (d. sg.) *lade* (d. pl.?) : *epñ-tadi* (vb.?) *sebe* : *pasbbā*

'For courage (*muw-i*) (he = Xerēi) brings back to wives (if *lade* is a noun; see comment below) both the leadership / command and the troops'.

Noun *ala/i-* 'upper ones / command(ers)' to Lyc. *ali* which seems to mean 'high' // *asa*, *eseti* (cf. part 3.3), Lyc. *ahata* seem to mean 'for perpetuity / steadfastness'; here possibly 'loyalty'; cf. Luw. stem *assatti-* < \**āss-* 'remain, abide'<sup>1</sup> // *lad-e* may mean 'for wives' (to Mil.-Lyc. *lada* 'wife') since almost all Mil. nouns in *-a* (nom. sg.) show *-e* (not *-a*) in d. pl. (allative ending *-a* is a different matter).

### 3.3. Trqqiz discards Xeriga's tax as too low; Xerēi replaces feast with tribute.

Xerēi goes to a journey (44d.XII-XVI), first, visting Tralles (strophes XII-XIII), then Aperlai (XIV), then Antiphellos (XV-XVI). When basing on the strophe amount for each event, the whole journey may be presented as a construction of a frequent type 2 – 1 – 2. The journey-narrative is in the 1<sup>st</sup> person. Both in Tralles and in Antiphellos, Xerēi takes tribute, awards military and other people. In Antiphellos he also performs a rite for a major god (see part 4). In 44d.XIV (the central strophe; action in Aperlai; our ex. a), Xerēi is forced to repeal Xeriga's tax (apparently, imposed long ago) as too low, replacing the usual 'after[-tax]' celebration / feast with an additional levy, and then more; the reason of all this is Trqqiz's displeasure.

a) (1) *xzzātā-pe* : *trqqi<z>* *trñmle* : *zñpde* (vb.) *eseti* (d.-l. sg.) : *xerigazñ* (acc.)

'Now, Trqqiz discredited<sup>2</sup> Xeriga's tax on Lycians for perpetuity (*eset-i*; cf. part 3.2)'

(2) *epe-qzzi* (acc.) *trppalau* (1<sup>st</sup> p. sg.) : (*e*)*ri-pssedi* (abl.) : *prlleli* (attr. to *ep.*) :

*kedipe*

'Therefore (*kedipe*) I'll replace the Aperlan after[tax]-feast (*ep.*) with a tribute-delivery'.

(3) *ñt(e) [ē]nē* : *epri-ke* : *ziti* : *kalu* (vb. [*ē]nē-kal-*, cf. *ēnē sla-*).

'And then I'll tie /add (*[ē]nē-kal-u*) (it) to the next tribute-payment (d. *epri-i* ... *ziti-i*)'.

<sup>1</sup> Melchert 1993: 35.

For *kal-* to 'tie to' cf. Ht. *kal-el-iya-* 'tie up; truss': Gr. κάλος 'rope'.<sup>1</sup> For *zāp* (which may originate from \**zamm-*), cf. Luw. *zammurai-* 'insult, slander, discredit' similar in Ht.<sup>2</sup> Noun *xzzāta-* '(tribute-)delivery seems to match precisely Luw. vb. *hizza* 'hand over';<sup>3</sup> this has nothing to do with gr. city name Xanthos (thus contra Schürr and Melchert).<sup>4</sup> Other words have been discussed in 2008.<sup>5</sup>

The above situation is similar to that in several Lyc. cities where 'Trqqiz and all gods' got angry when Xeriga didn't provide Zeus with libation and offering during a major rite, using the appropriate produce only for Trqqiz and his divine entourage (see part 4).

It seems possible that Xerēi, after becoming Lyc. ruler (he starts acting as one in 44c.X), changed the situation in many Lyc. cities before he arrived in Aperlai.

At an even earlier Xerēi's visit to Aperlai (strophe 44c.XI; our ex. b), Trqqiz, as it seems, personally urges Xerēi not to give just some regular libation (acc. *ki wisiu* 'whatever / any w.') to the noble ones (= high military commanders), telling him that the 'Provider' (*pidritēni*; Trqqiz? Some other god?) will be treating all this nobility.

b) (1) *ne-pe ki wisiu* (acc. sg.) *ute* (d. pl.) *tu* (imp. 2<sup>nd</sup> pers.) *ñte (a)lija* 'Not any (regular) libation / drinks (*ne ki wisiu*) put (*imp. tu*) for treats / distribution (*ut-e*) for (*ñte*) the noble / high ones (d. pl. or all. *lalijal*, to *ali* 'nobility')!' (?)

(2) *pidritēni* (subj.) : *pirli* (l. sg.) : *murēnedi* (vb.) : *tuburiz* : *upleziz* : *s(e) iketesi* : *arppaxusēti* (attr. to next) : *tñpewēti* (acc. sg. coll.)

'The Provider [himself] is / will be treating (*mur-ēne-di*) in Aperlai (l. sg. *pir-li*) the noble Tuburans (? guard commanders; cf. *tuburiz xuzruwētiz*, Xerēi's life-guard) and, accordingly (*iketesi*), the military (*tñpewēti*) of Arppaxu-kin (= royal commanders)'.<sup>6</sup>

So, for some reason, it was in Aperlai where the highest command was treated after a war. In the preceding strophe 44c.X, Xerēi is treating both the regular commanders (*ali*) and the troops / army (*pasbā*) in several cities (part 3.2, ex. b (3)). Trqqiz orders Xerēi not to economize on a grand celebration which certainly was expensive; in our ex. b, Xerēi settles the situation, repealing a low tax and replacing it with a much higher one. We may assume that higher taxes enabled Xerēi (among other things) to provide decent offerings for Zeus and his gods-followers.

<sup>1</sup> Puhvel vol. 4: 22; cf. Koekhorst 2008: 429-430.

<sup>2</sup> Koekhorst 2008: 1030.

<sup>3</sup> Melchert 1993: 70.

<sup>4</sup> See Melchert 2004: 137 ('toponym' Xzzāta-).

<sup>5</sup> Shevoroshkin 2008: 64-95.

<sup>6</sup> *Upleziz* is a carver's misspelling for *uplesiz*; a frequent phenomenon in Mil. texts.

### 3.4. Ignoring Trqqiz's warning, Xeriga libates troops just after they come from war; an enemy attack causes a near-disaster, but Xerēi comes to a timely rescue.

Trqqiz warns Xeriga in the strophe 44c.V (ex. a), telling him not to libate troops who just have come from raids (at the same time, Xeriga libates the *mrGGa*-gods).

Trqqiz tells Xeriga to raise tribute delivery at the offering table. (Acc. sg. [*wisiu*] matches *wisiu* 'libation / drinks' in 44c.XI where Trqqiz addresses Xerēi; part 3.3).

a) (1) [*wisiu*]-*pe* : *ni-ke* : *waxsi* (1<sup>st</sup> voc.) : *pibi* (imp.) : *krese* (d. pl.) : (*a*)*rñpali* (attr. to *x.*) : *predi* (abl.) : *xapaxi* (d.-l. sg.) : *l[ax]adi* (abl.) : *mrGGas* (acc.) *uwēti* 'Don't give (*ni ... pibi*) [drink(s) / libation(s), *wisiu*] to the troops (*k.*, built like *purese*) (which are coming) from raids, from fights (*predi ... laxadi*), Warrior (1<sup>st</sup> voc.), when 'drinking' / libating (gerund *uwēti*) the *mrGGa*-gods during the divine *x.*-feast!'

(Acc. *mrGGa-s* [*mrywas*] : Netherworld gods Ht. *Margwayas* / Luw. *Marwainzi*).

(2) *sebe (e)nē* (acc.) : *laGri* (d.-l.) : *xñtabaimi* (2<sup>nd</sup> voc.) : *slāma* (imp.) *zrbblā*

'And this (acc. *(e)nē*, introduces acc. *z.*), the amasement / tribute (acc. *zrbbl-ā*), Ruling one (voc. *x.*), increase (imp. *slāma*) at the offering table (l. sg. *laGr-i*)!'

Here again, Xeriga performs two libations simultaneously (a grave violation); besides, he is urged by Trqqiz to gather tribute (which Xeriga tends to ignore; cf. part 3.2), - but especially worrisome is that Xeriga is libating troops who just came from raids, thus being practically incapable to fight if such a necessity arises.

Xeriga's irresponsible behavior (ex. a (1)) facilitates an enemy attack, as shown in the subsequent strophe 44c.VI (our ex. b). High commander Xerēi, who was with the ruler Xeriga at the place of offerings (at the Xanthian 'supply-stores', *zi-(e)reime*, probably, ancestral stores), reacts immediately: Along with his (life)guards (instr. *waxsa-di*) he 'runs over' (*zr-qqi-ti* < vb. \**sarri-hwi(ya)-* 'over / above' + 'run'?) to the attack location where he immediately sends into fighting 'both the command(ers) and the troops' (*wijedri ... sebe pasbā*) of the regular army.

Note that here (as in other similar cases) the subject appears in the 2<sup>nd</sup> sentence:

b) (1) *me uwe kemijedi* : *waxsadi* (instr.) : *zrqqiti* (vb.) / *zi-(e)reimedil* : *xbadasadi* 'Now look, with the clustered-together' (instr. *kemije-di*) guards, the high commander (*ñtuwitēni* = Xerēi) runs over (*zrqqiti*) from the Xanthian supply-stores (*z-di x-di*)'.

(2) *kudi mawate* : *klleima* : *wijedri* : *ñtuwitēni* (subj.) : *pduradi* : *sebe pasbā* ' (To) where one removed / was removing (*mawa-te*) the payments / tribute (acc. neutr. pl. *klleima*), he (*ñtuwitēni*) brings (*pdura-di*) both the command and the troops'.

Adj. *kemi(je)-* < и.-е. \**kemi-* 'press (together / on)', noun \**komo-* (Russian *ком*); see remarks sub ex. a (2), part 4 (next).

It is interesting, of course, that in the strophe 44c.VIII where Xerēi's victorious

return from the military conflict with Amorges is depicted (as also in Lyc. text 44a55), Xeriga treats both (Xerēi's) guards (d. *waxsa*) and the 'Top Fighter' (d. *zri-gali* < *zri-gali* < (?) \**sarri-h(u)walli-*, possibly, Natri) simultaneously.

#### 4. Xeriga is persistently depriving Zeus of libations and offerings, infuriating 'Trqqiz and all gods'. Pixre and Xerēi as ardent worshippers of Zeus.

Now it is time to show that Xerēi, following his idol Pixre, has considered Zeus as one of Lycia's main gods. This fact is reflected in all three languages (Lyc., Gr., Mil.) of the Xanthos stēle.

At the same time, Xerēi depicted Xeriga as a ruler who has intentionally deprived Zeus (and his divine entourage) of offerings. In such situation, Zeus was forced to act on his own to obtain his share of libations and offerings, destined by Xeriga only for 'Trqqiz and all gods'. (In reality, it seems, Xeriga, as almost all Lycians of his time, simply didn't care much about Zeus, or didn't know who Zeus was).

I would also like to show that it is wrong (as it is frequently the case among scholars) to identify Zeus with Lyc. Trqqas / Mil. Trqqiz : Anat. Tarhunt 'stormgod'. Moreover, Mil. texts of 55 and 44 show that a mutual assistance existed between Zeus (+ his [12] gods-followers), on the one hand, and Trqqiz (+ his [12] gods-followers), on the other.

Mil. text of 44d shows two name types used to denote Zeus:

- (1) Nom. Zuse and d. Zus-i (both forms in 44d).<sup>1</sup>
- (2) Stem Zina- (55.VIII) which presupposes nom. Zina\*, and d. Zin-i (44d.V).

This latter form, as well as *zina-s-e* in 55.VIII (d. pl. 'for Those-of-Zina- / Zeus' = 'for Zeus's gods-followers) remains unrecognized, which is very unfortunate.<sup>2</sup>

Both Zus(e) and Zin(a)\* are borrowings from Greek (cf. also Lyc. d. Zeus-i in 44, as well as Gr. theophor Zēn-i in d. sg. which appears in the short elegy in 44c).

Lyc. form Zeus-i 'for Zeus' is correctly interpreted by scholars though nobody seems to have figured out that this is a part of a phrase *agarāi zeusi* and matches Gr. Zeus Agoraios 'Zeus of the agora(s)'. Indeed, we have a clear phrase *agarāi : zeusi* in Lyc. 44b62.

I would like to stress here that I have stated on many occasions that there is no such thing as Lyc. 'garāi', only *agarāi*.<sup>3</sup>

We may note that Lyd. *lef/v-s* 'Zeus' is also a Gr. borrowing; moreover, there exists a Lyd. phrase (-l) *lev-s šarēta-s* '(for him) Zeus [is a] protector'; cf. Mil. noun *zrēt-ēn-i*, pl. *zrētēniz* 'protector(s)' (in a military sense). According to H. Rix, Lyd. *šarēta-* originates from IE. \**ser-* 'protect'.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Melchert 1993: 138.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.: 137; Melchert writes about *zini*: 'quite unclear in context'

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Neumann 2007: 87; Melchert 1993: 94 ('[Name] Garāi ... gen. pl.: modifies Zeus').

<sup>4</sup> Rix 1998: 483-484.

Let us now get back to the strophe 44d.V (our ex. a) which depicts Trqqiz's anger, caused by the above mentioned mistreatment of Zeus:

a) (1) *me-pe : stt[ē]ni* (vb. 3<sup>rd</sup> sg.) : *trqqiz* (subj.) *seb(e) uwedriz : mlat[i] masaiz* 'Now Trqqiz becomes angry (*sttēni*) and all gods (*m-z*) in the temenos (l. sg. *mlat-i*)'.

(2) *[k]em(i)* (subj.)? *ēkē neu : zini* (d. sg.) : *lelebedi* (abl.) *plejerese : [xu]pe* (l. pl.)? *ekānē* (acc. sg. or g. pl.) : *kuprimi* (acc. sg.) : *pzziti* (vb. 3<sup>rd</sup> sg.) : *ur[a]-sli* (d.-l. sg.). 'When (*ēkē*, as in Lyc.) the */kemil/* (a priest?), at the spacious / magnificent tomb(s)' (*p. [x.]*), doesn't determine (*pzziti*, as in Lyc.) a victim of choice (*e. k.*) from prey / spoils (abl. *l.*) for Zeus (d. *zin-i*) for the [rite of] great glorification (d. sg. *ura-sl-i*)'.

It is probable that */kemil/* is subject here, meaning 'tight-fisted' (to adj. *kemije-* 'pressed close together, united'),<sup>1</sup> designating an offering priest (or ruler Xeriga himself; he appears as the offering-provider in our passage); this */kemil/* was presenting 'a victim of choice' for Trqqiz and all gods, but not for Zeus.

The subsequent passages 44dVI (ex. b) and 44dVII (ex. c) show that Zeus is forced to obtain a libation and an offering on his own. These passages lack a few letters which excludes a fully reliable interpretation, but nom. form *zuse* (ex. b (2)) indicates that this god was acting here. The dative form *zus-i* (ex. c) shows that the narrative about Zeus goes on: Here we read *n]i seketu* 'let one / priest (?) not damage?' (+acc.) + d. *zus-i* 'for Zeus' + inf. *ewēne* 'to drink', etc.; words sub fn. 1.

We may also note here (this is important for any further interpretation) that the last word in ex. b (2) can not be *xu[ga....]* (some times they even spell *xug[....]* which is an outright text falsification) since a verb is required here by the sentence structure. It seems probable that this verb was *xu[sti-te]* 'rushed, quickly passed (smth. to somebody)';<sup>2</sup> an action by Zeus. Note also that it is Xeriga who, in ex. b (1-2), provides offerings to Trqqiz (but not to Zeus).

b) (1) *me [pd]jurade : erikle-be : trqqñti p(---)i : qi[d]ras<a>di tiu ñtada xñnije [--* 'Now (when) Herakles(-Xeriga), at grandmother's tomb(s), presented (*pdura-de*) to Trqqiz (*trqqñt-i*) a treat (acc. *tiu*) from booty / hunting (abl. *q.*, adj.) s[upplies] (?)',

(2) *[.]u-be* (acc.? + *-be*) *weri* (d. sg.) : *xerigaz{ : }ē zuse dd<e> xu[stite]* (vb.) 'Zeus immediately (*dde*?) rushed (?) Xeriga's vessel? (? *[.]u ... xerigaz{ : }ē*) to the cup-bearer / libation provider (*wer-i*)'.

c) *[me? : n]i seketu* (imp. 3<sup>rd</sup> sg.) : *ewēne* (inf.) *zusi* (d.) : *zbali* (d.-l. ?) *t[.....]* 'Now?, let one not damage? (any) v[essel] (?) for Zeus to drink (*ewēne*) during feast?!'

<sup>1</sup> Shevoroshkin 2008: 82 (*kemi-*), 83 (*lelebe-di*), 81 (*ekān-ē*), 83 (*kupri-*), 92 (*ura-sla-*).

<sup>2</sup> Shevoroshkin 2008: 89 (*seke-*), 81 (*ewēne*), 94 (*xu[sti-te]*), 87 (*pdura-*), 88 (*qidra-sa-*), 90 (*tiu to tija-\**), 92 (*weri*), 80 (*dde*), 87 (*prijāma*), 88-89 (*qrbli, qrbllala-*); 75 (a preliminary interpretation of 55.VII and VIII). – For *wzza-* : Luw. *uzzi-* cf. Yakubovich 2010: 261.

(The subsequent sentence is about punishment for potential ritual violators).

Let us now turn to the strophes 55.VII-VIII<sup>1</sup> where Pixre depicts Trqqiz who, along with 'all gods', orders a priest (Pixre himself?) to take (? effigies of) Qaja Wesñteli and Xba-lada for excellent libations at water (VII; our ex. d) and to provide offerings to 'Those-of-Zina', apparently, the gods-followers of Zina\*-Zeus (VIII; our ex. e).

d) (1) *ep(e)* (imp.) *edes<i>* (voc.; a priest?) : *qajā* : *wesñteli* (acc.) : *prijāmi* : [..] *qrbblali* (d.) 'Take, *edesi* (voc.?), the Phellian (acc. *wesñteli*, adj.) Patron' (acc. sg. *qajā*) for a pleasant (d. sg. *prijām-i*) *qrbblala*-libation (d. sg. *qrbbl-al-i*)<sup>2</sup>

(2) *sebe da* (imp.) *xba-ladā* (acc.) : *t[u]wēm[i]* (*e/i*)*lei* : [*we*]d[*ri*] : *erei[m]edi* (abl.) 'And put / place (imp. *da*) Hebat-Lady (*xba-lad-ā*) ... at water? (*i*)*lei* and / or *wedr-i*?) for a *tuweme*-libation / offering from [special] supplies (abl. *ereime-di*)!<sup>3</sup>

e) (1) *epe* (imp.) *pararā* (acc.) : *wzza[.:]ijesi* (acc., attr. to *p.*?) 'Take the desired / favored (cf. *wzzaijesi* in 44d.XV) vessel / platter' (*p.*)!<sup>4</sup>

(2) *āla* (acc. neut. pl.; to *āala* < \**anala* : 44 *ana-z*) : *xi* (imp.) : *zinase* (d. pl.) 'Offer the delicacy / delight for a feast (d.-l. *xi*) to Those-of-Zina / Zeus!'<sup>5</sup>

(3) *trqqiz* : *ki kikitii* (vb.) : *seb(e)* [*u*]wedriz : *glei* (l., syn. to *mlati*) : *masa<i>z* '(It is) Trqqiz who (*ki*) announces (it) and all gods at the gathering place (l. sg. *glei*)'.<sup>6</sup>

As assured by the content, *ki-ki-* means 'to announce'; it can not mean 'to pay'. It seems, Zina(-Zeus) was identified in the above Pixre's narrative with Qaja Wesñteli 'Patron' of Phellos' (Qaja < \*H(u)waya-?) who's wife appears as Xba-lada 'Hebat-Lady' (naturally, she is fond of water). Qaja may represent a god who appears as Tešub in Anatolia and as Zeus in Greece; this also explains Xba-Hebat as his wife. DN Qaja < \*H(u)waya- (?) matches well. Luw. *huwaya-lli-*, epithet of the sungod: 'fleeting (god)', as per Puhvel<sup>2</sup>: to Ht.-Luw. *huwai-* 'run' (> 'help').

Let us now turn again to Xerēi's journey as described in 44d.XII-XVI: this trip leads him to Pixre's tomb in Antiphellos (strophes XV-XVI).<sup>7</sup>

When in Antiphellos, Xerēi visited Pixre's tomb (*mrGG(i)d-*; text 44d.XV, our ex. f) where he 'drank' / libated (vb. *uwa-*)<sup>3</sup> the god Wesātñnija Qñtbe. This latter seems to be identical with Qaja Wesñteli [and thus with Zeus] of 55.VII (note here *q-* *w-* in *qajā wesñteli* vs *w-q-* in [*w*]esātñniu *qñtbē*; both are acc. objects).

f) (1) [*w*]esātñniu : *qñtbē* (acc.) : *uwaxa* (vb.) : *mlati* (l. sg.) : *wzza{.}ijesi* (l. sg.)<sup>8</sup> 'I libated (*uwa-xa*) the Phellian Patron in the admired / favored temenos' (*mlati=glei*)

(2) *me welpumi* (vb.) : *mrG[G]di* (l.) *pttīi-ke* : *xustti-ke qidrala* (3x d.) : *ke-pe* (*e*)*ne* (acc., introduces *z. p.*) *ziu* (attr. to *p.*) : *sukredi* (instr.) : *kibe* : *pasbu* (acc. sg.)<sup>9</sup>

'Now, I'm cherishing (note *welpu-ti pixre* 'Pixre is cherishing' in 55.I), of course (*kibe*), with libation / drinks (instr. *sukre-di*), at the *m.*-monument [of Pixre], this (introductory pronoun (*e*)*ne*), the provision detachment (acc. *ziu ... pasbu*), for agility (*p.*), and for rushing (? *x.*), and for dashing? (*qidrala*)<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Shevoroshkin 2008: 80 (*ana-z*, *ā(a)la*), 93 (*xi-*), 88 (*glei*, *qla-*),  
<sup>2</sup> Puhvel 1991: vol. 3, 422-423.  
<sup>3</sup> See Shevoroshkin 2008: 92 (*uwa/e-*, *welpu-*), 87 (*pttīi-i*), 88 (*qidr-al-a*), 90 (*sukre-*).

So, in the strophe 44d.XV (which is very similar to 55.VII where Trqqiz orders a priest to libate Qaja Wesñteli), Xerēi 'drank' / libated Wesātñnija Qñtbe, probably, the same god as Qaja Wesñteli. This god is certainly different from the stormgod Trqqiz. God Qaja (of Wesñte) / Qñtbe (of Wesāte) may be an early prototype of a god who was later identified with Zeus. (But we have to eprct here some confusion).

The above passage 44d.XV is one of three where libations were performed for god(s) at a *mrGG(i)d*-monument, a tomb protected by the Margwaya-gods.

One of such monuments belonged to Xerēi (described in 44c.I), one to Xeriga (described by Xerēi in 44c.III), and one to Pixre (described by Xerēi in 44d.XV).

In 44c.III, Xeriga 'drinks' / libates, at his *mrGG(i)d-* (l. sg. *mrGGd-i*), the 'Lycian protective stele patrol', and in 44c.V he 'drinks' / libates the *mrGGa*-gods (acc. pl. *mrGGas*; verb *uwe-* is used on both occasions).

In 44d.XV, Xerēi 'drinks' / libates (vb. *uwa-*) the god Wesātñnija Qñtbe in the temenos (*mlat-i*) in the area of Pixre's *mrGG(i)d*-sepulcher; then Xerēi libates the troops which deal with the produce delivery (ex. f).

As for Xerēi's '*mrGG(i)d-* with protection / protectors (*saba-di*)' in 44c.I, it is the location where Natri glorifies and treats 'both the commander (= Xerēi?) and the troops' (returning) from raids / tax collecting. They come to the *zi-(e)reima* 'ancestral supply store' (cf. *zi-ereime-di* 'from the supply stores, *ereime* 'at / to the stores', passim, - a place of meetings, offerings, feasts, tribute deliveries, etc). To treat them, Natri 'arranges (*za-za-ti*) the offering-tables (acc. *laGra* < \**lah"ra-*?)'.<sup>1</sup>

### Conclusion. - Cases of ambiguity. - Some perspectives.

We may now shortly summarize our study as follows:

Zuse-Zina\* in the Mil. text 44d (Xanthos), and Zina\* in 55 (Antiphellos; this theonym is preserved here in l. pl. *zina-s-e* 'for Those-of-Zina' = [12] gods-followers of Zeus) denote god Zeus of Lycia. This latter was certainly different from the stormgod Trqqiz (Lyc. Trqqas). Zeus is one of the main gods, and he gets appropriate libations & offerings (this is described in Mil. passages more than once), but Zeus is scarcely known in Lycia outside Xerēi's Xanthos and Pixre's Phellos.

It seems certain that there were 12 divine followers of Zeus (they appear at the socle of the Parthenon). Accordingly, the divine entourage of the Lyc. stormgod Trqqas (= Mil. Trqqiz) consisted of 12 *tabahaza* as shown by Lyc. passage 44b52-53: ... *trqqñti pddātahi sebe qñnākb-a xrssēni ehbi tabahaz-a* '(he was building altars in city after city) for the local (*p.*) Trqqas and for the 12 *tabahaza* in his tempest / furor' (?)<sup>2</sup> Cf.

<sup>1</sup> Shevoroshkin 2008: 89 (*sla-* 'to honor'), 64 (*xusttedi* 'from raids'), 94 (*za-za-* 'arrange').

<sup>2</sup> Melchert 2004: 60 "*tabahaza* '?' per Shevoroshkin, 'inhabitants of heaven'" [or to Luw. *tapassa-* 'fever'. - V.S.]; cf. Tischler apud Neumann 2007: 336-337 (about *tabahaza*); Melchert 2004: 55

Mil.: 44c.XIII acc. sg. *xrbblatā* : *trqqñtasi* 'Trqqiz's entourage' (:Luw. *harp-*) + *edij* *tik-e* 'during the meal offerings' (syn. *tij-e*) vs. 55.XIII all. *trqqñtasa ... xrbblata* 'for Trqqiz's entourage' + *litik(a) (a/e)dijal* 'during the meal offerings'.

It seems more difficult to figure out who were the 12 *zawa*(-gods?); they appear in an offering-related passage 44d.III where (the deceased?) Xeriga is mentioned: all. *zaw ... qñnātba* : *xuzrñta xerigasa* : *tu[k]adrāla...* 'for the 12 (q.) Zawa, Xeriga's protection ... *qñnātba* : *xuzruwēti*- 'protective'), statue-shaped (to Lyc.-Mil. *tukedri* 'statue') ... For *zaw-a*, cf. Lyd. *šaw-* 'protector, patron'; note Lyd. vb. *šaw-ēn-* 'gedeihen' as p. Gusmani.<sup>1</sup> This text deals with offerings and libations. It seems probable that the Zawa gods are the protectors of Xeriga's *mrGG(i)d*-monument, similar or identical to Mil. gods (44c) *mrGGas* (acc.), *saba*, *sabaka qetbeleima*, *qetbeleimis*, [*saba-*]k-*ssa trñmilij* *pad(a) mruwasa*, (55) *kuli mruwasi*.

Lyc. ruler Xerēi - in his antipathy to his predecessor Xeriga - pictures Zeus as being deliberately and consistently deprived by Xeriga of libations and offerings, which ultimately infuriates both Trqqiz and his divine entourage ('all gods'). In reality, Xerēi may have no idea about who Zeus was.

Xerēi, the author of the Lyc.-Mil. text 44, was an ardent follower of Pixre, a Zeus-worshipper, the author of Mil. inscription 55 (an older and more archaic text than 44). Both Zeus and Trqqas-Trqqiz (and their respective gods-followers) appear in Mil. texts as mutually supportive. It seems probable that Mil. Zuse-Zina\* is ultimately identical to Qaja Wesñiteli (55) / Wesñitñija Qñtbe (44d) 'Patron of Phellos' (probably Tešub and Zeus in one capacity). Trqqiz certainly appears as a different god who deeply cares about Zeus = Zuse / Zina- (in 44d) and his followers (d. pl. Zina-s-e 'to Those-of-Zeus'), as well as about Qaja (in 55).

Qaja's wife is referred to as Xba-lada 'Hebat-Lady' in 55.VII: this may provide us with a momentary penetration into the deep roots of Pixre's world view.

\* \* \*

An intentional ambiguity may exist in 55.VII, as also in 44c.VII. If one identifies, in 55.VII, Qaja Wesñiteli ('Patron of Phellos') as Pixre, then *xba-lada* may be translated as 'devoted wife' (to Lyc.-Mil. *xba-* 'attach' and *lada* 'wife'); this situation would explain the otherwise enigmatic absence of Pixre's wife in his narrative, though his wife is sculptured on the sarcophagus along with Pixre.

(about *qñnākba* '12'). - For *xrssēni ehbi* 'in his tempest / furor', if to Ht. *harsannas* '(stormgod) Festschrift).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gusmani 1964: 192-193 (I use an updated transmission of Lyd. forms. - V.S.)

As for 44c.VII (where Xerēi speaks about his fight against Umrġga / Amorges), the text provides two meanings, depending on how we interpret the phrase 'who has removed (*mawa-te*) the rule of Vištāspa's kin (*mġu ... wizztasppazñ*)' (=Amorges). It is either *turaxssali natri* (god Natri-Apollo of Turaxssa) or Xerēi himself who appears here as *ēnari* 'Mighty one' : Luw. *annari-* 'mighty' (see about this conflict below).

(We may note that the strophe numbers are identical in 55 and 44c; cf. very similar passages about offerings for 'Trqqiz's entourage' in 55.XIII and in 44c.XIII.

Pixre speaks about rewarding his detachment (*atrala*) 'with good(ie)s' (*wese-di*) for his protection (*pasñt-e*) and for successful fights & raids (*erbb-i kññq-i-ke*) in 55.IX; Xerēi brings his army from fights (*laxa-di*) and provides his guards with tripple shares and his regular troops with double shares in 44c.IX, - etc.)

\* \* \*

We have touched only a few topics from the large amount of data still concealed behind the Mil. texts. It may be useful to concentrate on the military (*tñpewēti*) which is the most frequent topic of Xerēi's narrative. Usually, Xerēi deals with his commanders (*wijedri* / *ali* / *zrētēniz*), protective guards (*xuzruwāta waxsa* / *tuburiz xuzruwētiz*), regular troops (*pasba*), also 'local police' (*ek-*) *abura* with variants), - all are being awarded for their fighting abilities, for wars and raids, for punishing (potential) tax-evaders, for tribute collection. Threats are frequently used by Xerēi.<sup>1</sup>

Among many other things, a detailed interpretation of the both central strophes (VII-VIII) of 44c is needed where Xerēi speaks about his victory over Umrġga-Amorges. It is certainly wrong to consider Amorges still being loyal to a Lyc. ruler at this, rather late, time, - and thus being depicted 'positively' by Xerēi (see below).

I think, in this connection, that Schürr has incorrectly identified a Lyc. form *turaxssi* as a city / location name in acc.; cf. his translation of the last part of the appropriate passage (44a51-55; our ex. a), analyzed by him in his recent paper<sup>2</sup>:

a) ... *trbbetē* (vb.; -ē intruduces acc. sg. *ter-ñ* 'army / troops') : *turaxssi* : *zxxāna terñ* : *ese* : *humrxxā* (acc.) : *tebāna terñ* (acc.) ... '... verstärkte er (den Ort) Turaxssi, zu bekämpfen das Heer, den Amorges, niederzuwerfen das Heer ...'

It is important to have in mind that Schürr considers the subj. *haxlaza* (= title of the Persian governer) of the preceding passage still functioning as subject in our passage (ex. a). For Schürr, *humrxxā* (acc.) 'Amorges' is a 'positive' character (who is being 'strengthened', along with the *turaxssi*-location; but it is highly suspicious, that one would want to 'strengthen' both a location and a non-related person).

<sup>1</sup> Pixre also speaks many times about his guards (*atrala*) and troops (*pasba*), their fights and raids, readiness of the police in localities (*eke ... abura*) to destroy supply stores (*zirāpla*) of tax-evaders. Pixre uses a threat only once, namely, in 55.II-III.

<sup>2</sup> Schürr 2009: 164, 168, 174.

It is also important that the above Lyc. text (contrary to Schürr) can not not refer to the events of 430-429 BC.

The appropriate Lycian text (44a51-55) as well as its Milyan counterpart (44cVII) were composed by Xerēi rather late, namely, after the capture of Amorges in 412 BC. In Lycian, the god *turaxss-i* 'the Turaxssan [Natri]' is acting; in Milyan, *turaxssanatri* (the same god).<sup>1</sup>

We already have solid data which testify against Schürr's statement "Amorges ist here nicht der Rebell, der 412 ... gefangengenommen wurde... Und nichts spricht here für einin Sprung von 430/29 ins Jahr 412".<sup>2</sup> Not quite so. Schürr's interpretation of the Lyc. form *turaxssi* as (nom. or) acc. is unacceptable since an appropriate toponym can only show an *a*-stem (Greek also *-o-*) in the whole Asia Minor,<sup>3</sup> hence we have Mil *turaxssa-li*, with *-a* < *-a* (and not *\*turaxsse-li*). - So there is not much doubt that *turaxssi* in the above Lyc. text means 'That-of-Tiraxssa' = 'Turaxssan', a Lyc. match for Mil. *turaxssali natri* 'Natri(-Apollo) of Turaxssa'.

But since *turaxssi* is the subject here, our passage has to be grammatically independent from the (preceding) *haxlaza*-passage. We deal with the participation of Turaxssi (= Natri of Turaxssa) in the fight against Ionians and Amorges; Xerēi and Natri fight, naturally, at the same side, as it is stated by Xerēi himself in 44c.VII.<sup>4</sup>

As for *trbb-e-* in *trbbetē*, there is simply no ground to interpret it as 'strengthen', though a precise meaning of this verb is not quite certain yet. Melchert interprets it as 'oppose, resist' (or sim.) which seems to be upheld both by the context and by several related forms.<sup>5</sup> Another possibility is to tie *trbbe-* to Lyc. *trbb-i* 'in league (with)' (as per Schürr; thus, contra Melchert, *ibid.*); in this case it may mean 'to join in'. So, Lyc. *trbbetē : turaxssi : zxxāna terñ* may be approximately interpreted as 'the Turaxssan (Natri) confronted in fighting the (Ionian ?) army', or, for that matter, '... joined in to fight the army'. Cf. the whole passage:

b) ... *trbbetē : turaxssi : zxxāna terñ : ese : humrxxā : tebāna terñ* ...

'... the Turaxssan (Natri) confronted the [Ionian] army to fight (*zxxāna*) (it), also (?) to defeat / beat (*tebāna*) Amorges [and his] army', or:

'... the Turaxssan (Natri) joined in to fight (*zxxāna*) the [Ionian] army, also (?) to defeat / beat (*tebāna*) Amorges [and his] army'. (This is an archaic Lyc. expression).

A form *hātahe*, used only in the martial text 44a51-55, is translated by Schürr as 'herrlich' which seems not to make any sense; it may rather mean 'deadly'.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bryce 1986: 109 [Xerēi's participation 'in the suppression of the revolt of Amorges']; cf. Schürr 2009: 169.

<sup>2</sup> Schürr 2009: 169.

<sup>3</sup> Zgusta 1984: 643, par. 1386.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Shevoroshkin 2008: 66 (Mil. text 44c.VII where the god *turaxssali natri* is acting).

<sup>5</sup> Melchert 2004: 69 (for him, the translation *trbbetē* 'supported' is "very dubious").

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Melchert 2004: 22 about *hāta-* 'deceased' (but *hātahe* cannot mean 'of Sanda').

\* \* \*

To stimulate a further research in Milyan (which, unfortunately, is progressing very slowly), we badly need, - among other things, - both relatively narrow, but deeply 'penetrating', studies like that by Bryce (which still reads as if it were published yesterday), and some broader investigations in the area, such as Yakubovich's very useful book in Anatolian sociolinguistics, - specifically, in Luwian, though his study practically deals with the whole ancient Near East.<sup>1</sup>

This latter work is heavily based on a combination of linguistic, historical, and ethnographic data. Among other relevant matters, its author investigates a rather difficult problem of archaic communities in the Lydia-Caria-Lycia area, - a focal point for a cultural expansion to the East.

As ever, it is especially important to try and distinguish between plausible, context-based, interpretation of Mil. passages, and doubtful, torn-out-of-the-context, interpretations based on some pre-conceived ideas, however attractive these latter may seem. Of course, with a forthcoming accumulation of new data, our interpretation of Milyan shall be critically scrutinized again at again. Still, this interpretation already seems to have enough sense to help in reconstructing some social events both in ancient Lycia and in neighboring territories.

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<sup>1</sup> Yakubovich 2010. - I would like to provide a couple of relevant statements from this valuable book "There is enough evidence that both Lycian dialects [=Lycian and Milyan] ... contain archaisms that were eliminated in Luwian, and therefore cannot be regarded as its direct descendants"; then later: "Milyan occupied an intermediate position between Lycian and Carian in the continuum of the I. uvić dialects of western Anatolia" (pp. 135-136).

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## ABOUT SOME FEATURES OF LOANWORDS IN HURRIAN

*Arnaud Fournet*

### 1 The Hurrian language

The Hurrian language is one of the extinct languages which were once spoken in the area around Mesopotamia and the Caucasus in the last four millenniums BCE. Its first attestations date back to the last centuries of the 3rd millennium BCE, ca. -2300. The Assyrian conquest of the areas peopled by Hurrians, in northern Mesopotamia, was a severe blow inflicted on the language as many of them seem to have been deported by Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244-1208 BCE), who needed manpower to build his new capital. These events probably caused major disruption in the survival of Hurrian. Hurrian names are not attested in central Mesopotamia after that period as noted by Gelb (1944: 83) but the language seems to have survived until the middle of the first millennium BCE in north-eastern Mesopotamia. Assyrian kings had to fight against neighbors who bore typically Hurrian names until the middle of the first millennium BCE. At the beginning of the 2nd millennium BCE, Hurrian is attested in southeastern Anatolia and in the Zagros-Taurus region of northern Mesopotamia. In the middle of the 2nd millennium, Hurrian influence is also attested in Syria and in the Cilicia or Kizzuwadna region. Hurrian was the main language of the Mittanni Kingdom as is attested by the so-called Mittanni Letter written by Tušratta, king of Mittanni, to Amenophis III.

### 2 The origin and early contacts of Hurrian

The proto-history of the Hurrian language and people is shrouded with some uncertainty. But there are good indications that the presence of Hurrian people in Upper Mesopotamia is fairly ancient. To start with Hurrian is closely related to the Urartean language, which was spoken in eastern Anatolia, a little to the north and east of Hurrian, between about 850 and 600 BCE. Urartean is not a descendant of Hurrian. Rather, they are sister languages, both going back to a common Hurro-Urartean parent language, probably located to the northeast of Mesopotamia in the foothills of the Caucasus Mountains and dated to before the third millennium BCE. Diakonoff (1957: 39), who can be credited for establishing the relationship between the two languages, concludes that "Urartean is not a late dialect of Hurrian, but a separate language derived from one



parent with the latter and in some respects preserving more archaic features than the Hurrian language." Urartean remained spoken long enough for Armenian to borrow a few dozen words with fairly clear Hurro-Urartian origin. In addition these Armenian words shed near direct light on Hurro-Urartean phonology which would otherwise be ascertained mainly on the basis of cuneiform writing.

Some towns in Assyria appear to have typically Hurrian names. And in one particular case, a prince of these towns has been proved to bear a Hurrian name: 'in the year [the] Naram-Sîn [he] was successful at Azuḫinam on his Subarean campaign and defeated [the] Hurrian prince] *Taḫišatili*'. The presence of Hurrian people to the west and southwest of this area is, on the contrary, the result of a short-lived expansion, crushed down by the Hittites and the Assyrians, who also had territorial ambitions. In addition it can be noted that the Hurrian names for the Tigris and Euphrates rivers do not sound Hurrian. The Tigris is called *Aranzah*, a name that does not sound native but seems to include a Kassite formative *-sah*, *-zah* which is not attested in Hurrian. Cf. Kassite *ḫSah* = *ḫUTU* 'Sun-God' for example, even though this does not mean that the hydronym is derived from this theonym. The upstream Euphrates was originally called *Mala* by Anatolian inhabitants. Cf. Akkadian *ḫPuratta* = Hittite *ḫMala* in Laroche (1980: 205). This is fairly close to Hurrian *muli* and Urartean *muna* 'river', even if vowel *-a* does not normally appear as a stem ending in Hurrian words. This could nevertheless be taken as an indication that the Proto-Hurro-Urartean population was acquainted with the upstream Euphrates River.

Cultural parallels also provide clues about Proto-Hurro-Urartean. In Wilhelm (1996: 181), the parallels between the Syro-Cananean rituals and the Hurro-Hittite rituals on one hand and the deep connections between the Akkadian goddess *Ištar* and the Hurrian goddess *Šauška* on the other hand are held as strong indications that the Hurrians must have been on the spot and that they must have taken part to the construction of the Mesopotamian civilization "dès le début": *from the start*. A quite acceptable etymology of the goddess theonym *Šauška*, attested in the Ur III period as <ša-ù-ša>, has been proposed by Wegner: this theonym quite logically means 'the Very Great', with a native superlative suffix *-uš-*, being thus the lexical and religious equivalent of the great goddess *Ištar* of the Akkadians. The lexical impact of the Sumero-Akkadian civilization on Hurrian will be examined below in the paper.

Another clue of an ancient presence is the non-native Sumerian word *tibira* 'metal-worker', equivalent to *ḫurudu-nagar* and Akkadian *qurqurru*, which has obvious connections with the following set of Hurrian words: *tab-* 'to melt (metal)', *tabiri* 'metal-melter' and *tabrenni* '(copper)smith'. Sumerian must be the receiver language. This shows a widespread and lasting presence of the Hurrians in the mountains of eastern Anatolia, where the resources, work, and trade of metals have been a major economic activity and where Hurrians are the apparently native element. Moreover Speiser (1941: 9) also mentions that "some [Hurrian loanwords] are demonstrable in good Akkadian" although he does not provide more specific indications. In general the influence of neighboring languages on Hurrian is more discernible than the reverse, the word *tibira* being a conspicuous exception.

### 3 Some peculiarities of the names of Gods and Goddesses

The Hurrian pantheon is fairly rich. A number of deities seem to be native or at least cannot be easily compared with neighboring Semitic or Sumerian equivalents: *Allani*, *Aštabi*, *Hamu*, *Hudena*, *Hudellurra*, *Kumarbi*, *Nubadig(a)*, *Šauška*, *Teššub*. In addition *Teššub* is attested in Urartean as *Teišeba*. Some are clearly taken from the Sumero-Akkadian pantheon: *Ea*-(*Šarri*), *Nikkal*, bearing testimony to the cultural influence received from the Mesopotamian civilization. Some others have a western Semitic origin: *Anat*, *Daqita*, *Išhara*. Several revealing observations can be made on these theonyms.

Even though Hurrian does not have grammatical genders, several feminine theonyms end with *-a(i)*: *Šauška*, *Anat*, *Daqita*, *Hebat*, *Kulitta*, *Ninatta* and this feature also applies to *Šauška* which cannot be suspected of being a loanword. *Hebat* has been compared with Semitic *\*hawwa*(tu) 'life, Eve', especially by Speiser (1941) to start with. This suggestion has been criticized by Morrison (1982: 85). She argues that Hurrian *Hebat* has an Urartean equivalent: *Huba*, which can indeed be considered as a fairly strong argument in favor of a native origin, and she hypothesizes that the oldest form is *Heba* without final *-t*, because numerous Person names are formed with a second formative *-Heba*. But it must be noted that when this formative comes first then it is attested with final *-t*: *ḫŠuwar-Heba* but *ḫHebet-Naa* in *NPN* (216). It is therefore plausible that the short form *Heba* is a positional variant of *Hebat*, coherent with Hurrian phonology which hardly accepts final stops, rather than the original form to which a Semitic suffix would have been added thanks to some undetermined reasons, as Morrison (1982: 85) proposes. In all cases *Hebat* shares with *Anat* the conspicuous feature of being the only words in Hurrian that end with a consonant *-t* with no stem vowel. In addition the whole ending *-at* is obviously reminiscent of the Semitic feminine ending *-at(u)*. The case for a Semitic origin of *Hebat* is in my opinion very strong and based on several convergent features.

Normally Hurrian nouns bear a final vowel *-i* in the Nominative or Absolute case. The most common stem vowel was *-i* (also written *-e-*), but *-a-* (mostly in kinship words) and (rarely) *-u-* can also be found. Examples include: *ardi-* 'town', *eni-* 'god, deity', *ašti-* 'woman', *tiw(u)i-* 'word, thing', *eše-* 'earth', and for kinship words: *alla(i)-* 'woman', *atta(i)* 'father'. Several pronouns have *-i* in the Absolute but *-u-* in the other cases. This alternation *-i ~ -u* is typical of pronouns. The stem vowel *-u* is found in words with strong adverbial connections: *guru* 'once', *ašhu* 'top', *uthuru* 'side' as noted in Wegner (2007: 52). As will appear below two of these words with the rare stem vowel *-u* can be traced to Akkadian and it is therefore plausible that this stem vowel originates in Akkadian Nominative itself. A handful of words end with a consonant, like *Kušuh* *\*[kuz(u)γ]*, which is exceptionally rare. These words add *-u-* as stem vowel in oblique cases. It can be further noted that *Kušuh*, *ḫSÎN-uh* 'Moon-god' has a fairly strong semantic and phonetic similarity with Hatti *ḫKašku*, *ḫKašma* 'Moon(god)' [Soysal (2004: 286) "Mond(gott)" = *ḫSÎN*]. This situation combined with the formal oddity of ending with a consonant, or even two if the suggestion of Speiser (1941: 16) is accepted, would therefore indicate that this theonym is likely to originate in the Hatti language.

A subset of theonyms are most often or always used with the article *-ni* when other theonyms never are. These include: *eni ARD-ni* 'the god ARD' [with unknown vowel (eni) *Humun(u)-ni* 'the god Humun', *Pišašaphi-ni* 'the god Pišašaphi' which are attested in lists from Rāš Šamra but are quite obviously marginal and non native deities (Laroche 1968: 499-507). The use of the article *-ni* is a telltale mark of their foreign origin. From that point of view it is intriguing that two major gods of the Hurrian pantheon most always display the same marker *-ni*: *Kumarbi-ni* '(the) Kumarbi', not always but most time suffixed by the article, and *Šimegi-ni* '(the) Sun-god', always. Kumarbi is usually considered to represent an old layer of the Hurrian religion, but this would apparently conflict with some grammatical features displayed by this word. On account of the presence of the marker *-ni* as in foreign theonyms, a paradoxical conclusion would be that these two major gods of the Hurrian pantheon would not be native. *Kumarbi* is attested in Ugaritic script with two forms [kmrb] and [kmrw] exactly with the same alternation as in the word *ebri*, *erwi* 'lord, king', which is traceable to Akkadian *abāru* 'strength, power' as will be discussed below. Thus I would propose that *Kumarbi* be parsed as a compound: *Kumarbi*, the second formative involving *ebri* 'lord'. This analysis explains the morphological oddity of *Kumarbi* often bearing the article: this theonym is a compound which involves a loanword, two exceptional features in Hurrian. This suggests that *Šimegi* may also be a compound, even though it cannot be transparently segmented with Hurrian or non-native morphemes. It has also been proposed that *Kumarbi* is the Genitive *-wi* of the Semitic word *kumaru* 'earth wall, rampart', which is attested in several toponyms of the Near-East. This suggestion was originally made by Goetze and is discussed in Morrison (1982: 25-26). The idea that the last syllable of the theonym *Kumarbi* is a Genitive marker is nevertheless impossible to believe: in that case it is hard to understand (1) how this Hurrian Genitive could be integrated bare in a sentence with the function of an Absolute case without syntactical contradiction by Hurrian speakers, (2) how this Genitive marker can be further suffixed with other Case markers, with a typologically unusual string of Case markers, (3) how *Kumarbi* can be written <k m r b> in Ugaritic when the Genitive marker is always attested as [wi] not \*[bi]: \**Amurru-wi* <a m r w>. The hypothesis that *Kumarbi* involves *kumaru* as first formative is nevertheless interesting. It can be noted that KBo I 1 rev. 37 reads in Akkadian: <EN kà-ma-ri ša URU Ir-ri-te> 'lord of the *kamaru* of the city of Irrite', where EN is precisely equivalent to Hurrian *ebri*, *erwi* 'lord'. The syntagm \**kumari abar(u)*, that suggest as antecedent of *Kumarbi* is therefore attested, be in the opposite order.

As a preliminary conclusion it would appear that the use of the definite article indicates that these theonyms are noun-noun compounds, an exceptionally rare formation in Hurrian.

#### 4 More about the issue of compounds in Hurrian

From a structural and typological point of view, Hurrian is an agglutinating language and it is near exclusively suffixing and postpositional. There does not seem to

be any example of prefixes or infixes. All affixes are actually suffixes, of which there are a large number. The language makes a very limited resort to compounds. Two types are rather rare: noun-verb and noun-noun compounds. A third type: verb-noun is used for personal names and this onomastical formation is on the contrary massively attested with Hurrian native verbs and nouns.

Compounds of the noun-verb type involve either *-uhli* 'to be in charge of' or *-tan* 'to do'. Speiser (1941: 130) can be credited for being the first scholar to suggest that the unusually long suffix *-uhli* 'in charge of' is related to the verb *ehli* 'to save, to oversee' used in a particular way. This idea was accepted by von Soden and is retained by Laroche (1980), who cites von Soden, but it does not seem to have been developed by more recent authors who prefer parsing them into a chain of individual suffixes as in Giorgieri (2000: 204). The alternative analysis as a chain of suffixes does not in my opinion account for the fact that nearly all the stems suffixed by *-uhli* are fairly transparent borrowings from Akkadian. The following items are already identified in the existing literature as being Akkadian loanwords:

- Akkadian *ešēdu* 'harvesting, harvest' > Hurrian *ezaduhli* 'harvester'. Laroche (1980: 87) reads "emprunté à l'akk. *ešēdu* + suffixe de nom d'état en *-uhli*".
- Akkadian *ḫaššu* 'fortress, stronghold' > Hurrian *halzuhli* 'governor'. Laroche (1980: 91) mentions that the Hurrian word has made its way into Hittite.
- Akkadian *maššāru* 'protection' > Hurrian *ma(n)zaduhli* 'policeman'. Laroche (1980: 167) reads "nom professionnel en *-uhli* sur une base akk./sém. *maššāru*".
- Akkadian *pilakku*, *pilaqu* 'spindle' > Hurrian *pilakuh(u)li* 'spinner'. Laroche (1980: 201) does not explicitly mention the obvious relationship.
- Akkadian *sagullu* 'herd' > Hurrian *zugulluhli* 'herdman (?)'. Laroche (1980: 306) reads "nom professionnel".

Additional examples which I would propose are:

- Akkadian *dālū* 'water-drawer', itself a professional name, or *dullu* 'work', which better fits the meaning but leaves some phonetic problems with vowels, hence Hurrian *taluhli* 'house servant' (Laroche 1980: 253). This proposal seems straightforward and it is quite surprising that it has been made before.
- Akkadian *silitū* 'lie, false accusation' or *sila'u* 'to lie, deceive' > Hurrian *zillikuhli* 'witness' (Laroche 1980: 304). Although there is no *-k-* in Akkadian, the compound may mean 'in charge of what is (not) a lie' hence a 'witness'. This proposal is rather conjectural.

Other lexemes ending with *-(u)hli* are: (1) *wuruhli* 'east (or maybe south)', which is not a professional name and therefore most probably does not belong here; (2) *edehli* 'prince', which is considered by Laroche (1980: 73) to be a direct "transcription" of Akkadian *eṭellu*, although *ede-h-li* requires some emendation or adjustment from the original word which has no *-h-*; (3) *eman-d-uhli* 'decurion' (lit. 'overseer of ten'). Apparently Hurrian *eman* 'ten' cannot be directly explained as Akkadian although some other numbers have a Semitic outlook: *šini* 'two' ~ Akkadian *šinā* and *šeše* 'six' ~ Akkadian *šeššet*. A possibility is to derive *eman* 'ten' from Semitic \**yaman* 'right hand'

with a phonetic change \*ya- > e-. It can nevertheless be noted that the Semitic word \*yaman is not known to have had the meaning 'ten'. The lexical origin of numbers 5 or 10 in the words for fingers and hands is typologically commonplace. Among other examples Proto-Indo-European bears testimony to this widespread feature: *finger* and *five* are both from \*penkw. In the absence of a clear Akkadian origin it is therefore reasonable to assume that *emand-uhli* is the native Hurrian prototype after which a number of transparent Akkadianisms seen above were patterned.

Another noun-verb formation possibly involves *-dan*, which Wilhelm (1998: 122) calls a 'Nomen Agentis' suffix. This rare morpheme is attested in the word *abuldan* 'door-keeper'. Wilhelm (1998: 122) discusses the possibility that the final syllable *-ni* is the same suffix as in other professional designations, such as *warini* 'baker', *wandarini* 'cook'. In that case the word has to be parsed *abul-dan-ni*. It can be noted that the morpheme *-dan* is here attached to the Akkadian loanword *abūlu* 'door, gate'. This morpheme is not only rare but it is unusually long. Most Hurrian suffixes have only one syllable and are of the *-vC* or *-Cv* type. It seems that there has been no etymological proposal for *-dan*. The verbal interpretation of *-dan* naturally connects it with *tan-do*. Wilhelm (1998) does not cite nor propose any etymological explanation. The other example of that formation is *endan* 'high priest'. Originally *endan* was interpreted as a loanword and compared directly with Akkadian *entu* and Sumerian *enitu* 'female priest' by Parrot-Nougayrol (1948). This analysis was a problem as we know that *Tiš-Ada* was called *endan* and he was quite certainly not a woman. For that matter, the original hypothesis of a borrowing of *en(i)tu* is now dismissed and the modern interpretation to analyze *endan* as a Hurrian-made derivative of *eni* 'god' with the addition of *-dan* following this idea *endan* can be understood as meaning 'god-doer' = "deifex" on the model of *pontifex*, which provides a Latin parallel to this construction. Ultimately this analysis means that the stems involved in the pattern *noun-verb* are quite possibly all based on loanwords. Cf. *imburtanni* below for another example of that suffix *-dan*.

As regards nominal compounds, a productive and apparently native type is the "n-year-old" type: *šin-arbu* 'two-year-old'; *tumn-arbu* 'four-year-old'. These compounds involve *numbers* + *arbu*. It could be also argued that this is ultimately not a compound but just a complex suffix which is not attested as a free form. *Arbu* is indeed not attested standing alone and this raises the issue of its possible origin. An interesting though conjectural possibility is that the apparent "suffix" *-arbu* may be from Akkadian *labīru* 'old'. Hurrian does not accept initial /l/ or /r/ so that such a loanword as *labīru* would be adapted as \**alabiru* and with a regular fall of vowels and metathesis this form could appear as *arbu*. A similar and parallel case of fall and metathesis is represented by Akkadian *abāru* 'strength, power' > Hurrian *ebri*, *erwi* 'lord, king'. *Erwi* is the form attested in Nuzi. Cf. (NPN: 210). It can also be noted that the opposite of 'old' seems to be a loanword as well: *šuhi* 'new' (Urartean *šuhi*) < Akkadian *eššu* plus a Hurrian suffix-

## 5 More on the formative *-nni*: the Mittanni Aryan loanwords

Another set of loanwords in Hurrian quite strangely sounds Indo-Aryan, an Indo-European group of languages that one would not expect to be attested in Anatolia and Upper Mesopotamia. As Thiéme (1960: 301a) once assessed:

"The discovery of '[Indo-]Aryan' looking names of Mitanni princes on cuneiform documents in Akkadian from the second half of the second millennium B.C. (Chiefly tablets from Boğazköy and El-Amarna), several doubtlessly [Indo-]Aryan words in Kikkuli's treatise in Hittite on horse training (numerals: *aika-* 'one', *tera-* 'three', *panza-* 'five', *satta-* 'seven', *na[ya]-* 'nine'; appellatives: *qarttana-* 'circuit, course [in which horses move when being trained]', *ašua* 'horse'), and finally, a series of names of [Indo-]Aryan divinities on a Mitanni-Hatti and a Hatti-Mitanni treaty (14<sup>th</sup> century B.C.) poses a number of problems that have been repeatedly discussed, since the beginning of the [XXth] century."

It can be added that some other Indo-Aryan-sounding adjectives have been found in a document in Yurgan Tepe, as described in Mayrhofer (1966:17): *babru* and *pabrunni* (cf. Skrt *babhrū-* 'brown'), *parita* (cf. Skrt *palitā-* 'grey') and *pinkara* (cf. Skrt *piṅgalā-* 'red'). Quite interestingly most Mittanni-Aryan loanwords appear to bear a rare ending *-nni*. There is at least one certain native word with the suffix *-nni*: <sup>LU</sup>*urbarinni* 'butcher' ~ Hurrian *urb-* 'to kill, slaughter'. Cf. Laroche (1980: 285) and Wegner (2007: 211). The root *urb-* is also attested in Urartean which confirms its status as a truly native word. The same suffix is potentially attested in a synonymous loanword: *zambahunni* 'butcher' ~ Akkadian *ṭabbiḥu* 'butcher'. Cf. André-Salvini and Salvini (1998: 23-24) who boldly assert that "nous avons affaire à un suffixe *-Vnni*." [we have here a suffix *-Vnni*]. Unfortunately the general picture is not so clear as one would like it to be. The major issue with that formative *-nni* is to determine whether it is really a suffix *-nni*, which can be further suffixed by the article *-ni*, or whether it already involves the article *-ni*, in which case the citation form erroneously and misleadingly includes the article into the "stem". There are several clear examples of that recurrent uncertainty:

- *šankun-ni* 'priest' ~ Akkadian *sangū(m)* 'priest' < Sumerian SANGA. Judging from the attested forms with case markers in Laroche (1980: 214) it appears that the stem must be *šankun* and that the citation form as *šankunni* is incorrect. This form *šankunni* cannot receive an extra *-ni*. This word seems to bear Semitic nunation or mimation: in that case probably Akkadian mimation with assimilation to following article *-ni*.

- *Mašrian-ni* 'Egyptian'. The attestations listed in Laroche (1980: 169) show unambiguously that the ending *-ni* is the same article as in *ewir-ni* 'the Egyptian Lord'. The stem can be compared with Ugaritic < m š r m > with a final labial *-m*. The citation form with *-nni* results from the assimilation of *-m* with the article *-ni*.

- *Mittanni* < Ma-i-te-ni > in Nuzi. Cf. Laroche (1980: 171). There is also little doubt that the citation form must be resegmented *Mittan-ni*.

<sup>1</sup> The word is actually not attested directly but can be inferred from *aššuššanni* 'horse-trainer'. From this word it has been inferred that Mitanni Aryan sides with Indo-Aryan \**ašua* but not with Iranian \**asp* or Luwian *ešbe*.

The attested instances of syntactical insertion of these three items show that citation form with *-nni* has in fact nothing to do with a real suffix *-nni*. That situation casts doubt on other citation forms with the same ending. In particular nothing proves that *zambahunni* 'butcher' really bears that professional suffix, even though semantics is in favor of that conclusion. This word is attested in a trilingual list which does not provide any syntactical conclusive information and which also contains for example *ti-e-ni* (II 2) = KA = *a-ma-tu* 'word'. There is therefore no certainty that the words listed bare without article in the trilingual. That parsing ambiguity pervades all words ending with *-nni*. It can be noted that some examples are absolutely clear: *ašhušikkanni-ni*-[*bi-na*] shows that the article can be added to the stem which ends with *-nni*. But in general the picture is elusive.

- As for Mittanni Aryan words with citation forms ending with *-nni*, it is generally not possible to determine whether they include the article or not. It seems probable that in most cases these words do not include this suffix and that the article should be resegmented from a stem which ends with a nasal, probably originating in Mittanni Aryan Accusative *-m*. The list of Mittanni Aryan words with their status is given below.

- *Mittan-(ni)* <Ma-i-te-ni> in Nuzi. Cf. Laroche (1980:171). Must be resegmented as *mitan-ni*. In Fournet (2010:36) I have suggested that this word is derived from Sanskrit *√mith* 'to unite, pair, couple, meet (as friend or antagonist)', hence *\*mithām* 'union (Acc.)'. The name may hence mean 'the united kingdom'.

- *Wašukkanni* 'the capital of the Mitanni kingdom'. Unknown parsing. This name place name is a compound that seems to include Sanskrit *vasu* 'excellent' and a second unclear element.

- *ašši(y)anni* 'kind of embroidery' ~ Sanskrit *sīvyati* 'to sew'. Unknown parsing. This word is not listed as possibly Mittanni-Aryan by Mayrhofer and therefore is listed in Laroche (1980:61) without any mention. The initial "prothetic" *a-* remains unexplained.

- *aššuššanni* 'horse-trainer' ~ Sanskrit *aśva* 'horse'. Unknown parsing but semantics would be in favor of a professional suffix *-nni*.

- *aššuwanni* ~ Sanskrit *aśva-nī* 'horse-riding', cited in Mayrhofer (1966: 18) but untranslated in Laroche (1980: 59). Unknown parsing.

- *kadinni* ~ Sanskrit *khādi* 'bracelet, bangle', cited in Mayrhofer (1966: 18) but untranslated in Laroche (1980: 133). Unknown parsing.

- *maganni* ~ Sanskrit *magha* 'gift'. Unknown parsing.

- *maninni* ~ Sanskrit *maṇi* 'necklace'. Unknown parsing.

- *maryanni* ~ Sanskrit *marya* 'warrior, soldier', attested as <mar-ya-(an)-ni> or <ma-ri-ya-an-ni> (Laroche 1980: 168). There is no absolutely clear attestation but <LÚ<sup>mes</sup> ma-ri-ya-ni-na> would suggest that the ending *-nni* does not include the article and that the word therefore includes the professional suffix *-nni*.

- *mištanni* ~ Sanskrit *mīdha* 'financial compensation'. Unknown parsing. It can be noted that this word is phonetically more archaic than Indo-Aryan as attested in India and is closer to the original proto-form *\*mizdha*.

- *ušrianni* 'heir, prince' ~ Sanskrit *uccair-* 'high, above', *uccair-gotra* 'high

family', cited by Diakonoff (1971: 71) but not in Laroche (1980). Unknown parsing.

It would appear from the usual citation forms that the native suffix *-nni*, which in general describes professions, has been specialized in marking Mittanni-Aryan loanwords but this idea is caused by incomplete morphological parsing. Two other Mittanni-Aryan loanwords describe animals and do not have the suffix *-nni*:

- *erbi* 'dog' < Indo-Iranian: Skt. *lopāša* 'fox, jackal'; Av. *urupi* 'a kind of dog', etc. That Indo-Iranian Wanderwort is also attested in Finno-Volgaic languages.

- *ešši* 'horse (?)'. Cf. *aššuššanni* 'horse-trainer' < Possibly from Indo-Iranian *\*ašva*.

## 6 The semantic fields of Akkadian loanwords

It is well-known that loanwords usually belong to precise semantic fields and are borrowed because they complement the language with a number of new words which have no native equivalent. Hurrian is not an exception to this well established rule.

A first set deals with political and legal items, most of them transparent:

- *ebri, erwi* 'lord' (Laroche 1980: 85-87) < Akkadian *abāru* 'strength, power'. Laroche used to consider that this word was the native equivalent of *šarru*, but in my opinion it is also a loanword. Akkadian *abāru* is from the same Semitic root as Hebrew *abīr Israel* 'lord of Israel'.

- *haziyani* 'town mayor' (Catsanicos: 1996) < Akkadian *ḫazannu* 'chief magistrate of a town, mayor'. A transparent loanword.

- *kešhi* 'throne' (Laroche 1980: 143-144) < Akkadian *kussū* 'chair, throne' and Sumerian GU.ZA. The ultimate origin in Sumerian is quite obvious.

- *ma(n)zaduhli* 'policeman' (Laroche 1980: 167) < Akkadian *maššāru* 'protection'.

- *nagiri* 'heraut' (Laroche 1980: 175) < Akkadian *nāgīru* 'heraut'.

- *šarri* 'king' < Akkadian *šarru* (Laroche 1980: 91); *šarri* was recognized as a loanword by Laroche but he considered that *ebri, erwi* 'lord' was the native equivalent, which I very seriously doubt. From *šarri* is derived *šerše* 'throne'. It can be noted that *šarri* is never written *ša-ar-ri* but always *šar-ri*, which means that in fact ŠAR-ri is used as an ideogram and that this ideogram should be read Šer-ri because of *šerše*. The conventional reading as *šarri* is based on Akkadian and doubtfully represents the actual Hurrian pronunciation.

- *šukkalli* 'kind of vizier, minister' (Laroche 1980: 241) < Sumerian SUKKAL 'secretary, civil servant', Akkadian *šukkallu*. Ultimately of Sumerian origin.

- *zillikuhli* 'witness' (Laroche 1980: 304) < (?) Akkadian *silu* 'to lie, deceive'. A conjectural proposal.

In connection with the first set, transparent loanwords in relationship with war:

- *assiri* 'prisoner of war' (Catsanicos 1996) < Akkadian *asīru* 'prisoner of war'.

- *ḫalzuhli* 'governor' (Laroche 1980: 91) < Akkadian *ḫaššu* 'fortress, stronghold'.

- *huradi* 'soldier' (Laroche 1980: 114) < Akkadian *ḫurādu* 'soldier'.

- *išpa(n)ti* 'quiver' (Laroche 1980: 127) < Akkadian *išpatu* 'quiver, bow case'.

Also words in connection with houses and infrastructures:

- *alipši* 'brick' (Catsanicos 1996) < Akkadian *libittu* 'mudbrick' < *labānu* 'mold bricks'. The initial #a- is prothetic as Hurrian does not accept initial #l-. It can be noted that the final stop of \*a-lib-ti is spirantized into -š-. It seems that this word has not been recognized as a loanword so far.

- *haigalli* 'palace' < Sumerian-Akkadian É-GAL(*lu*) 'palace = large house' (Laroche 1980: 89). It can be noted that Hurrian is phonetically more conservative than the conventional reading É-GAL. Cf. Hebrew לִיָּה 'large meeting room' for an equally conservative form. Cf. *ayakki* for an evolved shape of the same Sumerian word \*hai > ai > É 'house'.

- *hari* 'road' < (?) Akkadian *harrānu* 'road; journey, caravan' (Laroche 1980: 94). The last syllable may have been mistaken by Hurrian speakers to be the Definite article -ni, -na and removed.

- *kirarni* 'base, foundation' (Catsanicos 1996) < Akkadian *qaqqaru* 'ground' < *karāru* 'to lay (foundations)'. This word has not been recognized as a loanword so far.

- *kumari* 'earth wall, rampart' (if a formative of *Kumarbi*) < Akkadian *kamāru* 'to pile up'. *kumdi* 'tower' (Catsanicos 1996) may be related to that root as well with a different suffix.

- *kundari* < Akkadian *kuštaru*, *kultaru* 'tent'. Laroche (1980: 154) translates 'séjour des dieux [place where Gods live]', possibly suggesting an analogy with Greek Olympus, but it seems that the reality described is more humble. Cf. Hittite *kundaru* as well. This word has not been recognized as a loanword of Akkadian origin so far. It can be noted that the gods in the *Song of Ullikummi* are therefore depicted as living in *kundaraš*: i.e tents, a feature that must have a bearing on the cultural background and dating of that *Song*.

- *mahiri* 'market' (Laroche 1980: 165) < Akkadian *mahīru* 'market place'. A transparent loanword.

Another set deals with measures and numbers:

- *šiklade* 'sicle' < Akkadian *šiqḷu* 'shekel (1/60 mina)'. A transparent loanword.

- *zuwadatte* 'a quarter of a kor' < Akkadian (Sg.) *sūtu* (Pl.) *sūtāte* '10 qū (8 or 9 l)'. It can be noted that the Hurrian word has preserved the original sequence \*[uwa], which can be posited on morphological grounds in Semitic languages but is not attested as such in general but as a long contracted vowel [ū].

- *šini* 'two' (Laroche 1980: 234) < (?) Akkadian *šinā*. The formal similarity is striking.

- *irwiššu* < (?) Akkadian *erbe* 'four', hence Hurrian *irwiššu* 'one fourth'. Laroche (1980: 125) has 'tax' and the word translates Akkadian *ilqu*. But the word appears to be an Akkadian number used with the Hurrian ordinal suffix -ššu '-th'.

- *himzat* 'five (times)' (Catsanicos 1996) and (Wegner 2007: 260) < Akkadian *himzat*. The word is attested in the Hurro-Hittite bilingual as *himzat-huši*. Quite incredibly nobody seems to have noticed that this pseudo-word must be segmented in *himzat* and *huš-*. The root *hemz-* 'binden, gürten' in (Wegner 2007: 260) is a fiction: only *huš-* conveys this meaning, the first part being a number. It is unclear what the

symbolism of being girded five times means in the case of the Goddess Allani.

- *šeše* 'six' (Laroche 1980: 228) and (Catsanicos 1996) < (?) Akkadian *šeššet*. The formal similarity is striking.

- (*i*)*nubi* '10 000' (Laroche 1980:) < (?) Semitic \**alip* '1 000'.

A fifth set deals with religion, rituals and moral concepts:

- *arari* 'cursed' (Laroche 1980: 53) < Akkadian *arāru* 'to curse'. Laroche already mentions the borrowing for this lexeme and the following.

- *arni* 'sin, blame' (Laroche 1980: 55-56) < Akkadian *arnu* 'guilt, wrongdoing'.

- *ašhu* 'high' < Akkadian *šēhu* 'high' (< Semitic \**š* 'h'). This word is also involved in derivatives connected with rituals and sacrifices like \**ašhulummi* or *ašhušikkunni* (Laroche 1980: 60). This word, which may well exist in Hatti as well: *šahaw-* 'god' [Soysal (2004: 305) "Gott(heit)", translates DINGIR], has not been identified as a loanword.

- *ayakki* 'refers to sanctuaries of goddesses' < Akkadian *ayakku* (Laroche 1980:40). This is the actual pronunciation of the string of Sumerograms É.AN.NA. *Ayakki* is the Hurrian rendition of an evolved pronunciation of \*(h)ay-anak-, a genitival derivative of Proto-Sumerian \*hay 'house'. Cf. *Haigallu*.

- *azammi* 'figurine' (Laroche 1980: 67) < Akkadian *summu* 'gold figurine of a dove' (< 'dove'). Cf. *zinzabu*. Laroche does not mention the Akkadian etymon.

- *eli* 'feast, holy day' < Akkadian *elēlu* 'to be pure', *ellu* 'pure, holy' (Laroche 1980: 79). This word has a derivative *eli-burni* '(lit.) sacred house > sanctuary'.

- *eni* 'god' (Laroche 1980: 80-82) < Sumerian-Akkadian *An(u)* 'sky-(god)'. This word is usually not considered to be a loanword. In Fournet (2012) I have proposed that Hurrian *eni* ultimately is derived from Sumerian *An*.

- *hazzizzi* 'intelligence, wit' (Laroche 1980: 100) < Akkadian *ḥasīsu* 'ear, intelligence, wit'. This word is attested in a borrowed compound: *eni-hasisi* < EN *ḥa-si<sub>17</sub>-si<sub>17</sub>* 'god of intelligence'. The borrowing was already recognized by Laroche (1968). A more detailed analysis can be found in Fournet (2010).

- *nathi* 'bed' [especially the bed of Hebat, Išhara and Šauška] < Cf. Sumerian *nád* 'bed' and Akkadian *nathī* 'cultic bed, lounge' (Laroche 1980: 179-180). This etymology is already in Laroche.

- [en-]*umašši* 'force' < Akkadian *umaššu* 'force'. (Laroche 1980: 100) This word is attested in a borrowed compound: *en-umašši* < EN *umašši* > 'god of force. Laroche (1968 & 1980) has not perceived the parallel between *eni-hazzizzi* and *en-umaššu*, and leaves the word untranslated. Additional details can be found in Fournet (2010 & 2012).

- *šankun* 'priest' < Akkadian *sangū(m)* 'priest' < Sumerian SANGA (Laroche 1980: 214). A transparent loanword. Cf. Elamite *šunku* 'king' as well, which cannot be separated from this set of words in my opinion.

- *ta-a-(an)-ki* 'left untranslated in (Laroche 1980: 255)' < Akkadian *damqu*, *daqqu* 'beautiful, excellent' (√d\_ \_q). This adjective is attested in the Mittanni Letter: Mit. IV 58 <še-e-ni-ib-wu-ú-e-ma-a-an aš-ti-an-ni a-ru-u-ša-uš-še ta-a-ki-ma-a-an an-ti>. In his translation in Moran (1992) Wilhelm hesitates between 'pure' and 'virgin' but

it would seem that the word just means 'beautiful'. The Akkadian adjective is attested for women. The sentence means: 'and that of my brother, whom I gave him, this woman is beautiful'. It can also be noted that Speiser (1941) considered the alternation *ta-am* and *ta-ki* to be scribal errors but this alternation exists in the Akkadian original as well.

- *zabalgi* 'fault, blame' < (?) Akkadian *zabiltu* 'betrayal' with a native suffix (Laroche 1980: 300). The Hurrian and Akkadian have a striking similarity.
- *zalmi* 'statue' < Akkadian *šalmu* 'statue, image' (Laroche 1980: 301). transparent loanword.
- *zamaru* 'song' < Akkadian *zamāru* 'song, poem' (Laroche 1980: 301). transparent loanword.

A sixth set deals with agriculture and nature:

- *abiharri* 'a measure of surface: ca. 1800 m<sup>2</sup>' (Catsanicos 1996) < Akkadian *awiḫaru* 'plow'. The connection between the two words seems fairly straightforward but does not seem to have been proposed before.
- *awalli* 'a measure of surface: ca. 3600 m<sup>2</sup> = one IKU' (Catsanicos 1996). Possibly a suffixal variant of *awari*.
- *awari* 'field, steppe' < Akkadian *aburru* 'pasture, meadow' (Laroche 1980: 65).
- *hinzuri* 'apple' (Laroche 1980: 106-107). This word is related to Sumerian Akkadian *ḥašḫūru*, *šaḫšūru* 'apple' but the reason for nasalization is obscure. Cf. Armenian borrowing *xnjor*.

- *imburtanni* 'name of a month (in Nuzi)' < lit. 'which makes fog' < Akkadian *imbaru* 'fog' (Laroche 1980: 121). This word is possibly another example of the verbal suffix *-dan*.
- *išena* 'rain' (André-Salvini and Salvini 1998: 23-24) < Akkadian *zunnu* 'rain' and *zanānu* 'to rain, fall as dew'. Hurrian seems to reflect a feminine word in *-at(u)*. André-Salvini and Salvini (1998) propose to parse the word *išena* as a Plural *-(n)na*. But in my opinion, in spite of the initial *i*-mobile (as in *(i)nubi*), which necessitates further explanation, the shape of the word *išena* indicates a Semitic origin.

- *zilumba* 'date (fruit)' (Laroche 1980: 304) < Akkadian *saluppu*. It can be noted that the original geminate becomes *-mb-*.
- *zinzabu*, (var.) *zanzabu* 'dove' [a bird dedicated to Ištar]. The word seems related to Akkadian *summu* 'male dove' (Laroche 1980: 302-305).
- *zugulluhli* 'herdman (?)' < Akkadian *sagullu* 'herd' (Laroche 1980: 306).

Another set refers to domestic activities or appliances:

- *abul-danni* 'door-keeper' < Akkadian *abulu* 'door'.
- *kassi* 'mug, cup' (Catsanicos 1996) < Akkadian *kāsu* 'cup, bowl'.
- *pilakuh(u)li* 'spinner' < Akkadian *pilakku*, *pilaqu* 'spindle' (Laroche 1980: 201).
- *taluhli* 'house servant' (Laroche 1980: 253) < Akkadian *dālū* 'water-drawer' of *dullu* 'work'.

In general body-parts are considered to be a very resistant section of the basic vocabulary, which is much less prone to borrowing than other lexemes, but several Hurrian words appear to be borrowed from Akkadian:

- *irdi* 'chest' < Akkadian *irtu* 'chest' (Laroche 1980: 125).

- *šinni* 'tooth' < Akkadian *šinnu*. A transparent loanword. Cf. the Akkadian-made derivative of *šinni*: *šinnu pēri* 'tooth of elephant' > *šinniperuhhe* 'made of ivory' (Laroche 1980: 235) with an extra Hurrian suffix *-hhi* expressing origin.

- *uthuru* 'side' < Akkadian *idu* 'side', *itē* 'alongside, next to' (Laroche 1980: 290).
- *zambahu-nni* 'boucher' (André-Salvini and Salvini 1998: 23-24) < Akkadian *tabbiḫu*.

## 7 Nasalization in Sumero-Akkadian loanwords

As seen before, Sumero-Akkadian cultural loanwords are involved in compounds, which are a very unusual formation in Hurrian. In addition to this morphological feature and to their specific semantic fields, another peculiarity is a frequent prenasalization of consonants. Several loanwords display a fairly rare sequence *-n-C-*:

- *hinzuri* 'apple' < Sumero-Akkadian *ḥašḫūru*, *šaḫšūru* 'apple' (?). The nasalization is preserved in Armenian *xnjor* 'apple'.
- *išpa(n)ti* 'quiver' < Akkadian *išpatu* 'quiver, bow case'.
- *kundari* < Akkadian *kušturu*, *kulturu* 'tent'.
- *ma(n)zaduhli* 'policeman' < Akkadian *maššāru* 'protection'.
- *Puranti* 'Euphrates' < Akkadian *Purattu*.
- *zambahu-nni* 'boucher' < Akkadian *tabbiḫu*.
- *zilumba* 'date (fruit)' < Akkadian *saluppu*.
- *zinzabu*, (var.) *zanzabu* 'dove' < Akkadian *summu* 'male dove' (with reduplication).

The prenasalization seems to stand for some phonological feature(s) of the original words which Hurrians could not render otherwise. These foreign words are phonetically marked by a rare combination of phonemes.

## 8 Two Semitic loanwords with lateral fricatives

Two Semitic loanwords are preferably dealt with in a separate paragraph because of their extremely intriguing graphic and phonetic peculiarities: *hi-su-ah-* 'to vex, annoy' (Laroche 1980: 107-8) and *pi-su-, pi-sa-* 'to rejoice' (Laroche 1980: 202). Generally speaking as regards coronal sibilant-like phones in (Mitanni) Hurrian, the affricate / ts/ is expressed by the signs of Z-series while the plain sibilant /s/ is written with the Š-series, as is the case for Hittite (Cf. Hoffner-Melchert 2008: 37). Regrettably and quite confusingly Hebrew reflexes of Proto-Semitic phonemes have been propagated into Cuneiform conventional readings. At the same time the tendency developing among Indo-Europeanists to rewrite Cuneiform š-series as a s-series can eventually lead to a complete dislocation of Cuneiform conventional renderings. In all cases from the Hurrian point of view these features entail a troublesome blurring of the phonology of the language.

As regards these Hurrian two words they are written with a very rare set of syllabic

signs which do not seem to be ever used in the case of Hittite. There is no mention of them in Hoffner-Melchert (2008). The historical and comparative study of Archaic Akkadian teaches us that this rare set of syllabic signs was originally used to write the inherited fricative laterals that Akkadian came to lose in the course of evolution, as explained in Lipiński (2001: 124-6). It is therefore quite unexpected that Hurrian would use these syllabic signs. What is more it happens that these two words indeed contain inherited fricative laterals: Hurrian *hisuh* ~ Proto-Semitic \**hiš-* and Hurrian *pisu-*, *pisa-* ~ Proto-Semitic \**piš-* (Cf. Lipiński 2001: 212). The conclusion is therefore that Hurrian would appear to retain something of the lateral fricative articulation of these two words just as they were pronounced in Archaic Akkadian and Proto-Semitic. In all cases these two words do not have a plain sibilant. It seems that this series of syllabic signs is not attested with the vowel *-i* in Hurrian (*si<sub>11</sub>*) but it can be noted that the verb \**piš-* is perfectly coherent with the signs *su* and *sa* of the lateral fricative series. In the other word *hisuh* the fricative is also attested with a following *-a*. Another potential example of fricative lateral would be the word 'king'. Unfortunately that word is written as an Ideogram ŠAR-ri, as noted before, so that we cannot make an inference of the initial. It can be noted that *šerše* 'king' has a plain sibilant sign *še*, but Archaic Akkadian did not have a specific sign for vowel *-e* in the lateral fricative series, so no firm conclusion can be drawn: *še* can stand for both [se] and [še].

### 9 More conjectural Sumerian loanwords

That section lists a subset of Hurrian words which bear strange similarities with Sumerian words. Some of these similarities cannot be chance coincidences as some of the words cannot be genuinely Hurrian. Other cases are indecidable at the present stage of our knowledge.

- *alib-teyaššan* (Laroche 1980: 42) < (?) Sumerian *hilib* 'netherworld'. This pseudo-word is left untranslated in Laroche and seems to have remained a puzzle so far since Albright. It can be noted that this pseudo-word contains a most unusual combination of vowels and consonants and it appears quite obvious that it must be resegmented into separate words. It is then possible to make sense with the attestations. For example in ChS I/1 46 ii 7'ff: *eše naldubadi unuš maldubadi [(hawurni)]* 'May the earth and the sky m. come'; *alib teyašanil šiyenna unuš* 'May the waters in great quantity come in the *alib*'. The word *alib* remains to be explained: in my opinion Sumerian *hilib* 'netherworld' with muted initial *h-* makes sense in that cosmogonic context.

- *izuzi* 'spelt' (Catsanicos 1996) < (?) Sumerian ZÍZ 'emmer wheat'. Note that the word has a kind of i-mobile as in *i-nubi* and *i-šena*.

- *meh-* 'to be standing (in front of a god or lord)' (Catsanicos 1996) < (?) Sumerian ME 'being, divine properties enabling cosmic activity; office; (cultic) ordinance'. This etymology is fairly conjectural.

- *muš(u)* 'just' [used for deities, roads and rivers] (Laroche 1980: 173) < (?) Sumerian MU 'good, beautiful'. This etymology is fairly conjectural. The Hurrian

word seems to have an Urartean cognate *muš-*, which to some extent is in favor of a native origin.

- *šahri* 'garden, orchard' (Laroche 1980: 211). Cf. Subarean <sarme> 'forest'; Urartean <šare> 'orchard'; Armenian *car* 'tree'. It can be noted that Hurrian does not have an affricate and that a connection of these words with Sumerian SAR 'garden' is interesting but unclear. More light needs to be shed on the phonetic details and relationships of these lexemes.

- *šummi*, *šuni* 'hand' < Sumerian SU 'hand' (?) (Laroche 1980: 242-243). The similarity is striking.

- *tiša* 'heart' (Laroche 1980: 266-267) < Sumerian TI- 'rib, (side)' and -ŠÀ 'heart'. The final stem vowel *-ā* is aberrant in a Hurrian noun, as noted by Wegner (2007: 52). Cf. Urartean equivalent <tišnu>. The same root with a very archaic look seems to exist in Hatti *-šakil-*, *-takil-* 'heart' [Soysal (2004: 306) "Herz"].

- *urmi* 'liver' (André-Salvini and Salvini 1998: 20) < Sumerian ÚR 'liver'. This word bears the same derivative suffix *-mi* as the word *šummi*, *šuni* 'hand'.

- *uzi* 'flesh' (Laroche 1980: 291) < Sumerian UZU 'flesh'. This item seems straightforward.

### 10 Conclusion and Perspectives

As can be expected from any language, Hurrian presents a number of loanwords, reflecting the contacts and interactions of Hurrians with other peoples, either their neighbors in the case of Sumero-Akkadian and Hatti or their conquerors in the case of Mittanni Aryan. A typical and interesting feature of these loanwords is their involvement in otherwise rare formations like compounds. Not infrequently loanwords can be detected because they display unusual phonetic or morphological features.

On a more historical than linguistic perspective, it can be noted that most loanwords have a strong cultural and "neolithic" content. They are a clear indication of what "pre-contact" Hurrian speakers knew little about before they came in contact with the Sumero-Akkadian civilization.

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# ÜBERLEGUNGEN ZUR SITTE DER KREMATION BEI DEN URARTÄERN<sup>1</sup>

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Die Feuer- bzw. Brandbestattung (Kremation) grenzt sich durch die Verbrennung des Leichnams von der Körperbestattung (Inhumation) ab. Verschiedene Möglichkeiten der Feuerbestattung sind bekannt. Die Verbrennung findet auf einem Scheiterhaufen bzw. in einem Krematorium statt. Die menschlichen Überreste werden entweder verstreut oder in einem Aufbewahrungsgefäß (einer Urne) beigesetzt.<sup>2</sup> In der mitteleisenzeitlichen, urartäischen Periode (9.-7. Jh. v. Chr.) sind Inhumation und Kremation als zwei Bestattungssitten im Grabritus der Osttürkei, Armenien und Iran bekannt. Beide Begräbnisarten wurden nebeneinander praktiziert und sind mit allen bekannten Grabformen (Felsgräber, Kammergräber, Erdgräber sowie Felsnischen) vergesellschaftet.<sup>3</sup> Die Felsgräber der Hauptstadt Tušpa in Van Kalesi und an anderen Orten sind erforscht und ihr Einfluss auf nachfolgende Epochen untersucht.<sup>4</sup> Leider sind viele der großen Grablegen beraubt, so dass exakte Hinweise auf die Grabsitte nur schwer zugänglich sind. Das völlige Fehlen religiös vorgeschriebener und von einer Priesterschaft oder Angehörigen praktizierter Begräbnisrituale innerhalb des urartäischen Inschriftencorpus verhindert jedoch eine genauere Betrachtung.<sup>5</sup> Wichtige Abläufe im Totenritual sind somit nicht nachvollziehbar.

Dieser Beitrag konzentriert sich auf die Sitte der Kremation. Einer kurzen Einführung zum Totenkult und wichtigen durchzuführenden rituellen Handlungen folgen konzis Belege für die Brandbestattung in den Kulturen des Alten Orients. In einem eigenen Abschnitt werden Nekropolen mit Belegung während der urartäischen Zeit vorgestellt. Abschließend werden die Gründe für Kremation in der urartäischen Kultur hinterfragt und zusammengefasst.

<sup>1</sup> Ich danke in dieser Stelle ganz herzlich Dr. Christian K. Piller (München) für seine zahlreichen Hinweise und kritischen Anmerkungen sowie Dr. Arsen Bobokhyan (Erevan) für seine Hilfe, mir für mich schwer zugängliche Literatur zu beschaffen.

<sup>2</sup> Zur Terminologie der Begriffe Brandschüttungsgrab (Urne oder Knochenest bzw. Knochenlager) und Brandgrubengrab (verstreuter Leichenbrand) siehe Bechert 1980, 257.

<sup>3</sup> Konyar 2011, 225.

<sup>4</sup> Siehe hierzu insbesondere Seidl 1994, 115 sowie Köroğlu 2007, 445-456.

<sup>5</sup> Siehe hierzu Salvini 2008 (CTU).

## 1. Gründe für Kremation

Alter und Geschlecht, aber auch soziale Komponenten spielen eine wichtige Rolle.<sup>1</sup> Andere Umstände, wie z.B. Krankheiten oder Unfälle<sup>2</sup>, aber auch die Vermeidung der Totenschändung<sup>3</sup> können eine bestimmte Bestattungsart verlangen.<sup>4</sup> Die weltweit beobachtete Leichenverbrennung im Totenritual hat unterschiedliche Ursachen. Aufgrund dieser ethnographischen Vergleiche ist bei gleichzeitig praktizierter Körperbestattung ein gemeinsamer Nenner zu erkennen: die bewusst vollzogene Abgrenzung von der Inhumation.

## 2. Zur Behandlung der Toten

Einen ichtigen Aspekt nimmt der Zeitraum zwischen Eintreten des Todes und der endgültigen Bestattung ein. Die Behandlung der Toten ist Teil eines Übergangsritus, der den gesamten Bestattungsvorgang zeitlich bestimmt. Die entsprechenden notwendigen Rituale zur Durchführung der Bestattung werden gemeinhin nach A. van Gennep als *Les rites de passage* bezeichnet.<sup>5</sup> Die Stufenabfolge dieses Übergangsritus wird in die Phasen *Trennungsriten* (*rites de séparation*), *Schwellen- bzw. Umwandlungsriten* (*rites de marge*) sowie *Angliederungsriten* (*rites d'agrégation*) unterteilt (Tab. 1).<sup>6</sup> Es ist ein vorgeschriebener und korrekt durchgeführter Ablauf notwendig, um den Toten durch die einzelnen Phasen zu geleiten. Der Tote überschreitet Grenzen und gelangt so in neue Raumsphären.<sup>7</sup>

Die erste rituelle Handlung nach Eintritt des Todes ist die *Separation*. Es handelt sich hierbei um die Trennung des Verstorbenen von seinem bisherigen, gewohnten Lebensraum.<sup>8</sup> Hierzu gehören auch die Aufbahrungssitte sowie hygienische Handlungen am Leichnam wie Waschungen und weitere Vorbereitungen wie die Errichtung

<sup>1</sup> Wahl/Wahl 1983, 513.

<sup>2</sup> Ucko 1969, 271.

<sup>3</sup> In 1 Sam 31,12 des Alten Testaments wird über die Verbrennung der Leichen Sauls und seiner Söhne berichtet, die durch die Philister gewaltsam zu Tode kamen und in entwürdigender Weise an den Mauern Bet-Shans' aufgehängt wurden. Die Anhänger Sauls nahmen die Körper von den Mauern, verbrannten sie und begruben die Überreste. Vermutlich wurden die in diesem Zusammenhang die Toten verbrannt, um ihre Leichen einer weiteren Schändung zu entziehen.

<sup>4</sup> Wahl/Wahl 1983, 513. Nach Schlenther 1960, 47 konnte z. B. in Indien beobachtet werden, dass nur Kinder unter sieben Jahren sowie alle an Cholera oder Pocken Verstorbenen inhumiert werden, die weiteren Toten hingegen verbrannt.

<sup>5</sup> Van Gennep 2005, 142-159.

<sup>6</sup> Van Gennep 2005, 29.

<sup>7</sup> Van Gennep 2005, 25-33. Siehe hierzu auch Mofidi Nasrabadi 1999, 7.

<sup>8</sup> Mofidi Nasrabadi 1999, 7. Zur Separation gehören neben der räumlichen Trennung des Verstorbenen von seinem bisherigen Lebensraum (z.B. Transport zum Scheiterhaufen) auch die Vernichtung des Besitzes des Toten, also die Zerstörung der Werkzeuge, Waffen und des Schmucks sowie die Tötung der Frauen, Sklaven und Tiere (siehe hierzu van Gennep 2005, 158).

des Scheiterhaufens.<sup>1</sup> Innerhalb der zweiten Phase kommt es zur Durchführung verschiedener Marginalitätsrituale. In dieser, als *Liminalität*<sup>2</sup> bezeichneten Phase wird die vorangegangene Trennung von gesellschaftlicher Ordnung hervorgehoben.<sup>3</sup> Mit der *Umwandlung* folgt das Ritual der Leichenverbrennung. Nach A. van Gennep die Zerstörung des Leichnams dazu, den Körper von der Seele zu trennen.<sup>4</sup> Hier gehören auch die Zeitdauer nach der Kremation inklusive des Abkühlens sowie das Auflesen der Brandrückstände. Die Bestattung der Urne im vorgesehenen Grab sowie anschließende Feierlichkeiten sind Teil der *Angliederung*, also der Integration.<sup>5</sup> Die Verstorbene besitzt nun einen anderen Status und gliedert sich einer neuen Ebene an. Das korrekt durchgeführte Bestattungsritual gewährleistet die Aufnahme ins Jenseits.

J. Wahl hat speziell den Leichenbrandritus wie folgt beschrieben (Tab. 1):<sup>8</sup>  
 1) Vorbereitungsphase: Zeit vom Tode des Individuums bis zum Anzünden des Scheiterhaufens  
 2) die eigentliche Leichenverbrennung  
 3) Niederlegung der Leichenbrandreste im Grab und dessen Bauabschluss  
 Die rituellen Handlungen und soeben genannten zeitlichen Abfolgen für die Kremation lassen sich folgendermaßen tabellarisch darstellen:<sup>9</sup>

<i>rites de séparation</i>	Vorbereitungsphase	Errichtung des Scheiterhaufens Waschung und Aufbahrung <sup>10</sup>
<i>rites de marge</i>	die eigentliche Leichenverbrennung	Kremation Abkühlung des Leichenbrands Aufsammeln der Überreste
<i>rites d'agrégation</i>	Niederlegung der Leichenbrandreste im Grab	Bestattung der Urne Feierlichkeiten

Tab. 1 *Les rites de passage*

<sup>1</sup> Van Gennep 2005, 158; siehe hierzu auch Gramsch 2008, 341.  
<sup>2</sup> Turner 2005, 95. Dies bedeutet, dass der Tote weder den vorherigen, noch den zukünftigen Zustand besitzt, er ist „weder hier noch da, weder das eine noch das andere“. Der Tote ist ein Schwellenwesen, das „sich zwischen den vom Gesetz, der Tradition, der Konvention und dem Zeremoniell fixierten Positionen“ befindet.  
<sup>3</sup> Mofidi Nasrabadi 1999, 7.  
<sup>4</sup> Van Gennep 2005, 158.  
<sup>5</sup> Van Gennep 2005, 21 und 158-159  
<sup>6</sup> Mofidi Nasrabadi 1999, 7.  
<sup>7</sup> Mofidi Nasrabadi 1999, 8; Van Gennep 2005, 159.  
<sup>8</sup> Wahl 1982, 40.  
<sup>9</sup> Siehe hierzu auch Gramsch 2008, 342 Abb. 2 sowie das tabellarische Schema 14 bei Mofidi Nasrabadi 1999, 59.  
<sup>10</sup> Poppa 1978, 19 definiert für die Aufbahrungssitte bei Kremation zusätzlich zur Verbrennung auf einem Scheiterhaufen auch das Auflesen des Leichenbrandes sowie den Transport/Trauerzug zum Bestattungsplatz. Die Aufbahrung ist jedoch nur als Teil der *Separation* zu sehen. In Mesopotamien sind wir über die Sitte der Aufbahrung sehr gut unterrichtet. Der Tote wird zu Ehren des Sonnengottes aufgebahrt. Siehe hierzu ausführlich Mofidi Nasrabadi 1999, 62-64.

Die Kenntnis innerhalb der urartäischen Kultur über bestimmte Totenriten, d.h. die kultische oder hygienische Behandlung des Toten und entsprechende Feierlichkeiten ist aufgrund der oben genannten fehlenden textlichen Belege ernüchternd. Aus dem mesopotamischen Raum hingegen sind wir über rituelle Handlungen aufgrund der vorhandenen textlichen Quellen ebenso gut informiert<sup>1</sup> wie über die Trauerphase, die für die Hinterbliebenen ein wichtiges Ereignis darstellt. Sie ist eine „Umwandlungsphase, in die sie [die Hinterbliebenen] mit Hilfe von Trennungsriten eintreten“.<sup>2</sup> Archäologisch sind die Zeitphasen zwischen dem Eintreten des Todes und der tatsächlichen Bestattung jedoch nicht nachzuweisen.

### 2.1 Krematorium bzw. Scheiterhaufen

Beobachtungen zur Verbrennung von Leichnamen und Vergleiche zur prähistorischen Kremation wurden intensiv von J. Wahl getätigt.<sup>3</sup> Moderne Krematorien arbeiten mit einer Temperatur bis zu 1000° C, während prähistorische Scheiterhaufen eine Durchschnittstemperatur von 800°-850° bis maximal 900° C gehabt haben dürften.<sup>4</sup> Im Normalfall findet eine Scheiterhaufenverbrennung im Freien statt, während das Krematorium als geschlossenes ofenartiges Gebilde verstanden wird. Somit sind bei einem Scheiterhaufen vor allem Umweltbedingungen zu berücksichtigen, d.h. Wind und Wetter sowie die Jahreszeit.<sup>5</sup> Ein Scheiterhaufen für einen erwachsenen Verstorbenen benötigt ca. 2-2,5m<sup>3</sup> Holz.<sup>6</sup> Die Verbrennung des Leichnams dauert höchstens einen halben Tag, während das Auslesen der Überreste frühestens 7-10 Stunden nach Abkühlen der Glut erfolgen kann.<sup>7</sup> Auch K. P. Hofmann vermutet einen relativ hohen Zeitaufwand und errechnet eine Mindestdauer von zwei Tagen vom Todesfall bis hin zur Bestattung.<sup>8</sup>

An einigen Orten konnten Befunde erkannt werden, die für die Überreste eines Scheiterhaufens sprechen. Es handelt sich um sog. Brandgrubengräber, wie sie von F. J. Kreppner für die neuassyrische Zeit in Tall Shaikh Hamad/Dur Katlimmu beobachtet werden konnten. Hier sind der Ort der Leichenverbrennung und der Bestattungsplatz identisch.<sup>9</sup> Ein wichtiger Unterschied ist in diesem Zusammenhang das Fehlen einer Urne, so dass es sich hierbei zwar um die Sitte der Kremation, jedoch um einen

<sup>1</sup> Mofidi Nasrabadi 1999, 8; Hockmann 2010, 17.  
<sup>2</sup> Van Gennep 2005, 143; Hockmann 2010, 24-25.  
<sup>3</sup> Wahl 1981.  
<sup>4</sup> Wahl 1981, 275. Siehe hierzu auch McKinley 1989, 65.  
<sup>5</sup> Wahl 1981, 275.  
<sup>6</sup> Zudem ist die Wichtigkeit des Brennwertes einer Holzart zu berücksichtigen (Wahl 1981, 275; Leinweber 2002, 161). Feuchtigkeitsgehalt und Wärmeentwicklung der benutzten Hölzer spielen eine entscheidende Rolle (Hofmann 2008, 453; Herrmann 1990, 92).  
<sup>7</sup> Wahl 1981, 275.  
<sup>8</sup> Hofmann 2008, 455.  
<sup>9</sup> Kreppner 2008, 266. Aufgrund der Tatsache, dass die Grabgrube direkt unter dem Scheiterhaufen ausgehoben wurde, ist diese auch nur für eine Bestattung genutzt worden.

anderen Typus Bestattung handelt.<sup>1</sup> Beobachtungen, die etwa in denselben Zeithorizont einzuordnen sind, wurden in Ziyaret Tepe gemacht. In den Bereichen A und N wurden insgesamt 5 Installationen dokumentiert, die als Brandgrubengrab angesprochen werden. Die Untersuchung der verbrannten menschlichen Überreste ergab unter anderem den Fingerknochen eines Kindes sowie Milchzähne.<sup>2</sup>

### 3. Zur Kremation in Vorderasien

In den Kulturen Altvorderasiens wurde die Sitte der Kremation lange Zeit als kaum praktiziert betrachtet. Dennoch finden sich bei näherer Betrachtung durch die unterschiedlichen Epochen und Zeitstufen hinweg Belege für die Brandbestattung, die über die gesamte Region Vorderasiens verbreitet sind.

Bereits im ausgehenden Neolithikum (Halafzeit)<sup>3</sup> und dem frühen Chalkolithikum (Ubaidzeit)<sup>4</sup> ist die Kremation im syro-mesopotamischen Raum belegt. Für die Frühbronzezeit existieren Nachweise aus der anatolischen<sup>5</sup>, nordsyrischen<sup>6</sup> und südmesopotamischen<sup>7</sup> Region. Die folgende mittlere und späte Bronzezeit kennt die

<sup>1</sup> Kreppner 2008, 267.

<sup>2</sup> Matney u.a. 2009, 44-48.

<sup>3</sup> In den späthalafzeitlichen Schichten 7 und 8 von Yarim Tepe II sind sieben Brandbestattungen erkannt worden (Merpert/Munchaev 1976, 51-52). Bei sechs der Bestattungen handelt es sich um Grubengräber. Für eine Bestattung konnte ein 110 cm langer und 35 bis 50 cm breiter rechteckiger Ofen dokumentiert werden. Kremation und Inhumation fand nebeneinander statt. Kremation war hier ausschließlich Erwachsenen und Heranwachsenden vorbehalten. Beigaben fanden sich interstamm ein Brandgrab (Nr. VI) der Schicht XIX aus Mersin. Garstang 1953, 111 hielt den Befund für ein Massengrab und vermutete die Verbrennung unterlegener Feinde: „a practice (...) which betrays violence and suggests the presence of an enemy“. Akkermans 1989, 86 sieht „a more spiritual nature“ hinter den Brandbestattungen, deren exakte Gründe sich uns jedoch nicht erschließen.

<sup>4</sup> In Schicht 3 in Ninive wurde eine Brandbestattung beobachtet (Mallowan/Cruikshank Rose 1935, 36). Es handelt sich um ein Kindergrab. Da um die Urne herum verbrannte Erde dokumentiert werden konnte, wird es sich hier neben dem Bestattungsplatz auch um den ursprünglichen Ort der Kremation handeln.

<sup>5</sup> In Gedikli Höyük konnte eine interessante Befundabfolge erkannt werden. Die in das 3. Jt. v. Chr. datierenden Körperbestattungen sind durch eine am Ende der Frühbronzezeit errichteten Mauer von den Brandgräbern der Mittelbronzezeit separiert (Duru 2001, 128-129).

<sup>6</sup> Moortgat 1962, 35-39 beschreibt einen Befund aus Kammer V des nordwestlichen Anbaus an Steinbau I in Tall Chuera. Hier wurden die unvollständigen Skelette von insgesamt drei Leichen gefunden. Die Toten, eine Frau und zwei Männer, waren zwischen 20 und 30 Jahre alt. Zuerst zerstückelt und danach halb verbrannt wurden die Toten in der Kammer deponiert, welche danach zugemauert worden ist.

<sup>7</sup> In Ur dokumentierte Woolley 1934, 142-143 Gräber, die er als „burnt burials“ bezeichnete. Er vermutete eine ethnische und religiöse Differenz zum Rest der ansässigen Bevölkerung und hielt die Bestatteten für eine „slave population“ und „prisoners of war (...) buried in dishonoured ground“. Bienkowski 1982, 86 zweifelt dies an und vermutet aufgrund ethnographischer Vergleiche vielmehr Krankheiten oder Verbrechen für die differenzierte Bestattungsart.

Kremation<sup>1</sup> als gängige Bestattungsform im anatolischen<sup>2</sup> und südkaukasischen<sup>3</sup> Gebiet sowie als Sonderfall in Elam<sup>4</sup>.

Mit dem Übergang der Spätbronze- zur Eisenzeit stellt die Brandbestattung in der gesamten levantinischen<sup>5</sup>, anatolisch-nordsyrischen<sup>6</sup> und südkaukasischen<sup>7</sup> Region eine praktizierte Bestattungssitte dar, vereinzelt Belege finden sich zudem in Mesopotamien<sup>8</sup>. Somit kennen fast alle geographischen Bereiche des fruchtbaren Halbmondes die Kremation.

### 4. Zur Kremation in mitteleisenzeitlich-urartäischem Kontext

Die urartäischen und mitteleisenzeitlichen Belege für Kremation sind zumeist

<sup>1</sup> Die von Koldewey 1887, 403-430 in Zurgul und al-Hiba beschriebenen Brandgräber haben sich als Opferstätten mit verbrannten Tierknochen herausgestellt (Hrouda 1980-83, 571).

<sup>2</sup> Siehe hierzu die Befunde an den Felsen Osmanakayası und Bağlarbaşıkayası (Bittel 1958) sowie in Ilica (Orthmann 1967). Für die nachgewiesenen textlichen Belege bei den Hethitern siehe Haas 2000. Auf die fehlerhafte Lesung eines Ritualtextes hingegen ist die lange Zeit geäußerte Vermutung zurückzuführen, im mittanischen Herrscherhaus habe die Leichenverbrennung im Totenritual eine Rolle gespielt (Wilhelm 1980-83).

<sup>3</sup> Brandspuren an Toten konnten in einem Kurgan in Borsunlu (Schachner 2001, 284) und Kabali (Gazijev 1969, 42-48) erkannt werden. Weitere Belege für Kremation finden sich in der Trialeti-Kultur: Beispiele hierfür sind die Fundstätten Elar (Khazadjan 1979, 166; Schlenhner 1960, 7), Vozkevas, Karashamb, Avan Highway (Kushnareva 1997, 99-101) sowie Kirgi (Esayan 1976, 101).

<sup>4</sup> So in Grab IV des Hypogäums von Tschoga Zanbil (Ghirshman 1982, 80-89 mit weiterführender Literatur).

<sup>5</sup> So z.B. in Tall Beit Mirsim und Jericho (siehe hierzu Bienkowski 1982, 80-89 mit weiterführender Literatur).

<sup>6</sup> Die Erforschung der Nekropolen in Hama (Riis 1948), Tall Sukas und Rasm et-Tanjara (Bienkowski 1982, 82), Alalakh (Woolley 1955) und Kargamiš (Woolley 1939) ergaben einen Urnenfriedhof. Zu der Nekropole Deve Höyük siehe Moore 1980. Ein mittelassyrisch zu datierendes Grab (B 1) fand sich in Stratum 2 in Tall Sabi Abyad (Akkermans/Rossmesl 1990, 17). Zu neuen Belegen der Kremation in Tall Sabi Abyad siehe Akkermans/Smits 2008. In Tall Halaf fanden sich inmitten eines nahe des Südtores gelegenen Bestattungsplatzes zwei Urnen mit verbrannten menschlichen Überresten. Darüber waren jeweils die Sitzbilder einer Frau – vermutlich der Bestatteten – aufgestellt (Novák 2003, 66). Jüngere Ausgrabungen in Tall Siukh Fawqani am syrischen Euphrat haben eine Nekropole mit Brandbestattungen des 10.-8. Jh. v. Chr. aufgedeckt (Tenu 2005).

<sup>7</sup> Die urartäischen Belege sind an dieser Stelle nicht berücksichtigt. Zusätzlich existieren ein mitteleisenzeitliches Brandgrab (Grab 3) aus Lori Berd (Devedjan 1974, 162; dies. 1981, 59) sowie ein Beleg (Grab 38) aus der Nekropole Ketı I (Petrosyan 1989, 62).

<sup>8</sup> In Tell Mohammed Diyab sind für das 13.-12. Jh. v. Chr. Kremation und Inhumation als Begräbnisformen nebeneinander belegt (Sauvage 2005, 47-54). In Assur sind zehn Urnengräber belegt, von denen acht in die neuassyrische Zeit datieren (Haller 1954, 53). Die Bestattung fand sowohl in Gräften, in eingetieften Gruben in Häusern sowie im Bereich des Binnenwalls statt. Nach Mofidi Nasrabadi 1999, 79 kann nur in fünf Fällen eine Feuerbestattung nachgewiesen werden. Ebenfalls in die neuassyrische Zeit datieren die Urnengräber aus Kavuşan Höyük (Kozbe 2010, 350-351). Neben Kindern wurden auch Erwachsene hier in Urnen bestattet. Von den 22 Bestattungen waren nur zwei mit Beigaben ausgestattet. Es handelt sich um die Gräber von Kleinkindern (2-3 Jahre alt). In Babylon fanden sich fünf Urnen mit Brandbestattung, die in Hockersärgen geborgen werden konnten (Reuther 1926, 214 sowie 233-234). Siehe hierzu auch Mofidi Nasrabadi 1999, 165.

Urnengräber, also in den Erdboden eingelassene Gefäße, die den Leichenbrand enthielten. Vorhandene Beigaben wurden sowohl innerhalb als auch außerhalb der Urne platziert.

Einen wichtigen Aspekt stellt ein sog. Negativbefund in Form von muldenartigen Vertiefungen innerhalb der Felsgräber dar. Diese Eintiefungen fanden sich sowohl im Boden als auch in angelegten Nischen und werden als Standhilfen für Urnen betrachtet.

#### 4.1 Osttürkei

In der Provinz Van sind verschiedene Nekropolen bekannt, deren Belegungszeitraum in die Frühe und Mittlere Eisenzeit datiert.<sup>1</sup> Der Hügel **Dilkaya** liegt etwa 34 km südwestlich von Van und war seit dem beginnenden 3. Jt. v. Chr. besiedelt.<sup>2</sup> Von 1984-1991 wurde hier unter der Leitung von A. Çilingiroğlu gegraben. Es konnte eine Nekropole mit früh- und mitteleisenzeitlichen Grablegen aufgenommen und untersucht werden. Sowohl Inhumation als auch Kremation sind belegt. Insgesamt sind 24 Urnengräber erfasst, die in die urartäische Zeit datieren. Die Beigaben sind jeweils außerhalb der Urne platziert worden. Zudem konnten einzelne Befunde erkannt werden, die Hinweise auf den Ort der Leichenverbrennung geben. Eine Schicht verbrannter Erde wird als Kremationsplatz angesehen. A. Çilingiroğlu spricht sich hier für die Leichenverbrennung direkt neben den vorgesehenen Gräbern aus.<sup>3</sup>

Nahe des Dorfes **Habibuşağı** wurde im Jahre 1982 ein kleiner Bestattungsplatz bekannt, der von C. Işık untersucht wurde. Es wurden zwei aufrechtstehende Urnen (Grab 1 und 3) aufgefunden, die mit je einer tönernen Schale abgedeckt gewesen sind. Die Urnen waren in die Erde eingetieft und mit Steinen zugedeckt.<sup>4</sup> Zusätzlich fand sich eine große umgedrehte Schale (Grab 2).<sup>5</sup> Leider konnte darunter nur noch feinkörnige Erde erkannt werden. Dies trifft ebenfalls auf Grab 1 zu, so dass einzig in Grab 3 menschliche Überreste dokumentiert wurden.<sup>6</sup> Die Untersuchung der Knochen- und Aschereste ergab, dass hier ein erwachsener Mann bestattet wurde.<sup>7</sup> Beigaben sind spärlich. Neben der Urne des Grabes 3 war eine aufrecht stehende, mit der Spitze nach unten weisende Lanzenspitze deponiert worden. Zusätzlich zu der Lanzenspitze ist noch ein verbogenes Schwert bekannt, welches von einem Dorfbewohner gefunden und vom Ausgräber der Nekropole zugeordnet wurde.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Für die früheisenzeitliche Nekropole Karagündüz vermuten die Ausgräber aufgrund aufgefundenen Milchzähne, dass die Kremation nur bei Kindern angewandt wurde (Sevin/Kavakli 1996, 54).

<sup>2</sup> Çilingiroğlu 1991, 29.

<sup>3</sup> Çilingiroğlu 1988, 233; ders. 1990, 250. Derin 1994, 49 schreibt von Bestattungen „directly in the soil“.

<sup>4</sup> Işık, C. 1987, 571.

<sup>5</sup> Işık, C. 1987, 572.

<sup>6</sup> Işık, C. 1987, 573.

<sup>7</sup> Işık, C. 1987, 574.

<sup>8</sup> Der Typus ist mit einer Mittelrippe sowie einer abgerundeten, mit Randleisten umgebenden Heftschulter versehen und von Piller (1995, 99) als Typ 27B gelistet, der ins 7. Jh. v. Chr. zu datieren ist.

Ein einzelnes Urnengrab konnte 1965 beim Bau einer Straße von Ağrı nach Van nahe **Kalecik** untersucht werden. Innerhalb der Urne fanden sich verbrannte Knochenreste und ein bronzenener Ring.<sup>1</sup>

Die große Horhor-Grotte in **Van Kalesi** wird gemeinhin Argiştı I. und seiner Familie zugeschrieben.<sup>2</sup> Sowohl die Wände der Hauptkammer als auch der vier kleineren Nebenräume waren mit Nischen ausgestattet. M. Salvini<sup>3</sup> geht davon aus, dass es sich hier um Wandvertiefungen für die Deponierung von Grabbeigaben handeln wird, während M. T. Tarhan<sup>4</sup> zusätzlich die Möglichkeit der Urnendeponierung sieht.

Als „Kremationsstätte“ wird hingegen ein Kammergrab (Grab VII) bezeichnet, welches sich am Hang südöstlichen der Zitadelle befindet (Abb. 3).<sup>5</sup> Die Lage separiert es von den weiteren Gräbern in Van Kalesi. Es war vermutlich als einziges von der Unterstadt her zugänglich.<sup>6</sup> In den Nischen der Kammer befinden sich sorgfältig ausgearbeitet in zwei Reihen 78 Vertiefungen in einem Abstand von 0,20 m, die zur Stabilisierung der aufgestellten Urnen gedient haben könnten. Sie haben eine Durchmesser von 0,16 m und eine Tiefe von 0,03 m (0,04 m nach M. Salvini).<sup>7</sup> Handelt es sich tatsächlich um Standhilfen für Urnen, so übersteigt die Anzahl der Vertiefungen selbst den notwendigen Platz innerhalb eines Mausoleums für eine Großfamilie. Es wird sich somit um einen gemeinschaftlich genutzten Bestattungsplatz gehandelt haben.

Die zum Teil geplünderte Nekropole von **Van-Altuntepe** brachte sowohl Körper- als auch Brandbestattungen zutage. Nur drei Urnengräber konnten *in situ* ergraben werden (Abb. 2). Eine Separierung innerhalb der Nekropole zeichnet sich nicht ab, obwohl die Urnen ebenso wie die beiden einfachen Erdgräber im Norden des Platzes aufgefunden wurden. Die aufrecht stehenden, rotpolierten Gefäße wurden mit Steinen fixiert. Die Beigaben weisen Brandrückstände auf und befanden sich nicht in der Urne, sondern waren in nächster Nähe platziert.<sup>8</sup>

Nördlich des Vansees existieren weitere, eisenzeitliche Nekropolen, die teilweise rein urartäische, teilweise sowohl früh- als auch mitteleisenzeitliche Grablegen aufweisen. Zwei wichtige Nekropolen für die Untersuchung der urartäischen Bestattungsweise stellen die Anfang der 1970er Jahre dokumentierten Gräber von **Adilcevaz** und in der Umgebung von **Patnos** dar.

In Adilcevaz wurden mehrere in den Felsen gehauene Kammergräber entdeckt, die

<sup>2</sup> Ögün 1978a, 672.

<sup>3</sup> Dies liegt an der monumentalen Inschrift (CTU A 8-3) auf der geglätteten Felswand vor der Grotte. Leider findet sich hier keinerlei Hinweis auf die Grabkammer (Salvini 1995, 152).

<sup>4</sup> Salvini 1995, 152.

<sup>5</sup> Tarhan 1994, 28.

<sup>6</sup> Tarhan 1994, 28.

<sup>7</sup> Konyar 2011, 217.

<sup>8</sup> Sevin 1980, 155; Salvini 1995, 154.

<sup>9</sup> Sevin, Özfirat 2001, 182.

*sowohl Nachweise der Inhumation als auch der Kremation erbrachten. Eines dieser* Gräber (Grab I) war nicht beraubt. Sowohl die Skelettfunde als auch die Urnen befanden sich im hinteren Teil der Kammer in ungeordneter Lage.<sup>1</sup> Die beiden zerbrochenen Urnen besaßen je zwei Löcher im Schulterbereich und beinhalteten noch verbrannte Skelettreste. Unter den zahlreichen Beigaben fanden sich rotpolierte Oinokhoen, Rest hölzerner Möbel, bronzene Gürtelfragmente, Armreifen sowie bronzene und silberne Nadeln, eine Bronzefibel<sup>2</sup> und Perlen, allerdings keine Waffen.<sup>3</sup> Eine goldene Fibel mit granulierten Ornamenten gehört ebenfalls zu den in der Kammer aufgefundenen Beigaben.<sup>4</sup> Hinweise auf Alter oder Geschlecht der Verstorbenen können ebenso wenig getätigt werden wie die Zuordnung der aufgefundenen Beigaben.

Nahe dem Dorf **Liç** bei Patnos wurde 1973 in Kammergrab I in der östlichen Nische eine Urne aufgefunden, die mit einer einfachen Schüssel abgedeckt gewesen ist.<sup>5</sup> Daneben konnten in Liç drei einzelne Urnengräber dokumentiert werden.<sup>6</sup> Das einzig unberaubte Grab I besteht aus einer Urne mit vier um das Gefäß herum aufgestellten flachen Steinen. Eine weitere Steinplatte schloss das Grab nach oben ab. Neben der Urne wurden eine Abdeckschale sowie ein bronzenes Armband und ein Bronzering aufgefunden.<sup>7</sup>

In **Dedeli** stand in einer Nische der nördlichen Mauer des Kammergrabes I noch eine Urne, die mit zwei Löchern im Schulterbereich versehen war.<sup>8</sup> Vor dieser Mauer lagen die Überreste zweier in Hockerstellung niedergelegter Individuen.<sup>9</sup>

Zusätzlich sind in Dedeli Höhlengräber bekannt, die sich zumeist in künstlich

<sup>1</sup> Ögün 1978b, 63. Dies spricht für häufige Wiederbenutzung, die bei erneuter Belegung vorhandene Bestattungen aus Platzgründen an die Wände der Kammer schiebt. Eine intensiv genutzte Grabkammer lässt zwar die Vermutung zu, es handle sich um ein Familiengrab (so Ögün 1978b, 62), ohne entsprechende DNA-Analysen bleibt dies jedoch eine Hypothese.

<sup>2</sup> Ögün 1979, 181 ordnet diese Fibel als Typ U XII/5 ein und vergleicht sie – unter bewusster Auslassung der urartäischen Eigenschaften – mit der goldenen Fibel aus Gordion, die „in the ruins of the Terrace Building, in the Phrygian city destroyed by the Kimmerians in the early seventh century“ gefunden wurde (Muscarella 1967, 16 mit Pl. III, 12).

<sup>3</sup> Ögün 1978b, 63.

<sup>4</sup> Nach Ögün 1979, 183-184 stellt diese Fibel (Typ U 10) ein Unikum dar. Sie wird – vermutlich aufgrund des Fundkontextes – vom Ende des 8. bis Anfang des 6. Jh. v. Chr. datiert.

<sup>5</sup> Die Ausarbeitung der Nischen in Kammergrab I von Liç findet ihr direktes Pendant in den Nischen von Kammergrab III in Altintepe (Ögün 1978a, 653).

<sup>6</sup> Interessanterweise konnte in der Nekropole Liç auch ein Grab mit drei Pferdeskeletten dokumentiert werden, die im so bestattet wurden, dass die Winkel zueinander ein Dreieck bildeten (Ögün 1978b, 66; ders. 1978a, 648).

<sup>7</sup> Ögün 1978a, 673.

<sup>8</sup> Ögün 1978a, 667; ders. 1978b, 67. Innerhalb der Urne fanden sich noch Aschereste, jedoch werden keine weiteren Hinweise auf den Verstorbenen gegeben. Die Nische besitzt keine Vertiefung (Ögün 1978a Abb. 8); ein Gefäßständer ist weder erwähnt noch auf dem Photo (Ögün 1978a Taf. 157, 15) ersichtlich.

<sup>9</sup> Ögün 1978a, 667. Die weiteren in diesem Kammergrab gefundenen Gegenstände fanden sich teilweise in einer anderen Nische und können somit nicht gesichert als Beigaben für dieses Urnengrab verstanden werden.

angelegten Felshöhlen befanden. Sowohl Inhumation als auch Kremation wurde für diesen Grabtyp dokumentiert.<sup>1</sup> Das Höhlengrab I in Felsen A wird von B. Ögün exemplarisch vorgestellt: neben einer tönernen Urne mit Abdeckschale fanden sich eine bronzene Fibel<sup>2</sup>, ein bronzener Armreif, zwei bronzene Kienholzhalter, eine Axt aus Eisen sowie ein Schleifstein.<sup>3</sup>

Grab A aus **Kayalidere** besitzt 6 Kammern (Abb. 4). Nischen sind in den Räumen 1, 2, 3 und 5 vorhanden, wobei nur in einigen wenigen Nischen kleinere Vertiefungen festgestellt wurden. In Raum 6 befinden sich insgesamt 29 Vertiefungen im Boden, während keine Nischen in die Wände eingearbeitet sind. C. Burney vermutete hier Installationen für Libationen im Ritual oder Mulden zur Ölaufnahme für eine Lichtquelle<sup>4</sup>, B. Ögün vielmehr Standhilfen für Urnen.<sup>5</sup> Das Felsgrab **Şirinlikale II** besitzt in seiner hinteren Kammer ebenfalls Vertiefungen im Boden (Abb. 9). Es handelt sich um insgesamt 14 gleichartige Mulden, die in zwei Reihen an der Rückwand der Kammer angebracht wurden. Ihre nächste Parallele hat diese Art der Installation in der Kremationsstätte (Grab VII) in Van Kalesi. Auch F. Işık spricht sich für Standhilfen von Urnengefäßen aus.<sup>6</sup> Entsprechendes gilt aller Voraussicht nach auch für das Felsgrab I von **Ağri-Atabindi**, das über eine große Hauptkammer mit zwei Nebenkammern verfügt (Abb. 5). In der Hauptkammer befinden sich 36 Nischen; sechs von ihnen besaßen entsprechende Vertiefungen.<sup>7</sup> In Kammer 1 des Felsgrabes **Palu III** fanden sich etwa 1 m über dem Bodenniveau fünf Nischen, die jeweils eine Vertiefung aufweisen.<sup>8</sup>

Das Felsgrab von **Köseoğlu** befindet sich 5 km nordöstlich von Mazgirt und wird trotz fehlender Nischenvertiefungen als Begräbnisstätte für Urnen angesprochen (Abb. 6). Es handelt sich um einen einzelnen von der umgebenden Landschaft absetzenden Felsblock in den Maßen 4,50 m x 3,50 m x 7,00 m, der nur eine sehr kleine Kammer zulässt.<sup>9</sup> Sowohl den West- als auch in der Nordwand existiert je eine Nische (Abb. 7 und 8), die nach der Auffassung von F. Işık nur für die Aufbewahrung einer Urne gedient haben können.<sup>10</sup> Die fehlende Nischenvertiefung wird mit möglichen, nicht mehr vorhandenen Ständern erklärt.<sup>11</sup> In **Altintepe** nahe Erzincan sind insgesamt drei Gräber (I, II und III) aufgedeckt worden, die der urartäischen Schicht I zugerechnet werden. Bereits 1938 wurden mehrere

<sup>1</sup> Ögün 1978a, 669.

<sup>2</sup> Die Fibel entspricht Typ U XII/5 (Ögün 1979, 181).

<sup>3</sup> Ögün 1978a, 670.

<sup>4</sup> Burney 1966, 107.

<sup>5</sup> Ögün 1978a, 645.

<sup>6</sup> Işık, F. 1987, 506. Auch die in Kammer 6 vorgefundenen Eintiefungen im Boden sind nach Işık, F. 1987, 505 für die Aufnahme von Urnen bestimmt gewesen.

<sup>7</sup> Başgelen 1987, 8-11.

<sup>8</sup> Sevin 1997, 64.

<sup>9</sup> Işık, F. 1995-96, 215.

<sup>10</sup> Işık, F. 1995-96, 216.

<sup>11</sup> Işık, F. 1995-96, 216.

anderen Typus Bestattung handelt.<sup>1</sup> Beobachtungen, die etwa in denselben Zeithorizont einzuordnen sind, wurden in Ziyaret Tepe gemacht. In den Bereichen A und N wurden insgesamt 5 Installationen dokumentiert, die als Brandgrubengrab angesprochen werden. Die Untersuchung der verbrannten menschlichen Überreste ergab unter anderem den Fingerknochen eines Kindes sowie Milchzähne.<sup>2</sup>

### 3. Zur Kremation in Vorderasien

In den Kulturen Altvorderasiens wurde die Sitte der Kremation lange Zeit als kaum praktiziert betrachtet. Dennoch finden sich bei näherer Betrachtung durch die unterschiedlichen Epochen und Zeitstufen hinweg Belege für die Brandbestattung, die über die gesamte Region Vorderasiens verbreitet sind.

Bereits im ausgehenden Neolithikum (Halafzeit)<sup>3</sup> und dem frühen Chalkolithikum (Ubaidzeit)<sup>4</sup> ist die Kremation im syro-mesopotamischen Raum belegt. Für die Frühbronzezeit existieren Nachweise aus der anatolischen<sup>5</sup>, nordsyrischen<sup>6</sup> und südmesopotamischen<sup>7</sup> Region. Die folgende mittlere und späte Bronzezeit kennt die

<sup>1</sup> Kreppner 2008, 267.

<sup>2</sup> Matney u.a. 2009, 44-48.

<sup>3</sup> In den späthalafzeitlichen Schichten 7 und 8 von Yarim Tepe II sind sieben Brandbestattungen erkannt worden (Merpert/Munchaev 1976, 51-52). Bei sechs der Bestattungen handelt es sich um Grubengräber. Für eine Bestattung konnte ein 110 cm langer und 35 bis 50 cm breiter rechteckiger Ofen dokumentiert werden. Kremation und Inhumation fand nebeneinander statt. Kremation war hier ausschließlich Erwachsenen und Heranwachsenden vorbehalten. Beigaben fanden sich interesselweise nur bei den Brandgräbern (Akkermans 1989, 85-86). Aus derselben Epoche entstammt ein Brandgrab (Nr. VI) der Schicht XIX aus Mersin. Garstang 1953, 111 hielt den Befund *trays violence and suggests the presence of an enemy*. Akkermans 1989, 86 sieht „a more spiritual nature“ hinter den Brandbestattungen, deren exakte Gründe sich uns jedoch nicht erschließen.

<sup>4</sup> In Schicht 3 in Ninive wurde eine Brandbestattung beobachtet (Mallowan/Cruikshank Rose 1935, 36). Es handelt sich um ein Kindergrab. Da um die Urne herum verbrannte Erde dokumentiert wurde, wird es sich hier neben dem Bestattungsplatz auch um den ursprünglichen Ort der Kremation handeln.

<sup>5</sup> In Gedikli Höyük konnte eine interessante Befundabfolge erkannt werden. Die in das 3. Jt. v. Chr. datierenden Körperbestattungen sind durch eine am Ende der Frühbronzezeit errichteten Mauer von den Brandgräbern der Mittelbronzezeit separiert (Duru 2001, 128-129).

<sup>6</sup> Moortgat 1962, 35-39 beschreibt einen Befund aus Kammer V des nordwestlichen Anbaus an Steinbau 1 in Tall Chuera. Hier wurden die unvollständigen Skelette von insgesamt drei Leichen gefunden. Die Toten, eine Frau und zwei Männer, waren zwischen 20 und 30 Jahre alt. Zuerst zerstückelt und danach halb verbrannt wurden die Toten in der Kammer deponiert, welche danach zugemauert worden ist.

<sup>7</sup> In Ur dokumentierte Woolley 1934, 142-143 Gräber, die er als „burnt burials“ bezeichnete. Er vermutete eine ethnische und religiöse Differenz zum Rest der ansässigen Bevölkerung und hielt die Bestatteten für eine „slave population“ und „prisoners of war (...) buried in dishonoured ground“. Bienkowski 1982, 86 zweifelt dies an und vermutet aufgrund ethnographischer Vergleiche vielmehr Krankheiten oder Verbrechen für die differenzierte Bestattungsart.

Kremation<sup>1</sup> als gängige Bestattungsform im anatolischen<sup>2</sup> und südkaukasischen<sup>3</sup> Gebiet sowie als Sonderfall in Elam<sup>4</sup>.

Mit dem Übergang der Spätbronze- zur Eisenzeit stellt die Brandbestattung in der gesamten levantinischen<sup>5</sup>, anatolisch-nordsyrischen<sup>6</sup> und südkaukasischen<sup>7</sup> Region eine praktizierte Bestattungssitte dar, vereinzelte Belege finden sich zudem in Mesopotamien<sup>8</sup>. Somit kennen fast alle geographischen Bereiche des fruchtbaren Halbmondes die Kremation.

### 4. Zur Kremation in mitteleisenzeitlich-urartäischem Kontext

Die urartäischen und mitteleisenzeitlichen Belege für Kremation sind zumeist

<sup>1</sup> Die von Koldewey 1887, 403-430 in Zurgul und al-Hiba beschriebenen Brandgräber haben sich als Opferstätten mit verbrannten Tierknochen herausgestellt (Hrouda 1980-83, 571).

<sup>2</sup> Siehe hierzu die Befunde an den Felsen Osankayası und Bağlarbaşıkayası (Bittel 1958) sowie in Ilica (Orthmann 1967). Für die nachgewiesenen textlichen Belege bei den Hethitern siehe Haas 2000. Auf die fehlerhafte Lesung eines Ritualtextes hingegen ist die lange Zeit geäußerte Vermutung zurückzuführen, im mittanischen Herrscherhaus habe die Leichenverbrennung im Totenritual eine Rolle gespielt (Wilhelm 1980-83).

<sup>3</sup> Brandspuren an Toten konnten in einem Kurgan in Borsunlu (Schachner 2001, 284) und Kabali (Gazijev 1969, 42-48) erkannt werden. Weitere Belege für Kremation finden sich in der Trialeti-Kultur: Beispiele hierfür sind die Fundstätten Elar (Khanzadyan 1979, 166; Schlenhner 1960, 7), Vozkevas, Karashamb, Avan Highway (Kushnareva 1997, 99-101) sowie Kirgi (Esayan 1976, 101).

<sup>4</sup> So in Grab IV des Hypogäums von Tschoga Zanbil (Ghirshman 1968, 80-89 mit weiterführender Literatur).

<sup>5</sup> So z.B. in Tall Beit Mirsim und Jericho (siehe hierzu Bienkowski 1982, 80-89 mit weiterführender Literatur).

<sup>6</sup> Die Erforschung der Nekropolen in Hama (Riis 1948), Tall Sukas und Rasm et-Tanjara (Bienkowski 1982, 82), Alalakh (Woolley 1955) und Kargamiš (Woolley 1939) ergaben einen Urnenfriedhof. Zu der Nekropole Deve Höyük siehe Moorey 1980. Ein mittelassyrisch zu datierendes Grab (B 1) fand sich in Stratum 2 in Tall Sabi Abyad (Akkermans/Rossmesl 1990, 17). Zu neuen Belegen der Kremation in Tall Sabi Abyad siehe Akkermans/Smits 2008. In Tall Halaf fanden sich inmitten eines nahe des Südtores gelegenen Bestattungsplatzes zwei Urnen mit verbrannten menschlichen Überresten. Darüber waren jeweils die Sitzbilder einer Frau – vermutlich der Bestatteten – aufgestellt (Novák 2003, 66). Jüngere Ausgrabungen in Tall Siukh Fawqani am syrischen Euphrat haben eine Nekropole mit Brandbestattungen des 10.-8. Jh. v. Chr. aufgedeckt (Tenu 2005).

<sup>7</sup> Die urartäischen Belege sind an dieser Stelle nicht berücksichtigt. Zusätzlich existieren ein mitteleisenzeitliches Brandgrab (Grab 3) aus Lori Berd (Devedjan 1974, 162; dies. 1981, 59) sowie ein Beleg (Grab 38) aus der Nekropole Ketu I (Petrosyan 1989, 62).

<sup>8</sup> In Tell Mohammed Diyab sind für das 13.-12. Jh. v. Chr. Kremation und Inhumation als Begräbnisformen nebeneinander belegt (Sauvage 2005, 47-54). In Assur sind zehn Urnengräber belegt, von denen acht in die neuassyrische Zeit datieren (Haller 1954, 53). Die Bestattung fand sowohl in eingetieften Gruben in Häusern sowie im Bereich des Binnenwalls statt. Nach Mofidi Nasrabadi 1999, 79 kann nur in fünf Fällen eine Feuerbestattung nachgewiesen werden. Ebenfalls in die neuassyrische Zeit datieren die Urnengräber aus Kavuşan Höyük (Kozbe 2010, 350-351). Neben Kindern wurden auch Erwachsene hier in Urnen bestattet. Von den 22 Bestattungen waren nur zwei mit Beigaben ausgestattet. Es handelt sich um die Gräber von Kleinkindern (2-3 Jahre alt). In Babylon fanden sich fünf Urnen mit Brandbestattung, die in Hockersärgen geborgen werden konnten (Reuther 1926, 214 sowie 233-234). Siehe hierzu auch Mofidi Nasrabadi 1999, 165.

Urnengräber, also in den Erdboden eingelassene Gefäße, die den Leichenbrand enthielten. Vorhandene Beigaben wurden sowohl innerhalb als auch außerhalb der Urne platziert.

Einen wichtigen Aspekt stellt ein sog. Negativbefund in Form von muldenartigen Vertiefungen innerhalb der Felsgräber dar. Diese Eintiefungen fanden sich sowohl im Boden als auch in angelegten Nischen und werden als Standhilfen für Urnen betrachtet.

#### 4.1 Osttürkei

In der Provinz Van sind verschiedene Nekropolen bekannt, deren Belegungszeitraum in die Frühe und Mittlere Eisenzeit datiert.<sup>1</sup> Der Hügel **Dilkaya** liegt etwa 34 km südwestlich von Van und war seit dem beginnenden 3. Jt. v. Chr. besiedelt.<sup>2</sup> Von 1984-1991 wurde hier unter der Leitung von A. Çilingiroğlu gegraben. Es konnte eine Nekropole mit früh- und mitteleisenzeitlichen Grablegen aufgenommen und untersucht werden. Sowohl Inhumation als auch Kremation sind belegt. Insgesamt sind 24 Urnengräber erfasst, die in die urartäische Zeit datieren. Die Beigaben sind jeweils außerhalb der Urne platziert worden. Zudem konnten einzelne Befunde erkannt werden, die Hinweise auf den Ort der Leichenverbrennung geben. Eine Schicht verbrannter Erde wird als Kremationsplatz angesehen. A. Çilingiroğlu spricht sich hier für die Leichenverbrennung direkt neben den vorgesehenen Gräbern aus.<sup>3</sup>

Nahe des Dorfes **Habibuşağı** wurde im Jahre 1982 ein kleiner Bestattungsplatz bekannt, der von C. Işık untersucht wurde. Es wurden zwei aufrechtstehende Urnen (Grab 1 und 3) aufgefunden, die mit je einer tönernen Schale abgedeckt gewesen sind. Die Urnen waren in die Erde eingetieft und mit Steinen zugedeckt.<sup>4</sup> Zusätzlich fand sich eine große umgedrehte Schale (Grab 2).<sup>5</sup> Leider konnte darunter nur noch Grab 3 menschliche Überreste dokumentiert werden.<sup>6</sup> Die Untersuchung der Knochen- und Aschereste ergab, dass hier ein erwachsener Mann bestattet wurde.<sup>7</sup> Beigaben sind neben der Urne des Grabes 3 war eine aufrecht stehende, mit der Spitze nach unten weisende Lanzenspitze deponiert worden. Zusätzlich zu der Lanzenspitze ist noch ein verbogenes Schwert bekannt, welches von einem Dorfbewohner gefunden und vom Ausgräber der Nekropole zugeordnet wurde.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Für die früheisenzeitliche Nekropole Karagündüz vermuten die Ausgräber aufgrund aufgefunden-er Milchzähne, dass die Kremation nur bei Kindern angewandt wurde (Sevin/Kavakli 1996, 54).

<sup>2</sup> Çilingiroğlu 1991, 29.

<sup>3</sup> Çilingiroğlu 1988, 233; ders. 1990, 250. Derin 1994, 49 schreibt von Bestattungen „directly in the soil“.

<sup>4</sup> Işık, C. 1987, 571.

<sup>5</sup> Işık, C. 1987, 572.

<sup>6</sup> Işık, C. 1987, 573.

<sup>7</sup> Işık, C. 1987, 574.

<sup>8</sup> Der Typus ist mit einer Mittelrippe sowie einer abgerundeten, mit Randleisten umgebenden Heftschulter versehen und von Piller (1995, 99) als Typ 27B gelistet, der ins 7. Jh. v. Chr. zu datieren ist.

Ein einzelnes Urnengrab konnte 1965 beim Bau einer Straße von Ağrı nach Van nahe **Kalecik** untersucht werden. Innerhalb der Urne fanden sich verbrannte Knochenreste und ein bronzenener Ring.<sup>1</sup>

Die große Horhor-Grotte in **Van Kalesi** wird gemeinhin Argiştı I. und seiner Familie zugeschrieben.<sup>2</sup> Sowohl die Wände der Hauptkammer als auch der vier kleineren Nebenräume waren mit Nischen ausgestattet. M. Salvini<sup>3</sup> geht davon aus, dass es sich hier um Wandvertiefungen für die Deponierung von Grabbeigaben handeln wird, während M. T. Tarhan<sup>4</sup> zusätzlich die Möglichkeit der Urnendeponierung sieht.

Als „Kremationsstätte“ wird hingegen ein Kammergrab (Grab VII) bezeichnet, welches sich am Hang südöstlichen der Zitadelle befindet (Abb. 3).<sup>5</sup> Die Lage separiert es von den weiteren Gräbern in Van Kalesi. Es war vermutlich als einziges von der Unterstadt her zugänglich.<sup>6</sup> In den Nischen der Kammer befinden sich sorgfältig ausgearbeitet in zwei Reihen 78 Vertiefungen in einem Abstand von 0,20 m, die zur Stabilisierung der aufgestellten Urnen gedient haben könnten. Sie haben einen Durchmesser von 0,16 m und eine Tiefe von 0,03 m (0,04 m nach M. Salvini).<sup>7</sup> Handelt es sich tatsächlich um Standhilfen für Urnen, so übersteigt die Anzahl der Vertiefungen selbst den notwendigen Platz innerhalb eines Mausoleums für eine Großfamilie. Es wird sich somit um einen gemeinschaftlich genutzten Bestattungsplatz gehandelt haben.

Die zum Teil geplünderte Nekropole von **Van-Altntepe** brachte sowohl Körper- als auch Brandbestattungen zutage. Nur drei Urnengräber konnten *in situ* ergraben werden (Abb. 2). Eine Separierung innerhalb der Nekropole zeichnet sich nicht ab, obwohl die Urnen ebenso wie die beiden einfachen Erdgräber im Norden des Platzes aufgefunden wurden. Die aufrecht stehenden, rotpolierten Gefäße wurden mit Steinen fixiert. Die Beigaben weisen Brandrückstände auf und befanden sich nicht in der Urne, sondern waren in nächster Nähe platziert.<sup>8</sup>

Nördlich des Vansees existieren weitere, eisenzeitliche Nekropolen, die teilweise rein urartäische, teilweise sowohl früh- als auch mitteleisenzeitliche Grablegen aufweisen. Zwei wichtige Nekropolen für die Untersuchung der urartäischen Bestattungsweise stellen die Anfang der 1970er Jahre dokumentierten Gräber von **Adilcevaz** und in der Umgebung von **Patnos** dar.

In Adilcevaz wurden mehrere in den Felsen gehauene Kammergräber entdeckt, die

<sup>2</sup> Ögün 1978a, 672.

<sup>3</sup> Dies liegt an der monumentalen Inschrift (CTU A 8-3) auf der geglätteten Felswand vor der Grotte. Leider findet sich hier keinerlei Hinweis auf die Grabkammer (Salvini 1995, 152).

<sup>4</sup> Salvini 1995, 152.

<sup>5</sup> Tarhan 1994, 28.

<sup>6</sup> Tarhan 1994, 28.

<sup>7</sup> Konyar 2011, 217.

<sup>8</sup> Sevin 1980, 155; Salvini 1995, 154.

<sup>9</sup> Sevin, Özfirat 2001, 182.

Bronzegegenstände aus einem Grab bekannt (Grab II)<sup>1</sup>, die 1953 durch R. D. Barnett und N. Gökce vorgestellt wurden. Hierzu gehören auch bronzene Urnen, die unter anderem zwei kleine Löcher im Schulterbereich aufweisen.<sup>2</sup> Die Kammerwände von Grab II waren mit Nischen versehen, in deren Boden zwei Vertiefungen mit einem Durchmesser von 15 cm eingearbeitet gewesen sind.<sup>3</sup> Grab I wurde 1956 beraubt und gab den Anlass zu Grabungen, die 1959 das ungestörte Grab III zutage brachten.<sup>4</sup> Während der Arbeiten kamen Urnen zutage, die aufrecht in Felsspalten platziert waren. Alle Urnen befanden sich nahe der Außenwände von Grab III; drei Gefäße konnten intakt geborgen werden, jedoch erschwerte die Menge der zerscherbten Keramik eine exakte Anzahl an Urnen zu bestimmen.<sup>5</sup> Beigaben konnten nicht dokumentiert werden, die Urnen selbst waren mit Steinen fixiert und allen Anschein nach auch mit einem Stein bedeckt.<sup>6</sup>

Der Bestattungsplatz von **Iğdır** (nahe des Dorfes Malaklyu gelegen), wurde 1913 von P. F. Petrov ergraben und 1943 von B. A. Kuftin publiziert.<sup>7</sup> Der wissenschaftlichen Öffentlichkeit wurde dieser Fundort 1963 durch R. D. Barnett bekannt.<sup>8</sup> Neben dem gestört) fand sich am östlichen Bereich des Hügels eine Ansammlung an Urnengräbern (Point 2-14), die in natürlich vorhandene Felsspalten platziert wurden.

Bei Points 3 und 4 handelt es sich um drei zerdrückte, mit Ascheresten gefüllte Urnen (Nr. 55, 57, 82), die mit tönernen (55, 82) bzw. kupfernen (57) Schalen bedeckt gewesen sind. Etwa 12 cm unterhalb der Urne Nr. 57 fanden sich drei Armreifen (Nr. 71-73), deren offene Enden mit Löwenköpfen verziert waren. Des Weiteren fanden sich eine Speerspitze (Nr. 60), drei Messer (Nr. 61, 62, 64) sowie ein Axt (Nr. 65) und Eisennadeln (Nr. 63, 66).

Unter Point 5 werden insgesamt fünf Urnen zusammengefasst (Nr. 84, 86-89)<sup>10</sup>. Unterhalb einer Urne (Nr. 86) waren etwa 30 cm tiefer ebenfalls Armreifen platziert (Nr. 90-91), während 15 cm tiefer als Urne Nr. 84 eine umgedrehte Bronzeschüssel mit einem Kurzschwert (Nr. 93) und weiteren Eisenwaffen deponiert gewesen ist. Das 45 cm lange und 6,5 cm breite Kurzschwert ist mit einer Mittelrippe und abgerundeter,

<sup>1</sup> Özgüç 1969, 65.

<sup>2</sup> Barnett/Gökce 1953, 124.

<sup>3</sup> Aufgefundene Gefäße passen exakt in diese Mulden. Özgüç 1969, 67 bezeichnet die Gefäße als „bronze containers“, während Derin 1994, 51 Anm. 6 sie als „urns“ anspricht. Çevik 2000, 41 sieht hier eher Beigaben für den Verstorbenen.

<sup>4</sup> Für einen kurzen forschungsgeschichtlichen Abriss siehe Seidl 2004, 7-8.

<sup>5</sup> Özgüç 1969, 72.

<sup>6</sup> Özgüç 1969, 72.

<sup>7</sup> Kuftin 1943.

<sup>8</sup> Barnett 1963. Die Belegung der Nekropole wird von Seidl 2004, 158 in das 8. Jh. v. Chr. datiert.

<sup>9</sup> Aufgrund der dicht aneinander gereihten Urnen ist es nicht ersichtlich, wie sich die Beigaben verteilen, so dass von Barnett der Begriff „Point“ statt Grab gewählt wurde (Barnett 1963, 154).

<sup>10</sup> Vergesellschaftet mit den Urnen 87-89 war ein Stempelsiegel aus Ton (Barnett 1963, 157). Dem Urnengrab von Davti Blur (Argištihinili) war ebenfalls ein tönernes Stempelsiegel beigegeben.

mit Randleisten umgebender Heftschulter versehen und gleicht somit dem Exemplar aus Habibuşağı (Typ 27B nach C. Piller).<sup>1</sup> Point 6 bestand nur noch aus einem Urnenfragment, während in Point 7 eine mit tönerner Schale abgedeckte Urne (Nr. 105) und vorhandener Asche entdeckt wurde. Neben der Urne fand sich ein weiteres Gefäß mit Speiseresten. Auch Point 8 bestand nur noch aus Scherben sowie vier eisernen Pfeilspitzen (Nr. 109). Point 9 wird aufgrund der geringen Größe der Urne (Nr. 111) als Kindergrab betrachtet.<sup>2</sup> Die beiden Urnen der Points 10 und 12 (Nr. 145 und 146) waren wie bei den anderen Points auch mit tönernen Schalen bedeckt.

Eine Besonderheit stellen die aufgefundenen Urnen der Points 11 und 13 dar. Urne Nr. 148 war rundherum komplett mit Steinen abgedeckt und von „unusual shape“<sup>3</sup>. Urne Nr. 131 war in einer Schale platziert und zusätzlich komplett mit Keramikscherben bedeckt.<sup>4</sup> Eine Miniatururne (Nr. 149) wird als Kinderbestattung angesprochen.<sup>5</sup> Innerhalb der Points 10-13 fanden sich zusätzlich zwei Knochen eines Schafs.<sup>6</sup>

#### 4.2 Armenien

Ausgrabungen in dem kleinen Dorf **Nor Areš** bei Erevan brachten 1957 drei Urnengräber zutage<sup>7</sup>, die ebenfalls durch R. D. Barnett referiert und bekannt gemacht wurden.<sup>8</sup> Er datierte die Grabgruppe in das 7. Jh. v. Chr.<sup>9</sup> während S. Salvatori das 8. Jh. v. Chr. vorschlug.<sup>10</sup> In Grab I befanden sich zwei Gefäße: die Urne gehört zur Roten Ware und war zur Stabilisierung mit kleinen Steinen fixiert. Das zweite Gefäß ist schwarz poliert und beinhaltete die Beigaben<sup>11</sup>: Fragmente bronzener Gürtelbänder, zwei Stempelsiegel, eine Fibel<sup>12</sup>, eine Speerspitze, ein mondformiges Pektore und eine Bronzescheibe sowie eine Pferdetrense.<sup>13</sup>

Grab II besteht ebenfalls aus einer durch mehrere Steine fixierte Urne, die mit einem gelblichen Tuff verschlossen gewesen ist. Fragmente bronzener Gürtelbänder sowie

<sup>1</sup> Piller 1995, 99.

<sup>2</sup> Barnett 1963, 159. Zwar wird beschrieben, dass Asche dokumentiert wurde, jedoch sind zur Zeit der Entdeckung dieser Nekropole Untersuchungen an menschlichen Überresten kaum getätigt worden.

<sup>3</sup> Barnett 1963, 161.

<sup>4</sup> Zu dieser Urne gehörten wahrscheinlich drei Armreifen mit Löwenköpfen an den Enden sowie Perlen und eine bronzene Schale.

<sup>5</sup> Barnett 1963, 161.

<sup>6</sup> Barnett 1963, 161.

<sup>7</sup> Martirosyan/Mnatsakanyan 1958. Ögün 1978b, 673 vergleicht die Gräber mit dem Befund aus Liç.

<sup>8</sup> Barnett 1963, 194-198.

<sup>9</sup> Barnett 1963, 197.

<sup>10</sup> Salvatori 1976, 78. Auch Seidl 2004, 158 datiert die Bronzen in das 8. Jh. v. Chr.

<sup>11</sup> Martirosyan/Mnatsakanyan 1958, 63.

<sup>12</sup> Barnett 1963, 194 spricht von „a fibula of unusually Greek-looking type“, während Salvatori 1976, 87 die „spring-type fibula“ mit einem Exemplar aus Grab A in Kayalidere vergleicht (siehe hierzu Burney 1966 Pl. XXVd). Nach Ögün 1979, 180 ist diese Fibel ebenso wie das Exemplar aus Kayalidere zweifelsohne urartäisch und stellt Typ U IV/2,8 dar.

<sup>13</sup> Barnett 1963, 194-197.



Scherben Roter Ware lagen um die Urne herum.<sup>1</sup> Grab III war gestört, jedoch konnten ebenfalls Bronzefragmente, Scherben Roter Ware sowie ein flacher Stein dokumentiert werden.<sup>2</sup> Laut S. Chodjaš stellt das dritte Grab eine Besonderheit dar. Das wesentlich kleiner gehaltene Urnengefäß stand auf einem Tuffstein (wahrscheinlich der erwähnte flache Stein), der eine spezielle Vertiefung für den Gefäßfuß aufwies.<sup>3</sup>

Innerhalb des Stadtgebietes von Erevan wurde 1984 während diverser Baumaßnahmen innerhalb der Autoaggregat Fabrik ein urartäisches Columbarium freigelegt (Abb. 10).<sup>4</sup> Die gesamte Grablege wird in das 8. Jh. v. Chr. datiert.<sup>5</sup> Insgesamt fünf Nischen befinden sich innerhalb der Kammer: drei in der Westwand, eine in der Südwand (alle 0,5 x 0,5 x 0,5 m) sowie eine sehr große Nische in der Ostwand (2,06 x 1,22 x 1,01 m).<sup>6</sup> Die Standfläche der Nischen befindet sich auf Höhe der zweiten Quaderlage. Sie sind somit sehr niedrig in die Wand eingelassen. In jeder der drei westlichen Nischen fand sich jeweils eine Urne sowie eine weitere in der nordöstlichen Ecke der Kammer. Die große Nische in der Ostwand enthielt keine Urne, sondern Beigaben in Form von Keramik. Die aufgefundenen Urnen bestehen aus dunkelrot polierter Ware<sup>7</sup> und sind entweder mit zwei oder drei Löchern versehen (Abb. 1). Sie beinhaltete sowohl menschliche als auch tierische Knochenreste. Leider können keine Angaben über Geschlecht oder Alter der Verstorbenen gemacht werden. Zu den aufgefundenen Beigaben zählen auch Waffen. So fanden sich ein fragmentiertes Schwert<sup>8</sup>, mehrere Dolche, Speer- und Pfeilspitzen sowie zwei Köcher und zusätzlich ein Messer. Zwei Bronzefragmente sind eventuell die Überreste eines Bogens.<sup>9</sup> Ebenso existiert Pferdegeschirr. Unter des zahlreichen weiteren Funden sind fragmentierte Gürtelbleche (sowohl mit Jagdszenen als auch geometrischen Mustern dekoriert), Steinperlen und Armreifen sowie Möbel und Geschirr.

Während der Grabungen in **Armavir** und **Davti Blur** konnte 1990 ein Grab dokumentiert werden, das zwei Urnen beinhaltete, die je zwei Löcher im Schulterbereich aufweisen. Die ca. 0,7 m unter die heutige Oberfläche eingetieften Gefäße standen

<sup>1</sup> Barnett 1963, 197.

<sup>2</sup> Barnett 1963, 197.

<sup>3</sup> Chodjaš 1980, 281.

<sup>4</sup> Esayan u.a. 1991, 34; Avetisyan 2001, 113.

<sup>5</sup> Biscione 1994, 116.

<sup>6</sup> Biscione 1994, 116.

<sup>7</sup> Biscione 1994, 116; Avetisyan 2001, 113.

<sup>8</sup> Von Biscione 1994, 121 aufgrund der drei parallelen Mittelrippen mit einem Schwert aus Karmir-Blur verglichen und als skythisch bezeichnet. Leider erlaubt hier das Fehlen des Heftes und dem Schwert aus Karmir-Blur existieren weitere Schwertfragmente (dies wird jedoch auch von Biscione angesprochen). Neben sowie erhaltenem Heft und Griff, die somit eine Einordnung als urartäisch Allgemein zu den einzelnen Schwerttypen und ihrer genauen Bestimmung siehe Piller 1995, speziell zu den dreirip-

<sup>9</sup> Biscione 1994, 124.

aufrecht und waren jeweils mit einer flachen Schale bedeckt. Während die erste Urne inklusive der Abdeckschale die typische rotpolierte Ware repräsentiert, ist die zweite Urne gröber gemagert, hat eine leicht ockerfarbene Oberfläche und war nur geringfügig poliert. Die zweite Schale hat eine braune Oberfläche.<sup>1</sup>

Als Beigaben finden sich ein pyramidales Stempelsiegel aus gebranntem Ton<sup>2</sup>, ein silberner Löffel sowie Schmuck in Form von Armreifen, zwei bronzene Ringe und einer aus Karneol und Achat zusammengesetzten Perlenkette. An allen Gegenständen konnten Rückstände der Kremation beobachtet werden.<sup>3</sup> Dies lässt den Schluss zu, dass sie vom Toten während der Leichenverbrennung am Körper getragen wurden und nicht erst im Nachhinein der Bestattung beigegeben wurden.

### 4.3 Iran

Trotz der ausführlichen Erforschung urartäischer Hinterlassenschaften auf iranischem Gebiet durch deutsche sowie italienische Archäologen sind nur wenige Hinweise für die Grabkultur der Urartäer in dieser Region erbracht. Die wenigen Monumente, die als urartäische Grabanlagen gedeutet werden, waren zum größten Teil beraubt und lassen so gut wie keine Rückschlüsse zu.<sup>4</sup>

In **Verahram** ist Mitte des 19. Jh. das erste urartäische Kammergrab (Verahram II)<sup>5</sup> bekannt geworden.<sup>6</sup> Die Anlage ist zweiräumig, die Hauptkammer mit insgesamt sieben Nischen in den Wänden versehen. In jeder Nische soll sich noch ein Gefäß befunden haben.<sup>7</sup>

Im Jahr 1905 wurde bei **Gušči** eine Steinkammer entdeckt und ausgeraubt.<sup>8</sup> B. Ögün und M. Salvini vergleichen den Ort mit Grab II in Altintepe.<sup>9</sup> Da der Fundort nur über die in den Handel gelangten Bronzen bekannt wurde, die eigentliche Grabstelle

<sup>1</sup> Karapetyan/Yengibaryan 2010, 264. Angaben zur Oberflächenbehandlung fehlen.

<sup>2</sup> Karapetyan/Yengibaryan 2010, 267 mit Vergleichsbeispielen.

<sup>3</sup> Karapetyan/Yengibaryan 2010, 265.

<sup>4</sup> Das Kammergrab II von Qal'eh Isma'il Ağa war mit drei Nischen versehen. Die Nische der Rückwand ist 70 cm breit, 60 cm tief und 70 cm hoch, die beiden Nischen der Seitenwände hingegen waren je 65 cm breit, 50 cm tief und 70 cm hoch (Kleiss/Kroll 1977, 67). Hier könnten durchaus Urnen gestanden haben, jedoch finden sich keinerlei Nachweise wie z.B. Eintiefungen.

<sup>5</sup> Hierbei handelt es sich eventuell um den Fundplatz, von dem die in der Eremitage befindlichen Alishar-Bronzen herkommen (Piotrovskii 1967, 82). Allerdings passt die alte Beschreibung der Grabkammer von Alishar nicht zu derjenigen von Verahram II (Kleiss 1971, 62). Siehe auch Seidl 2004, 6 mit einem kurzen forschungsgeschichtlichen Abriss.

<sup>6</sup> Insgesamt sind drei Anlagen in Verahram dokumentiert. Die dreiräumige Felsanlage Verahram I enthält keine Nischen und die Türen keine Umrahmungen, so dass Kleiss 1971, 62 die Definition als Grab anzweifelt. Außerhalb der Befestigungsanlage befindet sich Verahram III, das vom Aufbau an ein Schachtgrab erinnert (Kleiss/Kroll 1977, 87-88).

<sup>7</sup> Piotrovskii 1967, 84. Nach van Hulsteyn 1981, 108 wurde zusätzlich noch eine Urne mit zwei Löchern im Schulterbereich erwähnt. Auch Ögün 1978a, 647 gibt letztlich nur die Information von Piotrovskii wieder.

<sup>8</sup> Seidl/Calmeyer 1957-71, 705.

<sup>9</sup> Ögün 1978a, 648; Salvini 1995, 152. Kleiss 1968, 42 zweifelt die Datierung „urartäisch“ für Gušči an, da auch in der weiteren Umgebung keine urartäischen Hinterlassenschaften entdeckt wurden.



Körperhaftigkeit.<sup>1</sup> Weitere Belege zeigen Bestattungen, in denen die verbrannten Knochen ausgestreckt in Rückenlage niedergelegt wurden.<sup>2</sup> Auch hier ist Vorstellung von Körperlichkeit trotz Leichenverbrennung vorhanden gewesen.<sup>3</sup> Dank solchen exakten anatomischen Niederlegungen können verschiedene Erkenntnisse der Separation bzw. Vorbereitungsphase entnommen werden.

Bei einigen Fällen wird auch eine Anthropomorphisierung der Urne vermutet. Hierfür sprechen Gesichturnen sowie die Anbringung von Gewandnadeln am Schulterbereich des Gefäßes.<sup>4</sup> Eine Urne mit einem Gesicht auf der Schulter und einem Loch direkt zwischen den Augen auf der Stirn konnte in Altintepe dokumentiert werden.<sup>5</sup> Dieses Gefäß stellt zum jetzigen Forschungsstand jedoch eine Ausnahme dar.

Neben den aufgefundenen Urnen in ausgearbeiteten Nischen in Kammergräbern (Dedeli I, Columbarium von Erevan, Verahram II) sind vor allem Brandschüttungsgräber (in den Erdboden eingegrabene oder in Felsspalten niedergelegte Urnen) belegt. Vertiefungen als Standhilfen für Gefäße können sowohl Urnen als auch Beigabengefäßen (Altintepe II) gedient haben. Solche Vertiefungen existieren nicht nur in Nischen (Van VII, Kayalidere A, Ağri-Atabindi I, Palu III), sondern auch in Fußböden (Kayalidere, Şirinlikale).

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Das urartäische Reich erstreckte sich über weite Teile der Osttürkei, Armeniens und Irans. In allen Bereichen sind, wenn auch in unterschiedlicher Intensität, Grablegen erkannt, die mit der urartäischen Kultur in Verbindung gebracht werden.

Folgt man der Vermutung, dass die Urartäer ursprünglich im westlichen und südwestlichen Bereich des Urmia-Sees siedelten und in Folge des zunehmenden, militärischen Drucks aufgrund des neuassyrischen Expansionsdrangs nach Nordwesten gen Van-See zogen<sup>6</sup>, so lässt sich feststellen, dass ihnen die Sitte der Kremation

<sup>1</sup> Rebay-Salisbury 2010, 65.

<sup>2</sup> Rebay-Salisbury 2010, 66.

<sup>3</sup> Anders verhält sich dies in der Vorstellung der drei Religionen Judentum, Christentum und Islam. Sowohl das Judentum als auch der Islam verbieten die Leichenverbrennung explizit. Auch das Christentum praktizierte lange Zeit nur die Körperbestattung. Die natürliche Verwesung des Leichnams spiegelt sich in der Aussage 1 Mose 3, 19 wieder: „Du bist Erde und zu Erde sollst du werden“. Die Verbrennung von Menschen galt hingegen als Vollzug eines richterlichen Urteils. Erst im Zuge der Aufklärung im 18. Jh. n. Chr. kam die Kremation im christlich geprägten Europa als Bestattungssitte auf.

<sup>4</sup> Gramsch 2008, 347; Rebay-Salisbury 2010, 68.

<sup>5</sup> Derin 1994, 51 mit Fig. 6.6.5.

<sup>6</sup> Diese Annahme geht auf Lokalisierungsvorschläge der bislang nicht identifizierten Hauptstadt Arzaškun des frühen Herrschers Ar(r)amu/e zurück. Diese wurde lange Zeit nördlich oder nordwestlich des Vansees vermutet (so z. B. Burney/Lang 1975, 261-262). Bereits Salvini 1982, 384-396 favorisierte eine Lokalisierung westlich oder südlich des Urmia-sees. In jüngerer Zeit

wahrscheinlich erst dort bekannt wurde. Frühere Brandbestattungen sind auf dem Gebiet Irans nicht belegt.<sup>1</sup> Auf dem Gebiet des heutigen Staates Armenien ist die Brandbestattung bereits in der Mittelbronzezeit belegt und stellt nach Kushnareva in der Trialeti-Kultur die prerogative Sitte der höheren Gesellschaftsschicht dar.<sup>2</sup> In der Region Van existieren Nekropolen der Früheisenzeit, die eine Laufzeit bis in die Mitteleisenzeit hinein hatten (Dilkaya, Yoncatepe, Ernis, Karagündüz). In einigen wurde seit dem Beginn der Eisenzeit die Brandbestattung nachgewiesen.

Es wird gerne der soziale Status oder die religiöse Vorstellung als Grund herangezogen, jedoch ist dies aufgrund des archäologischen Befundes nicht nachweisbar.<sup>3</sup> Die Kremation ist sowohl für Kinder als auch Erwachsene belegt. Bei letzteren überwiegen die Männer. N. Çevik hat als möglichen Grund für Kremation vorgeschlagen, dass es einfacher sei, bei Tod in einem fremden Land (z.B. während eines Feldzuges) die Asche statt des Körpers zurück zu transportieren.<sup>4</sup> Dies erweckt den Anschein, als ob Çevik hier der o.g. These Barnetts folgt. Die archäologisch nachgewiesenen, verbrannten Leichen müssten dann erwachsene Männer bzw. Krieger sein. N. Çeviks Vorschlag erklärt nicht den hohen Anteil an Kindern, für die ganz offensichtlich ebenso die Kremation in Frage kam, obwohl gerade in Point 1 in İğdır die verstorbenen Kinder inhumiert wurden. Wichtige Übergangsriten sind bei einem langen zeitlichen Abstand zwischen Eintritt des Todes und Bestattung ebenfalls nicht gewährleistet. Dass dies eine tatsächliche Katastrophe ist, zeigt eindrucksvoll der Tod des neuassyrischen Königs Sargon II.<sup>5</sup> Hier kommt das Problem hinzu, dass nicht einmal der Leichnam geborgen werden konnte, um ihn mit den entsprechenden Riten auf das Leben im Jenseits vorbereiten zu können.

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hat Piller (im Druck, 441-454) über die Realienkunde versucht, eine Verbindung zwischen den Darstellungen nordwestiranischer und urartäischer Krieger des 9. Jh. v. Chr. herzustellen und sieht aufgrund seiner Ergebnisse das Gebiet westlich Urmia-sees als ursprüngliches Kerngebiet Urartus an.

<sup>1</sup> Der o.g. Beleg aus Tschoga Zanbil wird hier nicht berücksichtigt, da es sich hierbei um eine gänzlich andere Region in Iran handelt.

<sup>2</sup> Kushnareva 1997, 232.

<sup>3</sup> So auch in Kroll u.a. im Druck, 38.

<sup>4</sup> Çevik 2000, 41.

<sup>5</sup> Die bekannten Belege zeichnen ein assyrisches Trauma. Nicht nur, dass das assyrische Heer eine verheerende Niederlage erlitten hat; es starb der König Sargon II. in Feindesland und zusätzlich wurde dessen Leichnam vom feindlichen Stamm der „Kulummaer“ aus dem assyrischen Feldlager entführt (Frahm 1999, 76).

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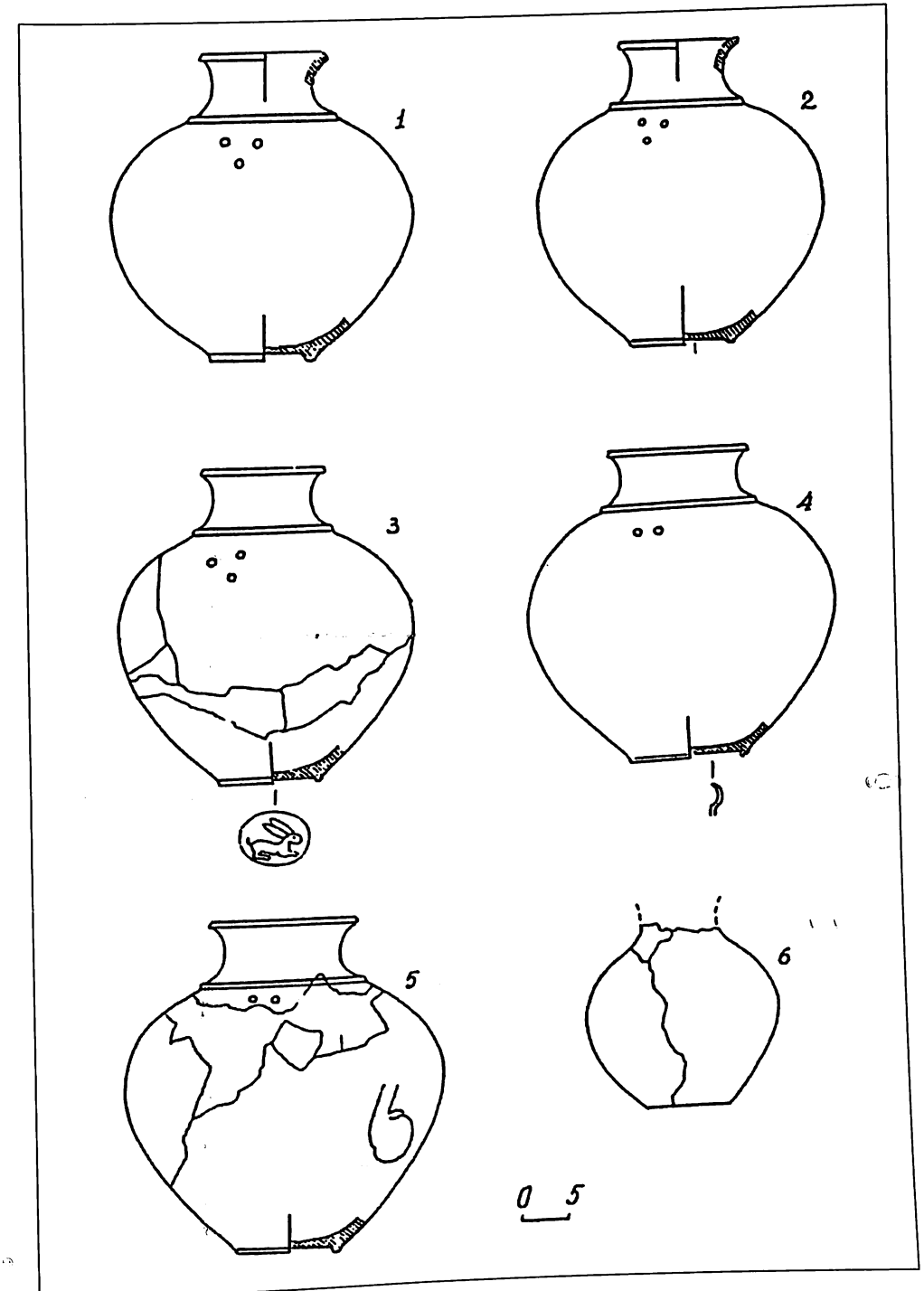


Abb. 1.



Abb. 2.

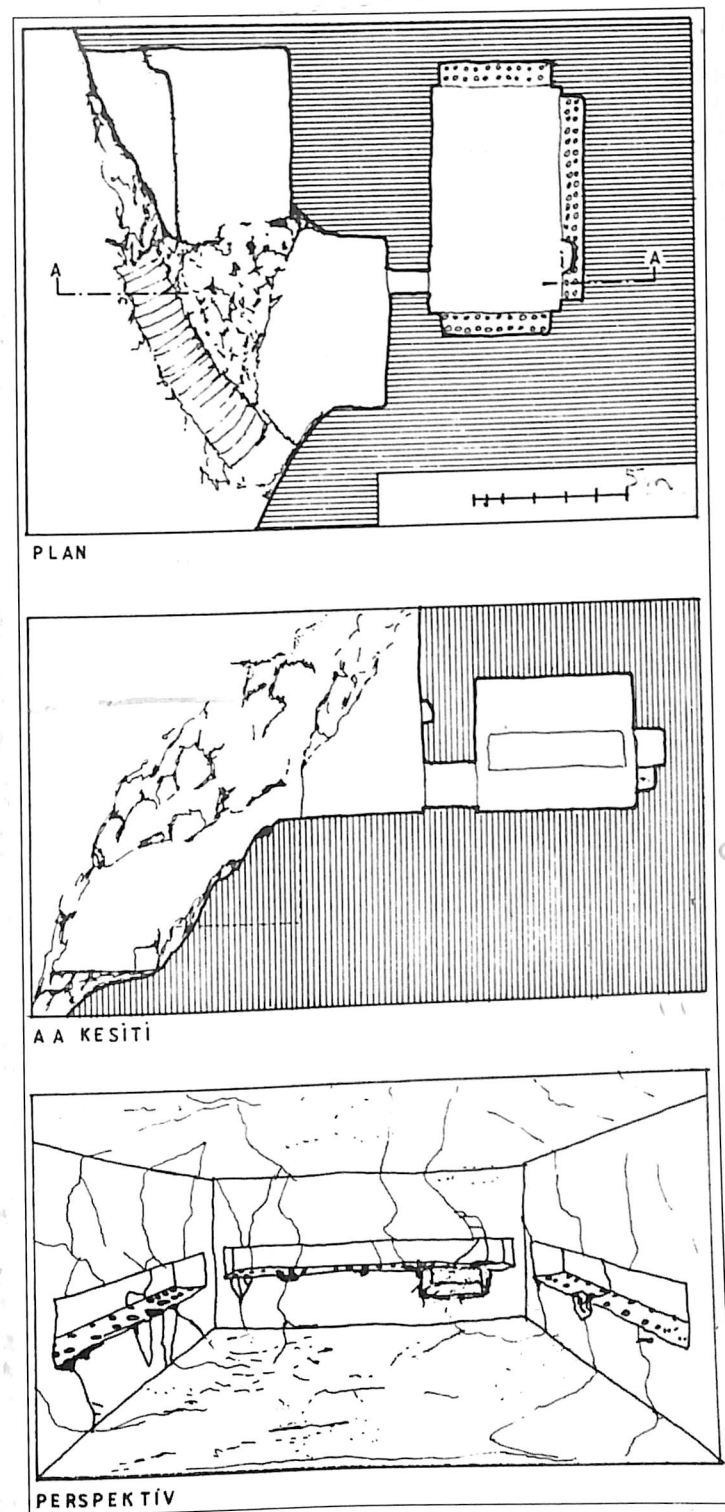


Abb. 3.

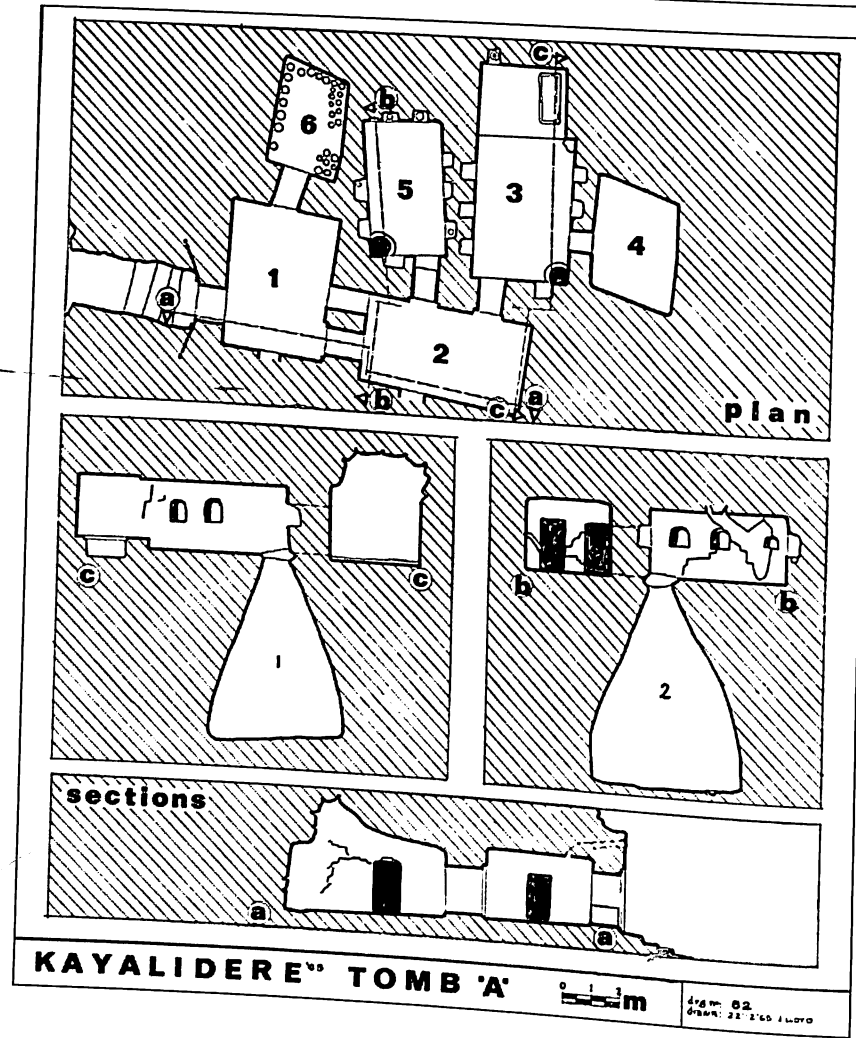


Abb. 4.

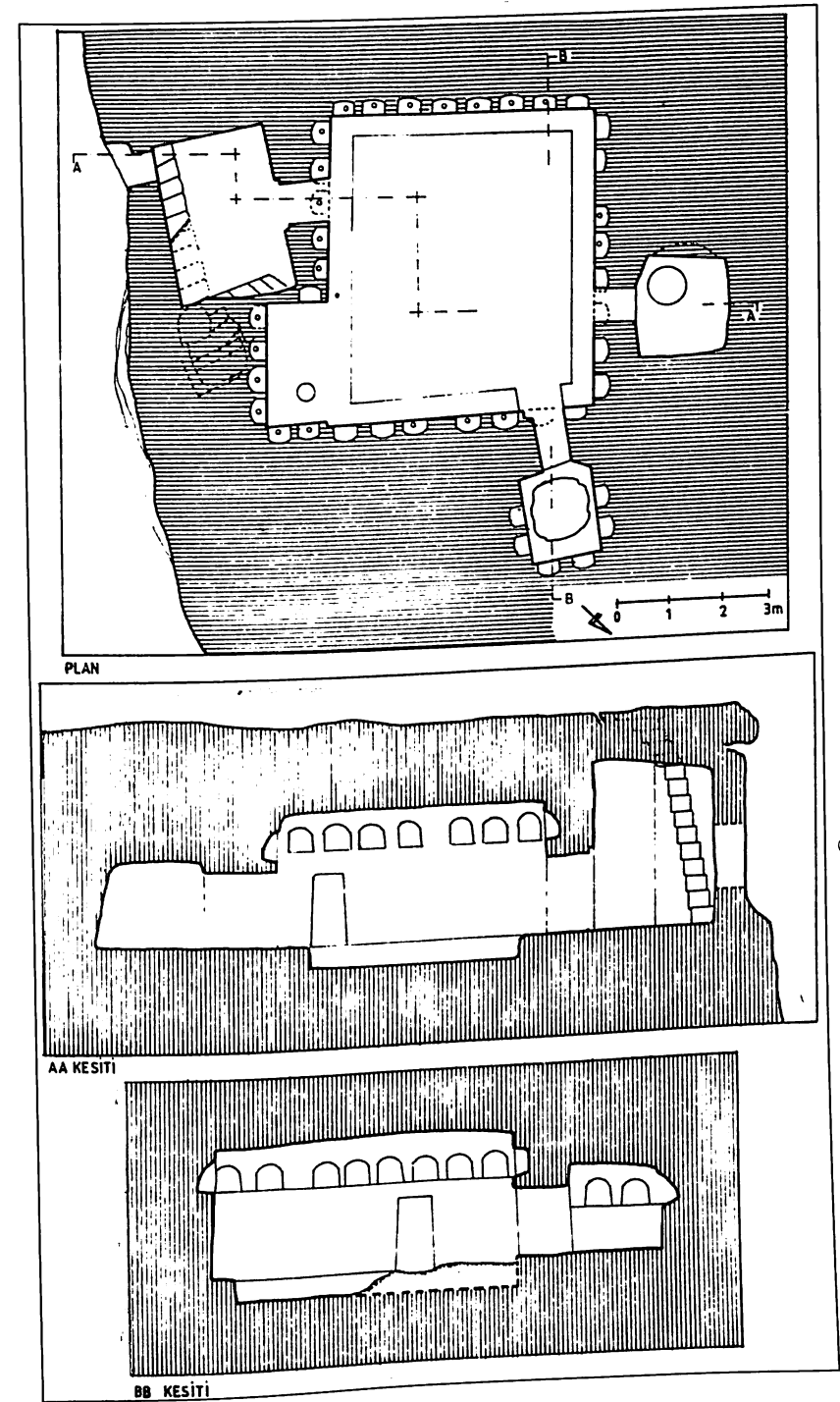


Abb. 5.



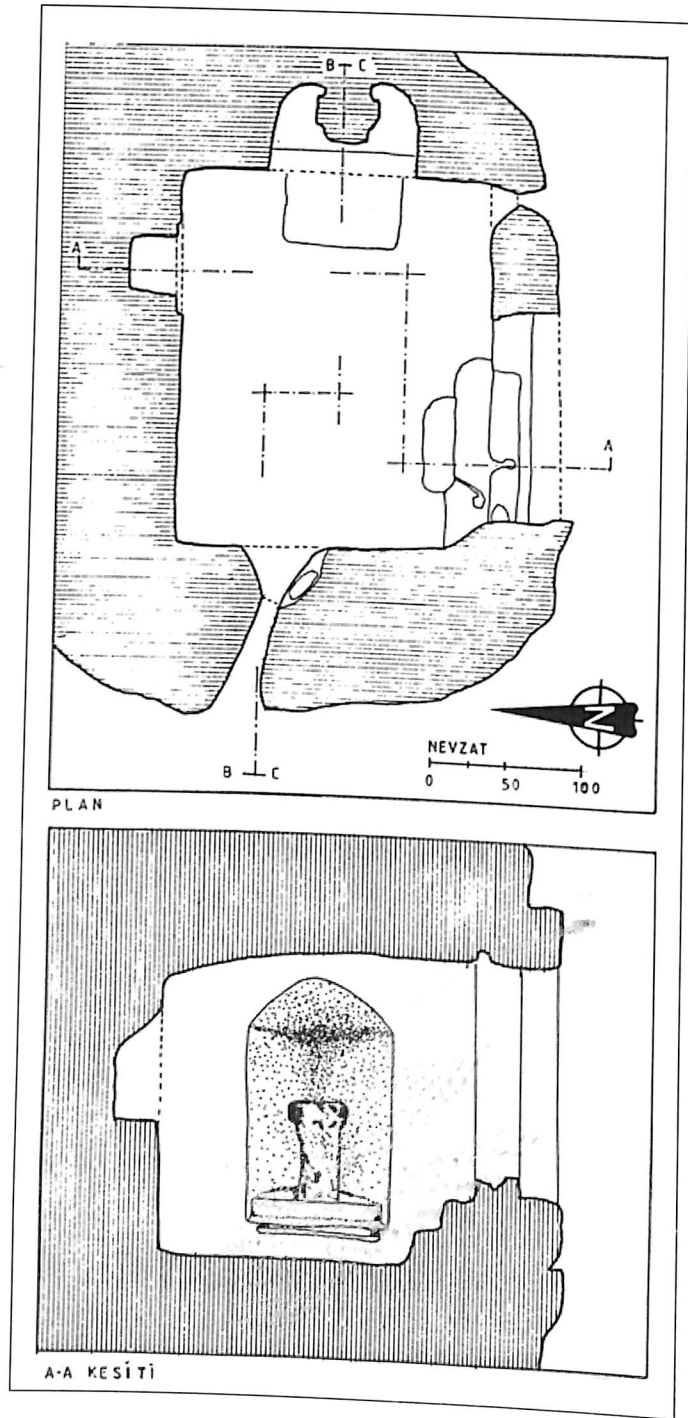


Abb. 6.



Abb. 7.



Abb. 8.

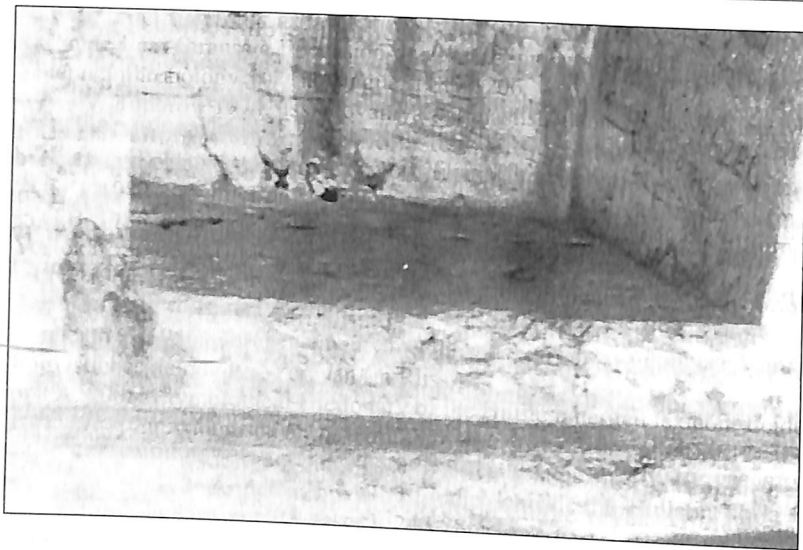


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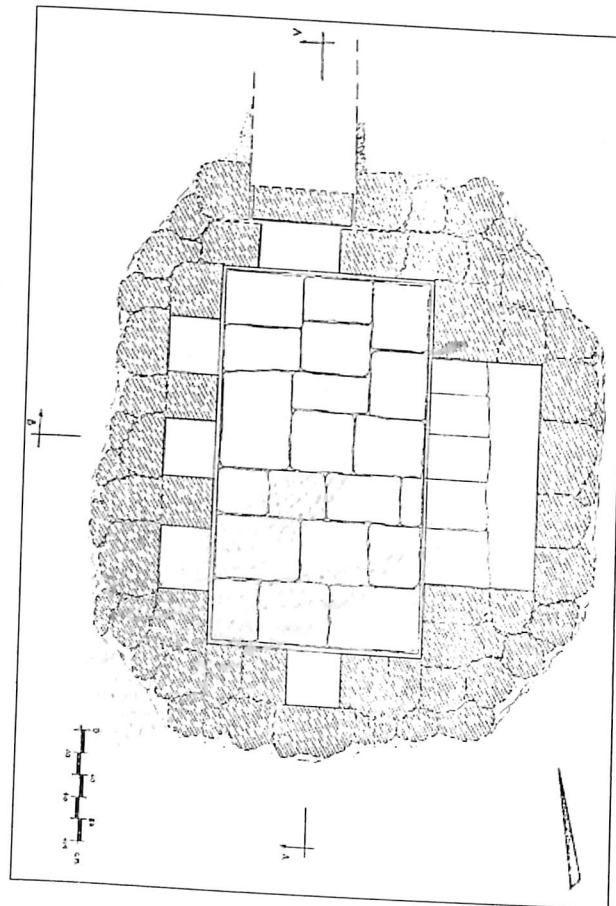


Abb. 10.

## ON THE *KAPI*- MEASUREMENT IN ANCIENT NEAR-EASTERN LANGUAGES

Tork Dalalyan

In Urartian cuneiform texts a word *ka-pi-(e)* is repeatedly used on 33 known inscriptions in the meaning of 'a measure of cereals'.<sup>1</sup> It is once mentioned in a short inscription of Menua (810-786 BCE), many times in the inscriptions of Menua's son, Argišti I (786-764 BCE) and those of Sarduri II (764-735 BCE), son of Argišti I, as well as twice on two similar inscriptions of Rusa III (625-589 BCE), son of Erimena. Finally, once more use of *kapi-* (?) is attested on a complicated inscription of unknown king (?) found in 1957 in Karmir-blur, on the south-west suburb of Yerevan.<sup>2</sup>

Several times 'kapi' is mentioned in the south-eastern and northern regions of the Van Lake in the context of construction of buildings named 'ari. Thus, first the word *ka-pi* is attested on a short inscription of Menua on the Horhor niche of the Van Rock.<sup>3</sup> The second time it is used in an inscription on a building stone which has been found in the church St. Astvacacin of Haynkuysner / Engusner monastery (near Van city), and now is lost<sup>4</sup>. Almost the same text is repeated on an inscription from the north of Van Lake, Aznavur-tepe<sup>5</sup> (between towns Manazkert and Ardjesh). This is the only inscription where the word in consideration figures in the form *kapie-*, so one may suggest about dialectal variation of *kapi-/kape-* existing in Urartian epoch.

<sup>1</sup> See in the indexes of König 1955-1957, II: 190; Melikišvili 1960: 399; Arutjunjan 2001: 451; Salvini 2008, II: 132. From now on, the references to the Urartian corpuses are given in the case when some new information is present in them.

<sup>2</sup> Arutjunjan 2001: 393-394, No. 520. However, D'jakonov 1963: 36, 71 No. 7 here reads *ka-pi-tú-né* (*kapitu[ne]*), so Salvini 2008, II: 132 does not include this inscription in the cases of mentioning of *kapi-*.

<sup>3</sup> Salvini 1973: 279-280, com. 4, Abb. 1; with some corrections: Arutjunjan 2001: 136-137, No. 139; Salvini 2008, I: 248, No. A 5-66, III: 173.

<sup>4</sup> Lehmann 1904: 819-820; Salvini 2008, I: 360, No. A 8-27, III: 239.

<sup>5</sup> Balkan 1960: 123-124, 130, No. 4; Salvini 2008, I: 361-362, No. A 8-29, III: 242 (Erzurum Museum, inv. 23-79). Three similar inscriptions of Argišti I of unknown provenance are displayed in Ankara and Erzurum: two of them at the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations (inv. 24-3-79), and one at the Erzurum Museum [Salvini 2008, I: 362-363, No. A 8-31, III: 243; A 8-32; A 8-32a, III: 244]. In the last museum there is also a damaged inscription from Pirabat with a similar text mentioning 'kapi' in the last line [Payne 1996: 417, fig. 2, Pirabat III; Salvini 2008, I: 364, No. A 8-34, III: 245].

There are also many attestations of 'kapi' in the Ararat valley, such as on five identical inscriptions<sup>1</sup> of Argišti I, discovered in Yerevan, on the territory of Urartian fortress Erebuni/Irbuni (Arin-berd) in 1879 and during the excavations of 1959-1968<sup>2</sup>. On another inscription on a basalt building stone (not in situ) of the same king, found in 1983 in Argištiḫinili (Armavir), on the hill named Davti-blur<sup>3</sup>, this word is attested not only in the context of construction of 'ari, but also a kind of other building (a-ši-ḫu-si), the meaning of which has not yet been definitively determined.<sup>4</sup>

Further, the word in consideration is used with the ideogram meaning 'barley', in the Annals of Sarduri II, son of Argišti I, carved on the western niche of Van Rock. Here 'kapi' is attested in the tenth line of an inscription on southern wall<sup>5</sup>: 122 133 kapi ŠE.PAD<sup>MEŠ</sup>. In another inscription of Sarduri II on a round-shape stone-slab found in Patnoc' (north of the Van Lake) church, 'kapi' is again mentioned in regard with construction of 'ari<sup>6</sup>. Almost the same text is repeated in a better-preserved form in two other places: on a building stone found in Aznavur-tepe, 2 kilometers north-west from Patnoc'<sup>7</sup> and on a stone found in the ruins of Urartian fortress in Astvacāšen village, 50 km on the south-east from Van<sup>8</sup>. Then, eight, almost identical inscriptions have been found in Çavuştepe, seven of which are being preserved at the Museum of Van.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Salvini 2008, I: 360, No. A 8-28(A-E), III: 240-242.

<sup>2</sup> König 1955-1957, II: 110, No. 96, Tafel 71; Melikišvili 1960: 264, No. 139; 452, No. 12; 1971: 245, No. No. 399, 400 (just mentioning the inscription, without text); Arutjunjan, Oganješjan 1970: 107, No. 2, ris. 2; Israyelyan 1971: 166, No. No. 8-11; Arutjunjan 2001: 215-216, No. No. 207-211. Only the first inscription which is being preserved in the State History Museum of Moscow (inv. GIM 47733 B 962/14a) is slightly damaged [Israyelyan 1971: 164-165, No. 8 (here is also the list of all publications of this inscription)]. The other 4 inscriptions are being preserved in the State History Museum of Armenia, Museum of the History of Yerevan City and the Erebuni Museum of Yerevan.

<sup>3</sup> In the pit No. 7, see T'orosyan, Hmayakyan 1984: 164-167; Arutjunjan 2001: 208-209, No. 192; Salvini 2008, I: 362, No. A 8-30, III: 243 (State History Museum of Armenia).

<sup>4</sup> On the etymology of the word <sup>ē</sup>ašihusi see König 1955-1957, II: 175.

<sup>5</sup> König 1955-1957, II: 119, No. 103A III, Tafel 81; Melikišvili 1960: 288, No. 155 G; Arutjunjan 2001: 246-247, No. 241 G; Salvini 2008, I: 430, No. A 9-3 VII, III: 257-258 (except of M. Salvini, the first three researchers read 1 022 133 kapi). This large inscription is carved on the niche named Hazine-kapusi of the Van Rock.

<sup>6</sup> Arutjunjan 2001: 265-266, No. 251; Salvini 2008, I: 447, No. A 9-25, III: 283. This inscription is lost together with the church.

<sup>7</sup> Balkan 1960: 124, No. 5, 131; Salvini 2008, I: 447, No. A 9-26, III: 284 (Ankara, Museum of Anatolian Civilizations).

<sup>8</sup> Arutjunjan 2001: 266, No. 253; Salvini 2008, I: 450, No. A 9-35, III: 288, being preserved in Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin. The only difference in the last two inscriptions is that these 'ari-s are respectively of 17 020 and 15 xxx kapi.

<sup>9</sup> Dinçol 1987: 96 No. 1, 97 No. 2, 98 No. 3, 99 No. 4, 99-100 No. 5, 100-101 No. 6, 101-102 No. 7; Salvini 2008, I: 448-450, No. A 9 (27-34), III: 284-288.

Four identical inscriptions of Sarduri II were found also from Arin-berd in 1967<sup>1</sup>. In the third one the last, fourth line is absent and therefore there is no word *kapi* while in the fourth one there are two additional lines at the beginning of the inscription: (1) <sup>ē</sup>Haldinin[i] (2) <sup>ē</sup>alsuišini. Taking into account the presence of an empty line at the end of the inscription, N. Harutyunyan assumes that it has been a sort of blank to complete. Incidentally, in one inscription from Pirabat we have the same phenomenon: two last lines are left empty for further filling-in.<sup>2</sup> Besides all of this, one enough large inscription of the same king was found in Armavir in 1988, where he spoke about the construction of two 'ari-s.<sup>3</sup>

And finally, the word *kapi* is attested twice on two similar inscriptions of Rusa III: one damaged inscription on a building stone found in the 19th c. from Armavir (where only the first syllable of *kapi* is preserved), and the other well-preserved inscription again on a building stone found from Arin-berd.<sup>4</sup>

As one can notice, the *kapi* unit is generally mentioned in the inscriptions belonging to the structure referred to in Urartian as 'ari.<sup>5</sup> From this and other additional facts it has been assumed that the 'ari is a granary.<sup>6</sup> The absence of reference to the *kapi* measurement on storage jars suggests that the grain was stored in the room either loose or in sacks. The absence of storage jars in the rooms at Çavuştepe (Haykaber) where these inscriptions were found apparently in-situ, supports this theory.<sup>7</sup> Lack of direct evidence for the size of a *kapi* unit has allowed for various suggestions to be made.<sup>8</sup>

No parallel of Urartian word *kapi-* is present in Hurrian, so one can assume that it is not a common Hurrian-Urartian form. Maybe for this reason, concerning the etymology of Urart. *kapi-* (\**kapə*) I. Diakonoff considers it to be borrowed from Hittite *kappi-*

<sup>1</sup> Salvini 1969: 9, I, 11, II, 12, III, Tav. II a-c; Salvini 2008, I: 445-447, No. A 9-22(A-B), 9-23, 9-24, III: 281-283 (the first inscription is being preserved in Sardarapat Museum, while the others in Erebuni Museum).

<sup>2</sup> Payne 1996: 416, Pirabat II; Salvini 2008, I: 363-364, No. A 8-33, III: 244.

<sup>3</sup> Amajakjan 1999: 270; Arutjunjan 2001: 281-282, No. 278a; Salvini 2008, I: 443-444, No. A 9-19, III: 279.

<sup>4</sup> Arutjunjan 2001: 373-374, No. No. 443-444; Salvini 2008, I: 629-630, No. A 14 (5-6), III: 381-382. The first inscription is being preserved in State History Museum of Armenia, the second one in the Erebuni Museum.

<sup>5</sup> In one of the above-mentioned inscriptions this measure is written with the Sumerogram BANEŠ (found from Armavir in 1988). There is another inscription of Sarduri II (found from Arin-berd in 1967) where the use of BANEŠ is again supposed to be the synonym of *kapi* [Salvini 1969: 13, No. 4, 20; Arutjunjan, Oganješjan 1970: 110, com. 6; Arutjunjan 2001: 268-269, No. 265; Salvini 2008, I: 444-445, No. A 9-20, II: 280]: (1) <sup>ē</sup>Haldinini (2) <sup>ē</sup>alsuišini (3) <sup>ē</sup>Sarduriše (4) <sup>ē</sup>Argištiḫiniše (5) <sup>ē</sup>ini <sup>ē</sup>ašihusi (6) <sup>ē</sup>zaduni e'a inili (7) 'arili šū'ali (8) <sup>ē</sup>andani DUB-tinie (9) 10 LIM <sup>ē</sup>Argištiḫiniše (5) <sup>ē</sup>ini <sup>ē</sup>ašihusi (6) <sup>ē</sup>zaduni e'a inili (7) 'arili šū'ali (8) <sup>ē</sup>andani DUB-tinie (9) 10 LIM 1 LIM 5 ME BANEŠ <sup>ē</sup>ištini 2 LIM 6 ME 84 BANEŠ <sup>ē</sup>ištini (10) <sup>ē</sup>salmatḫi DUB-tinie (11) 10 LIM 1 LIM 5 ME BANEŠ <sup>ē</sup>ištini (12) PAP 20 LIM 4 LIM 1 ME BANEŠ <sup>ē</sup>ištini (13) <sup>ē</sup>Sardurini (14) <sup>ē</sup>Argištiḫi (15) MAN DAN-NU MAN <sup>KUR</sup>Biainae (16) <sup>URU</sup>alusi <sup>URU</sup>Tušpa URU.

<sup>6</sup> Melikišvili 1951: 25-26.

<sup>7</sup> Payne 2005: 86.

<sup>8</sup> See Salvini 1969: 20; Zimansky 1985: 120, com. 157; Payne 2005: 86.

'bowl': this point of view has been admitted also in some further researches.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, they bring some other historical-cultural factors as confirmation to such an etymology.<sup>2</sup> G. Wilhelm, however, is sceptic in regard to the foreign loans in Urartian: he writes that only one word has been claimed as a loan from Akkadian – *kubuša* 'helmet'. According to him, even this, however, is questionable, since Akkad. *kubšu* is not a piece of military equipment but a headdress or cap, often made of wool and used by gods, kings, and high officials.<sup>3</sup> Taking into consideration these data, one can infer that we have some kind of cultural or substratum words in ancient Near-Eastern languages, just as in the case of Akkad. *kappu*, Urart. *kapile-* and Hit. *kappi-*.

In Hittite texts the word *kappi-* 'bowl' is attested several times, which has been supposed to be borrowed from Akkadian *kappu(m)* 'id.'.<sup>4</sup> Hittite form could theoretically enter Urartian in the form of *kapi* 'measure of cereals' (cf. *kūtu* / *kuttu* / *kutū* 'a container of clay or metal, rarely wood' in Akkadian, and *kot* 'bowl', 'measure of cereals' in Armenian). Urart. *kapi-* because of its ending vowel could be rather a Hittite than Akkadian loan.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, the present level of our knowledge concerning the loan-words in Urartian does not allow to conclude that the word in consideration has been borrowed from Akkadian or Hittite, so it is more probable to support the hypothesis of a common cultural strata in these ancient languages.

In Armenian we have the forms *kapič* / *kapēč*,<sup>6</sup> which are perfectly reflect the Urartian two forms: *kapi* (*ka-pi*) and *kape* (*ka-pi-e*) (the last form is attested once in the above-mentioned inscription from Aznavur-tepe). These Armenian forms could have been developed from Urartian with a suffix *-ič* / *-ēč* (*\*kapi-ič* and *\*kape-ēč*), which formed words either from Indo-European roots (*utič*, *luič*, *darnič*, *buēč*) or from substratum words and borrowings (*xarnič*, *čahič/čaxič*, *patič*).<sup>7</sup> There exists only three words in Armenian which are formed with the suffix *-ič* and are borrowed from Iranian

<sup>1</sup> Diakonoff 1971: 60, 81; Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1984, II: 897; Xačikjan 1985: 31; Kossian 1997: 30.

<sup>2</sup> Kossian 1997: 27-28.

<sup>3</sup> Wilhelm 2004: 136.

<sup>4</sup> Puhvel 1997: 63. This word has many attestations [AD, 8: 188-189], Akkad. *\*kappu* 'a shallow bowl' is mentioned, for example, in a marriage conveyance: '2 GIŠ kap-pe ša KÚ 1 GIŠ šá KAR' [Postgate 1976: 103-106, No. 1435, 194]. The first meaning of this word is given as 'hand, palm of hand', the second meaning: '(small) bowl' of wood, gold, silver [Black, George, Postgate 2000: 147].

<sup>5</sup> Being based on the meaning of *kapi* as a 'measure of cereals' and the meaning of 'ari as 'granary', the verb *šú(u)-* in the repeatedly used phrase 'ini' ari šúuni' is usually translated as 'to arrange, establish' or 'to fill' [Melikišvili 1951: 24, com. 4 (устраивать, создавать 'to arrange, establish'); Diakonoff 1963: 91 (насыпать? 'to fill')]. In the case of the meaning 'to fill' the form *šú(u)-* could also be compared with an Anatolian parallel: Hittite and Luwian *šuwa-* / *suwa-* 'to fill' which is in all probability the source for Urartian word [Kossian 1997: 29-30]. According to A. Kossian, Urartian could have been borrowed from Hieroglyphic Luwian: in Karatepe bilingual the word *šu-*: *šuwa-* is attested with the word meaning 'granary,' as in Urartian.

<sup>6</sup> The second form is attested in Mush and Nakhidjevan dialects with the meaning of 'hay of grass and wheat' [Amatuni 1912: 91, 330].

<sup>7</sup> Jahukyan 1987: 355.

(*dahič*, *dahlič* and *dargič*).<sup>1</sup> Thus, in spite of its Iranian origin, the suffix *-ič* has been independently used in Armenian and formed new words.

In Iranian languages we have the parallel of Urart. *kapi* and Arm. *kapič* which also means 'a measure of cereals': MPers. *kapič*, Pers. *kaviž/z*, Sogd. *kpč*, Talysh *kavəž*, Pamir.Oroshor. *kāfč*. Taking into consideration the fact that they all should have been derived from Old Persian (cf. OPers. *\*kapič/θ-* > Greek *καπιθη* 'a measure of cereals' [Xenophon, Anab., I, 5, 6-7]), the last form in turn could be directly borrowed from Urartian southern form (*kapi-*) by adding the Iranian suffix *-ič*.<sup>2</sup>

As to the Ossetic *k'abici* 'a measure of cereals' it is obviously borrowed from Armenian<sup>3</sup> since the mentioned Iranian forms might have been regularly reflected in Ossetic in the form *\*kævij* if the Ossetic parallel were a native Iranian word.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile Armenian unvoiced stop /k/ would regularly give in Ossetic glottalic consonant /k'/ and analogically Arm. /č/ would give Os. /c'/ or /c/. Thus, the Kartvelian synonyms – Georg. *k'abici*, Laz *k'apic* 'i' 'mesure of cereals' could be originated through Ossetic because of their /c/ and /c'/ instead of expected /č/ or /č'/ (in the case if the word in Georgian and in Laz were borrowed directly from Armenian or Middle Persian). Incidentally, in Armenian dialect of Hamshen we have also the form *kapic* 'a measure of cereals of 2 kilos' borrowed in all probability from Laz, cf. also Arm. *kapčak* '1/10 of the corn which is given to the miller for milling it' < OArm. *\*kapič-ak* in the same Hamshen dialect [Ačaryan 1913: 551; Ačaryan 1971-1979, v. II: 525].

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<sup>1</sup> Jahukyan 1987: 522-523; Gippert 1993, I: 52-58.

<sup>2</sup> On this suffix see Gippert 1993, I: 54-55. The old form of *kapič* is considered to be Iran. *\*kapika* [Bogoljubov 1958: 107]. On the subject of "Urarto-Iranica" see Kleiss 2008. G. Djahukian thinks both Armenian and Urartian forms to be borrowed from Iranian [Jahukyan 1987: 434, 528], which is unlikely because in Urartian cuneiform we have a more archaic form of this word than in Iranian. Further Dhajukian doubts in the Iranian origin of Arm. *kapič* and adds an interrogation sign to this (?) while he considers *dahlič* and *dargič* as undoubted Iranian loans [Jahukyan 1987: 569]. Traditionally, the Iranian forms have been considered as sources for the synonyms existing in Armenian, Syriac, Arabic and other languages [Hübschmann 1897: 165].

<sup>3</sup> About the Armenian borrowings in Ossetic related to the city life, trade and handicraft see in Dalalyan 2011. There is another version of the same word in the Iron dialect of Ossetic – *k'æbic* 'pantry, larder'.

<sup>4</sup> Benveniste 1959: 16.

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# NEWLY-FOUND GRAFFITI OF THE CAPITAL CITY OF ARMENIA ARTASHAT

Zhores Khachatryan

The archaeological expedition of Artashat, the capital city of Armenia, continued its work on the hill located 70 km away from the Araxes River. The expedition was carried out in September - October 2010 within the southern part of the public bath and "treasury" of the pagan temple. The excavation area was flooded because of rain and flooding of the Araxes (Fig. 1, Tab. IV/1).

The work was carried out in the big room - "the treasury" - comprising the western part of the public bath (10 x 12 m [interior], 16.60 x 12.40 m [exterior], with wall measurements of 2 - 2.05 m). Additionally, the structures opened in previous years were cleaned of muddy sediment (15 - 20 cm).

After removing the sterile top layers of soil and deepening the "treasury" to about 3 - 3.6 m, walls of a building were unearthed. These walls were built of regular and small broken stones with clay mortar (length 1.12 m, width 1 m, height 50 cm). The exterior eastern, southern, and western walls of the "treasury" were opened and were found to be on a stylobate. These walls and especially the corners were built of limestone and massive tuff stones with smoothed flat surfaces (length 1-1.60 m, height 50 cm). While reconstructing the ruined structure, the collapsed stones were put back so that the wall retained its flat surface.

In the masonry of the western wall, there were fluted columns with Ionian capitals (Tab. IV/2).<sup>1</sup>

On the uneven surface of two stones of the southern wall of the "treasury," there were Greek inscriptions (Tab. IV/3-4). Both inscriptions were on the stones of the stylobate (Tab. IV/5-6). On the surface of the tuff and limestone stones of the wall, the Greek letters H and HN were inscribed (Tab. V/1-2). The Greek words are illegible. Although the letters are Greek, the words are not Greek, and so it is evident that these names belong to people of another ethnicity.

The opening of the exterior entrance to the dressing room of the public bath (room V, 7.7 x 3.7 m) is in the southern side (Tab. V/3). Four small windows were opened in the western wall (width 12 cm, height 21 cm), two of which are in niches. There are decorative images informally carved as graffiti on the plaster of the inner southern wall. The images are carved at a height of 25 cm from the floor (Tab. V/4). They were created by a sharp tool, probably iron.

<sup>1</sup> Khachatryan 2010: 29ff.

While building the second layer of plaster, small hollows were hammered into it to attach it to the first layer of plaster, that is why many images were damaged. The height of the preserved image surface on the right (western) wall of the entrance is 130 cm, the width is 106 cm (Tab. V/6). The height of the same surface of the pillar is 165 cm; the width is 91 cm (Tab. V/4). Only a small part is preserved on the eastern wall of the entrance.

Three bows and four grids with two rows of squares below bows are preserved on the left side of the aperture of the entrance (Tab. V/1). The archers are not visible.

This type of folk art, graffiti, was known in the ancient world since old times. A large amount of graffiti was found in the Graeco-Roman sites of Herculaneum and Pompeii, in Greek cities on the northern shores of the Black Sea,<sup>1</sup> Scythian Neapolis<sup>2</sup> and in other places.

In the Armenian Highland, graffiti was introduced in the 5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> millennia B.C. (petroglyphs, etc.) and continued until our days. During the Hellenistic and Late Antique periods, it was widely used.

Greek inscriptions were found in Armavir (2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.), Garni (1<sup>st</sup> century A.D.), Aparan (3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D.), Tigranakert (4<sup>th</sup> century A.D.) and other ancient sites. The boundary stones of Artashes I with Aramaic inscriptions were discovered in different regions of the Republic of Armenia. Greek, Latin and Aramaic words were found carved on the plastered wall surfaces of the dwellings of the hill VIII at Artashat (1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries A.D.).

There are also external inscriptions carved by the same means on the Artashat lapis lazuli plate and on the lower part of the rim of a silver cup from Sisian. Greek and Latin words and characters are carved on clay vessels and figurines found in Artashat and Garni (1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. - 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D.).

In the picture series at the entrance of the public bath, in the left panel-painting there is a depiction of standing men and equestrians. The images are multidimensional. The condition of preservation often hinders correct perception of the picture. These are painted in a free manner, in a natural style, by different persons. The measurements and proportions are distorted. In one case, these are big, in other case, they are small. Sometimes the images are roughly done, where the picture is unfinished or the details are not shown. Sometimes the figures are represented expressively and are relatively detailed.

People are depicted *en face* with wide opened legs (Fig. 3: 9, 13, 14, 17, 18, Tab. VI/2). The body grows triangularly larger from the narrow back to the shoulders and from the thighs down. The tunic is down to the knees, and tight trousers cover the whole leg. The tunic and trousers are decorated with rhomboids (Fig. 3: 9). The same decoration is in the picture of a man's suit (Fig 3: 14). The trousers with that kind of decorations are known from the decoration of objects from the Amudaria treasure.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tolstoj 1959.

<sup>2</sup> Dashevskaya 1962: 176ff.

<sup>3</sup> Gorelik 1985: 35ff., Tab. IV/2, V/4.

It can be supposed by the preserved laces that the shoes of the persons from Tab. VI/1-2 are leather shoes. There are swords hanging from the belts of men (from right to left), who hold their left hands on the handles.

It is interesting to note the different hairstyles of the standing figures. There is one preserved head of a man wearing a high conical hat with a vertical line in the center. Thick braids are tied at the top of the heads of the people. They have straight and slanting hair styles. The hair sometimes is represented by dots.

In one of the images in Susa, the hairstyle of Kvasaki, satrap of Susa (215 A.D.), is also done by means of dots.<sup>1</sup> In comparison to the lush hair of the people at the ancient site of Artashat, their faces are small (Fig. 3: 13, 14, 16, 17; II.3, 14). The graffiti images from Artashat have parallels in the hairstyle and cloak with rhomboid decorations of the Parthian god on the bas relief from Dura-Europos.<sup>2</sup> The male figurines from Surkh-Kotali (2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D.) are interesting for their wide open legs and triangularly-shaped lower bodies. The loose trousers here are buckled at the foot<sup>3</sup> and differ from the trousers of the men from graffiti of Artashat.

The sculpture of a king from Hatra (2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C., Mosul museum) has a short cloak with rhomboid decorations as well as wide trousers with pleats down to the feet. The shoe is of soft leather.<sup>4</sup> In a parallel from Ashur, there is an image of a priest standing near an altar, performing an offering. He is pictured from the front, with a narrow torso and a triangular-shaped garment hangs down to his knees. He wears a head-dress similar to those in the images from Artashat, although his trousers are different.<sup>5</sup> A Parthian crown prince pictured on the cliff at Bisutun wears a similar kind of loose trouser with vertical pleats. He also stands near an altar, making a sacrifice (1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D.).<sup>6</sup>

According to written sources, the Armenian traditional costume was a long cloak down to the feet and with a belt under the chest.<sup>7</sup> It is notable that long and short garments are seen in Urartian costume. The figures in some Urartian frescoes wore long trousers.<sup>8</sup>

In the Achaemenid period, there were also cloaks that hung down to the figures' heels and shirts that extended to the knees,<sup>9</sup> in traditional costumes of the various peoples.<sup>10</sup> The Armenians are pictured with garments down to their knees

<sup>1</sup> Ghirshman 1962: Fig. 70, Shlombergzhe 1985, Fig. 131.

<sup>2</sup> Rostovtzeff 2010, Fig. 31.

<sup>3</sup> Shlombergzhe 1985: 63ff., Fig. 56.

<sup>4</sup> Ghirshman 1962, Fig. 100.

<sup>5</sup> Ghirshman 1962, Fig. 60.

<sup>6</sup> Ghirshman 1962, Fig. 66; Koshelenko 1966, Fig. on p. 39.

<sup>7</sup> Bongard-Levin 1988, Figs. 16-17, 39-40, 91c, 98a-c; Ardzinba 1982, Fig. 5-7, 10.

<sup>8</sup> Yesayan, Hmayakyan 1980: 206, Pl. I-II, Fig. 2-3, 5, p. 206, 208, Pl. III, Fig. 2, 4, 6 etc.; Piotrovskij 1962, Figs. 7-8, 10, 44, 46-50.

<sup>9</sup> Brandt 1968, Fig. 251, 276, 279, 281, 294 (dated to the V c. B.C.); Nikulina 1969: 160ff., Tab. I/27, II/6-7, 9, III/3.

<sup>10</sup> Gorelik 1985: 36ff., Tab. I-VI.

and narrow trousers down to their heels in the bas relief of tributaries in Persepolis.<sup>1</sup>

In this case, the silver rhyton from Erebuni (first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.), which has an image of a horseman, seems to be important.<sup>2</sup> The splendid tunic hangs down to rider's knees, and the trousers extend down to his heels; both are decorated by rhomboid ornaments that look like the ornaments on the trousers of the men from the Artashat graffiti (Fig. 2, Tab. VI/4). The long cloaks, the shirts down to the knees and the narrow trousers are analogous to the costumes of clay figurines of Mithras mounted on a horse and of a warrior, which were found in Artashat and other sites of Armenia (1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D.).<sup>3</sup>

So, the comparative analysis of Armenian dress from the Hellenistic and Late Antique periods with the costumes of neighboring countries, especially Iranian, Achaemenid and Parthian dress, showed that there are both similarities and differences.<sup>4</sup> The similarities are explainable. Armenia was the part of Achaemenid Empire for a long time. After the fall of the Artaxiad Dynasty, the brother of Parthian king Vagharsh I (51-75), Tiridates (63-88), came to the Armenian throne.

It is reasonable that the close connections between two neighboring countries affected Armenians, especially the ruling elite. According to Tacitus, "The Armenians were closer to Parthians by their location and customs and had mixed marriages with them."<sup>5</sup> According to Strabo<sup>6</sup> and Lucian,<sup>7</sup> Armenians wore cloaks that hung down to their heels. The trousers were narrow and close.<sup>8</sup> They wore leather shoes, judging by the laces (Tab. VI/1).

In some of the human images found in the Artashat excavations, only the head is preserved, while sometimes the head and the long neck remain. Bodies are pictured in an irregular and careless fashion, without the legs.

In the Artashat graffiti, the riders and horses are represented in a nonspecific fashion, but dynamically, moving. The bodies and the heads of the riders are in full face. The riders' hair is absent, as are sometimes details on the faces. The horses are depicted

<sup>1</sup> Schmidt 1953, Pl. 29B, No. 3, (The Armenians<sup>(?)</sup>).

<sup>2</sup> Khachatryan, Margaryan 2002: 3ff., Fig. 1-2; Khachatryan, Margaryan 2003a: 114ff., Fig. 1-2; Khachatryan, Margaryan 2003b: 9ff., Fig. 1-2; Ter-Martirosov 2010: 202ff. In this article his viewpoints are not acceptable. We would like to note that in the article Khachatryan 2007: 151ff., there is no mention of the rhyton, and even in the explanation concerning the rhyton, the above-mentioned articles are not referred to. We didn't participate in the catalogue creation. The creators of the catalogue took their information from Arakelyan 1971: 143ff., who dated it to the V c. B.C. (p. 147). We do not have any idea why it is dated to the VI-V c. B.C. in the catalogue, since we have not changed our dating (first half of the IV c. B.C.).

<sup>3</sup> Khachatryan 1977, Pl. IV/ 3-5, V/1; VI/1, 3; 1979, Pl. IV/1-2; V/1, Fig. 10,12; 1981, Pl. 26/1-4, 27/2, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Hatsuni 1923: 81, Fig. 35-36, 38, 40; Tiratsyan 1959: 97ff.

<sup>5</sup> Sotnikyan 1941: 73.

<sup>6</sup> Strabo XI, XIV, 12.

<sup>7</sup> Lucian 27.

<sup>8</sup> Khachatryan 2000 : 37ff., Pl. I/1-4, II/1, 3-5, III/1-4; IV/1-2.

in profile in a «flying gallop»<sup>1</sup> (Fig 3: 1, 4-8, 18, 21, Tab. V/5). The front and back legs are stretched nearly straight and are almost on one horizontal line.<sup>2</sup> The tails of the horses are also along a horizontal line. The composition is similar to the figurines from Artashat, of riders representing Mithra. The riders here are pictured full face. The horses are in a pose of «flying gallop» in one group, as evidenced by the fluttering cloaks.<sup>3</sup> In the other group, the horse is standing in front of a live tree and an altar, with a raised left leg, which has symbolic and cultic meaning (I-II cc. AD).

The full-face images of riders and profile images of horses in a pose of «flying gallop» are typical of Parthian riders. The Parthians inherited this style from the Achaemenids, and then it passed to the Sassanids.<sup>4</sup> According to studies, this type of composition was widespread in the countries of Parthian cultural sphere, in Hatra, somewhat in Dura-Europos, Armenia etc.<sup>5</sup>

One of the separately depicted horses from the Artashat images is amazingly well preserved (Fig. 4: 7). The rider probably is not preserved. He differs from the others by his more detailed treatment. The horse is in the flying gallop posture. There are narrow vertical items on the front and back side of the nicely-decorated saddle (probably quivers). The same kind of quiver is on the clay figurine of the rider from Artashat that depicts the rabbit hunt scene.<sup>6</sup> There is also a quiver pictured in the onager hunt scene from Dura-Europos, on the other side of rider's saddle. It is treated in more detail. Not only are the rider's arrows and bows pictured, ready for the hunt, but also the arrows that are in the quiver (2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D.).<sup>7</sup>

The mane of the horse is reticulated in the Artashat graffiti. There is a bridle and a framed live tree on horse's head. This detail accentuates the fact that it is a royal horse. The head decoration of the horse is typical of the Sassanid period and could be seen in royal hunt scenes on silver bowls. It appears also in the graffiti of Hatra and Dura-Europos. In graffiti at Persepolis, there is an image of Artashir I's son, Papak, who was one of the first representatives of the Sassanid royal family (beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D.). He wears a long cloak and loose trousers. There is a framed tree with eight branches carved on his semicircular helmet.<sup>8</sup> Given all these parallels, what is pictured in Artashat graffiti? Are the compositions thematically connected to each other or are the result of folk art created by different people?

The royal hunt was widespread during the Hellenistic and Late Antique periods. The kings planted trees especially for that purpose. It is worthwhile to remember a «genesis grove» at the confluence of the Araxes and Akhuryan rivers near Yervandashat,

<sup>1</sup> Ghirshman 1962: 48f.; Chubova, Ivanova 1966: 146.

<sup>2</sup> Ghirshman 1962, Fig. 62.

<sup>3</sup> Khachatryan 1977: 52, Pl. VI/3; idem. 1981: 26/2-3; idem. 1998, Fig. 94.

<sup>4</sup> Ricciardi 2004: 211; Trever, Lukonin 1987: 54ff., Fig. 14-28, 48-64; Lukonin 1961: 55ff.

<sup>5</sup> Pruglo 1977: 178, Fig. 1-4.

<sup>6</sup> Khachatryan 2007, Fig. 248.

<sup>7</sup> Ghirshman 1962, Fig. 62.

<sup>8</sup> Debevoise 2008, Fig. 68.

as well as the palace with gardens and lakes near Tigranakert that was a place for recreation and hunting for the king. Here can also be noted the «Khosrov's forest» that was planted on the banks of the Azat river, in the territory between Garni and Artashat.

It is reasonable to suppose that the hunt scenes praising the king were expressed in official and folk art. Wild animals and goats, dears, wild horses and onagers were hunted.

There are lions, boars, goats, deer, sheep, bulls, and onagers in the hunt scenes of Hatra.<sup>1</sup> Not only is a hunt scene with bow and arrow pictured, but also a bull being attacked by a lion. Mithra hunted running lions, boar, deer and other animals in the hunt scene depicted on the wall of the temple of Mithra in Dura-Europos (3<sup>rd</sup> century).<sup>2</sup> There is also the abovementioned beautiful onager hunt scene, where the rider is going to shoot two onagers, which comes also from Dura-Europos (2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D., Louvre).

The horses are mainly pictured running to the right, but also to the left. The riders are clearly recognizable, although it is difficult to state if they are horses or wild mules. All swords depicted on the standing people are sheathed, which means that this is not a battle scene. The people are standing as if they are surrounding the animals. The riders are in a shooting position in separate pictures. The right hands of some riders and standing people are held out, as if they are throwing rope on the horse (Fig. 3: 12, 16-18, Fig. 4: 3). On the doorway of the cloakroom, three fine arrows are pictured in one row, although the shooters are not preserved. Only one horse saddle and separate lines are noted (Fig. 5: 1-2).

There are two small animals next to each other with their tails bowed upwards in the Artashat graffiti under discussion. These are obviously hounds (Fig. 4: 1). There is also a triangle image that is reminiscent of a tent (Fig. 1: 20). Two tents of a similar kind are in the Hatra graffiti.<sup>3</sup>

It is proposed that in Artashat graffiti, a hunt scene of wild horses or onagers is depicted. The public bath was built at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. – beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D., and the graffiti lies on the first layer of plaster. Thus, it can be concluded that it dates back to the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, before the demolition of the city by Shapuh II (368 A.D.).

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<sup>1</sup> Ricciardi 2004: 206ff. Figs. 3-10.

<sup>2</sup> Rostovtzeff 1939, Tab. 18; Trever 1939: 244, Tab. I; Chubova, Ivanova 1966: 146.

<sup>3</sup> Ricciardi 2004: 206, Fig. 3.



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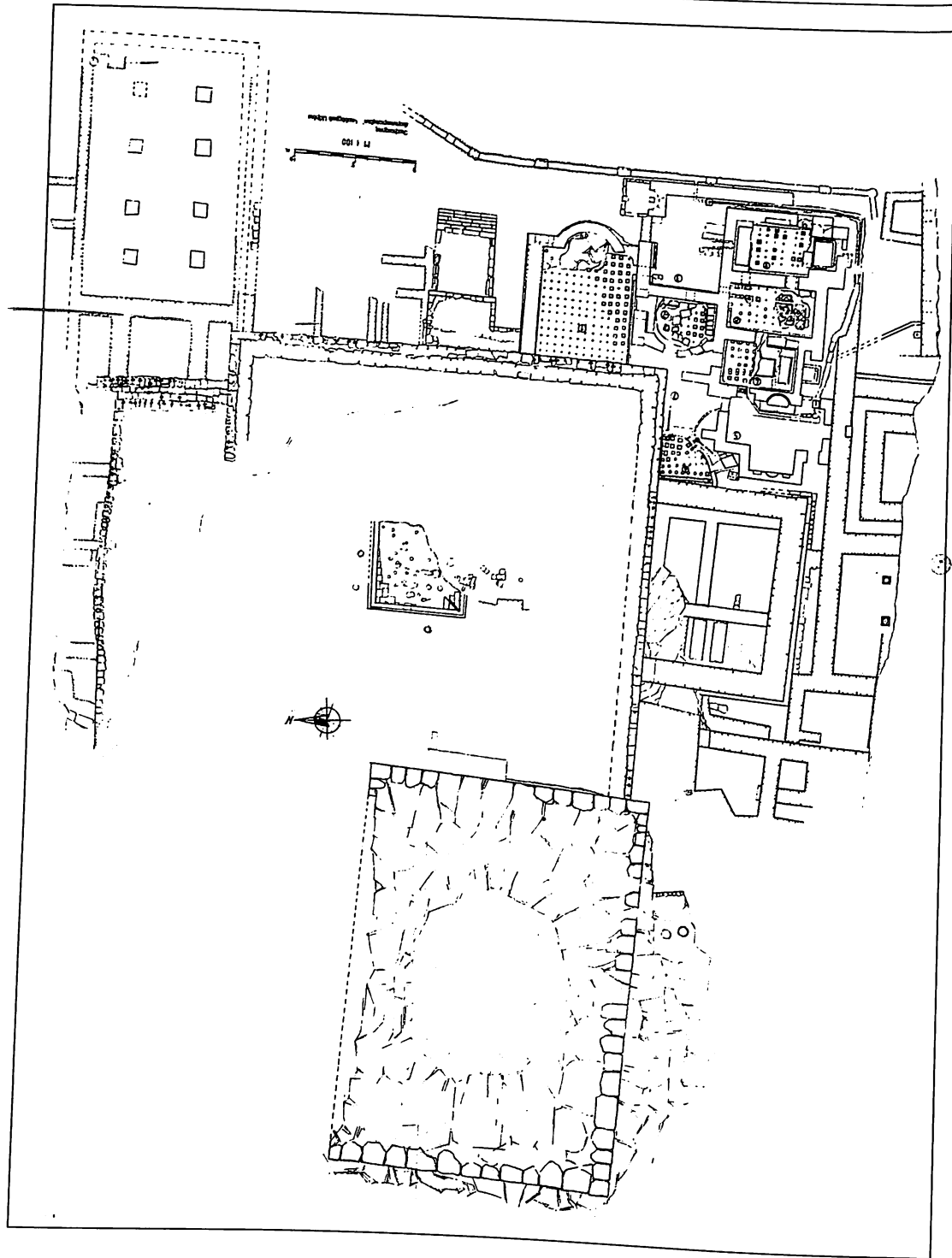


Fig. 1.

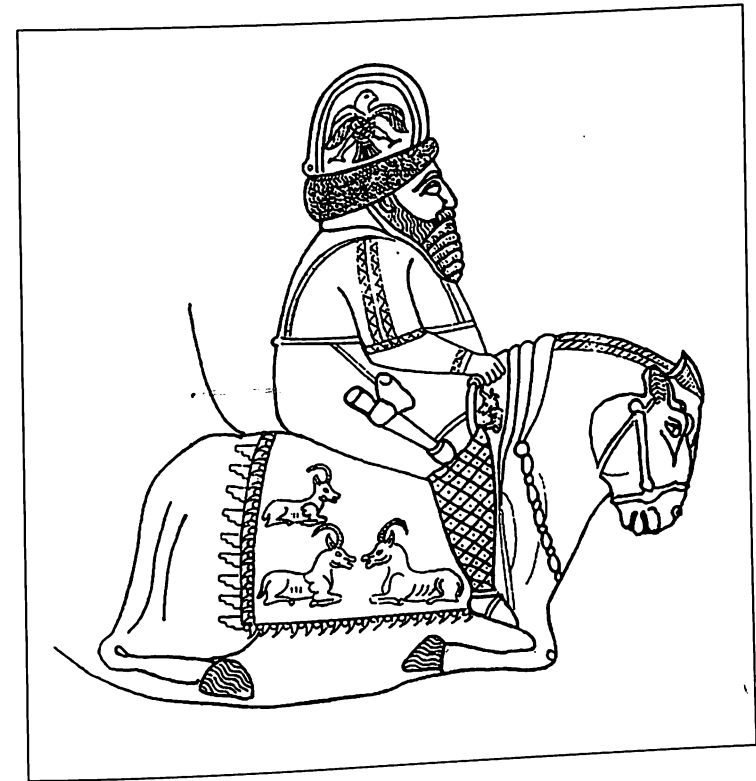


Fig. 2.

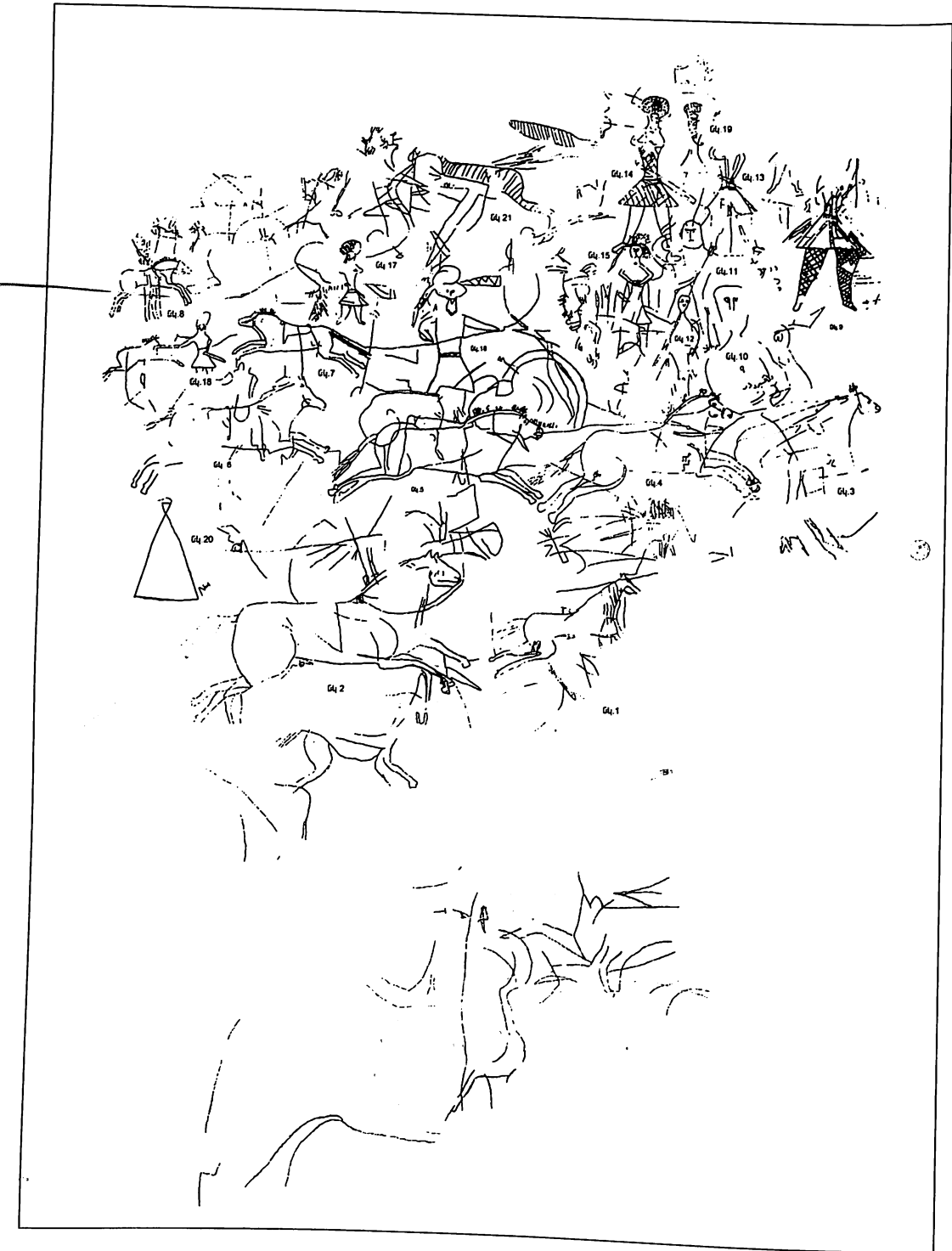


Fig. 3.

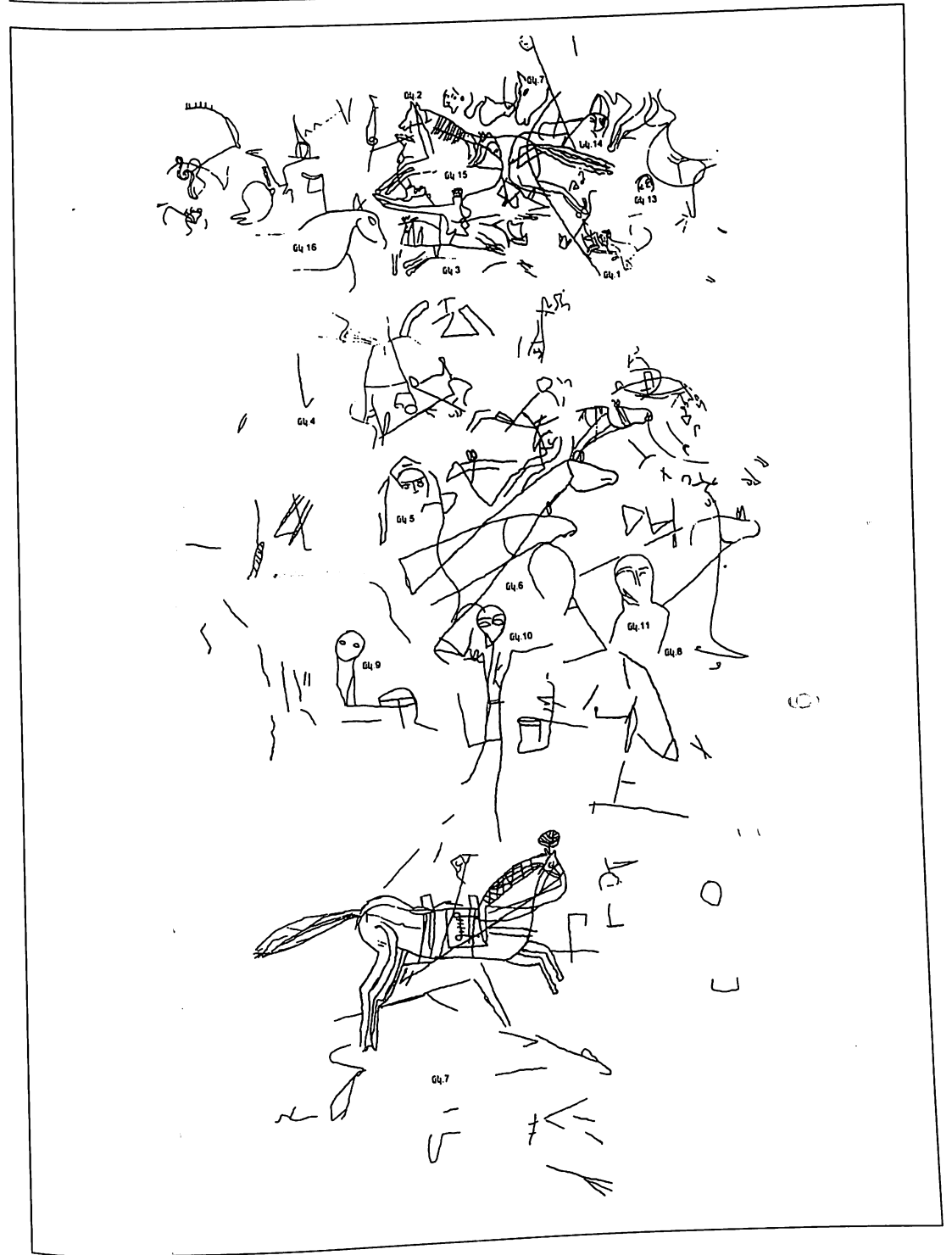


Fig. 4.

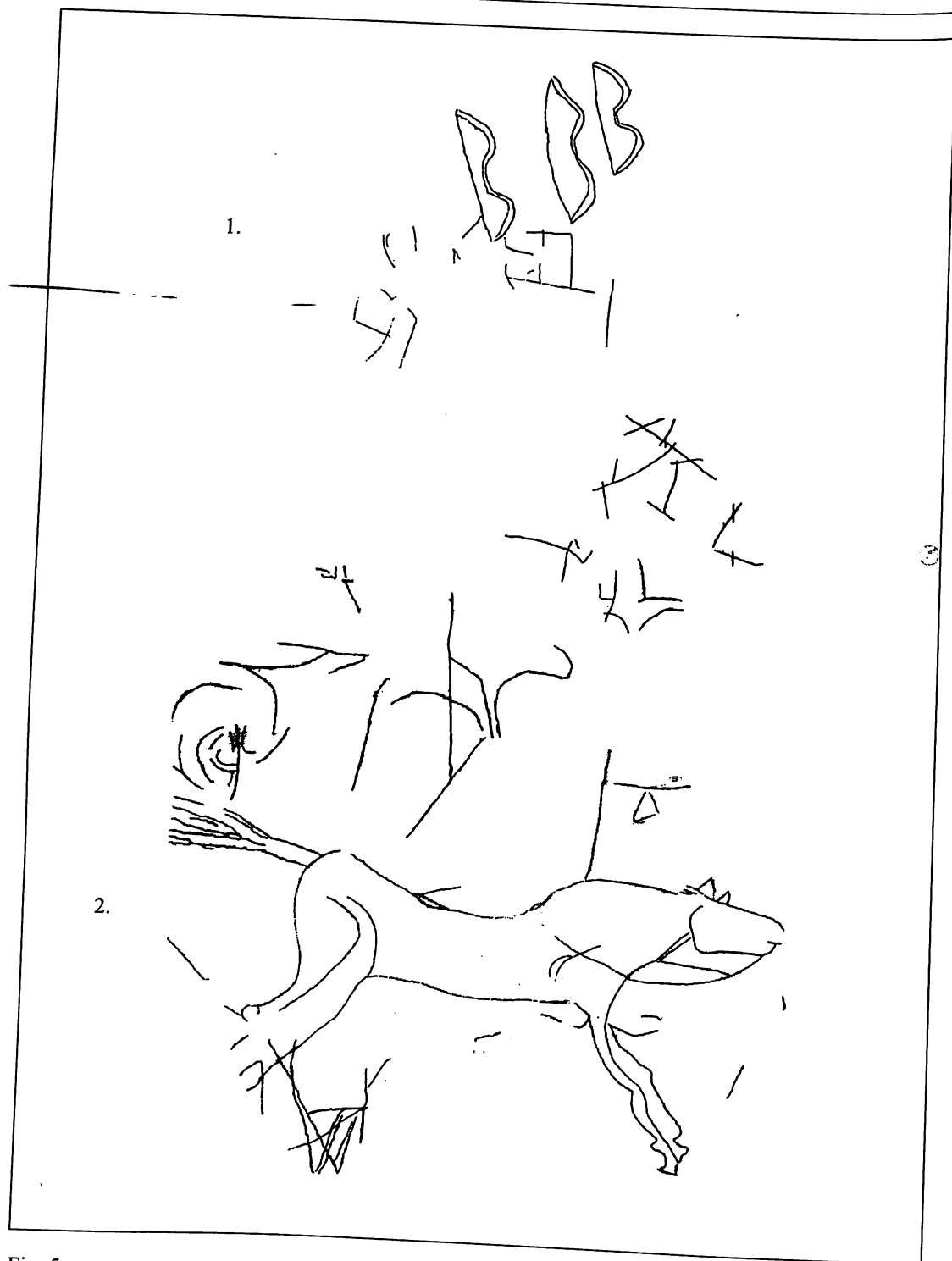


Fig. 5.

## L'ANAÏTIDE DANS LE MONDE ANATOLIEN. INTERFERENCES ET ASSIMILATIONS\*

*Iulian Moga, Loredana Moga*

Déesse d'origine pré-zoroastrienne, Anaïtis arrive en Anatolie pendant la domination achéménide. Dans sa forme indo-iranienne elle portait le nom de Sarasvatī, la maîtresse des eaux, son nom iranien étant \*Harahvatī. Cette dernière appellation faisait référence au fleuve céleste qui sourd de la montagne mythique Harā et se versait dans la mer Vourukasa par mille canaux et affluents, étant, donc, la source de toutes les eaux terrestres<sup>1</sup>. Pendant la période achéménide, elle est identifiée à \*Anahitī, et sa popularité augmente<sup>2</sup>. Grâce à cette identification, la déesse est mentionnée dans la littérature avestique sous la titulature d'Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā, nom obtenu par la mise ensemble de trois épithètes, «l'humide, la puissante, la vertueuse», qui soulignent en réalité sa triple fonctionnalité: elle détenait le pouvoir souverain («la puissante»), le pouvoir sacerdotal («la vertueuse») et avait aussi le rôle de facteur fertilisateur, étant l'incarnation du principe liquide («l'humide»). Elle devient la personnification de l'énergie créative, possédant le hvareno, «le pouvoir», «la lumière», «l'énergie divine», «la grandeur», caractéristiques qu'elle transmettait aux souverains iraniens<sup>3</sup>. C'est pour cela que dans les descriptions ultérieures provenant du monde iranien elle est représentée avec une auréole au-dessus de sa tête<sup>4</sup>. Elle est représentée dans la compagnie d'Ahura Mazda et de Mithra, formant ensemble une sorte de triade protectrice des souverains achéménides<sup>5</sup> et, plus tard, des souverains Arsacides<sup>6</sup> et Sassanides<sup>7</sup>, triade dans le cadre de laquelle Anahita

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<sup>1</sup> *Yasht* 5, 21 și 102; *Yasht* 5, 1. Voir aussi *DNP*, I, col. 644-645; Texidor, *LIMC*, I.1, 754.

<sup>2</sup> Malandra 1983, 117-118; Boyce 1985, 1003; Cumont 1905, 24.

<sup>3</sup> Orsi 1988, 136-139 și 146-149; *CAHIran*, II, 670-671.

<sup>4</sup> *Yasht* 13, 4; Dexter 1990, 70-73; Turcan 1975, 95-97.

<sup>5</sup> Azarpay 1982, 181-187; Eliade I, 1991, 317. Néanmoins, pendant le règne d'Artaxerxès III, sur l'inscription de Persepolis (A<sup>3</sup>Pa, § 4) seuls Ahura Mazda et Mithra sont mentionnés: «Le roi Artaxerxès déclare: "Qu'Ahuramazdā et le dieu Miθra me protègent, ainsi ce peuple et ce qui a été fait par moi [...]"» (= *IPA*, 275-276).

<sup>6</sup> Turcan 1975, 97.

<sup>7</sup> Chaumont 1958, 160-161 et 170; *CAHIran*, III.2, 845-846.

était probablement déjà assimilée avec la Lune, et Mithra avec le Soleil<sup>1</sup>. «La triade» respective a été même équivalente sur le territoire de Persepolis, au temps d'Ardashir, à celle composée par Zeus, Apollon et Artémis<sup>2</sup>. Les triades divines pareilles, composées par le Dieu suprême, le Soleil et la Lune étaient présentes dans toutes les traditions populaires de la région du Caucase et de celle située près de la frontière de avec l'Etat iranien, surtout chez les Albains, chez les Arméniens et les Moesiens<sup>3</sup>, la déesse étant probablement assimilée par les communautés de ces territoires de façon syncrétique<sup>4</sup>.

Les premières mentions épigraphiques officielles sur le culte d'Anaïtis pendant la période achéménide sont celles qui ont été gravées sur la partie inférieure de deux colonnes des palais construits au temps d'Artaxerxès II. Dans les deux textes, celui de Hamadān<sup>5</sup> et celui de Susa<sup>6</sup>, «le grand roi des rois», Artaxerxès II mentionne le pouvoir divin qui le protège de tous les maux et mésaventures. Conformément aux informations fournies par Berossos, consignées dans l'œuvre de Clément d'Alexandrie, Artaxerxès II a été le souverain qui a introduit la vénération anthropomorphe d'Anaïtis (appelée ici Aphrodite Anaïtis) au Babylone, à Susa et à Ecbatana, imposant en même temps la vénération de la déesse aux habitants de Bactriana, de Damas ou de Sardes<sup>7</sup>. Il faut mentionner quelques aspects en ce qui concerne ce passage. Le fait qu'Artaxerxès a introduit la vénération des statues dans les centres mentionnées ci-dessus ne signifie pas<sup>8</sup> forcément que la vénération d'Anaïtis sous forme anthropomorphe a débuté pendant le règne de ce souverain. Il paraît d'ailleurs qu'elle a été adorée de cette façon, dans une version populaire, à une époque antérieure à celle d'Artaxerxès<sup>8</sup>. Aucune affirmation de Berossos ne peut d'ailleurs induire l'idée que le culte anthropomorphe eût été introduit pour la première fois à cette époque-là, et cela seulement sous la forme d'un culte dynastique, dont la pratique «se limite au cercle des aristocrates persans», comme essaie de prouver Maria Brosius<sup>9</sup>. Vu les assimilations antérieures d'Anaïtis avec d'autres déesses de la fertilité, telles Ishtar et surtout Nanaia, nous ne pouvons pas exclure l'hypothèse d'une iconographie similaire à celle des Grandes Déesse-Mères orientales,

<sup>1</sup> Turcan 1998, 228.

<sup>2</sup> CHAUMONT 1958, 160.

<sup>3</sup> Strabon XI, 4, 7 (Albains) et XV, 3, 13-16 (Moesiens). Russell, *ANRW*, II, 18.4, 1990, 2684; *CAH Iran*, II, 693-694; *CAH Iran*, III.2, 843-845; Van Esbroeck, *ANRW*, II, 18.4, 1990, 2707-2708 et 2711-2714; Dumézil 1997, 121.

<sup>4</sup> Eliade, I, 1991, 317.

<sup>5</sup> A<sup>2</sup>Ha (= IPA, 269 § 2): «Grâce à Ahuramazdā. Anāhita et Miθra, j'ai fait cet apadana; qu'Ahuramazdā, Anāhita et Miθra me protègent de tout mal [et cet apadana; et qu'ils ne détruisent ni n'endommagent ce que j'ai fait]».

<sup>6</sup> A<sup>2</sup>Sa (= IPA, 272-273 § 2-3): «Darius mon ancêtre a fait cet apadana; ensuite, du temps de mon grand-père Artaxerxès, il a brûlé; alors, grâce à Ahuramazdā, Anāhita et Miθra, j'ai fait reconstruire cet apadana. Qu'Ahuramazdā, Anāhita et Miθra me protègent de tout mal, ainsi que ce qu'il a fait, qu'ils ne [détruisent pas cet apadana, qu'ils n'endommagent ce que j'ai fait]».

<sup>7</sup> Clément d'Alexandrie V, 65, 4.

<sup>8</sup> Bovce, III, 1991, 200-208; Jacobs 2006, 1-3; Corsten 1991, 170 et 177-178.

<sup>9</sup> Brosius 1998, 228.

fait qui aurait facilité l'identification, dans une première étape, dans le milieu anatolien, à une Déesse-Mère, et ensuite à une Artémis<sup>1</sup>. D'où ses images ultérieures, de la période romaine, lorsqu'elle était représentée de façon semblable à Cybèle<sup>2</sup>, à l'Artémide Ephésienne<sup>3</sup> ou à une Artémide locale anatolienne<sup>4</sup>, et la mention de la déesse dans les

<sup>1</sup> Pendant la domination achéménide, la déesse a été identifiée premièrement à Cybèle et ensuite à une Artémis, grâce à l'augmentation du nombre de ses attributs de divinité guerrière du monde iranien. Corsten 1991, 165 et suiv.; Reins 1993, 121 et suiv.; Hanaway 1982, 291-292.

<sup>2</sup> Diakonoff 1979, 147, no. 15, fig. 26 (Ayazviran; antérieure au II<sup>e</sup> siècle apr. J.-C.): Stèle en marbre, se présentant comme un *naiskos*, avec un champ gravé dans la partie inférieure et pilier de soutien. Découverte en 1970 à Ayazviran, étant, à l'époque, dans la possession de Mehmet Çiçek. La moitié supérieure manque, fait qui ne nous permet pas savoir s'il y avait un fronton ou pas. La déesse est représentée pareillement à Cybèle, sur son trône, flanquée par deux lions. Avec l'inscription: Ἄδμητος Ἄδμητου | καὶ Γλυκεὰ ἡ γυνὴ Μητρὶ Ἀνάτιδος χορηστῆριον. Aussi Diakonoff 1979, 150, no. 30 (Kula; datation incertaine). Déesse-Mère lunaire sur son trône, flanquée par deux lions. Avec l'inscription: Δημήτρα Ἀρτεμις Νίκη.

<sup>3</sup> Diakonoff 1979, 141-142, 145, no. 2, fig. 3a-c (Aivatlar; deuxième moitié du III<sup>e</sup> siècle apr. J.-C.): Stèle en marbre blanc, décorée d'un fronton triangulaire à acrotères. Aux coins inférieurs du tympan sont représentées des feuilles de lierre avec, au centre, une phiale. Au centre de la stèle, entre le champ gravé et le fronton, un encadrement cintré, représenté en relief et sectionné au milieu. Dans la partie supérieure est représenté, debout, en position frontale, un jeune dieu imberbe, aux cheveux bouclés, une couronne à 12 rayons sur la tête. Son bras droit levé était initialement posé sur une lance ou un sceptre, qui avait été peint sur la stèle, mais qui s'est ultérieurement effacé. Dans la main droite, le personnage tient un objet rond, le plus probablement un cône de pin. La chlamyde sur le dos, en arrière, attachée sur l'épaule droite par un bouton, couvre partiellement dans la partie supérieure le chiton court, serré sur la taille, qui descend jusqu'aux genoux. Dans le registre inférieur, une déesse polymaste représentée frontalement, en position d'oraison. Cette représentation se ressemble beaucoup à la statue de culte de la déesse Artémis d'Éphèse. De ses paumes ouvertes en avant descendent jusqu'au sol (?) deux rubans. La partie inférieure de son vêtement (*ependytes*), se présente sous la forme d'un tablier ou d'une robe droite qui tombe jusqu'au sol et laisse voir uniquement les bouts de ses pieds. La représentation est structurée dans des registres séparés en plan vertical par une ligne droite et en plan horizontal par cinq séries de lignes doubles. Ses cheveux longs tombent sur ses épaules, en avant. Sur la tête elle porte un *polos*, lui aussi séparé dans des registres, touchant au mur de séparation à l'intérieur de l'encadrement des représentations. Derrière, dans la région de la tête on observe un croissant de lune encadré dans un cercle sous forme d'aureole. Un voile descend du *polos*. Il descend sur ses épaules jusqu'au sol, motif rare chez la déesse d'Éphèse, mais assez couramment rencontré chez d'autres Déesse-Mères anatoliennes. Deux cerfs sont représentés d'un côté et de l'autre de la déesse, non pas affrontés, mais en position divergente. Avec l'inscription: Ἀρτέμιδι Ἀναέτι. Χαρίτη | Ἀππολλωνίου περίπτωμα | σχοῦσα καὶ ἐξασθεῖσα | ὑπὸ τῆς ἱερείας εὐχῆν.

<sup>4</sup> Diakonoff 1979, 146-147, no. 14, fig. 13 a-b (Ayazviran/Kula?; 223-224 apr. J.-C.): Stèle en marbre à fronton triangulaire, la partie supérieure et le coin droit du corps de la stèle manquent. L'acrotère gauche et le tympan sont détériorés. Au chacun des coins du tympane il y a représentées, des feuilles doubles. La figure d'au centre du champ des représentations se ressemble très bien à la statue de culte de l'Artémide Ephésienne. Avec l'inscription: Ἐτους τῆ, μη(νός) Πανήμου ἡ. | Ὁ ἱερός δοῦμος ἐτείμησαν Ἀὐρ(ήλιον) | Γλυκῶνα Διονυσίου τὸν ἐκ προηγόνων ἱερέων πρώτων Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀναετίας τῆς συγγενικῆς | θεοῦ σὺν καὶ Διονυσίῳ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ | καὶ Χαμάσωνι τῷ ἐκγόνῳ αὐτοῦ διὰ | τὴν ἰς τοὺς θεοὺς θρησκείαν καὶ | τὰς ἰς τὸν δοῦμον πολλὰς εὐερ[ω]γεσίας καὶ τετελεκότα κ(αὶ) τελούντα. Aussi ETAM, 19, 556, fig. 253 (Emre;











par les sources littéraires, dans les œuvres de Diodore de Sicile<sup>1</sup>, de Tacite<sup>2</sup> ou de Hesychius<sup>3</sup>, aussi bien que par les sources épigraphiques, dans le texte d'une inscription d'Hierokaisareia<sup>4</sup>. L'utilisation du nom Artémis Medeia est peu probable, mais on ne peut pas l'exclure complètement<sup>5</sup>. L'aspect qui suggère le plus clairement cette origine est l'association de la déesse avec les rivières. Sur une stèle en marbre de Kara Selendi, de la ville lydienne Silandos (situé dans la proximité de l'Hermos), stèle qui date du II<sup>e</sup> siècle apr. J.-C., la déesse est invoquée sous l'appellation d'«Anaitis de l'eau sacrée», pour que la déesse protège le tombeau d'Onesiphoros contre les prophanateurs<sup>6</sup>. Peut-être l'un des plus intéressants exemples dans ce sens est celui de la pièce Celene/Apamée, sur laquelle apparaît la statue de la déesse, un polos et un voile sur la tête, représentation pareille à celle d'Hypaipa, la statue étant entourée des noms de quatre rivières: MAI (Méandre), MAR (Marsyas), OR (Orgas) et THER (Therma)<sup>7</sup>.

Lorsque les écrivains grecs parlent d'Anaïtis, ils l'assimilent aux divinités grecques connues, en fonction de ses attributs. Etant pourtant question d'une divinité polyvalente, l'identification ne pouvait se faire qu'avec approximation, se réalisant à chaque fois par la mise en évidence d'un trait fondamental. Le premier écrivain grec qui ait fait référence au culte d'Anaïtis est Hérodote. Dans un fragment du premier livre de ses Histoires, il mentionne une certaine Aphrodite Céleste (Aphrodita Ourania) dont le culte avait été emprunté à l'époque par les persans aux peuples voisins, celle-ci étant confondue à Mithra<sup>8</sup>. Cette confusion a déterminé l'apparition de deux théories. La première appartient à celle Thomas Corsten, qui croyait que le fait avait été déterminé par l'erreur d'un copiste qui avait noté dans le texte M...tran au lieu de M»tran, créant ainsi une ambiguïté, et au lieu de vénérer une Déesse-Mère, Cybèle, les gens adoraient un dieu solaire. La deuxième théorie est celle de Robert Turcan<sup>9</sup>, qui explique cette confusion à partir d'un passage de l'ouvrage de Firmicus Maternus sur les religions païennes<sup>10</sup>, fragment concernant la double nature du feu adoré dans le monde persan. Mithra représentait l'aspect masculin tandis qu'Anaïtis incarnait le principe féminin<sup>11</sup>. Mais dans la plupart des cas ses attributs ont fait possible l'identification de la déesse

<sup>1</sup> Diodore Sicile, V, 77, 6-8.

<sup>2</sup> Tacite, Annales, III, 62.

<sup>3</sup> Hesychius P, 2004; cf. Speidel, *ANRW*, II, 17.4, 1984, 2234-2235.

<sup>4</sup> *TAM*, V.2, 1245.

<sup>5</sup> Oikonomides 1982, 115-118; Sherwin-White 1982, 30; De Jong 1997, 276, qui la considère «a dubious case».

<sup>6</sup> Boyce III, 1991, 245; Diakonoff 1979, 149, no. 23.

<sup>7</sup> Boyce III, 245; Ramsay I.2, 1897, 398-399 (Pl. I.1), qui remarque la ressemblance frappante entre Anaïtis et Artémis l'Ephésienne.

<sup>8</sup> Herodot, I, 131; voir aussi *FGrHist*, 680 F 11 (Berossos).

<sup>9</sup> Turcan 1975, 90-97.

<sup>10</sup> Firmicus Maternus 2-5.

<sup>11</sup> Fait confirmé du fragment de Strabon XV, 3, 16, fragment dans lequel, après avoir parlé de la sacralité des eaux chez les Perses, dit que «n'importe à quel dieux ils portaient des offrandes, ils adressaient leurs prières premièrement au feu».

à Artémis (par la mise en évidence de sa pureté et de son influence et pouvoir sur la nature sauvage)<sup>1</sup>, à Aphrodite (en tant que divinité de l'amour)<sup>2</sup>, à Athéna (lorsqu'on fait référence aux attributs guerriers ou à ceux concernant le rituel d'investissement)<sup>3</sup> ou à Héra (en tant que protectrice de l'amour et du mariage)<sup>4</sup>.

D'autre part, Anaïtis présente deux types iconographiques dans le monde anatolien, en fonction de la manière dans laquelle elle a été équivalue ou identifiée aux divinités connues. Premièrement, elle adopte l'iconographie de la Déesse-Mère anatolienne, étant représenté, sur les monnaies et sur les monuments, soit comme l'Artémide d'Ephèse, soit représenté, sur les monnaies et sur les monuments, soit comme l'Artémide d'Ephèse, soit de façon semblable à une déesse locale de ce type, portant un voile et un polos, dans la même hypostase orante, les bras, ne présentant pourtant pas des caractéristiques de la même hypostase orante, les bras, ne présentant pourtant pas des caractéristiques de la même polymastie. Deuxièmement, elle est représentée par une iconographie grecque d'Artémis à la chasse, l'arc à la main et le chevreuil à côté, pour mettre en évidence la pureté, la chasteté et la maîtrise des éléments de la nature sauvage. L'on a découvert l'existence de cette double iconographie à Hiérokaisareia, Philadelphia, Clannuda, Attuda et à Albanda. La seule exception remarquable est celle de Hypaipa, où il y a des témoignages seulement pour l'iconographie grecque, phénomène qui s'explique par la forte hellénisation du culte dans ce centre. Il s'agit d'un autre témoignage sur le caractère polymorphe de cette divinité complexe qui a évolué dans des milieux culturels si différents.

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<sup>1</sup> Plutarque *Vie d'Artaxerxès*, 27, 3. Voir aussi TURCAN 1975, 99-103 et de Jong 1997, 277-281. Tous les deux parlent de la structure trifonctionnelle d'Anaïtis, mais chacun part de l'œuvre d'un autre auteur: Firmicus Maternus dans le cas de Tucan et Plutarque pour de Jong.

<sup>2</sup> Turcan 1975, 100-103.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarque *La Vie d'Artaxerxès*, 3, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarque *La Vie d'Artaxerxès*, 23, 4-5.

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2. *SEG – Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, H.W. Pleket, R.S. Stroud, A.Chaniotis, J.H.M. Strubbe, J.C. Geben (ed.), Amsterdam.
3. *Waddington – Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure*, I.1-I.4, commencé par William Henry Waddington, continué et complété par Ernest Babelon et Théodore Reinach, Georg Olms Verlag, Hildesheim–New York, 1976.

# IDENTITY CRISIS? ARMENIAN MONASTICISM IN EARLY BYZANTINE JERUSALEM

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— *An identity is questioned only when it is menaced, as when the mighty begin to fall, or when the wretched begin to rise, or when the stranger enters the gates, never, thereafter, to be a stranger.... Identity would seem to be the garment with which one covers the nakedness of the self: in which case, it is best that the garment be loose, a little like the robes of the desert, through which one's nakedness can always be felt, and, sometimes, discerned. This trust in one's nakedness is all that gives one the power to change one's robes.*

James Baldwin (1924-1987), orig. "The Devil Finds Work," (1976); repr. in *The Price of the Ticket* (1985)

Armenian contact with the Holy Land, particularly Jerusalem and its environs, began early in the Byzantine period. Even before the imperial discovery and erection of churches over holy places, Armenians, like other groups of Christians, flocked to Jerusalem to venerate sacred sites. The conversion of Armenia to Christianity at the beginning of the fourth century under King Trdat III prompted Armenians to travel to Palestine both as pilgrims eager to witness firsthand the places connected with the life of Christ and as ascetics searching for an environment which would provide the discomforts associated with the desert as well as the benefits of their close proximity to holy sites.<sup>1</sup> As a result, an important relationship developed between pilgrimage undertaken by Armenians and their subsequent participation in early Palestinian

<sup>1</sup> For historical circumstances surrounding the conversion of Armenia to Christianity, see Panossian 2006: 42, who observes the "The formal adoption of Christianity as the state religion of Armenia in 314-315 has probably been the most important event in terms of maintaining a separate identity. The traditional date given by Armenians for the conversion is 301, but the more probable date now accepted by a growing number of historians is after the Edict of Milan in 313." Also, Garsoïan 1997: 81-93, who favors a later date. For a consideration of the relationship between pilgrimage and monasticism, see Bitton-Ashkelony 2002: 1-17.

monasticism. An increase in both their numbers and influence led Armenians to establish numerous private churches and monasteries so that, by the seventh century, it is possible to identify at least two areas in Jerusalem that were occupied by Armenian religious communities: one located just north of the city walls and the other on the Mt. of Olives. This article considers the important role played by material culture in shaping as well as reflecting distinctive identities within a monastic context. An examination of the literary sources and recent archaeological evidence associated with the Armenian presence in and around the city reveal both the diverse character of monasticism during this period and the prominent position of Armenians within the monastic movement. By the end, what emerges is a more complex and nuanced view of early Palestinian monasticism; one in which heterogeneous groups came together initially to form a broader Christian community while simultaneously maintaining their distinctiveness and, then, later establishing distinct monasteries that appear to be based upon ethnicity while continuing to identify with the larger Palestinian monastic movement.<sup>1</sup>

## Dynamics of Identity in Late Antiquity<sup>2</sup>

For much of the postmodern period, "archaeological and historical scholarship's interest in identity has remained largely focused on the identification and development of specifically ethnic, or national, identity as reflected in material culture or elucidated through textual evidence of genealogy, linguistic diversity, and myth-history."<sup>3</sup> In art history and archaeology, ethnicity has been viewed as a primary link in the relationship between identity and culture and, therefore, attempts to (re)construct ethnicities have been assiduous.<sup>4</sup> As early as 1922, ethnicity was recognized by Max Weber as a subjective designation, a self-conscious identification with a particular social group as opposed to having an objective scientific basis.<sup>5</sup> Based upon his fieldwork, anthropologist F. Barth concluded that the concept of ethnicity emerges from a particular group's "shared sense

<sup>1</sup> Hodos 2010: 4.

<sup>2</sup> Subtitle derived from the aptly entitled book, *Dynamics of Identity in the World of the Early Christians: Associations, Judeans and Cultural Minorities* (Harland 2009). Kimber Buell 2005: 12, describes race and ethnicity (terms she deliberately uses interchangeably) as "the dynamic interplay between fixity and fluidity."

<sup>3</sup> Hodos 2010: 11.

<sup>4</sup> Hodos 2010: 11-12. Although Kimber Buell 2002: 438-39, observes that ethnicity and "cultural identity" have been increasingly contrasted in recent scholarship; a shift that she finds analogous with distinctions made between race and ethnicity. As she states in Kimber Buell 2005: 179, n. 64, "In the contrast between ethnicity and cultural identity, ethnicity often gets reductively linked to notions of descent ("real" or "imagined"—another problematic divide) in contrast to cultural identity's definition as a category defined by the acquisition and performance of rather fluid cultural norms. Ethnicity and race should be interpreted as facets of cultural identity, not in opposition to it." Lieu 2004: 18, notes "...slippage between concepts of ethnicity and of culture, or the difficulty of assigning these to clearly separated categories, has also proved unavoidable in this [application of contemporary models] context."

<sup>5</sup> Weber 1978: 389.

of belonging together due to certain experiences and notions of connection deriving from group-members' *perception* of common geographical and/or ancestral origins."<sup>1</sup> Following Barth, J. Hall reinforces the subjective and unstable nature of identity formation in antiquity by drawing the following conclusions concerning ethnicity:<sup>2</sup>

(i) The ethnic group is a self-ascribing and self-nominating social collectivity that constitutes itself in opposition to other groups of a similar order. (ii) Biological features, language, religion or cultural traits may appear to be highly visible markers of identification but they do not ultimately define the ethnic group. They are, instead, secondary *indicia* (the operational set of distinguishing attributes that tend to be associated with membership in an ethnic group) or 'surface pointers'. (iii) Ultimately, the definitional *criteria* or 'core elements' which determine membership in an ethnic group—and distinguish the ethnic group from other social collectives—are a putative subscription to a myth of common descent and kinship, an association with a specific territory and a shared sense of history. (iv) The ethnic group is neither static nor monolithic and is often subject to processes of assimilation with, or differentiation from, other groups. (v) Since individuals possess a broad repertoire of social identities and roles that they adopt in varying circumstances and for specific goals and purposes, membership in an ethnic group will not always be the most salient dimension of identification, though it tends to assume greater importance at times when the integrity of the ethnic group is threatened. (vi) Finally, ethnicity often emerges in the context of migration, conquest or the appropriation of resources by one group at the expense of another.

His definition stresses the plural and flexible nature of identity. Furthermore, concerning 'Christian', 'Jewish', 'Greek', and 'Roman' groups, J. Lieu notes, "They are not necessarily mutually incompatible, although they may on occasion be so constructed. There were, no doubt, those who would claim more than one of the labels—again suggesting a hierarchy of identities—and those who would refuse such a claim."<sup>3</sup> Therefore, it seems likely that people chose ethnic markers (and continue to do so) that were germane to them in their particular circumstances. Thus, Hall's final conclusions (v and vi) are especially relevant for the present study: social identities are multivalent and, therefore, must be viewed as hybridities; and secondly, migration is an important factor in the coalescence of ethnic identity.

Armenians who traveled to Palestine, either as pilgrims who later decided to join a monastic community there, or expressly for the purpose of finding a monastic home, were immigrants to the region. At the center of scholarship in the field of migration studies

<sup>1</sup> My emphasis. Barth 1969: 9-38; quotation from Harland 2009: 6. For recent scholarship on ethnicity, Hall 2002: 1-29; Harland 2009: 3-21, 99-122; Hodos 2010; Jenkins 1994: 197-223; Kimber Buell 2005: 1-34; Lieu 2004: 11-26; Lucy 2005: 86-109; Webster 2001: 209-225.

<sup>2</sup> Because of their significance, I have quoted Hall's conclusions in full (Hall: 2002: 9-10).

<sup>3</sup> Lieu 2004: 310.

are issues of identity.<sup>1</sup> According to Benmayor, migration is "a long-term if not life-long process of negotiating identity, difference and the right to fully exist and flourish in a new context....[T]he experience and effects of migration are long-term and critical in shaping and reshaping both collective and individual identities."<sup>2</sup> Frequently, migration is analyzed by social scientists using theories of assimilation and dissimulation.<sup>3</sup> These processes occur at both the individual and group levels often resulting in complicated renegotiations of boundaries among immigrants and other groups within their contexts. The view that assimilation to the majority-group culture was not only inevitable but also a one-way process, rather than an exchange, has been replaced in recent scholarship by more nuanced interpretations. For example, in her article on the concept of Romanization, J. Webster proposes a more sophisticated approach to acculturation in the provinces, one that recognizes the potential for blending ("Creolization") inherent in cultural exchanges rather than an assumption of the adoption of Roman practices as the predominant form of assimilation.<sup>4</sup> While acknowledging a general paucity of evidence, P. Harland presents a few cases that "point to the probability that associations based on shared ethnic identity were a further means by which immigrants were in some significant ways firmly planted not only in the traditions of the homeland but also, to various degrees, in their societies of settlement."<sup>5</sup> Harland's case studies reveal a simultaneous integration into the new setting and attachment to the homeland, which lends support to the view that identity formation in late antiquity was characterized by hybridities, or a blending of traditions and practices.<sup>6</sup>

Social and cultural identities are reified by routine actions which often include the use of symbols or images that come to be associated with a particular group. Butler's theory of performativity provides a useful way of thinking about the construction and maintenance of identity.<sup>7</sup> According to her theory, identities are created through repeated social performances which act as both reenactment and re-experiencing of a set of socially established meanings.<sup>8</sup> In this way, attributes of identity become performative (active) rather than expressive (passive), constituting the identity that they reveal.<sup>9</sup> Hodos clarifies: "This notion of performativity revolves around the ways in which an identity produces that which it posits outside itself. What we take to be the internal essence of an identity is

<sup>1</sup> Benmayor & Skotnes 1994: 1-18.

<sup>2</sup> Benmayor & Skotnes 1994: 8.

<sup>3</sup> For example, Yinger 1981: 49-64; Berry 1997: 5-34. Assimilation theory explores the processes that take place when two groups come into contact with each other. Dissimulation theory addresses processes of cultural maintenance.

<sup>4</sup> Webster 2001: 209-225.

<sup>5</sup> Harland 2009: 101.

<sup>6</sup> Harland 2009: 104-116.

<sup>7</sup> Butler 1990.

<sup>8</sup> Jenkins 1994: 209-216 also maintains that identity is produced/reproduced via social interaction.

<sup>9</sup> Butler 1990: 178-80.

manufactured through a sustained set of acts that become materialized.”<sup>1</sup> In other words, identity is constructed and maintained through tangible signs and other concrete, material means. It must be borne in mind that these performative markers may be intended to be interpreted on multiple levels depending upon the perspective of the viewer and, therefore, potentially express more than one identity.<sup>2</sup> One category of performative marker with a long history of use in the process of self-definition is material culture.<sup>3</sup> Material culture is a vehicle for communication that relies upon shared cultural codes.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, identity formation must necessarily be socially and culturally contextualized; within such a broader frame, “One of the most powerful ways to reproduce feelings of ethnic belonging is to make use of symbolic resources, especially material culture and everyday practices.”<sup>5</sup>

The consumption of goods (their selection, adoption and use), an act that leads ultimately to the production of what is termed material culture, is an important element of identity construction.<sup>6</sup> In studying patterns of consumption, including the appearance, symbolism and communicative value of goods, M. Douglas and B. Isherwood concluded that goods may mark boundaries between groups as well as establish differences and communality. Moreover, Hodos observes, “Other practices of self-constitution—ethnic class, gender, and religious—which consume specific objects and construct life spaces, may be viewed as higher order modes of channeling consumption to specific ends. These specific ends are the means of identification.”<sup>7</sup> But material culture has the ability to do more than reflect identity: it can play a role in shaping and transforming it.

Material culture alone is insufficient to establish identity—it is one piece, albeit an important one—of the puzzle.<sup>8</sup> Due to the changing and dynamic nature of identity, archaeologists must look for its manifestation not only in discrete and fixed contexts but in areas of overlapping boundaries formed (and transformed) by cultural differences. And, indeed, recently scholars working on material culture have emphasized the “practice of identity,” which is reconstructed from a consideration of function, behavior, values and attitudes.<sup>9</sup> Lieu argues that a similar approach must be adopted in examining literary sources: “So all this does not mean that we can deal with texts from a romanticist perspective, as if they floated free. Their embeddedness and social functions are paradigmatic; but these become alive as we discover the way that texts construct readers and ‘reality’ through acts of power, by silence and marginalization, as well as by unarticulated assumptions, by the values and hierarchies engendered, and

<sup>1</sup> Hodos 2010: 18.

<sup>2</sup> Hodos 2010: 18-19.

<sup>3</sup> Friedman 1994: 103-104.

<sup>4</sup> Friedman 1994: 115-116.

<sup>5</sup> Lucy 2005: 96.

<sup>6</sup> Douglas & Isherwood 1979 (repr. 1996).

<sup>7</sup> Hodos 2010: 20. Her views are based, in part, on the work of Friedman 1994.

<sup>8</sup> Jones 1996: 62-80. See also, Hodder 1982. Shennan 1989: 1-32.

<sup>9</sup> Bourdieu 1990: 52-65.

by the authoritative voice claimed.”<sup>1</sup> In other words, all representations, including self-representation, are constructs forged in the context of ongoing social interaction. Bearing all of this in mind, only an examination of all of the evidence—textual and physical—will provide an understanding of past cultural contexts necessary for establishing identity in the archaeological record.

### First things first: Armenian Pilgrimage

The earliest secure evidence (ca. 361) for Armenian pilgrimage to the Holy Land is provided by Epiphanius of Salamis in his reference (Panarion 1.40) to Eutaktos of Satala.<sup>2</sup> The *Book of Letters*, an official compilation of documents from the fifth to the twelfth centuries, contains a letter which documents travel between Armenia and Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> The letter, written by the fourth century Bishop Macarius of Jerusalem to Vrtanēs, Catholicos of the Armenians, responds to the Catholicos’s questions concerning church order. The letter clearly implies the exchange of correspondence between the two religious leaders either via envoys or, as M. Stone suggests, pilgrims.<sup>4</sup> If authentic, the letter must date to the period of Vrtanēs’s tenure as Catholicos (333-341) which predates Epiphanius’s reference. Moreover, St. Jerome refers to Armenians (Letter 46.180) written in 386.<sup>5</sup> Sustained contact between the two churches is evidenced by the correspondence of Patriarch Modestus and Komitas, Catholicos of the Armenians, in the wake of the Persian invasion in 614.<sup>6</sup> In his letter (35.116), Modestus expressed gratitude for the recent arrival of a group of Armenian pilgrims to Jerusalem, which “[recalled] to us the previous journeys which they made to the venerable sites of Jerusalem.”<sup>7</sup>

### Monasteries as Loci of Difference

The considerable role played by Armenia in pilgrimage is paralleled by its prominent position in Palestinian monasticism. The same period, from the fourth through the sixth centuries, witnessed the rise of monasticism and asceticism centered in coenobitic and lauritic monasteries. Euthymius, one of the founders of Palestinian monasticism, came initially to Palestine as a pilgrim from Melitene in Armenia Minor.<sup>8</sup> He remained in

<sup>1</sup> Harland 2009: 25.

<sup>2</sup> PG 41: 677-80.

<sup>3</sup> For the relationship between the conversion of Armenia to Christianity and the development of the Armenian script, see Thomson 1997: 199-218. Tallon 1955.

<sup>4</sup> Stone 1986: 94.

<sup>5</sup> Bareille 1877. “Why need we mention the Armenians, the Persians, the nations of India and Ethiopia, and the neighboring country of Egypt, abounding in monks, Pontus and Cappadocia, Coele-Syria and Mesopotamia and all the multitudes of the East.”

<sup>6</sup> Sebeos 1999: 70-76.

<sup>7</sup> Sebeos, 1999:70.

<sup>8</sup> It is important to note the inextricable link between pilgrimage and monasticism. Euthymius,

Palestine where he went on to establish a *laura* on a hill overlooking the road between Jerusalem and Jericho. In addition to Euthymius, the Armenian, John the Hesychast, also pursued monastic life in Palestine.<sup>1</sup> Literary sources indicate that the earliest monasteries in Palestine were diverse places: Christians from all over the Mediterranean and the Near East lived together. In his *Life of St. Sabas*, Cyril notes that the number of Armenians in the Great Laura of Sabas was so large that separate chapels were set aside for them where they conducted their services in Armenian.<sup>2</sup> It appears that the same arrangements were made in the Monastery of St. Theodosius at Deir Dossi, according to Theodore of Petra, who, like Cyril of Scythopolis, wrote a *Life of Theodosius* (45.10-15).<sup>3</sup> In sum, the earliest monasteries in Palestine appear to have been aggregative rather than integrative communities.<sup>4</sup> The encounters among various groups of monks living in a monastery would have occurred simultaneously at meso and micro levels. At the meso-level, the lived experiences and practices inside the monastery would have been shared by every member of the community. At the micro-level, there were smaller groups of monks who, perceiving a common bond with some residents based upon ethnicity, distinguished themselves, or were distinguished by someone else, from other members of the community. However, it seems logical to construe this transactional and social process as internally derived because it presupposes an audience.<sup>5</sup> (This is especially true in the case of material indicators that appear in the archaeological record.) Nonetheless, it is important to view such distinctions as forming permeable boundaries. Over time, Armenians, like other groups, founded a number of private churches and monasteries in the Holy Land which co-existed with the shared monastic institutions. In the same vein, it is important to note that despite the Armenian Church's anti-Chalcedonian stance, the conflict which affected other areas of the Byzantine Empire did not immediately impact the Holy Land.<sup>6</sup> Armenians and pro-Chalcedonian Christians in Jerusalem continued to enjoy favorable relations.

The extent of the Armenian religious establishments in Jerusalem, and its environs, in the early Byzantine period is difficult to determine with precision. In addition to problems of reliability concerning the literary sources, the monasteries and churches mentioned in these sources are often impossible to corroborate with physical evidence.<sup>7</sup> One source which falls into this category is a document attributed to the seventh century monk, Anastasius,

like many religious figures, came to Palestine as a pilgrim and remained in the Holy Land. The best source for Armenian monasticism is Cyril of Scythopolis, a sixth century monk, who wrote biographies of Euthymius, Sabas, Theodosius and John Hesychast, among others. For the "Life of Euthymius," see Cyril of Scythopolis 1991: 1-83.

<sup>1</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis 1991: 220-242.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Sabas*, 117.20. Cyril of Scythopolis 1991: 126-127.

<sup>3</sup> Festugière 1963: 81-160.

<sup>4</sup> Cohen 1985: 20-21.

<sup>5</sup> Jenkins 1994: 199.

<sup>6</sup> For a discussion of the response of the Armenian Church to the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon, see Garsoïan 1999a: 99-112.

<sup>7</sup> The difficulties associated with correlating literary sources with archaeological evidence are discussed by J. Lieu (Lieu 2004: 7-11; 15-16).

who listed seventy monasteries that the Armenians are said to have owned in that century in and around Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> Most scholars are skeptical concerning the authenticity and reliability of Anastasius's list; however, despite a clear exaggeration of the extent of Armenian presence in the city, they maintain that it contains a kernel of truth regarding Armenian presence in the city during the sixth and seventh centuries.<sup>2</sup> Anastasius provided a minimum amount of information about the monasteries in his list, recording primarily the names, locations, and family names of the Armenians who are supposed to have served as their benefactors. According to J. Gillis, "the core meaning of any individual or group identity, namely, as sense of sameness over time and space, is sustained by remembering; and what is remembered is defined by the assumed identity."<sup>3</sup> Throughout history, memory and identity have been related; in the present study, their relationship is illuminated by various forms of visual commemoration.<sup>4</sup> In terms of physical evidence, the existence of a number of churches and monasteries associated with Armenians is confirmed by mosaic pavements which contain Armenian inscriptions in Jerusalem and on the Mt. of Olives. An archaeological excavation dating to the early 1990s has broadened the context within which monasticism and the Armenian presence in Jerusalem should be viewed.

In 1992, a salvage excavation conducted prior to the construction of a road in the area northwest of the Damascus Gate uncovered the remains of one of the earliest Armenian monasteries to have been discovered in Jerusalem.<sup>5</sup> (Fig. 1) The erection of two late nineteenth or early twentieth century buildings over the remains of the monastery caused substantial damage to the complex.<sup>6</sup> (Fig. 2) Nonetheless, two distinct building phases have been identified. In the earlier phase, which has been dated to the sixth century, the church, main residential unit of the rooms, a stone paved courtyard, and an elaborate system for the collection and storage of water were constructed.<sup>7</sup> The later phase involved the expansion of the complex in the seventh century to include a reception hall and the southern residential unit.<sup>8</sup> The monastery appears to have fallen into disuse in the eighth or ninth century and, therefore, is an example of a Christian religious community which not only survived the Muslim Conquest but thrived, as evidenced by its expansion during the Umayyad period.

<sup>1</sup> Anastasius vardapet 1844: 394-403.

<sup>2</sup> Sanjian 1969: 265-92, especially 284-287; Sanjian 1986: 121; Lindner 1996: 157. An exception to the general skepticism is K. Hintlian 1976: 7.

<sup>3</sup> Gillis 1994: 3.

<sup>4</sup> Gillis 1994: 5.

<sup>5</sup> The opportunity to publish the mosaics and architecture of the monastery in the final excavation report of the Third Wall excavations arose during a research fellowship period in Israel (2001) which was generously supported by the Samuel H. Kress foundation and facilitated by the W.F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research. I am particularly grateful to Drs. Sam Wolff and David Amit of the Israel Antiquities Authority for their kind invitation to contribute to the final report and for their permission to publish material from the excavation as part of the present study.

<sup>6</sup> Amit & Wolff 2000: 293.

<sup>7</sup> Amit & Wolff 2000: 296.

<sup>8</sup> Amit & Wolff 2000: 297.



At first glance, the monastery appears to have been laid out in a haphazard manner which is dominated by a chapel along the northern perimeter of the complex. (Fig. 2) Closer examination reveals that the chapel and large courtyard to its south provide the organizational pole around which all of the other buildings are irregularly arranged. The chapel (18.5m x 5.65m) is a basilica without aisles that terminates in a single inscribed apse at the east end of the building. (Fig. 3) The apse is preceded by a raised bema which forms the chancel zone. Together, the apse and chancel comprise the sanctuary which extends beyond the width of the semicircle of the apse to the north and south walls of the chapel. According to custom, access to this area was restricted by a chancel barrier; as indicated by the channels for the panels and the sockets for the piers discovered in the floor of the bema, entry was possible only through one opening, located directly opposite the center of the semicircular apse. The space occupied by the sanctuary is ca. 5.5m, or over one-fourth of the length of the chapel. The sanctuary is paved with square tiles made of stone. The tiles of the apse are laid side-by-side in roughly horizontal rows while those of the chancel are placed diagonally, at a forty-five degree angle, to those in the apse. (Fig. 3) An unpaved rectangular space in the center of the sanctuary likely indicates the location of the altar, no longer extant.

The space to the west of the sanctuary, the naos (13m x 5.65m), is uninterrupted by aisles or other interior divisions. The naos floor was paved with mosaic which has sustained serious damage; however, a few sections of the pavement survive and, because of their compositional arrangements, it is possible to reconstruct the entire pavement with a high degree of certainty. (Tab. I/1) The pavement of the main field consisted of a diamond grid carpet pattern formed of fleurettes, red buds on black stems, against a white ground. (Tab. I/2) Each diamond contained a fleurette motif, of the same type used to create the grid. The stems were arranged to form a cross-shaped motif identical to those formed at the intersections of the diamonds. (Tab. I/3) The main field is framed by a black wave-motif border. The use of geometric grids (diamonds, interlacing circles or interlacing squares) to serve as the central organizing feature in mosaic pavements of the region was common during the fifth and sixth centuries. The excavation of a small monastery in the same neighborhood in the 1930's exposed a mosaic with the same diamond grid pattern; however, the diamonds were inhabited by vine leaves instead of crosses.<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 4, Tab. II/1).

At the eastern end of the naos, directly before the entrance to the sanctuary, a *tabula ansata* (2m. length) containing a Greek dedicatory inscription was found (Fig. 5, Tab. II/2). Despite damage to the north side, the inscription has been reconstructed by V. Tzaferis, who assigned it a sixth-seventh century date based upon paleographic analysis, as follows:<sup>2</sup>

“[In the days of Si]lvanus, the god-beloved deacon and head of the monastery, the present [mosaic inlay] was done and the apse and annex of the church, of...

<sup>1</sup> Baramki 1938: 56-58.

<sup>2</sup> Amit & Wolff 2000: 294.

[cubits length] and of six cubits height.  
Remember me, O Lord, in Thy Kingdom”

To the southwest of the chapel and main courtyard lies the main residential unit of the monastery. (Fig. 2) An irregularly shaped room paved with mosaic has been identified as the reception hall (4m x 5.5m). (Tab. II/3) The focal point of the well-preserved mosaic is a central medallion (1.9m diameter) which contains a seven line inscription in Armenian enclosed within a simple border of two concentric rows of black tesserae. M. Stone translated the inscription as follows:<sup>1</sup> (Tab. III/1)

“I  
Ewstat' the priest I-  
aid this mosaic.  
(You) who enter this house,  
remember me and my brother L  
uke to  
Christ”

The medallion is set against a white background sprinkled with fleurettes identical to those found in the chapel mosaic. The fleurettes are distributed over the field in eleven rows although the motifs along the edges are incomplete due to limitations of space. The orientation of the fleurettes corresponds to that of the inscription, i.e., correct perspective for the viewer entering the room. A coin found in the setting bed of the mosaic floor provides evidence that the pavement was laid soon after the Muslim conquest of Jerusalem in 638.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, two dedicatory inscriptions, each in a different language, were found in the same monastery. Two scenarios might be envisioned to explain their presence: according to the first scenario, the monastery was owned by Greek-speaking Byzantines during the initial building phase. Later, the property was transferred to Armenian monks who expanded the complex and advertised their ownership by commissioning an inscription in their own language which was installed in a well-trafficked, highly visible area (reception hall) of the monastery. However, based upon the archaeological and literary evidence, the second scenario seems more likely: Greeks and Armenians lived together in the monastery from the time of its foundation and, if—this remains an important question—the complex was given over to the Armenians, the transfer occurred during the later phase.

The strongest support for the second scenario comes from the discovery of underground crypts and individual tombs below the chapel.<sup>3</sup> Prior to its development as a

<sup>1</sup> Amit & Wolff 2000: 296.

<sup>2</sup> Amit & Wolff 2000: 296.

<sup>3</sup> Amit & Wolff 2000: 295-6.

monastery in the sixth century, this area of the city was used as a cemetery. While some of the burials were sealed by the construction of the chapel, others remained accessible. A long hall which flanks the south side of the chapel served as the narthex; its size (15m x 3.1m) is striking: the narthex is nearly half the size of the chapel. Beneath the eastern section of the narthex, three sealed rectangular tombs were found below the mosaic pavement of the floor. The tombs must antedate the narthex pavement; further, a coin, dating to the fifth century, which was found in the accumulated fill within the tombs, provides a valuable *terminus post quem*.<sup>1</sup> In one of the tombs a well-preserved stone marker was discovered intact. It bears an incised cross and Armenian inscription which M. Stone has translated as "Of Petros of Sodk."<sup>2</sup> As indicated by Stone, Sodk is a district near Lake Sevan in Armenia. Based upon the archaeological evidence and Stone's analysis of the paleography, it seems reasonable to date the narthex tombs to the early sixth century.

A large underground crypt, which was entered via a stairwell originating either in the narthex or courtyard, is located below the western end of the chapel. The excavators propose that the crypt was built contemporaneously with the chapel and, therefore, served the monastic community during the period the monastery was in use.<sup>3</sup> Some of the burials and grave goods sustained serious damage when the vaulted ceiling of the crypt along with the mosaic floor of the chapel collapsed. Among the items recovered from the crypt was a fragment of a stone slab, presumably a grave marker, which preserved three letters of a longer Armenian inscription.<sup>4</sup> While only the proper noun, Abel, remains on the marker fragment, Stone reconstructs the inscription as "This is the tomb of Abel," based upon the rather formulaic nature of epitaphs during this period.<sup>5</sup>

The dedicatory and funerary inscriptions, when taken together, provide evidence for the presence of Armenians at the site before the foundation of the monastery as well as after its establishment. The discovery of a single monastery inhabited, at least in part, by Armenians is not alone indicative of an Armenian quarter. But the presence of another chapel, containing an Armenian inscription, located within close proximity of the monastery bolsters the proposal of an Armenian religious district in this area of the city.

In 1894, excavations uncovered a small funerary chapel (6.3m x 3.9m) paved with an elaborate mosaic pavement which is commonly referred to as the "Bird Mosaic."<sup>6</sup> Under the southwestern corner of the mosaic, a small natural cave, which served as a grave, was found; it was filled with bones, small glass vessels and lamps.<sup>7</sup> The pavement

<sup>1</sup> Stone 2006a: 735.

<sup>2</sup> Stone 2006a: 734-35.

<sup>3</sup> D. Amit and S. Wolff, "Third Wall-Area D, Southern Area," unpublished field report, p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Stone 2006a: 735, he provides the dimensions of the grave marker and the inscription: stone slab measures 70cm at its widest and 45cm high; the inscription measures .30m long and .145m high.

<sup>5</sup> Stone 2006a: 735.

<sup>6</sup> Schick & Bliss 1894: 257-61; Schick & Bliss 1898. For an excellent summary of the facts surrounding this discovery, see Stone 2002: 208-216. The mosaic was found during the excavation of the foundations for the construction of a new building on the site.

<sup>7</sup> Schick & Bliss 1898: 253; Stone 2002: 208.

contains an inhabited scroll composition, an arrangement commonly found in mosaics of the Near East (from the late fifth century on). (Tab. III/2) Near the entrance to the chapel, which is oriented on a northwest/southeast axis, vine tendrils issue from an amphora that rests on a bed of acanthus leaves. The tendrils curve to form forty-three medallions. (Fig. 6) A formal, symmetrical approach has been taken to the layout of the pavement. The center vertical row forms a central axis to either side of which are opposing pairs of birds of the same species. Water fowl occur most frequently in the medallions accompanied by doves, partridges, peacocks and an eagle. (Tab. III/3) The center scrolls are filled by birds and various objects which take on religious significance in a church context such as a basket of bread, a chalice, and a basket of grapes. The Armenian inscription, located in a *tabula ansata* at the eastern end of the chapel, has been translated as, "To the memory and salvation of all Armenians whose names the Lord knows."<sup>1</sup> On the basis of paleography, M. Stone dates the inscription to the fifth or sixth century.<sup>2</sup> This date corresponds with the range assigned by M. Avi-Yonah and E. Kitzinger on the basis of formal analysis.<sup>3</sup> Beyond the *tabula ansata*, to the east, the mosaic pavement continues with four partridges flanking a *kantharos*, all placed against a flower strewn field. A bema, which contains a small apsidal niche at its western edge, is constructed over the easternmost portion of the chapel mosaic, and, therefore, must postdate the installation of the mosaic.

Late nineteenth century sources describe other finds associated with the discovery of the "Bird Mosaic."<sup>4</sup> At a distance of 7.62m from the pavement, a stone grave marker, broken into six or seven fragments, was found. Because all of the pieces were remained, it was possible to reconstruct the stone slab which contained an Armenian inscription. The inscription, "Having remembered Petros who made and Yohan who commissioned this cross," refers to a cross which was engraved on the stone.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, Owsepian mentions the discovery of numerous tombs beneath the foundations of the 'new' building under construction.<sup>6</sup> It appears that at least one of the tombs mentioned by Owsepian was covered by a marker with a Greek inscription.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Schick & Bliss 1894: 261; Murray 1895: 126-127.

<sup>2</sup> Stone 2002: 215.

<sup>3</sup> Avi-Yonah 1975: 379; Kitzinger 1977: 89. There is a lack of consensus among scholars concerning the interpretation of the imagery. Briefly, Dauphin 1978: 408, argues that the mosaic is decorative and without symbolic meaning; Narkiss 1979: 28, favors a Neoplatonic interpretation of some of the motifs and, concludes that the pavement was influenced by classical tradition; Evans 1982: 218, proposes a non-classical source of influence in Sasanian Persia.

<sup>4</sup> Schick & Bliss 1894: 258; Owsepian 1895: 88-90.

<sup>5</sup> Schick & Bliss 1894: 258; Owsepian 1895: 89. Stone (Stone 2002:211) suggests that the inscription should read as an imperative: Remember Petros who made and Yohan who commissioned this cross." Today the location of the slab is unknown which makes further paleographic analysis impossible.

<sup>6</sup> Owsepian 1895: 89.

<sup>7</sup> Séjourné 1894: 628.

Some scholars have linked the chapel with a reference to a monastery dedicated to St. Polyuktos in the document attributed to Anastasius vardapet.<sup>1</sup> As M. Stone has correctly observed, Anastasius refers to a monastery, not a chapel.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the inscription found in the 'Bird Mosaic' chapel does not mention Polyuktos; instead, it memorializes "...all Armenians whose names the Lord knows."<sup>3</sup> Stone proposes that the inscription, which adopts language common in contemporary Greek epigraphy, may have been intended to commemorate the pilgrim donors who were responsible for the construction of the chapel "...in a graveyard, associated with the monastery over the road."<sup>4</sup> Based upon the evidence, Stone's conclusion that "its [chapel] identification as a monastery is not possible" does not seem well-founded.<sup>5</sup> The chapel discovered in the Third Wall excavations was part of a monastic complex which contained both burial troughs and crypts. Given the circumstances at the time of the discovery of the 'Bird Mosaic' chapel discovery and the impossibility of excavating under the present road (Street of the Prophets) between the sites, it seems entirely possible that the chapel could have been part of a monastic complex. Whether it, along with the Third Wall monastery, formed one large monastic community or it existed as a separate foundation next to the Third Wall complex cannot be determined. There is a possibility that one of these monasteries (or a single, large monastery) may have been dedicated to St. Polyuktos.

Clearly an explanation for Armenian connections with this area of Jerusalem must be sought. It seems that the answer might lay, in part, with the aforementioned Armenian desert father and monastic founder, Euthymius. After her exile to Palestine in late 441/early 442, Eudokia, the wife of Emperor Theodosius II, established herself as a great patron of church building and monasticism.<sup>6</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis records that Euthymius met with the Empress Eudokia, and he intimates that they met on more than one occasion and perhaps maintained communication through written correspondence.<sup>7</sup> In addition to her beneficence, Eudokia's antagonism towards the court in Constantinople and her close ties to the monastic community in Jerusalem led to her involvement in the controversy over the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon (451).<sup>8</sup> According to Cyril's account, Euthymius accepted the definition of the faith which was reached by the

<sup>1</sup> The eighth entry in Anastasius's list, as edited and translated by A. Sanjian, is "The monastery of St. Polyuktos, to the north, built by the tetrarch of Armenia." Sanjian 1969: 265-92.

<sup>2</sup> Stone 2002: 212-213.

<sup>3</sup> Stone 2002: 212-213.

<sup>4</sup> Stone 2002: 213.

<sup>5</sup> Stone 2002: 212.

<sup>6</sup> For the events surrounding Eudokia's exile, see Holum 1982: 175-216; for Eudokia's activities in Palestine, see Hunt 1982: 221-248; for interpretation of Eudokia's patronage in the context of other early Byzantine empresses, see L. James 2001: 148-159.

<sup>7</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis 1991: 49-50.

<sup>8</sup> For the political background, see Honigmann 1950:209-279; for Eudokia's involvement, see Holum 1982: 222.

Council of Chalcedon.<sup>1</sup> Nonetheless, the monks of Palestine rejected the definition as a result of the machinations of the monk, Theodosius, who Cyril described as a precursor of Antichrist.<sup>2</sup> Initially, Eudokia joined the monks in their anti-Chalcedonian stance; however, after misfortune befell her family in Rome, she began to question her position.<sup>3</sup> She sought the guidance of the holy man, Symeon Stylites, in Antioch who counseled her to return to orthodoxy and seek the advice of Euthymius.<sup>4</sup> In 455, she commissioned the construction of a tower near Euthymius's desert laura where she could meet with the desert father to receive instruction in the faith.<sup>5</sup> He advised her to accept the definition proclaimed by the Council of Chalcedon and to enter into communion with Bishop Juvenal of Jerusalem; she followed his advice, immediately doing both.

Her removal from the court in Constantinople does not appear to have adversely affected her financial security; it must be assumed that she was permitted to retain possession of the property which she was granted upon marriage.<sup>6</sup> She ordered the rebuilding of the Church of St. Stephen on a monumental scale as well as the construction of an adjoining monastery. She endowed her foundation and, significantly, placed Gabriel, a follower of Euthymius, in charge.<sup>7</sup> The basilica was consecrated on 15 June 460; four months later, upon her death, Eudokia was buried in the church. The proximity of the church to the 'Bird Mosaic' chapel and the Armenian monastery of the Third Wall excavations is striking and lends support to the theory that the land may have been an imperial donation of the Empress. After all, she had established a consistent pattern of patronage of monastic communities, and appears to have been particularly devoted to the Armenian father, Euthymius, as evidenced by her construction of a church dedicated to St. Peter, which she provisioned with a large cistern, near his desert monastery.<sup>8</sup>

A monastic community with a significant number of Armenian monks dedicating a monastery to St. Polyuktos might simply be explained as devotion to the cult of a saint from the homeland. Polyuktos was a Roman soldier who had converted to Christianity; he was martyred for his faith in the mid-third century (254-259).<sup>9</sup> His grave in Melitene became a site of pilgrimage for Armenians. In fact, when Euthymius's parents were unable to conceive a child, they visited the shrine of St. Polyuktos.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, the desert father felt such an affinity for the monastic life that he spent his youth in the monasteries of St. Polyuktos and Thirty-three Martyrs.<sup>11</sup> However, the dedication to

<sup>1</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis 1991:38.

<sup>2</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis 1991: 38.

<sup>3</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis 1991: 43-44; for a detailed account, see Hunt 1982: 243-44.

<sup>4</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis 1991: 44.

<sup>5</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis 1991: 45-46.

<sup>6</sup> Hunt 1982: 239.

<sup>7</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis 1991: 46.

<sup>8</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis 1991: 49.

<sup>9</sup> Ačařyan, *HAB*, 4.266-7, as cited in Stone 2002: 665.

<sup>10</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis 1991: 5.

<sup>11</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis 1991: 9.

this Armenian martyr becomes more significant when viewed within a broader context: Empress Eudokia built the first church dedicated to St. Polyuktos in Constantinople.<sup>1</sup> It seems reasonable to suggest that her devotion to this particular saint may have resulted in the construction of another church or monastery dedicated to the saint in Jerusalem since she had been deprived of her Constantinopolitan church. Another explanation could be that, as an expression of gratitude, the monks chose to dedicate the monastery to one of her patron saints.

Literary sources attest to the importance of the Church of St. Stephen as a center of pilgrimage in the sixth century.<sup>2</sup> Stone's suggestion that the 'Bird Mosaic' chapel may have been donated by a group of pilgrims from Armenia is tenable; there would have been reason for many pilgrims, particularly Armenians, to be in this quarter of the city. The only other area in Jerusalem with such a concentration of mosaics with Armenian inscriptions is on the Mount of Olives. Archaeological excavations have revealed that this hill was covered with a multitude of monasteries and churches during the Byzantine period. There is evidence for an Armenian community on the grounds of the present Russian Convent on the Mount of Olives. Most of the Armenian mosaics were discovered, unrelated to any existing building, during the construction of the convent between 1870 and 1887.<sup>3</sup> The inscriptions indicate that their context was originally funereal.

In the chapel of St. John the Baptist, located to the north of the church, is a mosaic pavement which is divided into three adjacent carpet panels.<sup>4</sup> The western panel consists of a geometric composition of interlaced roundels, each containing a small cross. The center carpet, measuring 3.5 x 3.2 m, is composed of thirty-five interlaced roundels and squares arranged formally into horizontal and vertical rows. The interlaced shapes are inhabited primarily by birds with the exception of the central, horizontal third row and the southernmost vertical row which contain pomegranates, citrons, grapes and a fish on a plate. In the circle and square at the center of the pavement, a dog barks at a lamb. The eastern panel, a small rectangular pavement with an Armenian inscription at one end, contains a grid of diamonds; each diamond encloses a small cross. The inscription has been translated by Sanjian as follows: "This is the monument of the Lord (= Bishop) Jacob, made at [his] request."<sup>5</sup> B. Narkiss proposed a late fifth century date for this pavement based upon stylistic

<sup>1</sup> *Anthologia Palatina*, 1.10.1-10, as cited in Mango & Ševčenko 1961: 243; Harrison 1989: 33-34, where Harrison translates portions of the epigram including the relevant section for Eudokia.

<sup>2</sup> Theodosius, *De situ terrae sanctae*, 8 (Theodosius 2002: 107); Piacenza pilgrim, *Itinerarium*, 25, (Piacenza Pilgrim 2002: 141).

<sup>3</sup> Sanjian 1986: 125-127; Stone 2002: 203-206, especially footnote 2; Clermont-Ganneau 1899 (1971): 334-35.

<sup>4</sup> I am grateful to Sister Ktsenia of the Russian Convent for her assistance and generous hospitality during my visit.

<sup>5</sup> Sanjian 1986: 125.

comparisons with another (Artawan) pavement located on the convent grounds.<sup>1</sup> In a cave near the chapel, an Armenian inscription, in mosaic, provides the names of those interred in the three plastered rock-cut tombs: Jojik, Šušān, Marin.<sup>2</sup>

The Artawan pavement, located *in situ* within the Russian Archaeological Museum, is a fragment (6.7m x 4.0m) of a larger, rectangular mosaic which originally paved a funerary chapel.<sup>3</sup> The extant portion consists of interlacing circles, semicircles and, at the center, an oval inset with a square. Within the roundels and interstitial polygonal spaces are birds, animals, fish and fruit. The central square contains a lamb. Narkiss dated this mosaic, based upon formal analysis, to the mid-fifth century.<sup>4</sup> An Armenian inscription runs along the north side of the pavement between the outer and inner borders of the carpet. It reads, "This is the tomb of the blessed Susanik, mother of Artawan, Hori 18."<sup>5</sup> The absence of the year is particularly unfortunate because the location of the inscription raises important questions concerning its date. Unlike the other inscriptions discussed in this study, the Artawan inscription does not appear to have been conceived as part of the original design for the floor. Rather, its placement, along with differences in workmanship, leads to the conclusion that it was inserted at a later date.<sup>6</sup> As a result, it is impossible to know if, originally, the mosaic paved a funerary chapel or the chapel took on a funerary character later, i.e., a tomb was inserted at a later date.<sup>7</sup>

Two other Armenian inscriptions were found near the mosaic pavement with the Artawan inscription. A vaulted tomb beneath a chapel located to the north of the church (southeast of the Artawan pavement) contains a mosaic inscription which has been translated as follows: "Having as intercessors with God the Holy Isaiah and the holy fathers, I, Vałan have made this monument for the pardon of sins."<sup>8</sup> A third Armenian mosaic inscription was discovered between the gate and Russian house; it has been translated as "For the prayer and the salvation of Theus, Abas, and Mawrkan."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Narkiss 1979: 23.

<sup>2</sup> Descriptions of the relationship between the chapel and the cave vary: Sanjian states that it is "below" the chapel; Stone places the cave "in this area"; I have erred on the side of caution with my imprecision. Sanjian 1986: 125; Stone 2002: 204.

<sup>3</sup> Clermont-Ganneau 1899 (repr. 1971): 329-334.

<sup>4</sup> Narkiss 1979: 21-23. Narkiss drew a parallel between the style of the Artawan mosaic and the ibex border in the House of the Phoenix from Antioch (now in the Louvre) which D. Levi dated to the fifth century. (Levi 1947: 351-55) According to Narkiss, the animals in both pavements appear "statically monumental."

<sup>5</sup> Sanjian 1986: 126. The ancient Armenian month of Hori corresponds to September; the inscription provides no indication of the year.

<sup>6</sup> Clermont-Ganneau 1899 (repr. 1971): 331, he notes the difference in tesserae.

<sup>7</sup> There is no indication that a crypt or burial was discovered below the pavement.

<sup>8</sup> Sanjian 1986: 126; Clermont-Ganneau 1899 (repr. 1971): 334; briefly referenced in Stone 2002: 204.

<sup>9</sup> Sanjian 1986: 126; Clermont-Ganneau 1899 (repr. 1971): 334; briefly referenced in M. Stone

Finally, Clermont-Ganneau translated a Greek inscription on a broken slab of stone which refers to the superior of an Armenian convent: "The private tomb of the most venerable Kharate, Lady Superior of the holy convent of the Armenians."<sup>1</sup> The slab had been removed from its original context; Clermont Ganneau observed it in a private house near two burial caves located just above Gethsemane, on the Mount of Olives.<sup>2</sup> He proposed that the convent mentioned in the inscription was "one of those which the Armenians inhabited on the Mount of Olives," from which the mosaic pavements and inscriptions discussed above must come.

The Mount of Olives evidence is problematic due to the absence of secure dates. The mosaic pavements have been dated based upon stylistic analysis, which can only be approximate. The inscriptions do not contain dates; the Ewstat pavement (Third Wall excavations) is the only one with a secure date (mid-seventh century).<sup>3</sup> Taken together, however, such a concentration of Armenian inscriptions located in one area does indicate the presence of an Armenian community.

The Mount of Olives had been the focus of monastic foundations as well as pilgrimage since the reign of Theodosius I (379-95). The monasteries of Melania the Elder (subsequently administered by her granddaughter, Melania the Younger), and Rufinus received numerous monks and pilgrims to the Holy City.<sup>4</sup> These monasteries became powerful, wielding enormous influence in doctrinal matters.<sup>5</sup> John Rufus records in his *Life of Peter the Iberian* that the young Georgian prince, who had been raised in the imperial court in Constantinople, was welcomed by Melania the Younger in her monastery upon his arrival in Jerusalem.<sup>6</sup> He received the monastic habit from Gerontius, who was in charge of the monks in the compound on the Mount of Olives. The *Life of Peter* provides valuable information concerning the close ties between monasticism and the imperial circle in Jerusalem in the mid-fifth century. Evidence of the closeness of the relationship is found in his *Life* which records that the relics of Persian saints, to whom Peter was particularly devoted and carried with him as apotropaia on his journey, were deposited in a martyrium constructed by Melania on the Mount of Olives.<sup>7</sup> Originally, the shrine was commissioned for the purpose of housing a relic of St. Stephen and the relics of the Forty Armenian Martyrs of Sebaste (Armenia). The ceremony occurred the day after the dedication of the church of St. Stephen (439) outside the northern city gate and was attended by the same dignitaries: Empress Eudokia, Bishop Cyril of Alexandria and other Egyptian bishops.

2002: 204. Stone mentions also another tomb inscription which contained both Greek and Armenian letters. The inscription was published by Riess 1885: 155-61.

<sup>1</sup> Clermont-Ganneau 1899 (repr. 1971): 326; noted also by Stone 2002: 205-206.

<sup>2</sup> Clermont-Ganneau 1899 (repr. 1971): 325.

<sup>3</sup> Stone 2002: 216.

<sup>4</sup> Hunt 1982: 155-179.

<sup>5</sup> Hunt 1982: 180-202.

<sup>6</sup> John Rufus 1895: 35.

<sup>7</sup> John Rufus 1895: 37.

Cyril of Scythopolis, writing in the mid-sixth century, refers to a number of monasteries on the Mount of Olives.<sup>1</sup> The account of the Piacenza pilgrim, written before 570, confirms that this was the case.<sup>2</sup> He observed "... a vast number of men and women in cloisters" in the monasteries.<sup>3</sup> Two later documents support his account: Anastasius's list of monasteries and the *Commematorium Cassis Dei* (ca. 808) which refers to 2 Armenian hermits living in cells alongside ascetics who spoke other languages at the Church of St. Mary and 6 monks in the Armenian Church of St. John, both located on the Mount of Olives.<sup>4</sup>

## Conclusions

The literary and archaeological evidence confirm the presence of two Armenian areas in Jerusalem and its environs in the early Byzantine period. The concentration of Armenian inscriptions on the Mount of Olives indicates that Armenians numbered among the men and women engaged in monastic life there. The Mount of Olives was long known as a center of monasticism and, therefore, the discovery of Armenian religious communities or, perhaps, evidence of compatriots visiting them is hardly surprising.<sup>5</sup> The identification of an Armenian district in Jerusalem, just north of the city walls, is both important and surprising. The explanation for their presence in this area of the city has expanded our understanding of the Empress Eudokia's patronage in the Holy Land, and her special interest in Armenian monasticism and the cult of Armenian saints.

Moreover, the evidence has broader implications for scholarship on monasticism in Byzantine Palestine. On one level, the empirical evidence presented in this study leads to the conclusion that, despite their different positions on the definition promulgated by the Council of Chalcedon, Greeks and Armenians—and presumably other groups—continued to live together in Palestinian monastic communities well into the sixth century.<sup>6</sup> It seems reasonable to suggest that only as immigrant communities grew and obtained sufficient resources that separate monasteries were founded (imperial funding representing an exception). However, it seems logical that both monastic environments existed throughout the period: separate and integrated. Significantly, the evidence from the Third Wall excavations

<sup>1</sup> J. Binns proposes that Cyril composed his *Lives* between 555-557 CE; see his introduction to Cyril of Scythopolis 2002: xxxviii-xl. Cyril's references to monasteries on the Mount of Olives: 64; 154. 204; 265; 269.

<sup>2</sup> Piacenza Pilgrim 2002: 138.

<sup>3</sup> Piacenza Pilgrim 2002: 138.

<sup>4</sup> Anastasius 1844; Wilkinson 2002: 253-55.

<sup>5</sup> Two possibilities for interpreting the inscriptions: the persons mentioned were residents of the monasteries or were visitors to the monasteries.

<sup>6</sup> This might be explained by the persistence of Monophysite tendencies among the monks of Palestine which accorded with the views of Armenians.

indicates that monasteries continued not simply to exist but to grow after the Muslim Conquest which fits well with recent scholarship that proposes a more nuanced relationship between Christians and Muslims during the Transitional Period.

On another level, something of the nature of life (i.e., lived experience) within monastic communities in early Byzantine Palestine is elucidated by considering conceptual matters related to identity as evidenced by the archaeological record. As observed by R. Jenkins, scholarship on ethnicity, particularly in social anthropology, has been one-sided: concentrating on a group's definition and identification of itself as opposed to external definition and categorization.<sup>1</sup> In fact, both internal and external definitions are essential to the production of identity—even when they are the same and reinforce each other. (Without an audience, there would be no need for distinctions to be made.) The majority of those who resided in the monasteries were immigrants to Palestine. It is natural that in such shared residential environments the strongest relationships to develop would have been based on common language, an explicit signal of ethnic identity. These should be envisioned as informal social groups within the monastic community that tacitly expressed membership through ethnic distinction. Internally, the distinction was manifested by use of the group's common language in the visual commemorations, i.e., inscriptions that were commissioned for monastic or funerary contexts. Social groups received external recognition and validation from the leader, acting on behalf of the religious community (meso group), when provisions were made for the celebration of the liturgy in the language of the micro group, as was clearly the case for Armenians in the monasteries of Sabas and Theodosius. The image of early Byzantine monasteries in Palestine that has emerged, then, is one of overlapping social contexts. Informal groups were certainly a dimension of monastic communities. Yet, at the same time, members also understood that they belonged to the entire community, regardless of internal definitions of distinctiveness. Ethnic diversity was a social reality in monasteries but, because identity was viewed along a continuum, there is no evidence that it was cause for crisis within these early religious communities.

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<sup>1</sup> Jenkins 1994: 219.

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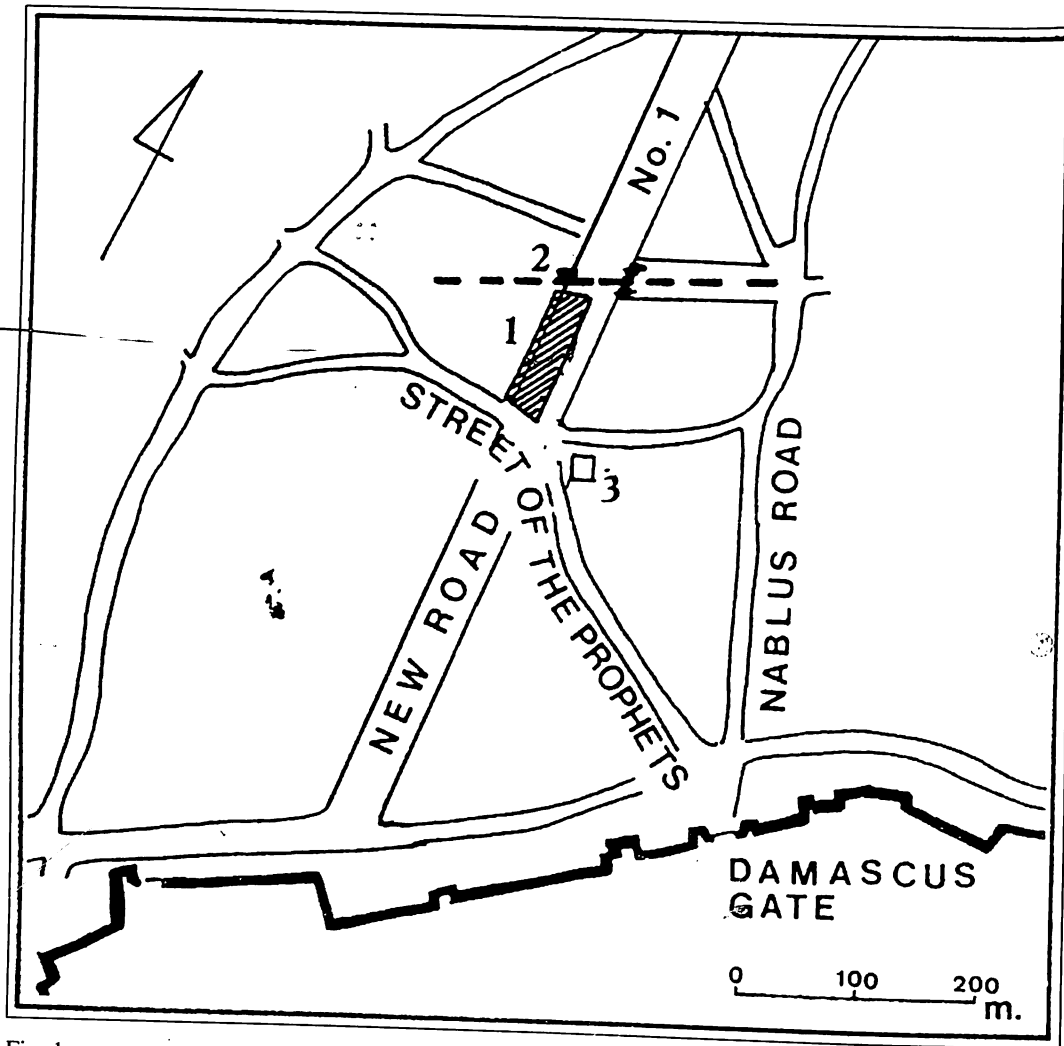


Fig. 1. Morasha: general plan of the area north of the Jerusalem Old City. Amit & Wolff, 'An Armenian Monastery in the Morasha Neighborhood, Jerusalem' in ed. Geva, H., *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed*, Jerusalem, 2000, 293. (With permission of authors)

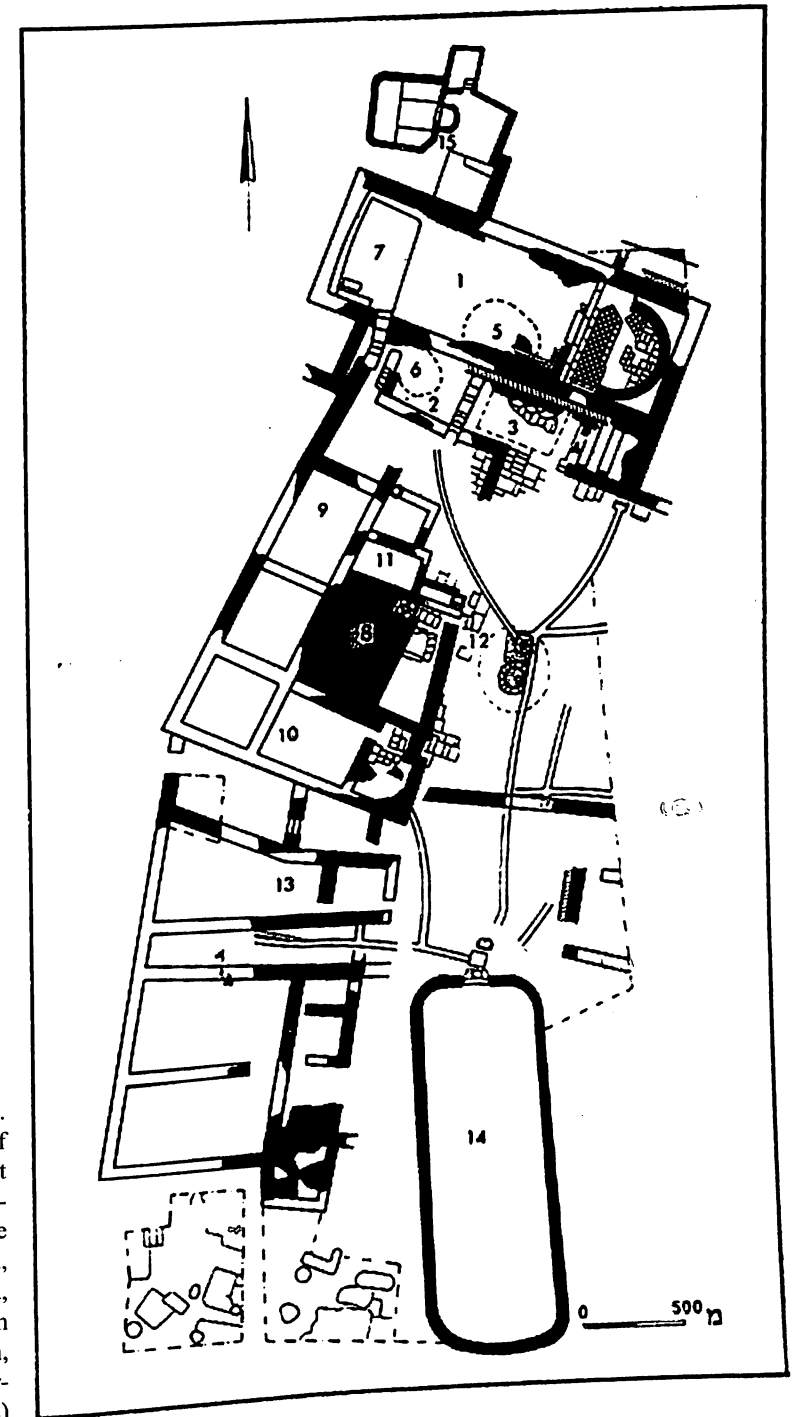


Fig. 2. Morasha: plan of Southern area. Amit & Wolff, 'An Armenian Monastery' in the Morasha Neighborhood, Jerusalem' in ed. Geva, H., *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed*, Jerusalem, 2000, 294. (With permission of authors)





Fig. 3. Archaeological drawing of the southern area with chapel to north. Drawing is courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

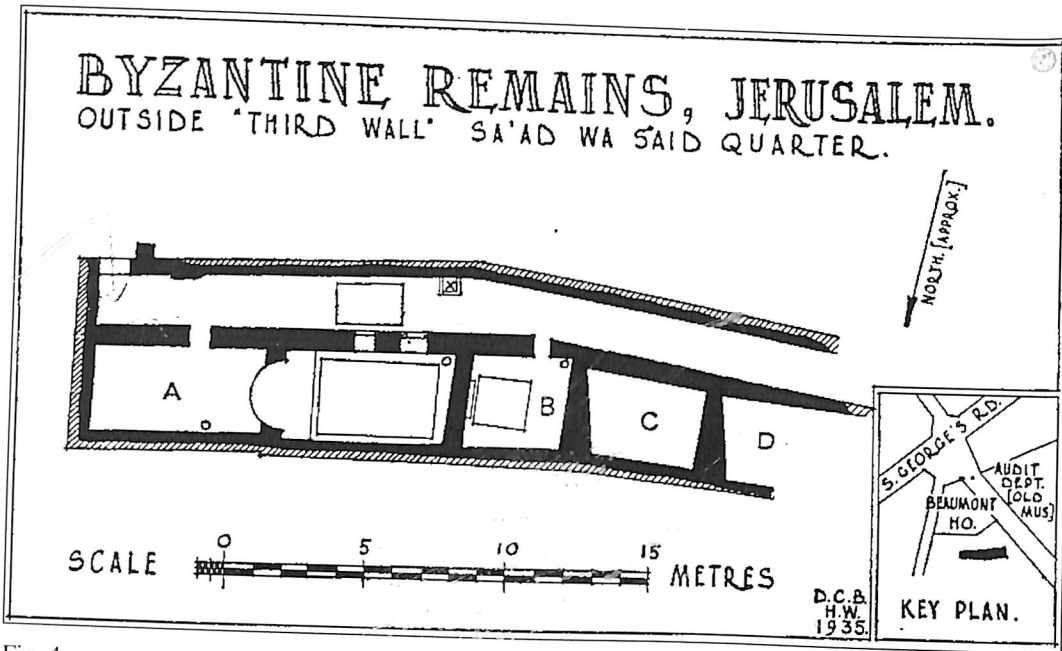


Fig. 4. Plan of site. Baramki, D.C., 'Byzantine Remains in Palestine II: A small monastery and chapel outside the 'Third Wall', Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine 6 (1938): 56.

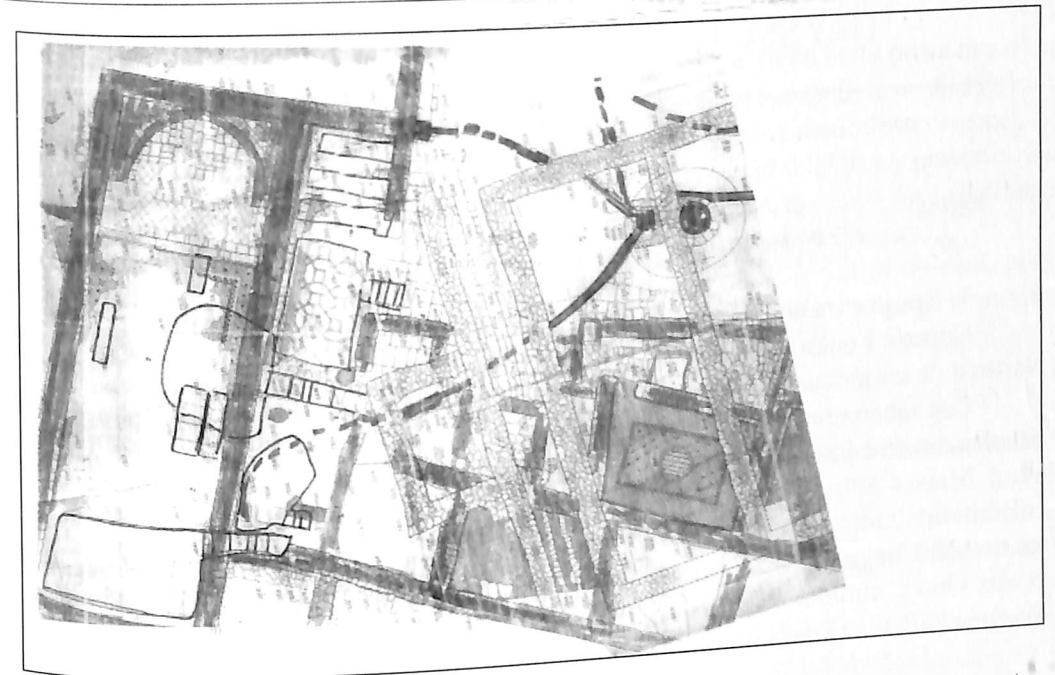


Fig. 5. Drawing and reconstruction of the Greek inscription in a tabula ansata placed at the base of the sanctuary bema. (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority)

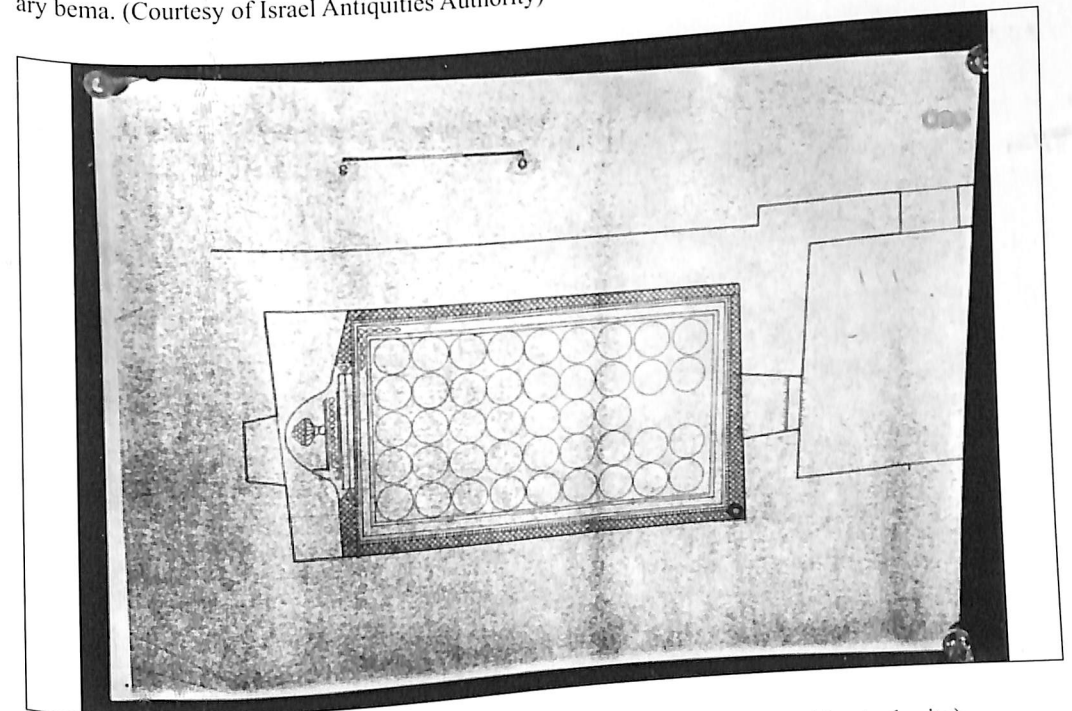


Fig. 6. Schematic drawing of 'Bird Mosaic', Morasha. (Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority)

# ULYSSE ENTRE SOSLAN ET SARDON

Alain Christol

## 1. Épopée iranienne, épopée grecque<sup>1</sup>.

Comme l'ont montré les travaux de V.I. Abaev et G. Dumézil, l'épopée ossète des Nartes a de nombreux points communs avec l'épopée homérique.

Ces rencontres s'expliquent d'abord par l'héritage indo-européen que les deux peuples ont en commun ; il en est ainsi du conflit fonctionnel (§ 2).

Mais d'autres similitudes s'expliqueraient mieux si on supposait une longue cohabitation entre proto-Grecs et proto-Iraniens, cohabitation que semblent confirmer les données linguistiques. On expliquera ainsi les innovations communes aux Ossètes et aux Grecs, comme la réécriture du conflit fondateur (§ 2) ou la place qu'occupent *Syrdon* et *Ulysse* (§ 4-7).

### 1.1 Les roches-béliers et les filles du soleil

Il faut aussi tenir compte, même si leur existence est difficile à prouver, des emprunts faits séparément par les proto-Grecs et les Scythes à une civilisation anatolo-caucasienne, antérieure à l'arrivée des Indo-européens ; c'est probablement le cas pour le motif des roches battantes, qui barrent l'accès à un monde merveilleux ; obstacle terrestre dans l'épopée des Nartes (NK 236 = LH 213), obstacle marin dans la légende des Argonautes et, de façon plus allusive, dans l'*Odyssée*<sup>2</sup>.

Quand *Batradz* part délivrer son ancêtre, prisonnier d'un géant, son cheval l'avertit qu'il doit d'abord franchir un obstacle difficile : *dyuuæ xoxy xæcync fyrtau* « deux montagnes se heurtent comme des béliers » (NK 236 = LH 213). Après avoir tué le géant, *Batradz* délivre les filles du soleil et de la lune qui étaient retenues prisonnières (LN 238 = LH 214).

Or *Médée*, que va enlever *Jason*, est la fille d'*Aiétès*, roi de Colchide et fils du soleil ; la sœur d'*Aiétès* est une autre magicienne célèbre, *Circé* (*Od.* 135-139).

On a donc un même programme pour le héros narte et pour les Argonautes, franchir les roches battantes pour pouvoir approcher une (petite-)fille du soleil<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Les paragraphes 1-3 reprennent, pour l'essentiel, et complètent les analyses de Christol (1997, 355-358) = (2008, 383-387).

<sup>2</sup> Une réécriture commune à la Grèce et au Caucase est probable car le védâ connaît le thème des montagnes mobiles, avec cette différence qu'elles ont été fixées par Indra lors de la mise en ordre du monde (*RV* II, 12,2, etc.).

<sup>3</sup> L'accès au monde de *Circé* se fait soit par les roches *Planktes* qui virent passer les Argonautes,

## 1.2 Le héros dans la caverne

On hésitera à attribuer à un emprunt égéo-caucasien le motif du héros prisonnier d'un géant anthropophage borgne, dans une caverne close par un rocher qu'il ne peut soulever ; pour s'échapper, le héros aveugle le géant et utilise un bélier pour sortir de la caverne<sup>1</sup>. Si le thème du héros prisonnier d'un géant peut appartenir à un fond folklorique universel, les similitudes sont telles, en particulier dans les modalités d'évasion, qu'une source commune est probable ; mais ce peut être aussi un emprunt de l'un des mondes à l'autre<sup>2</sup>.

On retrouve là la problématique des mythes de *Prométhée* et d'*Amirani*, pour lesquels Charachidze (1986, 324-336) n'exclut pas l'emprunt à un original commun, qu'il est malheureusement impossible de situer dans l'espace ou dans le temps.

## 2. Le conflit fondateur

Comme l'a montré G. DUMÉZIL, la trame du conflit troyen est trifonctionnelle ; les déesses protectrices se répartissent ainsi : *Héra* (I) et *Athéna* (II) sont en faveur des Achéens ; *Aphrodite* (III) est en faveur des Troyens. Le protégé d'*Aphrodite*, le troyen *Paris*, allie la volupté, la richesse et une certaine lâcheté au combat ; il se conduit comme s'il était l'un des *Borataë*<sup>3</sup>.

Cet antagonisme entre (I + II) et (III) évoque un motif bien connu ailleurs, celui du conflit fondateur, *Ases* contre *Vanes* chez les Germains, *Romains* contre *Sabins* à Rome. En Italie comme en Germanie, le conflit se termine sans victoire, par une fusion entre les deux partis, ce qui rend viable la société ainsi créée.

La même fusion se retrouve en Inde entre *Deva* et *Asura*, mais l'articulation avec l'idéologie trifonctionnelle n'apparaît pas aussi clairement<sup>4</sup>.

Dans l'épopée des Nartes, il y a bien un conflit entre les « forts » (*Æxsærtægkatæ*) et les « riches » (*Borataë*), mais ce conflit n'appartient pas à un passé mythique ou à la cosmogonie ; il est synchronique et sert de moteur dramatique pour l'épopée. Plutôt qu'à l'aube du monde (cosmogonie), il se situe à sa fin ; tout au moins il entraîne le monde héroïque vers sa perte. Le cycle épique s'achève sur la mort des Nartes (NK 371 = LH 259). Ils préférèrent une gloire éternelle à une vie éternelle<sup>5</sup>.

Le conflit qui sert de trame au cycle troyen n'a pas non plus de caractère fondateur. Comme en Ossétie, il chante la fin d'un monde : les héros de l'*Iliade* représentent la

soit par *Charybde* et *Scylla* (*Od.* 12, 55-110) et c'est ce second chemin que parcourt *Ulysse* pour rencontrer la magicienne *Circé*, fille du Soleil.

<sup>1</sup> *Od.* 9 (*Ulysse* et le cyclope *Polyphème*) et NK 49 = LH 57 (*Uyryzmæg æmæ soqyr uæjyg* « *Soslan* et le géant borgne ») : Christol (2008, 389).

<sup>2</sup> L'antériorité des données grecques n'est pas un argument décisif en faveur d'un modèle grec. L'épisode de *Polyphème* a un « parfum » caucasien indiscutable.

<sup>3</sup> Dumézil (1985, 15-30) ; Scott Littleton (1970, 232).

<sup>4</sup> *ME* I, 173, 221.

<sup>5</sup> NK 372 : *næ næ qæuy ænusy card fælæ nyn radæd ænusy kad !*  
« Nous n'avons pas besoin d'une vie sans fin, mais que (Dieu) nous donne une gloire sans fin ! »

dernière génération héroïque<sup>1</sup>. Des survivants de la guerre de Troie, rares sont ceux qui retrouvent leur patrie et leur royaume sans difficultés. Après leur retour, ni eux-mêmes, ni leurs descendants n'auront l'occasion d'accomplir de nouveaux exploits héroïques.

L'épopée ossète comme l'épopée homérique ont donc connu le thème du conflit fonctionnel mais n'en ont pas retenu le rôle fondateur. En cela ils se distinguent des autres domaines indo-européens.

### 3. L'effacement de la première fonction

Un autre point commun aux deux épopées est l'effacement de la première fonction dans l'idéologie structurante. Les *Alægataæ*, qui devaient la représenter, n'ont plus qu'un rôle marginal, même s'il est signifiant<sup>2</sup>. En Grèce, rien ne permet de postuler l'existence, à un moment du passé, d'une idéologie trifonctionnelle. La situation est paradoxale : on a relevé de nombreux exemples de récits construits selon l'idéologie trifonctionnelle<sup>3</sup>, mais elle reste étrangère à la pensée grecque et ces récits sont intégrés à des ensembles construits sur d'autres modèles idéologiques.

Contrairement à l'Inde ou à Rome, l'idéologie trifonctionnelle n'apparaît jamais comme un cadre vivant qui permet de structurer des données mythiques ou historiques. Il est probable que les aèdes homériques étaient étrangers à une telle vision du monde ; la présence du trifonctionnel exclut donc une réécriture proprement grecque.

Une question reste en suspens : les Grecs ont-ils perdu une conception héritée de l'indo-européen, tout en conservant certains des mythes qu'elle avait créés ? C'est possible, mais on ne peut exclure une autre hypothèse : les Grecs n'auraient jamais connu l'idéologie trifonctionnelle et auraient emprunté les mythes concernés à des voisins qui la connaissaient.

Le Caucase fournit un modèle historique sur ce point : les voisins des Ossètes, les Abkhaz, les Tcherkesses ou les Tchétchènes connaissent les légendes des Nartes mais en dehors de toute idéologie trifonctionnelle. Hors d'Ossétie, là où on trouve des traces, comme dans le panthéon des Svanes, l'explication la plus probable est celle d'un emprunt à des voisins indo-européens<sup>4</sup>.

La question se pose donc : les proto-Grecs ont-ils été en contact avec d'autres

<sup>1</sup> Hésiode (*Op.* 156-173) évoque cette race des héros, la quatrième créée par Zeus, qui disparut dans les conflits que chantaient les épopées :

« ... race divine des héros que l'on nomme demi-dieux et dont la génération nous a précédés sur la terre sans limites. Ceux-là périrent dans la dure guerre et dans la mêlée douloureuse, les uns devant les murs de Thèbes aux sept portes, sur le sol cadméen, en combattant pour les troupes d'Édipe ; les autres au-delà de l'abîme marin, à Troie, où la guerre les avait conduits sur des vaisseaux, pour Hélène aux beaux cheveux, et où la mort, qui tout achève, les enveloppa. » (trad. P. Mazon)

<sup>2</sup> *ME* I, 462-466 ; Dumézil (1978, 204-211).

<sup>3</sup> Scott Littleton (1970) ; Dumézil (1985, 13) ; Sergent (1979).

<sup>4</sup> Pour l'absence de l'idéologie trifonctionnelle : *ME* I, 570 ; Charachidzé (1987, 11-13). Pour les Svanes : Charachidzé (1987, 85-91).

peuples de langue et culture indo-européennes auxquels ils auraient emprunté une partie de leurs mythes ? Ce modèle pourrait être indo-iranien. mais cela signifierait qu'à un moment de leur préhistoire, sur la route qui les a menés du berceau originel des Indo-européens à la mer Egée, les proto-Grecs ont subi l'influence culturelle d'autres peuples indo-européens. C'est un problème que nous espérons pouvoir traiter ailleurs.

### 4. Syrdon, Ulysse et Soslan

Un des personnages les plus originaux de l'épopée ossète est *Syrdon*, compagnon de toutes les expéditions nartes, capable de trouver des stratagèmes pour sortir des situations les plus difficiles mais tout aussi capable de tendre des pièges à ses compagnons ou de les ridiculiser, allant même jusqu'à causer leur mort. C'est un maître du mensonge.

*Ulysse*, lui aussi, occupe une place à part parmi les héros grecs de l'*Iliade*. Il est célèbre par ses ruses, dont celle qui permettra la prise de Troie, le célèbre cheval de bois. Dans l'*Odyssée*, il multiplie les mensonges et les déguisements pour échapper à la mort.

Il diffère cependant de *Syrdon* par ses capacités physiques ; il est capable de vaincre par la force et, dans l'*Iliade*, les autres Achéens le considèrent comme un pair.

*Soslan* apparaît comme l'antithèse de *Syrdon*, dont il est le principal ennemi. C'est un des Grands Nartes et certainement le plus fort, après *Batradz*. *Soslan* recourt parfois à la ruse face à plus fort que lui ; mais il doit alors demander aide et conseils à *Satana*.

Entre ces trois héros il y a tout un réseau de ressemblances et de différences qui mérite d'être examiné en détail.

Cette étude ne peut se faire sans tenir compte de deux personnages féminins, *Satana* chez les Nartes et *Athéna* en Grèce.

*Satana* est le seul personnage féminin qui joue un rôle central dans l'épopée. Si elle est en concurrence avec *Syrdon* pour l'usage de la ruse (*xin*), elle soutient *Soslan* dans toutes ses entreprises, même les moins nobles, comme le combat contre *Totyradz* (§ 9.2).

Son rôle auprès de *Soslan* n'est pas sans analogie avec celui d'*Athéna* auprès d'*Ulysse* ; sans parenté directe avec le héros, elles l'ont choisi et le protègent<sup>1</sup>.

### 5. Naissances des héros

*Soslan* est né d'une pierre fécondée par un berger<sup>2</sup>, à la vue de *Satana* nue au bord d'une rivière (*NK* 63 = *LH* 69). Elle appelle volontiers *Soslan* « mon fils que je n'ai pas mis au monde ».

*Syrdon* a lui aussi une naissance originale (*NK* 153 = *LH* 151) : *Dzerassæ*, la mère d'*Uyryzmæg* et *Xæmyc* est venue à une fontaine mais elle s'est vue interdire l'accès à

<sup>1</sup> Leur rôle évoque celui de la divinité d'élection, qui a choisi un jeune homme pour en faire un chamane : Christol (2008 : 407-409).

<sup>2</sup> Vieille (1996 : 169). Cette naissance indirecte a des parallèles en Inde : *Drona* naît de la semence que son père avait laissé échapper dans un récipient à *soma* (*drona*), à la vue d'une belle *apsaras* (*MBh* I, 121,1).

l'eau par *Gætæg*, le « maître de l'Eau » (*dony xicau*) si elle se refusait à lui.

Dans d'autres versions, *Syrdon* est fils du diable. Il existe même une variante où il naît d'une pierre, doublet probable de la naissance de *Soslan*, l'adversaire le plus farouche de *Syrdon*<sup>1</sup>.

Pour *Ulysse*, nous ne savons rien des conditions sa naissance, mais son père, *Laërte*, n'avait pas les qualités nécessaires pour être roi à Ithaque ; il se contente de cultiver son jardin. C'est par la lignée maternelle qu'*Ulysse* se rattache au monde héroïque, en particulier par son grand-père *Autolykos* (§ 9.2)<sup>2</sup>.

## 6. Des héros atypiques

### 6.1 Force et faiblesse

Un des traits distinctifs de *Syrdon* est sa faiblesse physique. Il est laid et son nom, dérivé de *syrd* « bête sauvage », évoque une apparence bestiale. Il n'a aucun courage et fuit devant le danger.

*Syrdon* est souvent brutalisé par les Nartes ; *Xæmyc* le frappe violemment (NK 189 = LH 178) quand il révèle aux Nartes que *Xæmyc* est venu à l'assemblée du *Nyxas*, avec sa femme-grenouille dans sa poche.

Au contraire, *Soslan* est un des plus valeureux parmi les Nartes ; il est un *tyxagur*, c'est-à-dire qu'il parcourt le monde pour trouver plus fort que lui.

Comme *Soslan*, *Ulysse* parcourt le monde, par curiosité et par défi. En force et en courage, il est l'égal des autres chefs achéens. Mais il est surtout fier de son intelligence et de son sens pratique ; s'il reconnaît qu'il est inférieur en force à *Achille* (II. 19, 216-232), c'est pour mettre en valeur sa supériorité dans la réflexion et le choix de la bonne décision.

Les commentateurs, s'appuyant sur la tradition postérieure à Homère, beaucoup moins indulgente envers *Ulysse*, ont relevé quelques passages, comme II. 4, 343-346, où Agamemnon reproche à *Ulysse* de répondre plus rapidement à une invitation au banquet qu'à un appel aux armes, reproche injustifié dans ce contexte.

On entrevoit alors ce qui sera un trait distinctif d'*Ulysse* après Homère, sa voracité : STANFORD (1963, 69).

*Soslan* a la même passion pour les banquets et quand il se présente, il résume ainsi sa philosophie : « Je suis le Narte *Soslan* et je ne sais vivre sans manger ou sans me battre ! » (LH 117), programme que ne renierait pas *Ulysse*.

### 6.2 Deux héros aux jambes courtes

D'autres passages confirment qu'*Ulysse* et *Soslan* sont des héros atypiques<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Sur ces variantes, voir *Loki*, 138-140.

<sup>1</sup> Le mythographe Hygin (*Fab.* 201) connaissait une version où *Ulysse* était le fruit d'un adultère ; son père était *Sisyphé*, le plus rusé des hommes, supérieur sur ce point à *Autolykos* lui-même. Les ennemis d'*Ulysse* le nommaient « descendant de Sisyphé » (Sophocle, *Ajax* 189)

<sup>2</sup> Pour *Ulysse* : Stanford (1963, 66-80).

*Ulysse* a des jambes courtes, comme le prouve le passage où Héléne le compare à Ménélas (II. 3, 210-211) :

(1) στάντων μὲν Μενέλαος ὑπείρεχεν εὐρέας ὤμους,  
ἄμφω δ' ἐζομένω γεραρότερος ἦεν Ὀδυσσεύς...

« Tant qu'ils étaient debout, Ménélas dépassait *Ulysse* de ses larges épaules ; mais quand ils étaient assis tous les deux, *Ulysse* était plus imposant... »

*Ulysse* a donc les jambes plus courtes que Ménélas et ce trait évoque *Soslan*, qui se distingue des autres héros par ses jambes torsées (*zylynk'ax*) :

(2) *Arast is Soslan bærzond xoxy særmæ. Mukara iæm fæste kæsy æmæ iyn iæ zylyn k'æxtæ bafippaidta. Baidyda iyl guyrysxo kænyn, kæd, miilag, Soslan iæxædag u – zylynk'ax æi xonync zægæ* (NK 88)

« *Soslan* se dirigea vers le sommet de la haute montagne. *Mukara* le regarde par derrière et il remarqua ses jambes torsées. Il commença à douter : « et si c'était *Soslan* lui-même ? On l'appelle "Jambes torsées". »

[voir aussi NK 329 = LH 104]

### 6.3 Une apparence de stupidité

La suite du texte cité au paragraphe précédent évoque un autre aspect d'*Ulysse* :

(3) ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ πολύμητις ἀναίξειεν Ὀδυσσεύς,  
στάσκεν ὑπαὶ δὲ ἴδεσκε κατὰ χθονὸς ὄμματα πῆξας,  
σκῆπτρον δ' οὐτ' ὀπίσω οὔτε προπρηνὲς ἐνώμα,  
ἀλλ' ἄστεμφὲς ἔχεσκεν, αἰδρεῖ φωτὶ ἐοικῶς  
φαίης κε ζάκοτόν τε τιν' ἔμμεναι ἄφρονά τ' αὐτῶς.

« Mais quand *Ulysse* aux multiples ruses à son tour se levait et se tenait debout, il gardait les yeux fixés sur le sol ; son sceptre il ne l'agitait ni vers l'avant, ni vers l'arrière, il le tenait immobile, tel un ignorant. On aurait dit qu'il était un homme furieux et qui a perdu l'esprit. »

L'épithète ἄφρων « qui a perdu (ἀ-) l'esprit (φρήν) » caractérise l'apparence extérieure d'*Ulysse*. C'est aussi une manière de tromper ceux qui l'affrontent et d'échapper à un danger (STANFORD 1963, 14-15). *Ulysse* avait simulé la folie pour ne pas participer à l'expédition contre Troie<sup>1</sup>.

*Syrdon* sait se montrer faussement naïf ; ce qui a conduit les conteurs à lui attribuer volontiers des anecdotes qui seraient dignes de Nasreddin Hoca, comme le faux banquet funéraire (LH 166) ou la fin du monde (LH 168).

Mais un autre aspect de son comportement mériterait l'épithète ἄφρων, son caractère impulsif ; il ne réfléchit guère aux conséquences de ses actes, si bien que ses ruses se retournent souvent contre lui.

<sup>1</sup> Apollodore, *Epitome* III,7.

Il lui arrive aussi de répondre étourdiment à des questions qui lui paraissent anodines ; cette étourderie lui vaut, par exemple, un bain dans l'eau glacé d'une rivière (NK 156 = LH 153).

*Soslan* semble sensé ; il n'a pas les crises de fureur meurtrière que connaît *Batradz*. Il n'est pas non plus particulièrement rusé. Certes, il sait dissimuler : face à un géant trop fort pour lui, il feint de n'être qu'un simple berger ; mais il est incapable de trouver des ruses efficaces sans l'aide de *Satana*.

Son défaut principal est un excès de confiance en sa force, qui le conduit à mépriser ses adversaires et peut le mettre en danger. Il l'avoue à un géant, qui vient de le sauver, alors qu'il était poursuivi par trois géants anthropophages (NK 74-75 = LH 77) :

(4) « Je me suis fait dès lors une haute idée de moi-même et je suis parti pour éprouver ma force : où cela m'a conduit, tu l'as vu toi-même. Je te remercie car tu m'as sauvé... » (trad. G. Dumézil)

Le géant lui donne alors un conseil : « ne dis plus qu'il n'y a pas au monde plus fort que toi ! », conseil que *Soslan* ne semble guère avoir suivi.

## 8. L'intelligence et la ruse

Les épithètes qui caractérisent *Syrdon*, dans l'épopée, évoquent à la fois ses qualités intellectuelles, sa ruse et les dangers qu'il représente pour les Nartes.

Il est doué d'une vive intelligence (*zond*), capable de trouver une solution à toutes les difficultés ; il a une grande faculté d'adaptation, jusqu'à se transformer en animal ou en objet :

(5) *Syrdon uydis zondžyn æmæ madzaldžyn nærton læg.* (NK 153)<sup>1</sup>.  
« *Syrdon* était un Narte intelligent et ingénieux. »

(6) *Gætædžy fyr̄t gædy Syrdon.* (NK 134 ; *Narty* I, 227).

« Le fils de *Gætæg*, le rusé<sup>2</sup> *Syrdon*... » (LH 132).

(7) *Narty fydybylyz Gætædžy fyr̄t Syrdon qyddag bambærsta.* (NK 64 ; voir NK 162 ; *Narty* I, 235).

« Le fléau des Nartes, le fils de *Gætæg*. comprit l'affaire. » (LH 69).

L'ensemble de ces traits est résumé dans le mot *xin*<sup>3</sup>, même s'il n'apparaît guère

<sup>1</sup> Le suffixe *-džyn* sert à former des adjectifs qui signifient « pourvu de » (GSO 92) ; *madzal* signifie « moyen ».

<sup>2</sup> Sur l'identité du père de *Syrdon*, voir *supra* (§ 5). *Gædy* « mensonge, menteur » est identique au nom du chat ; *Syrdon* serait donc, métaphoriquement, « l'homme (rusé comme un) chat » (Abaev I, 510). *Gædy* s'applique également au renard : *gædy ruvas* « le renard rusé » (NK 145) et à la femme : un géant, qui ignore son nom, appelle *Satana* « *gædy syl* » « femelle rusée » (NK 94 = LH 93).

<sup>3</sup> Digor *xinæ*, qui signifie aussi « sortilège », suppose un ancien thème en *\*-ā*. L'étymologie en est incertaine ; celle que propose Abaev (IV, 202), à partir de i.-ir. *\*kainā* « vengeance » fait problème car ni la sémantique, ni la phonétique ne sont satisfaisantes. Le représentant phonétique de *\*kainā*

en relation avec *Syrdon* dans le formulaire épique. Comme la *māyā* védique, le *xin* est ambivalent ; sa valeur positive ou négative dépend du contexte d'utilisation et des intentions de celui qui y recourt.

L'attitude des Nartes envers *Syrdon* reste ambiguë ; ils craignent d'être trompés (NK 169 = LH 164) et ils redoutent la vengeance de *Syrdon* quand il a déjoué les pièges qu'ils lui ont tendus. Mais ils ne peuvent s'empêcher d'éprouver pour lui une certaine admiration, voire de la sympathie.

Cette ambiguïté n'est pas absente pour *Ulysse*, mais dans l'*Odyssée* plus que dans l'*Iliade*, où *Ulysse* se conduit comme les autres héros.

## 9. Ulysse, Soslan et les loups

### 9.1 Soslan et les loups

À plusieurs reprises dans la vie de *Soslan*, le loup joue un rôle important (CHRISTOL 2004).

Dès sa naissance<sup>1</sup>, la forgeron céleste *Kurdalægôn* doit le tremper dans du lait de louve, pour qu'il soit doué d'une force exceptionnelle (NK 64 = LH 70).

Le loup joue aussi un rôle indirect dans la victoire de *Soslan* sur *Totyradz* (*infra*, § 9.3).

À la mort de *Soslan*, chacun des animaux vient voir le mourant ; le loup est béni, car il a refusé de manger de la chair de *Soslan*, quand le héros le lui avait proposé pour le tester :

(8) *fosmæ bacæuynmæ dyn mæ zærdæ kuyd ua, razdærynmæ ta — ænækuyrd çyrdžy zærdæ, dæ bærzæjy ta mæ kæstær ænguyldžy qarû kuyd ua, uycy amond ææ uæd.* (NK 145)

« (Voici le privilège que je te confère :) quand tu iras à l'assaut du bétail, tu auras ma vaillance. Mais quand tu reculeras, tu n'auras pas plus de courage qu'une jeune fille ! En outre, la force qui est dans mon petit doigt qu'elle soit dans ton cou ! » (LH 141)

### 9.2 Autolykos

*Ulysse*, lui aussi, a des liens avec les loups, d'abord par son grand père maternel *Autolykos*, fils d'Hermès, dont le nom est parlant : « le loup par excellence »<sup>2</sup> ; *Autolykos* avait une solide réputation de voleur (*Od.* 19, 395-398) :

(9) « (*Autolykos*)... le noble père de sa mère, qui avait une grande réputation de

est *kinæ* (dg. *kenæ*) « vengeance » (Abaev I, 596 ; Cheung 2002 : 198). Pour rattacher *xin* à cette base, il faudrait admettre un doublet dialectal, avec *\*k > x*.

<sup>1</sup> Il existe une variante de la naissance de *Soslan*, où le père est *Uastyrdžy* (LN 76 ; Vielle 1996 : 170), Saint Georges, le « génie des hommes » chez les Ossètes ; chez les Svanes, la confrérie de guerriers que patronne *Djgyrag* (Saint Georges) a un étendard à tête de loup : *Charachidzé* (1987, 94).

<sup>2</sup> Stanford (1963 : 8-24) ; Sergent (2004 : 398).

parjure et de voleur parmi les hommes. C'est le dieu qui le lui avait donnée, Hermès... et il l'accompagnait de sa bienveillance. »

C'est *Autolykos* qui avait choisi un nom pour son petit-fils (*Od.* 19, 406-409) et pris en charge l'initiation du jeune *Ulysse*, en particulier dans la chasse au sanglier sur le Parnasse (*Od.* 19, 428-466)<sup>1</sup>.

### 9.3 Loups contre loups

Autre point commun dans les relations des deux héros avec les loups : ils doivent affronter un personnage, qui pense être sous la protection des loups.

Dans la Dolonie (*Il.* 10, 272-464), *Ulysse* accompagne Diomède, pour enlever les chevaux du roi des Thraces Rhésus, qui campe près de Troie ; en chemin, ils rencontrent et tuent Dolon, un espion troyen déguisé en loup.

Lors du second combat contre *Totyradz*<sup>2</sup>, qui l'a vaincu lors de leur première rencontre (*LH* 104-108), *Soslan* recourt à la ruse, sur les conseils de *Satana* ; il accroche des clochettes à son cheval et revêt une pelisse de loup :

(10) *Se 'mguydy bon kuy 'rxæccæ is, uæd Satana... biræğdzarm kærc Soslanyl skodta zyğuymmæ æmæ jyn bafædzæxsta :... (NK 331)*

« Quand vint le jour de la rencontre, *Satana*... fit revêtir à *Soslan* la pelisse de peaux de loups, le poil à l'extérieur, et lui recommanda :... »

Le schéma narratif est différent : chez les Ossètes, la peau de loup protège *Soslan*, le vainqueur, alors qu'en Grèce, elle est inutile pour Dolon, le vaincu. En Grèce, le nom du loup (*Autolykos*) protège *Ulysse*<sup>3</sup> tandis qu'il est sans effet pour *Totyradz* chez les Nartes.

Il n'en reste pas moins que les deux héros, *Soslan* et *Ulysse*, qui sont sous la protection des loups, doivent affronter un adversaire qui pense être protégé contre les loups, soit par son nom (*Toty*), soit par son déguisement (peau de loup)<sup>4</sup>.

### 10. La descente aux Enfers

*Ulysse* comme *Soslan* ou *Syrdon* sont en perpétuel déplacement, qu'il s'agisse de la pression des événements ou de leur propre curiosité. Ils sont toujours là où un événement va se produire et, sur ce point, *Syrdon* est certainement le plus fort.

La tradition grecque post-homérique racontait qu'après son retour à Ithaque et la mort des prétendants, *Ulysse* reprenait la route pour de nouvelles aventures<sup>5</sup>.

Mais *Ulysse* et *Soslan* ont en commun un voyage que *Syrdon* n'a pas fait, la

<sup>3</sup> Le Parnasse est la montagne d'Apollon, « maître des loups » (*Lykeios*) : Sergent (2004 : 213-217).

<sup>1</sup> Le nom de *Totyradz* contient celui du dieu *Toty*, le patron des loups (Charachidzé 1987 : 23-25).

<sup>2</sup> Le casque aux dents de sanglier que porte *Ulysse* a appartenu à *Autolykos* ; à travers lui, le loup protège *Ulysse*.

<sup>3</sup> Il est intéressant de noter que la peau de loup, inefficace pour Dolon, devient, dans le *Rhesus* d'Euripide, une protection efficace pour *Ulysse*, en lui permettant de pénétrer dans le camp troyen.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarque, *Moralia* 294c-d ; Apollodore, *Epitome* VII, 34-40.

descente aux Enfers. V. I. ABAEV a en fait un argument en faveur de sa thèse qui voit dans *Ulysse* et *Syrdon* des anciens chamanes<sup>1</sup>.

La descente aux enfers pour *Ulysse* est motivée par le désir de consulter Tirésias sur l'itinéraire de retour vers Ithaque (*Od.* 10, 535-540).

*Soslan* descend lui aussi aux Enfers (*NK* 118-135 = *LH* 119-133) pour trouver des feuilles de l'arbre *Aza*, qui ne pousse pas ailleurs ; ces feuilles sont une partie du *kalym* qui lui permettra d'obtenir la main d'*Acyruks*, la belle pupille de sept géants. Mais seule sa défunte femme *Beduxa* peut le lui procurer.

Aucun des deux héros ne pourrait réussir ce voyage sans les conseils d'une femme, ceux de *Satana* en Ossétie et ceux de la magicienne *Circé* en Grèce (*Od.* 10, 490-540).

### 11. La divinité d'élection

*Ulysse* a une divinité d'élection, *Athéna*, qui le suit, le protège et le conseille tout au long de ses aventures. Certes *Hermès* (*Od.* 19, 395-398), intervient également en faveur d'*Ulysse*, dans l'épisode de *Circé* (*Od.* 10, 275-308) ou chez *Calypso* (*Od.* 5, 97-115), mais il intervient en tant que dieu protecteur d'*Autolykos*, le grand père d'*Ulysse* (§ 9.2).

La solidarité entre *Ulysse* et *Athéna* tient d'abord au fait qu'ils ont les mêmes qualités, le même rôle, l'une chez les dieux, l'autre chez les hommes ; la déesse, consciente de sa propre valeur, n'en admire pas moins l'homme (*Od.* 13, 291-351)<sup>2</sup>.

D'autres héros sont protégés par une déesse, *Pâris* par *Aphrodite* ou *Achille* par *Thétys*, mais ce sont les mères des héros et la solidarité est familiale. La relation entre *Ulysse* et *Athéna* n'a aucun fondement génétique et c'est là un point commun avec les relations entre les chamanes et la divinité féminine qui les a choisis.

Pour *Soslan*, le personnage protecteur est *Satana* qui est et n'est pas sa mère,

puisque c'est sa beauté qui a incité le berger à féconder une pierre (§ 5). Fille de Saint Georges (*Uastyrdzy*) et de la défunte *Dzerassæ*, elle a été conçue dans le tombeau de sa mère (*LH* 34-35) et découverte par les Nartes dans ce même tombeau, après sa naissance.

Là encore, *Syrdon* a un statut très différent des deux héros. Solitaire, il n'est protégé par aucun personnage féminin. Il a bien une femme et des enfants mais ils restent cachés dans sa maison secrète, à l'écart du village et ne lui apportent aucune aide.

### 11. *Satana* et le *xin*

*Satana* est la seule femme qui joue un rôle actif dans l'épopée. Elle est intelligente

<sup>5</sup> Gignoux (1981, 258-263) donne des récits ossètes une interprétation différente de celle de Dumézil (1986, 273-281), qu'il juge trop rationnelle.

<sup>1</sup> Détienne & Vernant (1974, 218-219) citent *Od.* 13, 255 : « Quel fourbe, quel larron, quand ce serait un dieu, pourrait te surpasser en ruses de tout genre ! » *Ulysse* perçoit aisément la présence d'*Athéna*, au son de sa voix bien sûr (Euripide, *Rhesus* 608) mais aussi quand elle se manifeste par le cri d'un héron (*Il.* 10, 274-277).

(*zonyndžyn*, NK 193) ; le *xin* est son trait distinctif mais, contrairement à *Syrdon*, elle agit toujours en faveur des Nartes :

(11) Nulle part il n'aurait trouvé une telle femme ; non seulement elle était belle mais elle était sans rivale aux travaux d'aiguille, elle savait brasser et distiller l'arak, la bière et le *kvas* et en intelligence elle ne le cédait nullement aux hommes ; et *Syrdon* lui-même, le parent d'*Uryzmæg*, le plus rusé des hommes, ne pouvait la dépasser en ruse<sup>1</sup>.

*Satana* occupe donc une place centrale dans l'épopée et, bien souvent, les entreprises des Nartes échoueraient sans son aide.

La formule traditionnelle la désigne comme *kælængæncæg* « la sorcière » (*Narty* III, 12)<sup>2</sup>, avec une variante fréquente :

(12) *arvy xin zæxxy kælæn...* (*Narty* I, 104, etc.)  
« ruse du ciel, sorcellerie de la terre... » (*LH* 40).

L'opposition entre terre et ciel permet de distinguer deux formes d'activité, l'une qui devait relever du rituel (*kælæn*), l'autre qui naît de l'inspiration divine (*xin*).

Mais pour les Nartes elle est surtout *ne 'xsin* (Dalalyan 2006, 3) « notre maîtresse, notre Dame », ce qui témoigne du respect qui l'entoure. C'est peut-être aussi un indice d'un statut ancien de déesse, avant qu'elle ne soit dépossédée de sa divinité par *Mady Majræm*, apportée par les Chrétiens<sup>3</sup>.

## 12. *Satana* et *Athéna*

Dans le monde féminin, *Satana* est atypique ; certes elle est une bonne maîtresse de maison et sait accueillir les hôtes, mais elle n'a pas fondé de famille et agit à l'encontre des règles ; après avoir éliminé, par sa magie, son épouse *Elda* (*LH* 40-41), elle parvient à convaincre son demi-frère *Uryzmæg* de l'épouser.

Un mariage entre frère et sœur n'est acceptable que chez les dieux et, parfois, dans les familles royales, par imitation des dieux. On est donc amené à supposer, là encore, que *Satana* avait un statut de déesse<sup>4</sup>, avant la christianisation superficielle des Alains et leur installation dans les vallées du Caucase.

Ce rôle de protectrice, dont les armes sont l'intelligence, la ruse et l'industrie, est aussi celui d'*Athéna*, dans le monde héroïque grec.

On est devant un problème d'onomastique : ni *Satana*, ni *Athéna* (arch. *Athānā*),

<sup>1</sup> *Narty* II, 31 ; *LN* 26 ; *Loki* 140 ; texte enregistré en russe, sans original ossète.

<sup>2</sup> *Kælæn* « sorcellerie », de *\*kar* « faire » (*ELO* 29) ; ce mot est lié aux emplois rituels du verbe « faire », quelle qu'en soit la racine, dans les langues indo-européennes. Le mot ossète n'a pas la connotation péjorative du mot français « sorcellerie ».

<sup>3</sup> Sur la place de cette divinité dans le panthéon ossète, voir Charachidze (1987, 44-48).

<sup>4</sup> Dalalyan (2006, 2-3).

*NK* 6769 = *LH* 71-73, décrivant un banquet céleste chez *Safa*, le génie du foyer, donne une liste d'« esprits » (*dauæg*, pl. *daudžytæ*), qui doivent représenter les principaux dieux du panthéon scythique. Dans ce contexte, il n'est pas question d'esprits féminins.

théonyme attesté depuis l'époque mycénienne, n'ont d'étymologie évidente en ossète<sup>1</sup> ou en grec<sup>2</sup>. Un prototype *\*Satānā* donnerait bien *Athānā* en grec ; mais on aurait en ossète *\*ætān(æ)*. Si la forme ossète est apparentée, il ne peut s'agir que d'un emprunt, relativement récent, à une autre langue. Si bien que, malgré des rôles similaires, on ne peut exclure une coïncidence onomastique accidentelle, d'autant plus que les noms des Nartes, pour la plupart, ne semblent pas très anciens et ne relèvent pas de l'onomastique iranienne.

## 12. Pour conclure

*Ulysse* et *Soslan* sont des errants ; ils allient intelligence et qualités héroïques. Tous deux descendent aux Enfers (*LH* 113, 119). Tous deux oeuvrent en étroite association avec un personnage féminin, rompu à toutes les ruses et d'une intelligence jamais en défaut, *Athéna* chez Homère, *Satana* chez les Nartes.

Et pourtant, aucun lien de parenté n'unit les héros à ces femmes divines ; elles ne sont pas non plus leurs épouses. Visiblement elles les ont choisis pour leurs qualités.

En Grèce comme en Ossète, on a une construction dialectique : en face des héros qui n'ont qu'un trait distinctif, la force pour *Achille* ou *Batradz*, l'intelligence pour *Syrdon*, l'épopée narre volontiers les exploits d'un couple qui associe ces deux qualités et, solidaire, triomphe de tous les obstacles, *Satana* et *Soslan* ; *Athéna* et *Ulysse*.

Et pourtant, la tradition grecque connaît un autre aspect d'*Ulysse*, qui l'éloigne du modèle héroïque ; il est maître en ruses et plus intéressé par les banquets que par les combats<sup>3</sup>.

Il faut alors admettre qu'*Ulysse* intervient à deux niveaux, d'abord comme équivalent de *Syrdon*, ce qui rend compte des aspects négatifs du personnage, ensuite comme équivalent de *Soslan*, en association avec *Athéna*. Ainsi s'expliqueraient les nombreuses contradictions du héros homérique.

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<sup>1</sup> Pour *Satana*, Dalalyan (2006) propose une étymologie plausible (*\*sat* « ambre »), qui peut se justifier à la fois par l'aspect lumineux de *Satana* et ses affinités avec l'eau, héritées de ses ancêtres *Donbettyrtæ*.

<sup>2</sup> Sur *Athéna* : Rose (2000) ; Sergent (2008) ; Pirart (2010). Étymologie « Tyrsène » (étr. *\*atena* « coupe d'argile ») : Sergent (2008, 286-288) ou « indo-européenne » (skt. *sādh* « aller droit au but ») : Pirart (2010, 186). Aucun de ces auteurs ne mentionne *Satana*.

<sup>3</sup> Traits négatifs du personnage : Fabre (1998, 83-86).

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## Abréviations

- Abaev I-V = *Istoriko-ëtimologičeskoj slovar' osetinskogo jazyka* [Dictionnaire historique et étymologique de la langue ossète], Moscou/ Léninegrad, 5 vol. (1958-1995).
- BAOF = D'Ossétie et d'alentour – Bulletin de l'Association Ossète en France.
- ELO = Benveniste 1959.
- GSO = Abaev V.I. 1965, A grammatical sketch of Ossetic, Bloomington/ La Haye.
- LH = Dumézil 1930.
- LN = Dumézil 1966.
- Loki = Dumézil 1986.
- ME = Dumézil, *Mythe et Épopée*, Paris : Gallimard, I (1968), II (1971), III (1973).
- NK = *Nartskie skazanja / Narty kaddžytæ* [Récits sur les Nartes], Ordjonikidze, 1946.
- Narty = *Narty – Osetinskij geroičeskij ėpos* [Les Nartes — épopée héroïque des Ossètes], Moscou, 1989-1991 – en 3 volumes : I. Texte ossète, II. Traduction russe, III. Commentaire : notes, sources et variantes de chaque texte.
- PPKO = *Periodičeskaja pečat' Kavkaza ob Osetii i osetax* [La Presse périodique du Caucase sur l'Ossétie et les Ossètes], Cxinvali : Iryston, I (1981), II (1982).



# THE GENIZA FRAGMENT OF A SAMARITAN CHRONICLE IN THE LIGHT OF THE ST.PETERSBURG MSS DISJECTA MEMBRA

Harutyun S. Zhamkochyan

A decade ago a fragment of Judaeo-Arabic text of Samaritan Origin was discovered in Cambridge in the treasures of the celebrated Cairo Geniza.<sup>1</sup> It was identified and edited<sup>2</sup> by F. Niessen, a prominent specialist on Samaritan Hebrew heritage. The editor stated its Samaritan origin and pointed to its textual correspondence with Liber Josuae<sup>3</sup> p. 29, lines 13-16 and the Chronicle of Abū-'l-Fath,<sup>4</sup> p.20, lines 2-4. For the extant Arabic texts only these two printed editions were utilised by the editor.

The Leiden Scaliger manuscript, published by Juynboll (Or.249), hereafter also S, written and probably supposed to contain text composed originally in Samaritan characters, nevertheless seems to have been transcribed from an exemplar in Arabic characters, and its editor re-transcribed it into them in fact. As it will be shown below, it abounds in faults elucidated by comparison with other ancient Samaritan-Arabic manuscripts, though seeming hardly accessible. These manuscripts, or, to say more precisely, *disjecta membra* of such, are mostly preserved in the Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, and are discussed in detail in a monograph by the present writer.<sup>5</sup> The passage, corresponding to the Geniza Fragment is found in the remnants of what may be designated as Codex A<sup>6</sup> and Codex D<sup>7</sup> of Liber Josuae, cap.29 (=Ms Leiden Univ. Or.249, p.140).

Below the text of the Geniza fragment is republished with the variant readings of the other manuscripts in square brackets. Passages not found anywhere else are printed

<sup>1</sup> Cambridge T-S NS 188.20.

<sup>2</sup> Niessen 2002: 215ff.

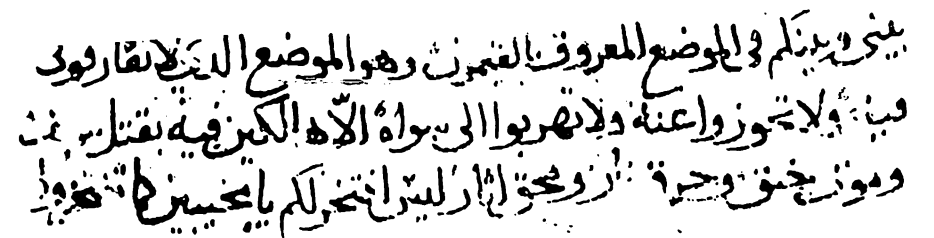
<sup>3</sup> Juynboll 1848.

<sup>4</sup> Vilmar 1865.

<sup>5</sup> Zhamkochyan 2003. The list of corrigenda to Juynboll's edition and Crane's English translation on pp. 78-86 as well as in the English Summary on pp. 212-215.

<sup>6</sup> StPb RNL Sam. VI. 15(14). f.53r-v. *vide* Zhamkochyan 2003: 34.

<sup>7</sup> StPb RNL Sam. VI. 12. f.23v, *vide* Zhamkochyan 2003: 36.



بيني وبينكم في الموضوع المعروف بالفتنة وهو الموضوع الذي لا تقارون  
فيه ولا تتوزوا عنه ولا تهربوا الى سواه الا الله الكبر فية يقتل من  
وموت بخلق وحرة ارضيوا ليري انتم لكم يا محبين

Plate 1.

بالقيوم وهو الموضع الذي لا يفارقونه  
 فيه لا تخونوا عنده ولا يهربوا اليه  
 سواه الاها لكن فيه يقتل سيف  
 وموت خنق وخرق نار ومخوف نار  
 ليس افتح لكم يا حبيبين كما تفتحوا  
 ولا اقول كما تقولوا يسير معي  
 جبارك ولا عنده متظاهره يسير  
 معي ستاينة الف رجل خربوا مصر  
 الكيري واكلوا قران الفسح وحاطت  
 بهم الملايكه وجازوا البحر في يسر  
 وساروا في البريه بغير دليل  
 عامود النار يظلمهم من البر بالليل  
 و عامود السحاب من البحر بالنهار

وطان

Plate 3.

ولا اقول كما تقولوا اني جبارك ولا عنده متظاهره يسير  
 معي ستاينة الف رجل خربوا مصر الكيري واكلوا قران الفسح وحاطت  
 بهم الملايكه وجازوا البحر في يسر وساروا في البريه بغير دليل  
 النار يظلمهم من البر بالليل و عامود السحاب من البحر بالنهار

Plate 2.

in bold characters. Diacritical dots over *ē* usually found in the original manuscripts only in *status constructus* as well as those below *י* in its final form are not taken into consideration as variant readings.

Text

[recto] الى سواء الا | هالكين فيه بقتل | سيف او موت [ADS وموت] او | خوف [خفق ADS] او حرق [وحرىق S ; وحرق AD] نار | او وطى اتار [ومحق التارS ; ومحق اتار D ; ومحق لثارA] ليس افتخر عليكم [ليس لكم يا مخييين S ; ليس افتخر لكم يا مخييين AD] | كما تفتخرو [تفتخروا ADS] ولا | اقول كما تقولوا [تقولوا ADS] | كان [ان AS ; D om.] يسير معى [S om.] | اعداد متظاهره [S om. ; عده متظاهره AD] | يسير معى ست مائة [AD] | الف رجل الذى خربو [حربوا S ; خربوا AD] مصر | الكبرا [الكبرى ADS] واكلو [واكلوا ADS] قربان | الفسح [النصح S-ed] الذى شاهدو | باعدادهم العشرت | ضربات [وحاطت بهم الملايكة ADS has instead] وجازو [وجازوا ADS] البحر | فى اليبس [يبس ADS] وشقو البريه [وساروا فى البريه ADS] | بغير دليل عمود الـ [نار يظلمهم من البرد بالليل وعمود الـ ADS insert here] | سحاب يظلمهم [يظلمهم ADS] من الحر [بالنهار]

Some variant readings attract special attention:

Geniza – خوف S, A&D. Both the words resemble each other in Arabic characters.

A&D. حرق S, but حرق – حرق Geniza.

A&D. محق اتار S, but محق التار – (טצ אחר) وطى اتار Geniza.

A&D. جباره ولا عده متظاهره Geniza – S omissit, but جباره ولا اعداد متظاهره here seems to be occasional plural of 'udda ("equipment").

A&D. In Samaritan script Arabic where it is usually rendered as π, opposite to Judeo-Arabic where it is usually rendered as ד. Geniza – حربوا S, but حربوا (כרב) Xربو.

So read by the Editor. The word ("ten" (plagues)) seems to have been nevertheless transcribed here (as I can judge by the facsimile) normally with tā' marbūta (here ה) not with n. The disputed letter is scarcely discerned at the end of the line.

A&D. The double writing of the consonant / in يظلمهم (v. 10) does not denote gemination (tašdīd) instead of يظلمهم, it denotes the second stem, quite usual for both Middle and Modern Colloquial Arabic. So exactly it is found in both the StPb codices.

Some variant readings are indeed similar to each other in the Arabic characters. Here the results of the collation of the Geniza fragment differ considerably from

وهو الموضع الذي لا يعاد قوتى فيه ولا يجوز واعنه ولا يهر بوا ابي سواه  
 الالهة الذين فيه يقبل سيف وموت حتى وحرق نار ومحق اثار ليس افتخر لكم يا مخييين  
 كما تفتخروا ولا اقول كما تقولوا ايسير معى جباره ولا عده متظاهره يسير معى  
 ست مائة الف رجل الذى خربو مصر الكبرى واكلو قربان الفسح الذى شاهدو باعدادهم العشرت  
 ضربات وجازو البحر فى اليبس وشقو البريه وساروا فى البريه بغير دليل عمود الـ  
 سحاب يظلمهم من الحر من البرد بالليل وعمود الـ سحاب يظلمهم من الحر  
 شته واحلاهم الماء المصبر واخرج لهم الماء الحار والبارك  
 جل ذكره وعمر اسمه وشاهدوا الاعداء بالامور الكوا  
 سيرين وعوج وقومها ورتوا ما بينهم وقراهم ونطقوا المردن  
 الى ان ياتوا وحربوا بريا والمدن الذى قد نزل ليس افتخران بسير  
 معى جباره يسير معى اشاعر الـ ثم شباب كلهم دخلوا  
 بغيرهم سائلين وحربوا وسر الـ سائلين معى صلحته  
 كما ذكرتم معى بالصلوات وحربوا الرياح الخواق وبسط معى قابض  
 المردواخ وسامع الاصوات خالق الخلق وبسط الرزق وجلت عطشه

عمر الله

that with Ms Scaliger / ed. Juynboll only. Some passages (though not all) missing in Scaliger are found indeed in more reliable Samaritan text, so that the resemblance between the two versions comes more precise.

As far as the provenance of the story is concerned, it should be noted that Samuel Shallum in a note to his edition of *Sefer Yuhasin* by Abraham Zaccut (1450 or 1452 – 1510, or 1515, or 1520), printed in Constantinople (Istanbul) in 1566, said that he found this story also in a *Samaritan Chronicle*.<sup>1</sup> That means that in 1566 the legend was known to be also Samaritan.

The present collation shows that both the Geniza fragment and Scaliger Ms seem to have been transcribed from exemplars in Arabic characters, probably badly damaged.

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<sup>1</sup> Yahuda 1908: 907.

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## PLATES

- Plate 1. Codex A. StPb RNL Sam. VI. 15(14). f.53r bottom.
- Plate 2. Codex A. StPb RNL Sam. VI. 15(14). f.53v top.
- Plate 3. Codex D. StPh RNL Sam. VI. 12. f.23v.

## BOOK REVIEWS

### URARTIAN JEWELLERY

by Oktay Belli, (Türkiye Turing ve Otomobilciler Yayınları). Pp.479+Pic.519, Drawing 5, Map 6. İstanbul 2010. (in Turkish). Original Name: Urartu Takıları. ISBN 978-975-7641-46-9 (Hardcover)

Prof. Oktay Belli, who has contributed to the Urartian archaeology with his 40 years of dedicated work in Eastern Anatolia, appears to share his accumulation with the reader in his publication. The book besides being a summary of authors' past works, also presents us with an extensive archive of jewellery attributed to Urartu from museums and archaeological sites, mostly designed for women in a patriarchal society, with which it seems to attempt to fill up a gap in this field. In a patriarchal state, it is obvious that the usage of metal or non-metal jewellery would be of secondary importance to the usage of metals for war technology. As we can guess an important part of the metal finds that come from the Urartian excavations consist of weapons. It is very natural that a warrior society produces great number of weapons. Compared to weapons, jewellery produced for women remains quantitative wise much less. Hence, the Urartian masters have shown their know-how in metal working not only with weapons but also in jewellery. Oktay Belli's book is an up-to-date work which presents the par excellence of the artifacts that displays the fine taste of the society, and the eras fashion and wealth.

The book which also includes information regarding Anatolian history of metallurgy comprises of seven chapters. The first five chapters which extensively refer to the historical circumstances of the Urartian Kingdom discussing background information to the presented artifacts, addresses to the reader who would like to acquire the general knowledge. These chapters follow under the titles;

- I) Preface,
  - II) Introduction,
  - III) The Political History of the Urartian Kingdom,
  - IV) The Greatest Masters of Metal Working in the Ancient World: Urartians,
  - V) The First jewellers of the Eastern Anatolia (the main chapter which also gives the name to the book),
  - VI) The Urartian Jewellery comprises of 13 sub-sections,
- The book ends with chapter VII, a selected bibliography.

The Preface which is written by the author himself, discusses in brief the kind of ornaments and jewellery used in the Urartian culture, and their material. In the same section acknowledgements are made to the persons who have provided the artifacts and documentations that make up the book. In the introduction chapter a discussion of the borders of the kingdom, the identification of Bianili with Van, discussion of themes like language, writing, trade and metallurgy are given by the author. Also comment about the hindrances encountered during the work and the significance of the book is made in this chapter.

The III chapter which refers to the political history of the Urartian Kingdom (pp. 22-115) has been discussed under two periods - the Early and Classical Periods. Under 'Early Urartian History' we can find the early field works of the author, which includes tomb and citadel excavations and a summary of their finds. Under 'Classical Urartian History' themes like fortifications and irrigation systems, writing and building activities have been discussed. Tributes and taxes known to us from royal inscriptions which have been taken and given by means of metal and metal artifacts have been also referred in this section. However it would have been more relevant here to give more information regarding the historical events as the chapter refers to the 'political history'. For Ayanis Fortress, among the many citadels discussed under this section, which has been referred by the author as possessing a number of stone and bronze workshops (pp. 95-96), it should be stated that no archaeological evidence has been found in this regard. In addition, a book titled "Urartian Jewellery" should present rather less information on general or irrelevant archaeological data. Therefore, I believe that this chapter is too long than it should be.

The IV chapter under the title 'The Greatest Masters of Metal Working in the Ancient World: Urartians' (pp. 116-155), which presents a part of authors earlier works about the different mining regions of Eastern Anatolia and the surveys of ancient mining sites, discusses three main regions: 1 - Adiyaman-Malatya-Elazığ-Tunceli region, 2 - Erzincan-Erzurum-Bayburt-Gümüşhane-Artvin- Kağızman region, 3 - The region south of Lake Van.

In the V chapter under the title 'The First Jewellers of the Eastern Anatolia' (pp. 156-187) O. Belli questions some important points regarding activities of jewellery or more general metal workshops, which have escaped the attention of earlier studies in this field. These questions are mainly about the social status of the metal masters working in these workshops. It is obvious that we need concrete evidence to answer questions regarding the working conditions of these talented and trained masters, their social statuses and if they were producing as traveling workshops etc.. As in the Early Iron Age these questions could be also asked for the Urartian Kingdom. And some new ones could be also added to this list. Were these masters paid for their work or were they exempt of military duties or not, are questions still waiting to be answered (pp. 163-177). It is undisputed that masters who dealt with the fire and worked the metals had a special place in the society. At this point we should refer to the commands made by M. Eliade about ancient metal workers. M. Eliade thinks that the metal masters transformed material from one form to another by using the fire and produced the weapon which will conquer the enemy (or a mythological beast). He also believes that the masters

of blacksmith would produce weapons for the heroes and supply them with the magic power. It was the mysterious craft of the blacksmith which transformed the weapon into a magical power. According to Eliade metal workers (especially blacksmiths) should be considered the masters of fire. As they were producing the weapons of the heroes, they were heroes themselves.<sup>1</sup> Therefore it is strongly possible that the social status of the metal masters that are questioned by O. Belli, had certain privileges in the society.

The VI chapter which also gives the name to the book, under the title 'The Urartian Jewellery' (pp. 188-465) comprises of 13 sub-sections: 1-Metal make-up sets, 2-Earrings, 3-Metal hair spirals, 4-Metal bracelets, 5-Finger rings, 6-Metal neck rings, 7-Pectorals, 8-Medallions, 9-Metal pins 10-Fibulae, 11-Metal costume buttons, 12-Metal costume appliques 13-Beads. It would be helpful to discuss the main themes under each subtitle.

- Under the 'Metal Make-up Set' (pp. 188-199) only one group, which comprises of objects like tweezer, pin, eye liner and ear cleaner, has been identified. It has been stated by the author that most of the objects under this group come from illegal excavations and are distributed among various museums and private collections in Turkey and Europe. It has been referred by the author that one of the sets was found in Patnos-Giriktepe and its other finds have been discussed. However a make-up set which comprises of tweezer, eye liner and ear cleaner found in household context in the excavations of Ayanis seems to have been left out.<sup>2</sup> The stone pyxises with lids which are thought to be a part of this set found in the cemetery of Kalecik and in Erebuni, Toprakkale and Dedeli, can be related to cosmetics.

- Under the section 'Earrings' (pp. 200-241), it is stated that during the Early Iron Age and the Urartian period, wearing earrings among women was a common practice. Besides gold, silver and bronze examples lead-tin alloys are known from the cemeteries of Karagündüz and Yoncatepe. O. Belli states that the round and boat shaped earrings being more common in the Early Iron Age cemeteries, become much richer in form and variety during the Urartian period. The author has expressed a view that the usage of ring formed gold, silver and bronze earrings become very common during the Urartian Period. Form wise the most distinctive ones can be listed as gold earrings with beads, stable or moving pendulums, lion headed, snake headed, woman faced, boat shaped, boat or double saddle shaped, gold plated or stable pendulum earrings. However, it is controversial that all of the above mentioned types are Urartian production.

- 'Hair Spirals' (pp. 242-249) during Early Iron Age are seen at the sites of Ernis-Evditepe, Karagündüz and Yoncatepe cemeteries. Urartian examples come from Giyimli and Dedeli cemeteries, Çavuştepe and Giriktepe sites. It is stated by the author that these examples being mainly of bronze and silver, the terminals overlapping are casted or hammered.

- 'Metal Bracelets' (pp.250-289) form another group which has been in use since the Early Iron Age. Especially the Early Iron Age cemeteries of Ernis-Evditepe, Şorik, Karagündüz, Yoncatepe and Hakkâri cemetery areas yield mainly iron bracelets. These

<sup>1</sup> Eliade 1978; 1979.

<sup>2</sup> Çilingiroğlu, Erdem 2009: 1ff.

examples have either open or overlapping terminals. some may display armlets. As a matter of fact from many sites like Ayanis a number of bracelets which would have been more likely carried around an arm rather than the wrist, have been identified as armlets. For example, at Ayanis armlets with diameters varying between 10.8cm. and 12cm. have been found. In addition to this there are many identified armlets in private collections and museums with a diameter varying between 9cm.-13cm.<sup>1</sup> Round sectioned bracelets are usually made of gold, silver or bronze during the Urartian period. Decorations may vary with these examples. According to the classification given by the author, we can count among the most common types the embossed bead decorations, overlapping terminals, animal headed terminals (snake, dragon, panther, lion or mixed creature) and overlapping terminals with animal heads made of silver and bronze.

- 'Finger Rings' (pp. 290-295) are actually one of the uncommon jewellery groups. The gold, silver and bronze rings are mostly without a stone. Throughout the Early Iron Age and the Urartian Kingdom plain, spiral and braid motifs and rings with stone do exist.

- 'Metal Neck Rings' (pp. 296-303) have been dated to the Urartian period and have been preferred by different age groups. It has been stated by the author that among the bronze, iron and silver examples which have either straight or out turned end, no gold neck rings have been identified.

- 'Pectorals' (pp. 304-317) mainly belong to the Urartian period and are characterized with the depiction of religious scenes. The earliest example have been dated to King Menuas' era, some of them are gold or silver plated.

- Among the 'Medallions' (pp. 318-325) two gold, four silver and nine bronze examples coming from Karmir Blur, Toprakkale, Çavuştepe, Giyimli and other private collections have been discussed. The author gives a detailed description of their shape and iconography in order to remark about their dating.

- 'Metal Pins' (pp. 326-355) similar to the other groups, are commonly produced of gold, silver, bronze and iron. Although not in abundant numbers some iron pins have been identified in the Early Iron Age. Among these we find examples with pendulum. During the Urartian period we observe that they are more refined and elaborately worked. These having finials with animal head and the body sometimes additionally decorated with floral motifs. Besides the lion, eagle or gryphon and goat it is amazing to see duck and rooster motifs. However these kinds of birds can be observed in the Urartian art which we see on various belts and helmets, especially during the 7<sup>th</sup> cc BC.<sup>2</sup> Application of granulation work on some of the finials show that the Urartian masters made use of their special technique also in this field.

- 'Fibulae' (pp. 356-367) are represented by a group which is definitely dated to the Urartian period and missing from the Early Iron Age, in this region. These fibulae made of gold, silver, bronze and iron are dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, by the author.

- 'Metal Costume Buttons' (pp. 368-373) are not a common assemblage. However

<sup>1</sup> Kohlmeier 1991: 177ff.

<sup>2</sup> Derin, Çilingiroğlu 2001: 155ff.

they have been in use since the Early Iron Age and are produced of gold, silver and antimony.

- Metal Costume Appliques' (pp. 374-395) have been used since the Early Iron Age (Hakkâri Burial M2). These being produced of gold and silver, the bronze ones were commonly produced during the Urartian period and have been identified as dedication plaques by some scholars.<sup>1</sup>

- There is an abundant number of necklaces made of 'Beads' (pp. 396-465) starting with the Bronze Ages and continuing throughout the Early and Middle Iron Age from Eastern Anatolia. During the Early Iron Age, from the sites Dilkaya, Karagündüz, Yoncatepe, Kertenkele and Hakkâri cemeteries, necklaces produced of agate, cornelian, glass, frit, mountain crystal, faience and various other precious and semi-precious stone beads, as well as bronze and antimony beads have been found. Beads have been located in many Urartian centres. In addition to the above mentioned materials, beads made of pearl, nephritis, alabaster, cornelian, chalcedony and opal have been located in the Urartian period by the author. He also states that an increase of usage of gold, silver and bronze metals in bead production have been observed. However beads produced of electron, lead and antimony are missing during this period. Form wise spherical, barrel and elliptical forms have been in common. Other than these usages of cube, cone, double cone, cylinder, and oval shapes have been identified by the author.

In general we can say that book size, paper quality is satisfactory. However there are certain shortcomings of the book which need to be emphasized. The pictures are not identical with the given information in the pages. Sometimes an object's pictures are repeated in different pages. In addition to this there is no reference to the pictures in the text and the pictures have not been numbered. Besides, it should be stated that there are some mistakes in captions. Some of the pictures have been over enlarged losing their quality. More important, no scale has been used in the pictures, making it difficult for the reader to visualize the dimension of the artifacts. Though the given data in the book is informative, the fact that it lacks a presentation of statistical information, an inscription catalogue and more importantly a detailed comparison with neighbouring areas makes it rather a popular table book. Despite the shortcomings, it must be born in the mind that the book is useful in terms of presenting the material in an ordered manner on the subject.

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<sup>1</sup> Çilingiroğlu 1997: 156ff.

## THE ARCHIVES OF THE CAPITAL CITY OF ANCIENT ARMENIA ARTAŠAT

by Khachatryan Zh., O. Neverov, "Gitutyun", NAS RA, Yerevan., 2008, Pp. 271,  
96 Tables (Original Name: Архивы столицы древней Армении – Арташата, in  
Russ.), ISBN 978-5-8080-0741-9 (Hardcover)

The study in view is a result of thorough and extensive research by Zh. Khachatryan and O. Neverov.

The research consists of a summary (pp. 5-6), three chapters (7-130, Zh. Khachatryan, O. Neverov), index of personal names (pp. 134 – 233), bibliography (pp. 265 - 271), index of geographical names (pp. 265-268), the list of abbreviations (p 269) as well as an abstract in Armenian (pp. 234-244) and English (pp. 245-251).

In the short summary Khachatryan describes an archive of 8000 seals (6000 of which are deciphered) while providing the information about Armenian capital Artashat in the background. Artashat was established during the Hellenistic period (in 189-188 BC) and was an active international hub, connecting the East and the West.

One of the central and important parts of the research is the "Seals of Artashat as a Historical Source". Here Khachatryan discusses the origin and function of this phenomenon starting from I mill. BC and eventually concentrates on the detailed study of Arthashat archive.

The study is based on the classification standards of origin, chronology and art history approaches. Khachatryan, striving towards an exhaustive research, made his classifications in accordance with the legal basis, labour patterns, cultural specifics and other characteristics of the given country. In addition, the author explains the relations among the main political powers in the region, the role of each country in the international arena and diplomatic games taking place during the II-I century.

The seals with Greek and Aramaic inscriptions were examined as a source of information about trade and cultural relations. According to Khachatryan, the seal with bee symbol and "A" "Э" monogram, the symbol of goddess Artemis, originated from Ephesus (where her worship was widespread). He links the presence of this finding in the archive to the abovementioned circumstances.

Investigation of the seals with Aramaic inscriptions was done by the help of well-

known linguist V. Livshits. Another noteworthy seal, depicting a procession of captives, is connected to the petroglyphes of Behistun (III-92). Khachatryan brings additional evidence to this phenomenon, analyzing the slave trade, one of the characteristics of that period.

It is known that the Parthian empire was the driving force behind the struggle between Antonius and Augustus (II-I cc.). It motivated them to conquer Artashat, dragging the city into this dynastic battlefield. Confrontation of these two rulers is reflected in different groups of seals, decorated by narrative and symbolic portrayals of Augustus, Cleopatra and Antonius. Most of these seals represent Augustus with the symbol of ibex (VII 502-503), (VII-860, 861, 863), Antonius is depicted with details, devoted to Heracles (I-27, IV-293, 300, 301a, 302a) Dionysus (II-65-69, 70) and Helios (VII-509-521).

Cleopatra, one of the most powerful political figures of that time, is depicted in Artashat archive as Aphrodite often with Eros on her shoulder (1-2, 313 sample) or accompanied by Heracles. The abundance of seals with images of these three figures is a crucial argument, inviting us to pay more attention to the role of Armenia in the political life of the II-I cc.

The seals with depiction of Arthashes II, monograms and Greek inscriptions are of special importance (X-134, pp. 42-43).

The difficult period of Armenian history during the reign of Artashes II (30-20 BC), known mainly from the scanty data of Roman sources, is worth examining and interpreting from this new historical and culturological perspective. Thus, Zh. Khachatryan explains, that the king, depicted on the seal, does not have a crown since he is a direct heir to the throne. (X-1034).

The archive of Artashat also consists of abundant material on the town as a trade hub. In the book, this business is separated as a whole unit of symbols: amphoras (IV-440, 441, 442, 443, 445, 447, 448), dolphins (VI-488, VII-732, 736, 737), anchors and Dioscuri (IX-920, 82 sample), as well as marine trade (VI-488). The image of vine with its variations (VI-482, 484, 488, 496) was a criterion of land trade.

These numerous symbols determined occupation, entertainment, worship and the way of life of the people in the Hellenistic period. According to the conclusion of Khachatryan, this private archive completes the lacuna between the seals of Armavir (V-VI cc.) and Dvin (V-VII cc.).

The art historian O. Neverov finalizes the study of Artashat archive with a clear interpretation of specific political events and deep knowledge of classical Roman culture. Neverov studied the seals against the background of decadent Hellenistic world, clashes of the political forces of newly developing Rome and severe contradictions of Eastern and Western worlds. Taking into account these global changes he completes the theoretical discussions with historical data as well as defines the borders of gradual disappearance of Hellenistic conceptions, emergence and spread of new values (late Hellenistic Roman).

The study of the seals was conducted according to the following principle: a) to



reveal the real status of an archive, whether it was private or state owned b) to show the geography of the seal distribution, c) to solve the problem of dating of the material. Neverov shows that out of 8000 seals 114 had semantic similarities. Four of them had 4 similarities, 42 had 3 similarities, and 68 had 2 similarities.

He concludes that the documentation and deals were done without witnesses. Consequently, the seals are imported. This argument is unacceptable because there are numerous Armenian seals in that group (pp. 117-118). He fits the chronological limit of the archive into 31-27 BC, accepting the monetary treasure of Sarnakunk as a comparative source.

Neverov splits the material into the following geographical groups: 1) Rome-Italy, 2) Egypt, 3) Armenian group of seals, 4) Iran, 5) Asia Minor, 6) Mesopotamia-Syria, 7) Bosphorus and Northern Black Sea.

The absence of Latin inscriptions in Artashat treasure Neverov fills with parallels between the material and the style of the rulers' portrayals, schematic norms of representation as well as modern currency. Thus, he fully describes the portrayals of Gnaeus Pompeius and his son Sextus (I-34), reveals the portrayal of Markus Antonius (I-27, I-3) in accordance with his title and status.

In addition, the portrayals of Augustus were described in the context of historical developments. In the details of the portrayal of Octavia (I-44-53), wife of Marcus Antonius, he also describes the adornment of the Roman elite women, the hairstyle and other details. Neverov also pays attention to the symbols that prove the identity of the official rulers. Based on this logic, he suggests that admiral Sextus Pompeius was tended to be depicted as the sea god Poseidon (IV-226-229). Neverov often interprets the identity of ruler and military leader appealing animal symbolics (snake, eagle, bull) (p. 112).

In the study of seals the conclusions of Neverov concerning Armenian seals are of special importance. The study was carried out in the context of a complicated period (30-20 BC) rich with political developments. Without excluding the strong influence of Achaemenid, Hellenistic and Seleucid traditions in all spheres of life of Armenian culture, Neverov separates Armenian many-sided glass and round stone seals as well as seals with depictions of real and mythical animals, equestrians etc. (III-106, 124, IV-363, VII-658, 847, 860, IX-904, 905, 917)

According to Neverov, there is one seal (I-8) with an image of Artashes II as a military leader with monogram ART[A] a. In other portrayal (I-17) the king is depicted during the coronation ceremony by the Parthians. Continuing the thematic list (III-128, 131, 154) he clarifies the Parthian orientation of Artashes II.

The study of these compositional image series could have been more profitable if the typological analysis of two copper coins with an image of Artashes II, found from the excavations of Artashat in 1985, are resumed proving once more the Parthian orientation of Artashes II and his hostility towards Greek-Roman subjection.

O. Neverov also adverts to the descriptions of the Roman-Iranian, Egyptian,

Mesopotamian and Bosphorian seals, revealing the economic and cultural connections of these regions with Artashat.

Thus, the study dedicated to the broad archive of Artashat of Late Hellenistic period, is of great value and is pioneering in this research field. We suppose that the study is complete from a number of perspectives: the inclusion of material, thematic analysis, chronological schemes and the index of the geographical borders.

This, for sure, is not a limit for the study of this material, and there must be new explanations and interpretations. Our remark is about the charts of the materials in the text, absence of the tables – the things that are important because of the photos are of low quality.

Thus, the treasury of Armenian studies was enriched with one valuable work and, undoubtedly, it will circulate among the specialists who are dealing with these problems.

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SUMMARIES  
ԱՄՓՈՓՈՒՄՆԵՐ

ՀԻՆ ՀԱՅԿԱԿԱՆ ՎԱՀԱԳՆԻ ԵՐԳԻ ՆԱԽԱԶԵՎԻ  
ՀՆԱՐԱՎՈՐ ԿԱՌՈՒՅՎԱԾՔԸ

ՎՅԱԶԵՍԱԿ Վ. ԻՎԱՆՈՎ

Հոդվածում առաջարկվում է ընդհանուր հնդեվրոպականից դեպի գրա-  
բարը զարգացման մեջ տարբերակել ժամանակագրական հետևյալ շերտերը՝  
հնդ-իրանա-հունա-հայկական բարբառային ընդհանրության դարաշրջան, խե-  
թա-լուվիական (անատոլիական), հնդեվրոպական և հյուսիսկովկասյան (այդ  
թվում՝ խաթական և խուռի-ուրարտական) լեզուների հետ նշված ընդհանրությու-  
նից անջատված նախահայերենի ունեցած շփումների շրջան, վաղ իրանական  
փոխառությունների դարաշրջան: Վահագնի երգի առասպելաբանաստեղծական  
տեքստի կառուցվածքում կարելի է առանձնացնել այս փուլերից յուրաքանչյուրին  
համապատասխանող ժամանակագրական տարբեր շերտեր:

Ամենահինը՝ անագրամներ կազմող կրկնվող ձայնական հաջորդակա-  
նությունների և համապատասխան իմաստների միջև եղած փոխհարաբերություն-  
ների հիմնական կմախքն է, որ համապատասխանում է հնդեվրոպական պոետի-  
կայի սկզբունքներին: Անագրամներն անցնում են բոլոր տողերի միջով՝ տեքստը  
դարձնելով մեկ ամբողջություն: Նախահայերենը հնդ-իրանա-հունական պոետի-  
կական տրադիցիայի հետ միավորող վաղ շրջանին է վերաբերում *երկին-երկիր-  
երկնէր* բառերի մեջ եղած \*dw- > \*rkw- > erk- անագրամային կապը: Խեթա-լու-  
վիական-նախահայկական շփումների շրջանին կարող է վերաբերել Վահագնի  
մորուքի պատկերը: Աչք-ակունքի եզրափակիչ պատկերը ընդհանուր հնդեվրո-  
պական արմատներ ունի: Երգը պահպանել է ընդհանուր հնդեվրոպական պոե-  
տիկայի գծերը:

ԽՈՒՐԻԵՐԵՆՈՒՄ ՓՈԽԱՌՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐԻ ՈՐՈՇ  
ԱՌԱՋՆԱԿԱՏԿՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐԻ ՇՈՒՐՋ

ԱՌՆՈ ՖՈՒՈՆԵ

Հոդվածում քննարկվում է խուռիերենում վկայված մի շարք հատակ և հնա-  
րավոր փոխառությունների հարցը: Առկա է փոխառությունների չորս հիմնական  
աղբյուր՝ շումերերեն, աքքադերեն, արևմտասեմական և հնդարիական լեզուները:

Փոխառությունները խուռիերենում հաճախ են ընդգրկում ձևաբանական  
կառուցվածքներ, որոնք բնութագրական չեն բուն լեզվին: Խուռիերենի հետաքր-  
քիր առանձնահատկություններից է այն, որ փոխառությունները մի շարք յուրա-  
հատուկ զարգացումների շնորհիվ միաձուլվում են բուն լեզվին: Այդ զարգացումնե-  
րից մեկը միահյուսումն է, հատկապես՝ գոյական - բայ միահյուսումը, հակառակ  
այն հանգամանքի, որ խուռիերենին այս երևույթը բնորոշ չի եղել: Այս երևույթը  
հիմնականում վկայված է այն բառերի համար, որոնք ունեն շումերա-աքքադա-  
կան ծագում:

Մեկ այլ առանձնահատկություն է *-nni* վերջավորության կիրառությունը,  
որը բացառապես հանդիպում է միտաննական արիերենից արված փոխառու-  
թյուններում:

Այսպիսով, խուռիերենը հակում ունի նույնացնելու փոխառությունների եր-  
կու հիմնական աղբյուրները լեզվի ներսում առանձին ցուցիչներով: (10)

ԴԻՏԱՐԿՈՒՄՆԵՐ ՈՒՐԱՐՏԱՑԻՆԵՐԻ ՄՈՏ ԴԻԱԿԻԶՍԱՆ  
ՍՈՎՈՐՈՒՅՁԻ ՇՈՒՐԾԸ

ՄԻՔԱՅԵԼ ՀԵՈՒԵՍ

Գոյություն ունեն թաղման երկու տարբեր ձևեր, երբ մարմինը հանձնվում է հո-  
ղին կամ երբ այն դիակիզվում է: Մերձավոր Արևելքում Հալաֆյան դարաշրջանից  
սկսած մենք ունենք դիակիզման ծես, ինչը, մասնավորապես, վկայված է Լևանտում,  
Փոքր Ասիայում, Միջագետքում, ինչպես նաև Հարավային Կովկասում: Որպես դիա-  
կիզման վայր ծառայում է թե՛ դիակիզման խարույկը, թե՛ դիակիզարանը: Մարդկային  
մնացորդները կամ ցրում են կամ թաղում աճյունասափորում: Ուրարտական շրջա-  
նում թաղման երկու ծեսն էլ վկայված են: Ուրարտական դամբարաններ են հայտնի  
ներկայիս Թուրքիայի, ինչպես նաև Հայաստանի և Իրանի տարածքից:

Մահացած մարմինը ենթարկվում է հուղարկավորության հատուկ ծեսի, որը Ա.  
վան Գեննեփի կողմից բնութագրվում է որպես «անցումի ծես»: Ցավոք, ուրարտական  
տեքստերում չկա և ոչ մի ակնարկ հուղարկավորության նման ծեսերի մասին:

Ժայռափոր խոշոր դամբարանները ամենահայտնի գերեզմաններն են, որ  
սփռված են ուրարտական թագավորության ողջ տարածքով մեկ: Դժբախտաբար,  
դրանց մեծագույն մասը թալանված է: Կարևոր փաստ է որմնախորշերի (Վան VII,  
Քայալըդերե A, Աղը-Աթաբինդի I, Պալու III) կամ որոշ բազմասրահ դամբարան-  
ների հատակների մեջ փորված փոքր շրջանաձև փոսերակների առկայությունը  
(Քայալըդերե, Շիրինքալե): Այս փորվածքները թասանման են և ամենայն հավա-  
նականությամբ աճյունասափորների համար ծառայել են որպես հենարան: Բացի  
այս դամբարաններից կան դամբարանադաշտեր՝ աճյունասափորների թաղում-  
ներով և բազմախուց գերեզմաններով (Դեղեղի, Վան-Ալթընթեփե, Ադիլջևազ): Հա-  
ճախ ուռնաները տեղադրվում են ժայռի բնական ճեղքվածքի մեջ (Դեղեղի, Իգդիր)  
կամ ամրացվում քարերով (Հաբիբուշադը, Վան-Ալթընթեփե, Նոր-Արեշ):

Որոշ դեպքերում, որպես աճյունասափոր ծառայող անոթները պատկանում  
են տիպիկ ուրարտական կարմիր-անգոբապատ խեցեղենին: Բացի դա, օգտա-  
գործվել է նաև ցածրորակ խեցեղեն, իսկ երբեմն անգամ՝ բրոնզե անոթներ: Սովո-  
րաբար աճյունասափորները ծածկված են նույնատիպ խեցեղենին պատկանող  
թասով: Բազմաթիվ աճյունասափորներ իրանի վրա ունեն անցքեր (մինչև երեք  
հատ), ինչը հավանաբար արվել է, որ հոգին հեշտությամբ դուրս գա: Ալթընթեփեի  
օրինակներից մեկը կրում է մարդու դեմքի ոճավորված պատկեր՝ իրանի դիմային  
մասի վրա եղած մեկ անցքով:

Անցյալում որոշ հետազոտողներ ենթադրել են, որ ուրարտական թաղման  
ծեսերի բազմազանությունը պայմանավորված է մահացածի սոցիալական դիր-  
քով, հավատալիքներով և էթնիկ պատկանելությամբ: Այնուամենայնիվ, պետք է  
նշել, որ դեռևս նման դասակարգման համար չկան փաստացի վկայություններ:  
Ըստ այդմ, ուրարտական մշակույթում թաղման տարբեր ձևերի գոյության հարցը  
պետք է մնա դեռևս բաց:

Հետաքրքիր է, որ դիակիզումը Անատոլիայում և Հայաստանում վկայված է  
նախքան ուրարտական թագավորության ծնունդը, մինչդեռ այն, ինչպես երևում է,  
չկա հյուսիս-արևմտյան Իրանում: Եթե մենք իրավացի ենք, որ ուրարտացիները  
առաջինը հաստատվել են Ուրմիա լճից արևմուտք ընկած շրջաններում և հետա-  
գայում՝ նոր-ասորեստանյան տերության ճնշման ներքո մղվել դեպի Վանա լճի  
ավազան, մենք կարող ենք ենթադրել, որ ուրարտացիները դիակիզման ծեսին ծա-  
նոթացել են այս տարածքներում հաստատվելուց հետո միայն:

ՍԵՐՁԱՎՈՐԱՐԵՎԵԼՅԱՆ ԼԵԶՈՒՆԵՐՈՒՄ ԿԱՊԻ-ԶԱՓՍԱՆ  
ՄԻԱՎՈՐԻ ՄԱՍԻՆ

ՏՈՐԵ ԴԱԼԱՅԱՆ

Հոդվածը նվիրված է մի բառերի պատմության, որը հանդիպում է մեր տա-  
րածաշրջանի մի շարք լեզուներում: Ուրարտական տեքստերում *ka-pi-(e)* բառը  
կրկնվում է 33 հայտնի արձանագրություններում՝ «հատեղենի չափման միավոր»  
նշանակությամբ: Վանա լճի հյուսիսում գտնված մի արձանագրության մեջ այս  
բառը վկայված է *kapie-* ձևով, ինչը փաստում է ուրարտական ժամանակաշր-  
ջանում *kapi-/kape-* բարբառային տարբերակների գոյության և թագավորության  
մասին: Բազմաթիվ անգամներ սեպագիր տեքստերում «*kapi*»-ն հիշատակվում է  
«*'ari*» կոչվող շինությունների կառուցման առնչությամբ: Հենց այս կապի և այլ  
հավելյալ փաստերի հիման վրա է, որ արդի սեպագրագետների կողմից եզրա-  
կացվել է *'ari*-ի «հացահատիկի շտեմարան» նշանակությունը:

Հավանաբար այն պատճառով, որ խոտիերենում բացակայում է *kapi-* բառի  
որևէ զուգահեռ, ի. Դյակոնովը և նրան հետևելով՝ այլ լեզվաբաններ ու սեպագրա-  
գետներ, այդ ձևը համարում են փոխառյալ խեթերեն *kappi-* «գավաթ, թաս» բառից:  
Գ. Վիլհելմը, սակայն, ուրարտական նշված բառը փոխառյալ չի համարում. հավա-  
նական է, որ այն հին մերձավորարևելյան լեզուներում պարզապես ընդհանուր մշա-  
կութային մի եզրույթ եղած լինի (հմմտ. աքքադ. *kappu(m)* «թաս, գավաթ»):

Հայերենում ուրարտական սեպագրային *kapi-/kape* ձևերն արտացոլված են  
*kapic / kapēc* տարբերակներում, որոնք կարող էին կազմված լինել *-ic / -ēc* վեր-  
ջածանցի կցմամբ. վերջինս, չնայած իրանական ծագմանը, հայերենում անկախ  
բառակազմական արժեք է ունեցել: Հին պարսկերենում նույնպես ուրարտական  
*kapi-* տարբերակից կարող էր *-ic* ածանցով կազմվել \**kapīc/θ-* ձևը, որը հայտնի է  
հին հունական տառադարձմամբ (*καπίθη*): Հին պարսկերենն, իր հերթին, որպես  
աղբյուր է ծառայել բազմաթիվ իրանական ձևերի համար, բացի օտերենից:

ՉԵՎՍԻ ԱՐԿԱԾՆԵՐԸ ԼԻԿԻԱԿԱՆ ԹԱԳԱՎՈՐՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՈՒՄ  
2500 ՏԱՐԻ ԱՌԱՏ

ՎԻՏԱԼԻ ՇԵՎՈՐՈՇԿԻՆ

Հոդվածում քննարկվում են Զ.ա. I հազարամյակի կեսերին Արևմտյան Փոքր Ասիայի պետություններից Լիկիայում Չևս աստծո երկրպագության հետ կապված խնդիրները: Չևսի պաշտամունքը վկայված է ուշ խեթա-լուվիական լեզուներից լիկիերենի քարառձևերից մեկի՝ այսպես կոչված միլիական երկու տեքստերում: Դրանցից առաջինը հայտնաբերվել է Քսանթոսից (= Լիկիայի մայրաքաղաք Արիննա) [համար 44 – Զ.ա. V դար], մյուսը՝ Անտիֆելլոսից [համար 55]:

Քսանթոսի արձանագրությունը պոետիկ ժանրի տեքստ է, կազմված տեղական կառավարիչ Xerei-ի կողմից, որտեղ ներկայացվում է նրա նախորդի անկարողությունը դիմագրավելու թշնամու հարձակումը, ինչպես նաև սահմանված ցածր հարկերը, որոնք թույլ չէին տվել կազմակերպելու գերագույն աստծուն մատուցվելիք երկրպագությունները, ինչը զայրացրել էր աստվածներին: Անտիֆելլոսի արձանագրությունը կազմված է այստեղի կառավարիչ Pixre-ի կողմից: Երկու արձանագրությունների հեղինակներին միավորում է Չևսի հանդեպ ունեցած հավատը, վերջիններիս կողմից այդ աստծո պաշտամունքի հնարավոր ներդրման փորձը, ինչը վկայված չէ Լիկիայում նախորդող ժամանակաշրջանում:

Հոդվածում փորձ է արվում, երկու արձանագրությունների համեմատական տեքստաբանական վերլուծության միջոցով, ճշգրտելու առայժմ թերի ուսումնասիրված միլիերենի բառապաշարը:

ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԻ ՄԱՅՐԱԲԱՂԱՔ ԱՐՏԱՇԱՏԻ  
ՆՈՐԱՀԱՅՏ ԳՐԱՖԻՏԻՆԵՐԸ

ԺՈՐԵՍ ԽԱՉԱՏՐՅԱԼ

Արտաշատի հնագիտական արշավախումբը 2010թ. հուլիս, սեպտեմբեր-հոկտեմբեր ամիսներին շարունակեց պեղումները Արաքսից շուրջ 70մ հեռավորությամբ գտնվող բլրի հեթանոսական տաճարի «գանձարանի» և հասարակական բաղնիքի հարավային հատվածում:

«Գանձարանի» ներսում 3-3,50 սմ խորանալուց, ստերիլ հողը հեռացնելուց հետո ի հայտ եկան հին շինության սենյակների որմերը, որոնք ջարհմանը քարերով, կավե շաղախի օգնությամբ, կանոնավոր շարված պատեր են: «Գանձարանի» արտաքուստ բացված արևելյան, հարավային, արևմտյան պատերն օժտված են ստիլոբատով:

«Գանձարանի» հարավային պատի ներսի և դրսի կողմի քարերից երկուսի անհարթ մակերեսին դրոշմված են հունարեն տառերով արձանագրություններ: Երկու արձանագրություններ էլ առկա են ստիլոբատի քարերի վրա: Պատերի շարվածքի միջի տուֆի և կրաքարի երեսին փորագրված են հունարեն H և HN զրերը: Հունարեն բառերն ընթեռնելի չեն: Գրերը թեև հունատառ են, սակայն հունարեն չեն: Ակներևաբար՝ դրանք այլ էթնիկ պատկանելիություն ունեցողների թողած անուններ են:

Հասարակական բաղնիքի հանդերձարանի (V սենյակ) արտաքին մուտքի բացվածքը հարավային կողմում է: Արևմտյան պատին բացվել է չորս փոքր լուսամուտ: Ներքուստ հարավային պատին պահպանված առաջին սվաղի վրա, խազե-լու եղանակով նկարագրող է են: Նկարներն սկսվում են հատակից 25սմ բարձրությունից: Դրանք ծաղկել են ինչ-որ սուր, ակներևաբար՝ երկաթե գործիքով:

Հասարակական բաղնիքի հանդերձարանի պատկերաշարում, մուտքի ձախակողմյան պանոսի նկարված են կանգնած և հեծյալ տղամարդիկ: Մարդիկ պատկերված են դիմահայաց (ֆաս) լայն բացած ուղեքով: Իրանը նեղ մեջքից դեպի ուսերը և կոնքից ներքև եռանկյունաձև լայնանում է: Խիտոնը հասնում է մինչև ծնկները: Ուղեքը գրկած վարտիքը (տաբատ) իջնում է մինչև ոտնաթաթ: Խիտոնը և տաբատը հարդարված են շեղանկյուններով: Այդպիսի զարդերով տաբատներ են հայտնի Ամուղարիայի գանձի առարկաների պատկերներում: Բոլոր տղամարդկանց մեջքի գոտուց սրեր են կախված (աջից-ձախ)՝ ձախ ձեռքը կրթառին պահած: Հետաքրքիր է կանգնած մարդկանց գլուխների հարդարանքը, որոնք մեծ բազմազանություն են դրսևորում:

Կանգնած մարդկանց բոլորի սրերը պատյաններում են, այսինքն այն պատերազմական տեսարան չէ: Մարդիկ կանգնած են այնպես, ասես շրջափակում են կենդանիների: Առանձին պատկերներում հեծյալները նետահարելու դիրքով են, իսկ որոշ հեծյալների և կանգնած մարդկանց աջ թևը շատ երկար է ներկայացված, ասես պարան են նետում դեպի նժույգը:

Հեյլենիստական և ուշ անտիկ դարաշրջանում արքայական որսը շատ տարածված էր: Բնականաբար արքային փառաբանող որսի տեսարանները չէին կարող արտահայտություն չգտնել պաշտոնական և ժողովրդական արվեստում:

Ըստ այդմ, կարծում ենք, Արտաշատի գրաֆիտիում ներկայացված է վայրի նժույգների կամ ցիռերի որսի տեսարան: Քանի որ հասարակական բաղնիքի կառուցվել է Զ.հ. II դարի վերջին III դարի սկզբին, և գրաֆիտին արված է առաջին սվաղի վրա, ուստի այն կարող է պատկանել IV դարի առաջին կեսին, մինչև Շապուհ II-ի կողմից քաղաքի ավերումը (368թ.):

ԱՆԱՀԻՏԸ ԱՆԱՏՈՒԻԱԿԱՆ ԱՇԽԱՐՀՈՒՄ,  
ՓՈԽԱԶԳԵՑՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ ԵՎ ՍԻՆԿՐԵՏԱՑՈՒՄ

ՅՈՒԼԻԱՆ ՄՈԳԱ, ԼՈՐԵՂԱՆԱ ՄՈԳԱ

Սկզբնապես լինելով նախագրադաշտական աստվածություն, Անահիտի պաշտամունքը Անատոլիայում հայտնվեց աքեմենյան տիրապետության դարաշրջանում: Հնդիրանական լեզվաշխարհում նա կրում էր Sarasvatī (իրանական լեզվաշխարհում՝ \*Harahvatī)՝ «Ջրերի տիրուհի» անունը: Այս վերջինը վերաբերում է Երկնային գետին, որը սկիզբ էր առնում առասպելական Harā լեռից և թափվում էր Vourukaša ծովը՝ ունենալով հազարավոր վտակներ և ջրանքներ և, այսպիսով, հանդիսանալով բոլոր երկրային ջրերի աղբյուրը: Աքեմենյան դարաշրջանում նա նույնականացվեց \*Anahit-ի հետ, որով նրա պաշտամունքը ձեռք բերեց շատ ավելի մեծ ճանաչում: Այս սինկրետացման շնորհիվ աստվածուհին, որը Ավեստայում հիշատակվում է Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā անունով («խոնավ, հզոր, անարատ») և որոնք մատնանշում են նրա եռյակ գործառույթները, նա, այնուամենայնիվ, պահպանեց իր ինքնուրույնությունը՝ մարմնավորելով ստեղծագործ ուժը, որը տիրում է hvareno-ին՝ իրանական արքաներին փոխանցելով «իշխանություն, լույս, աստվածային ուժ, մեծություն»: Սրա պատճառով է. որ իրանական աշխարհում նա պատկերվում էր լուսապսակով: Սովորաբար նա ներկայանում է Ահուրամազդայի և Միթրայի ընկերակցությամբ՝ կարծես կազմելով Աքեմենյան, Արշակունի և Սասանյան արքաների պահապան եռյակը: Այս ընթացքում Անահիտան, ըստ երևույթին, արդեն իսկ սինկրետվել էր Լուսնի, իսկ Միթրան՝ Արևի հետ:

Նման եռյակներ, որոնք կազմված են Գերագույն աստծուց, Արևից և Լուսնից, գոյություն ունեին կովկասյան ժողովուրդների մոտ, ինչպես, օրինակ, աղվանների, հայերի և մոսխերի:

Անահիտայի պաշտամունքի առաջին պաշտոնական վիճագիր վկայությունը վերաբերում է աքեմենյան դարաշրջանին, մասնավորապես՝ Արտաքսերքսես II-ի կառավարման շրջանին: Համաձայն Բերոսոսի (որին մեջբերում է Կղեմենտ Աղեքսանդրացին)՝ Արտաքսերքսես II-ն էր, որը Անահիտայի (Ափրոդիտե-Անահիտա) մարդակերպ արձաններ բերեց Բաբելոնիա, Սուսա և Էկբատան: Սա այնուամենայնիվ չէր նշանակում, որ Անահիտի՝ որպես մարդակերպ աստվածության պաշտամունքը միայն նոր էր սկզբնավորվում աքեմենյան աշխարհում: Հաշվի առնելով նրա սինկրետացումը պտղաբերության աստվածությունների հետ՝ մենք չենք կարող բացառել, որ նրա պատկերագրությունը կարող էր սկզբնավորվել կամ ձևավորվել անատոլիական միջավայրում՝ պատկերվելով տեղի Մայր-աստվածուհիների, իսկ հետագայում՝ Արտեմիսի նմանությամբ: Այստեղից էլ նրա հետագա՝ արդեն հռոմեա-

կան դարաշրջանում արված պատկերումները, երբ աստվածուհին ներկայացվում էր Կիբելեի կամ Եփեսոսի Արտեմիսի նմանությամբ, իսկ գրավոր հուշարձաններում հանդես էր գալիս Մայր Անահիտ(ա) (Meter Anaitis, Meter Anatis) և Արտեմիս-Անահիտա անուններով (Tea Artémis, Artémis Anaitis, Artémis Anaitis):

Ընդհանրապես, Անահիտայի պաշտամունքը տարածված էր փոքրասիական երկրներում, ինչպես, օրինակ, Լիդիայում, Փոյուգիայում, Կարիայում, Կապադովկիայում, ինչպես նաև, անշուշտ, Հայաստանում:

Հողվածում քննարկվում է Անահիտ-Անահիտայի պատկերագրության կյունքները և նրա արձանի հնարավոր տեսքը՝ հենվելով ինչպես հին առաջավորասիական, հատկապես՝ փոքրասիական, այնպես էլ՝ հունահռոմեական գրավոր և վիճագիր հարուստ նյութի տվյալների վրա:

ՈՂԻՍԵՎԱԸ ՄՈՍԱՆԻ ԵՎ ՍԵՐՂՈՆԻ ՄԻՋԵՎ

ԱԼԵՆ ԶՐԻՍՏՈՒ

Համեմատական ուսումնասիրության արդյունքում բազմաթիվ նմանություններ են ի. հայտ գալիս Հունաստանում տարածված Տրոյական վիպաշարի և Կովկասում հյուսված Նարթյան դիցավեպի միջև: Ներկա հողվածը կենտրոնանում է այդ նմանություններից՝ Ողիսևի կերպարի և Սըրղոնի ու Մոսլանի հետ նրա ունեցած առնչության վրա:

Սըրղոնն, ըստ Նարթական շարքի, օժտված է խելքով և խորամանկությամբ, իսկ Մոսլանն՝ առավելապես դյուցազնական հատկանիշներով, ընդ որում Ողիսևն ու Մոսլանը հովանավորվում են բացառիկ իշխանություն ունեցող կնոջ կողմից, առաջինի դեպքում՝ Աթենաս աստվածուհու, իսկ երկրորդի պարագայում՝ Սաթանա դիցուհու:

Մույն հողվածի նյութը վերաբերում է նշված հինգ կերպարների միջև առկա նմանությունների և տարբերությունների միահյուսման քննարկմանը:

ԻՆՔՆՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՃԳՆԱԺԱՄ. ՀԱՅ ՎԱՆԱԿԱՆ ԿՅԱՆՔԸ  
ՎԱՂ ԲՅՈՒԶԱՆԴԱԿԱՆ ԵՐՈՒՄԱԴԵՍՈՒՄ

ՔԵՅՐԻՆ ԲՐԻԹ

Հողվածը վերաբերում է վանական շարժման մեջ տարբեր ինքնությունների ձևավորման և արտահայտման գործում նյութական մշակույթի խաղացած կարևոր դերակատարությանը: Հենվելով հայ վանականությանը վերաբերող փաստական տվյալների վրա՝ ներկայացվում է մի կաղապար՝ վերհանելու համար ինքնության զգացողությունը և նրա ազդեցությունը վաղ բյուզանդական վանքերի վրա:

4-րդ դարի սկզբներին քրիստոնեության ընդունումը Հայաստանում ազդակ հանդիսացավ, որ հայերը ճանապարհորդեն դեպի Պաղեստին նախքան այս տարածքի «կայսերական բացահայտումը» և սուրբ վայրերի վրա եկեղեցիների կառուցումը: Նրանք մեկնում էին որպես ուխտավորներ՝ երազելով սեփական աչքերով տեսնել Քրիստոսի երկրային կյանքի հետ կապված վայրերը, ինչպես նաև որպես ճգնավորներ, որոնք որոնում էին այնպիսի միջավայր, որը կստեղծեր անհարմարություններ՝ կապված անապատային կյանքի հետ, իսկ մյուս կողմից ընձեռն առավելություն՝ պայմանավորված սուրբ վայրերին ունեցած մերձավորությամբ: Որպես արդյունք՝ հայերի կատարած ուխտագնացությունների և վաղ պաղեստինյան վանական կյանքի միջև սկիզբ առան կարևոր փոխհարաբերություններ:

Ժամանակի ընթացքում աճելով թե քանակապես, և թե ազդեցությամբ՝ հայերը սկսեցին հիմնել սեփական եկեղեցիներ և վանքեր, որի արդյունքը եղավ այն, որ արդեն 7-րդ դարում Երուսաղեմում ուրվագծվում են առնվազն երկու շրջաններ, որ բնակեցված էին հայ հոգևոր համայնքի կողմից. մեկը տեղորոշվում է քաղաքային պարիսպներից անմիջապես դեպի հյուսիս, իսկ մյուսը՝ Չիթենյաց լեռան վրա:

Էթնիկ ինքնության տեսանկյունից ուսումնասիրելով գրավոր աղբյուրները և վերջին շրջանում իրականացված հնագիտական պեղումների արդյունքները՝ կապված հայերի ներկայության հետ Երուսաղեմում և նրա շրջակայքում, վեր է հանվում այս շրջանում վանական կյանքի թե տարբերակվածությունը, և թե վանական շաժման մեջ հայերի ունեցած նշանակալի դերակատարությունը:

Ուրվագծվող իրողությունը հանդիսանում է վաղ պաղեստինյան վանական կյանքի առավել դժվարին և նրբին կողմը՝ այն, որ տարաբնույթ էթնիկ խմբեր սկզբնապես հավաքվում են՝ կազմավորելու համար առավել ընդգրկուն քրիստոնեական համայնք՝ միևնույն ժամանակ պահպանելով իրենց բնութագրական առանձնահատկությունները: Ավելի ուշ, որքան որ հնարավորություններն են թույլ տալիս, տարբեր խմբեր հիմնում են իրենց առանձին վանքերը, որոնք, թվում է, հիմնված էին արդեն էթնիկ սկզբունքների վրա՝ դրան զուգահեռ շարունակելով մասնակցությունը համապաղեստինյան վանական շարժմանը:

ԿԱՀԻՐՅԱՆ ԳԵՆԻՉԱՅԻՑ ՍԱՍԱՐԱԿԱՆ «ԳԻՐՔ ՀԻՍՈՒՄԻ՝  
ՆԱՎԻՆԻ ՈՐԴՈՒՄ» ԵԲՐԱՅԱԿԱՆ-ԱՐԱԲԱԿԱՆ  
ՀԱՏՎԱԾԸ ԵՎ ՊԵՏԵՐԲՈՒՐԳՅԱՆ ՁԵՌԱԳՐԵՐԸ

ՀԱՐՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ Ս. ԺԱՍԿՈՉՅԱՆ

Վերջերս նույնականացված Cambridge T-S NS 188.20 եբրայական-արաբական ձեռագիրը, որը ծագում է Կահիրյան գեմիզայից, պարունակում է սամարական «Գիրք Հիսուսի՝ Նավինի որդու» գործին տեքստաբանորեն մոտ մի հատված:

Նույնականացումը հիմնվում էր ոչ կատարյալ, գրեթե կեսդարյա վաղեմությամբ հրատարակված մեկ եզակի ձեռագրի և տեքստի՝ սամարական եբրայերենով արված հետագա թարգմանությունների վրա:

Սակայն, համադրությունը Ռուսական ազգային գրադարանում պահվող սամարական ձեռագիր նյութի հետ, որի ուսումնասիրությամբ զբաղվել է հողվածի հեղինակը, ցուցաբերում է տեքստերի շատ ավելի նույնականություն և ընդհանրություններ միջնադարյան Մերձավոր Արևելքում տարբեր մշակույթների խորը փոխազդեցությունների մասին մեր ունեցած պատկերացումները:

Հողվածում տրվում է նաև բնագրի նոր, քննական հրատարակությունը՝ պետերբուրգյան նյութի ներառմամբ:

## ABBREVIATIONS

AAA - Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, Liverpool  
AcOr - Acta Orientalia, Budapest  
AI - Acta Iranica, Leiden  
AJA - American Journal of Archaeology, Baltimore / Princeton  
AJNES - Aramazd. Armenian Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Yerevan  
AMI - Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran, Neue Folge, Berlin  
AMI (Erg.) - Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran (Ergänzungsband), Berlin  
AnAr - Anadolu Araştırmaları (JKIF - Jahrbuch für Kleinasiatische Forschung), İstanbul  
AncSoc - Ancient Society, Leuven  
ANES - Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Louvain  
AnSt - Anatolian Studies. Journal of the British Institute at Ankara, London  
AoF - Altorientalische Forschungen, Berlin  
BABesch - Bulletin van de Vereeniging tot Bevordering der Kennis van de antieke Beschaving, Leiden  
BAR-IS - British Archaeological Reports. International Series, Oxford  
BEH - Banber Erevani hamalsarani, Yerevan  
BF - Baghdader Forschungen, Mainz  
Bibl.Mes - Bibliotheca Mesopotamica, Malibu  
DocAs - Documenta Asiana, Roma  
DrV - Drevnij Vostok, Yerevan  
EnI - Encyclopædia Iranica, New York  
GRBS - Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies, Durham, N.C.  
HA - Handes Amsoreay (Zeitschrift für armenische Philologie), Wien  
HSp - Historische Sprachforschung, Berlin  
IA - Iranica Antiqua, Leiden  
IstM(itt.) - Istanbuler Mitteilungen, Istanbul / Tübingen  
JAOS - Journal of the American Oriental Society, Boston  
JCS - Journal of Cuneiform Studies, New Haven  
JECS - Journal of Early Christian Studies, Baltimore  
JIES - Journal of Indo-European Studies, Hattiesburg  
JNES - Journal of Near-Eastern Studies, Chicago  
JSS - Journal of Semitic Studies, Manchester/Oxford  
KST - Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı, Ankara  
LHG - Lraber hasarakakan gitut'yunneri (= VON - Vestnik obščestvennyx nauk), Yerevan  
MDAI - Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique en Iran, Paris  
MDOG - Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, Berlin  
OIP - Oriental Institute Publications, University of Chicago, Chicago  
PBH - Patma-banasirakan handes (= IFŽ - Istoriko-filologičeskij žurnal), Yerevan  
QDAP - Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine, Jerusalem  
RA - Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale, Paris  
REA - Revue des études arméniennes, Paris  
REG - Revue des études grecques, Paris  
REIE - Revue des études indoeuropéennes, Bucarest - Paris  
RHA - Revue hittite et asianique, Paris  
RHR - Revue de l'histoire des religions, Paris  
SA - Sovetskaja arxeologija, Moscow  
SAOC - Studies on Ancient Oriental Civilizations, Chicago  
SMEA - Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici, Roma  
SPAW - Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin  
StBoT - Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, Wiesbaden  
StIr - Studia Iranica, Leiden  
VDI - Vestnik drevnej istorii, Moscow  
WVDOG - Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, Leipzig/Berlin  
ZA - Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie, Berlin - New York  
ZDMG - Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig - Stuttgart - Wiesbaden  
ZDPV - Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, Wiesbaden  
ZPE - Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn

**TABLES**

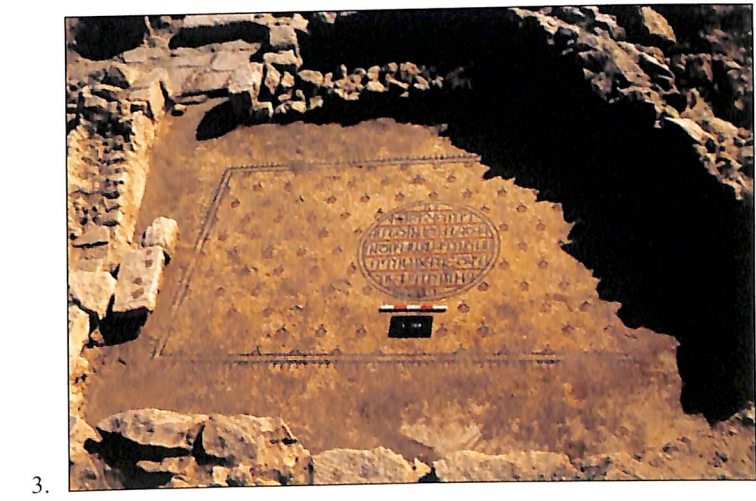
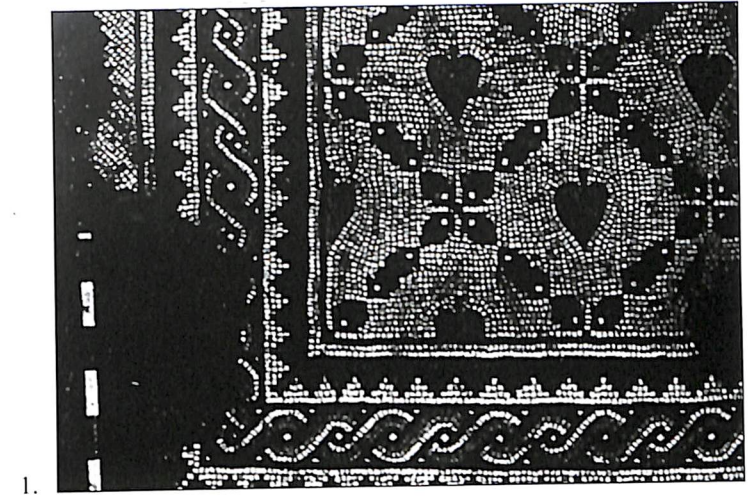
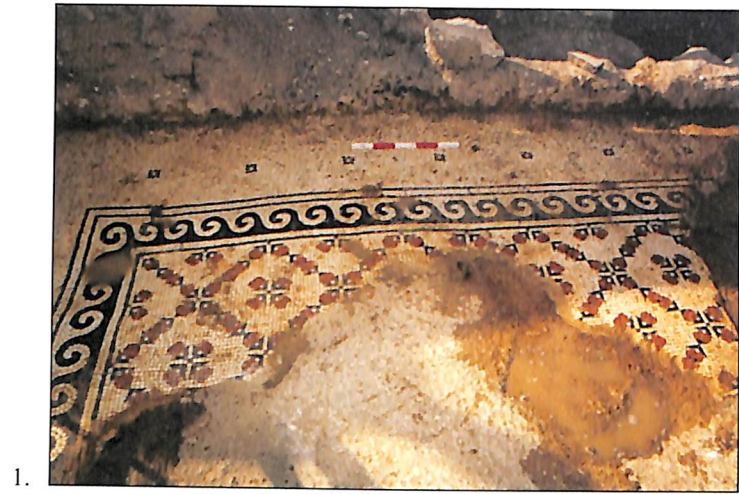




Table III



1.



2.



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Karen Britt

Table IV

Zhores Khachatryan



1.



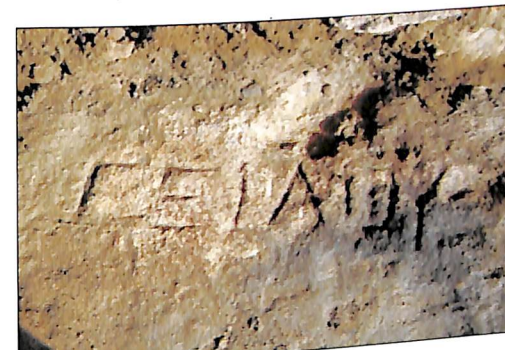
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Table V

Zhores Khachatryan



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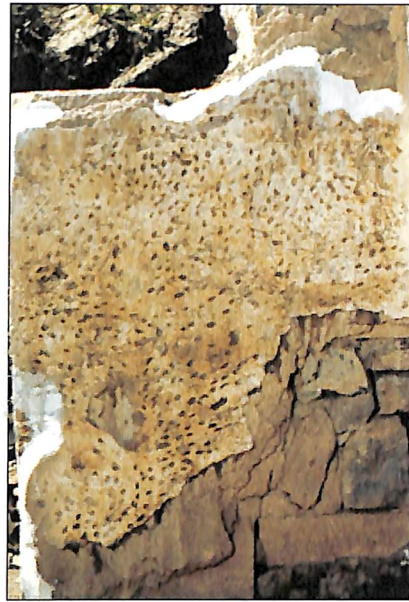
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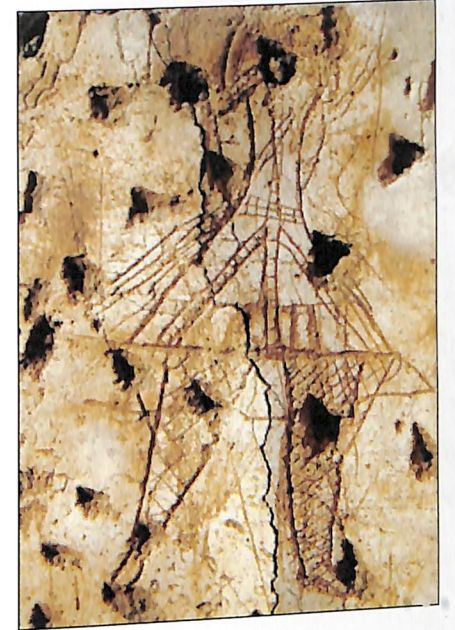
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Table VI

Zhores Khachatryan



1.



2.



3.



4.



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