

T
733

AN INTRODUCTION
TO
URARTIANS AND ARMENIANS

Anahid Bedrossian

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	1
INTRODUCTION	11
Chapter	
I. APPEARANCE AND RISE OF URARTU	1
II. THE URARTIANS	12
Relation with the Hurrians	
Identification with the <i>Xaldaiou</i>	
III. THE APPEARANCE OF ARMENIA AND ITS PERSIAN DOMINATION	28
IV. THE RISE OF INDEPENDENT KINGDOMS IN ARMENIA AND THE EMPIRE OF TIGRANES THE GREAT	39
V. THE ARMENIANS	48
Relation with the Phrygians	
The Armenians and the Hayer	
VI. THE URARTIAN CULTURE ON THE BASIS OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS	58
MAPS	75
BIBLIOGRAPHY	79

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to express my profound gratitude to Prof. J. P. Brown of the Classics and History departments of the American University of Beirut for his invaluable assistance towards the realisation of this thesis. Prof. J. P. Brown, through his counsels and encouragement has helped me immensely to accomplish this work.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is an attempt to introduce two peoples of ancient Armenia, the Urartians and the Armenians. It is to deal with the development of the Urartian kingdom and the Armenian empire of Tigranes the Great. But primarily it is to trace the origin of the Urartians and the Armenians on the basis of information provided by primary sources. Such sources are the Assyrian, Urartian and Persian inscriptions, the Old Testament and the Greek authors. A lot is quoted from these sources to indicate the exact information they provide, as well as to gather together the essential primary information for studies of similar nature. I have entirely depended on translations for all the above mentioned sources, except for the Greek, in which case I have also tried my little knowledge of Greek. The subject of this thesis is broad and complicated. Much has already been said about it and I have not contributed towards it, but placed together the basic, primary information for the study of the Urartian and Armenian peoples as briefly but as inclusively as possible.

To the Urartians and the Armenians goes the credit for carving out the character of Armenia. The Urartians founded the first

independent political unity, the kingdom of Urartu in pre-Armenia, in the ninth century B.C. They dominated the Armenian plateau politically as well as culturally for three centuries. The native inscriptions, the contemporary Assyrian inscriptions and archaeological discoveries provide evidence for their existence and achievements. In 585 B.C., the kingdom of Urartu collapsed and the name "Urartu" or "Urartian" disappeared almost suddenly. But peoples neither rise up nor do they die suddenly. The Greek authors provide evidence for the existence of Urartian survivors in Armenia or elsewhere. Urartu emerged as Armenia in the sixth century B.C. under Persian domination which it endured for almost two centuries until the Achaemenian empire fell to Alexander the Great in 331 B.C. By then the Armenians appear to have been well Persianized, but soon after the process of Hellenization also commenced, and both together characterized the empire of Tigranes in the first century B.C. Persian sources, that is the Behistan inscriptions, and Greek sources provide information about the Armenians under Persian domination and during the development of independent kingdoms and the empire of Tigranes in Armenia. In the fifth century A.D. it was revealed that even though the inhabitants of Armenia were called Armenians and their country Armenia, but only by foreigners. They named themselves Hayer and

their country Hayastan.

In the following chapters we shall endeavour to learn who the Armenians and the Urartians were according to the information provided by primary sources.

CHAPTER I

APPEARANCE AND RISE OF URARTU

To trace the development of Urartu it is necessary to describe the Armenian plateau in the thirteenth century before the Christian era. There existed small, independent kingdoms or principalities, particularly west and south of Lake Van. They united temporarily in a shaky alliance against a common enemy, Assyria, which was already on its way to building a great empire. The Assyrian records provide valuable information about the operations undertaken by Assyrian monarchs against the numerous small kingdoms in pre-Armenia. These kingdoms are referred to as the Nairi-lands.

During the reign of the Assyrian king, Tukulti-Urta I (c. 1250-1218 B.C.),¹ the Assyrians were fighting, it appears successfully, a coalition organised by kings, forty-three in number, of the Nairi-lands. Tukulti-Urta records:

. . . I fought in battle with 43 kings of the Nairi-lands, I brought about the defeat of their armies. All their lands I brought under my sway. The kings of those Nairi-lands, I galled their necks with copper fetters. To Ekur (or, the

¹The dates of the Assyrian kings are according to Daniel Luckenbill, Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1926), vol. II, pp. 441-442.

temple), the great mountain, my tutelary shrine, before Assur, my lord, I brought them. I made them take the oath by the great gods of heaven and earth. Tribute and gifts for all time I imposed upon them.²

During the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I (c. 1100-1090 B.C.), the Assyrians were fighting first twenty-three and then sixty kings of the Nairi-lands. Tiglath-Pileser records the following proudly:

. . . The king of Tumme, the king of Tanube, the king of Tuali, the king of Kindari, the king of Uzula, the king of Unzamuni, the king of Andiabe, the king of Pilakinni, the king of Aturgini, the king of Kulibarzini, the king of Shinibirni, the king of Himma, the king of Paiteri, the king of Uiram, the king of Shururia, the king of Abaeni, the king of Adaeni, the king of Kirini, the king of Albaia, the king of Ugina, the king of Nazabia,³ the king of Abarsiuni, and the king of Daiaeni, - in all twenty-three kings of the land of Nairi, gathered their chariots and their hosts from out of their lands and advanced to wage war and combat. With the fury of my terrible weapons I attacked them, and brought about the destruction of their widespreading forces, like a flood of Adad. . . . Sixty kings of the countries of Nairi, together with those who had come to their help, I pursued with the point of my spear to the Upper Sea. I captured their great cities, their booty, their goods and their possessions I brought out; I burnt their cities with fire, I devastated, I destroyed and unto heaps and ruins I turned (them).⁴

The number of the kings, whether exaggerated or not, is evidence that there was not a centralized government in the Nairi-lands but separate, independent principalities united temporarily against the

² Ibid., vol. I, sec. 165.

³ Possibly identical with Nisibis? See Map I for its approximate position.

⁴ Luckenbill, vol. I, sec. 236.

Assyrians. This alliance must have lasted for a considerable time during which it must have undergone expansion and contraction according to the direction of the Assyrian conquests. By the time of Assurnazirpal II (c. 883-859 B.C.), that is, after a period of about two centuries, a different picture is seen in the Nairi-lands. The Assyrians were facing a well-organised unity headed by Urartu, most probably a former member of the alliance, but one of the strongest. Even as early as the time of Shalmaneser I (c. 1280 B.C.), Urartu must have been strong and capable enough to bother the Assyrians by stirring up enmity against them. As a matter of fact, the earliest mention of Urartu in the form of "Uruadri" occurs in an inscription of Shalmaneser I, recording a campaign of his against Uruadri.

At that time, at the beginning of my priesthood, the land of Uruadri rebelled, and to Assur and the great gods, my lords, I raised my hands in prayer, I mobilized my armies, went up against their mighty mountain fastnesses. . . . The whole land of Uruadri, in three days' time, I brought in submission at the feet of Assur my lord. . . . 5

A second form in which Urartu appears in the Assyrian records is "Uradri," referred to in an inscription of a later king, Adad-Nirari II (c. 911-891 B.C.), as one of the lands to which his conquests extended.⁶ "Urartu," the next and the final form of the

⁵Luckenbill, vol. I, sec. 114.

⁶Ibid., vol. I, sec. 360.

name, first appears in the inscriptions of Assurnazirpal II, along with the mention of the Nairi-lands.

. . . With the help of Shamash and Adad, the gods, my helpers, I thundered over the troops of the Nairi-lands, Kirhi, Shubare, and Nirib, like Adad the destroyer. (I am) the king, who from beyond the Tigris unto Mount Lebanon and the Great Sea, has brought in submission at his feet Lake, to its farthest border, . . . whose hand has conquered from the source of the river Subnat⁷ to the land of Urartu (Armenia). . . .⁸

Thereafter, however, "Nairi-lands" gradually disappears while "Urartu" occupies a prominent place in the annals of the Assyrian kings,⁹ and consequently must have occupied an equally important place in Assyrian foreign policy.

Urartu, however, was not the native Urartian name. As indicated in their records, the Assyrians referred to the Armenian plateau as Urartu; Nairi-lands or Nairi was applied in the same sense in earlier times.¹⁰ But of course, in different periods the extent of the territory known as Urartu or Nairi-lands did change, either contracted or expanded. In the native inscriptions,

⁷Modern Sebbeneh-su. Luckenbill, vol. II, p. 485.

⁸Luckenbill, vol. I, sec. 516.

⁹Particularly of Shalmaneser III (858-824 B.C.), Tiglath-Pileser III (745-727 B.C.), Sargon II (721-705 B.C.), Esarhaddon (680-669 B.C.).

¹⁰Nicolas Adontz, *Histoire D'Arménie* (Paris: Publication de L'Union Générale Arménienne de Bienfaisance, 1946), p. 270.

the Urartian kings refer to their land as "Biainaue" (Biaina), or as "Biainaue and Surauë," and in a single case as "Nairi." This last occurs in an inscription of Sarduri I (c. 844-828 B.C.).¹¹

L'inscription de Sardouri, fils de Lutipri, le grand roi, le roi puissant, le roi de tous, le roi de Nairi, le roi qui n'a pas son égal. . . .¹²

Sarduri I was the first Urartian king to leave behind written records; moreover, his inscriptions were in Assyrian. In the above fragment, he claims to be "the son of Lutipri, the great king, the mighty king, the king of all, the king of Nairi, the king who has not his equal." This piece of information may serve as evidence indicating the unification of the separate political units of the Nairi-lands into a single body, henceforward to be known as Urartu in the Assyrian inscriptions. The successors of Sarduri I left behind either monolingual inscriptions in Urartian or bilingual inscriptions in Urartian and Assyrian. Here is the text of the Urartian version of a bilingual inscription on the so called Green Stele of Ispuini (c. 828-785 B.C.), where Urartu is referred to by its native name; on the other hand, however, in the Assyrian version of the same text, Urartu appears as Nairi.¹³

¹¹The dates of the Urartian kings are according to Adontz, p. 193.

¹²Adontz, p. 145.

¹³Ibid., p. 213.

Ispuini roi de Suraue (=Surili), roi de Biainaue (= Biainili), seigneur de Tuspa, et Menua son fils, arrivés à la ville d'Ardini (en Assyrien, Musasir).¹⁴

N. Adontz believes that "Surili" is plural of Suri, and "Suraue" possessive plural; in the same way "Biainili" is plural of Biaini, and "Biainaue" possessive plural.¹⁵ The suffix "li" is the indication of the plural form in the Urartian language.¹⁶ Biainaue refers to the province east and south-east of Lake Van,¹⁷ where Tuspa¹⁸ was located, and which was the origin and the focal point of Urartu power. Suraue, on the other hand, might refer to another province; however, this seems unlikely considering the fact that Urartu comprised many provinces and the Urartian kings would not have praised themselves with the mention of a single province, however important it may have been. Suraue is suggested to have been an appellative referring to the tributary territories annexed to Biainaue.¹⁹ Thus

¹⁴Adontz, p. 146.

The Green Stele bearing this inscription has been found north of Rowanduz. See Map I. Adontz, p. 146. This may serve as evidence for the site of Musasir, north of Rowanduz.

¹⁵Adontz, p. 214.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 264.

¹⁷See Map I. It is classical Lake Thopitis in Strabo Geography xi. 14. 8; Thopitis (same word as Tuspa) in Ptolemy Geography v. 13. 7.

¹⁸See Map I. It appears as Dosp (Չոսպ) in Moses of Khorene History of Armenians iii. 35. Presently it is called Van situated on the eastern shores of Lake Van.

¹⁹Adontz, pp. 214-215.

Biainaue and Surane correspond to the Nairi-lands of the Assyrian records.

Before proceeding any further, we wish to point out that there was one more name by which Urartu had been known. In the Old Testament it is referred to as "Ararat" or the "kingdom of Ararat."²⁰

And the ark rested in the seventh month, on the seventeenth day of the month, upon the mountains of Ararat.²¹

Set ye up a standard in the land, blow the trumpet among the nations, prepare the nations against her,²² call together against her the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenaz; . . .²³

Between lakes Van in the south and Sevan in the north stands a mountain called Mt. Ararat.²⁴ The lands about it were definitely under Urartian influence and control.²⁵ They must have comprised the Ararat of the Old Testament.

As mentioned previously, the original seat of the kingdom of Urartu was east and south-east of Lake Van. Generally, it is king Arame (c. 880-844 B.C.) who is given the credit for founding the

²⁰J. Hasting, "Ararat," Dictionary of the Bible (Edinburg: T. and T. Clark; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898), vol. I, p. 139.

²¹Genesis 8:4.

²²Refers to Babylon. Jeremiah 51:1.

²³Jeremiah 51:27.

²⁴See Map I.

²⁵See the following pages.

kingdom, by bringing about the fusion of the small, independent principalities of the Nairi-lands.²⁶ How he was able to accomplish such a deed is still a mystery due to insufficient information. Arame himself did not leave behind any written records, and the later Urartian documents are silent about him. His successor who calls himself "son of Lutipri", apparently was not his son. We know about Arame from the Assyrian inscriptions. He is referred to quite frequently in the annals of Shalmaneser III, as a very troublesome Urartian king against whose kingdom Shalmaneser claims to have conducted many campaigns.²⁷ The fact is that he is the first Urartian king mentioned; however no other evidence is given which might shed light on the particulars of his bringing about the unification of the Nairi-lands.

At any rate, Arame struggled against Assyria for the existence of his newly-built kingdom in the first half of the ninth century B.C. As a matter of fact, the Urartian kings did not cease fighting Assyria for their country as it rose to power fast and tried to rival Assyria for more than two centuries in its claims to world domination. It was inevitable that the ambitions of Urartu would not

²⁶ René Grousset, Histoire de L'Arménie (Paris: Payot, 1947), p. 47.

²⁷ Luckenbill, vol. I, pp. 202-248.

escape the notice of the mighty empire of the time, Assyria; particularly since the interests of both were directed towards the same goals. They were rivals not only for political or military supremacy but for economic supremacy as well. They were in competition for the control of vital trade routes in the north-west and east: that from Syria to Asia Minor, and that coming from India and China across Iran.²⁸ Urartu did win back the territories on the southern slopes of the Armenian mountains previously conquered for Assyria by Tiglath-Pileser I and Assurnasirpal II; it gained as well the territories in the north-east of the mountains where the operations of Shalmaneser III had been successfully conducted.²⁹ Urartu got a firm grasp on the region immediately south of Lake Urmia,³⁰ and thus controlled the trade routes from northern Iran; it also took over the metal trade of Asia Minor, rendering Assyria inefficient politically and economically.³¹

Urartu rose to the height of its power and extension during the reign of Sarduri II (753-735 B.C.). The boundaries of the kingdom stretched as far north as Lake Sevan and Alexandrapol beyond the

²⁸H. W. Saggs, The Greatness That Was Babylon (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1962), p. 100.

²⁹A. T. Olmstead, History of Assyria (New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925), p. 182.

³⁰Presently in Iran. See Map I.

³¹Saggs, p. 104.

river Araxes, as far west as the banks of the Euphrates, and as far east as the river Zab³² and Rowanduz.³³ Nevertheless, the more powerful in the competition between Urartu and Assyria was the latter, and eventually the first had to succumb to the destructive power of Sargon II. Here is a piece of information provided by Sargon II in regard to Urartu:

Urzana of the city of Musasir, who trusted in Ursa of Urartu, and forgot his vassalage (to Assyria),- with the masses of my troops I covered Musasir like a locust-(swarm) and that one, to save his life, fled alone and perished. I entered Musasir in triumph; his wife, his sons, his daughters, the property, goods (and) treasure of his palace, all there was, together with 20,170 people with their possessions, Haldia (and) Bagbartum, his gods, with their rich trappings, I counted as spoil. Ursa, king of Urartu, heard of the destruction of Musasir, the carrying off of Haldia, his god, and with his own hands ended his life with his iron girdle dagger. Over Urartu, to its farthest border, I brought mourning, the people who dwelt therein I plunged into lamentation and sighing.³⁴

By the defeat of Ursa (735-713 B.C.), the destruction of Musasir (the sacred city of the Urartians),³⁵ and the capture of the supreme god Haldia, and his consort Bagbartum,³⁶ the Assyro-Urartian competition

³² An eastern tributary of the Tigris. See Map I.

³³ A. H. Sayce, "The Kingdom of Van," Cambridge Ancient History, ed. Bury, Cook, Adcock (Cambridge: University Press, 1960), vol. III, p. 169.

³⁴ Luckenbill, vol. II, sec. 59.

³⁵ Ibid., vol. II, sec. 172.

³⁶ Ibid., vol. II, sec. 173.

came to an end. Later Urartian kings, Argisti II (713-680 B.C.), Rusa or Ursa II (680-646 B.C.), Sarduri III (646-610 B.C.), and Rusa or Ursa III (610-585 B.C.) did not bother to struggle against the might of Assyria, but rather adopted a humbler and peace-seeking attitude. Assurnazirpal III (c. 668-626 B.C.) records the following referring to Rusa II of Urartu:

At that time Rusa, king of Urartu, heard of the might of the gods, my lords, and the fear of my majesty overwhelmed him. His nobles he sent to greet me (ask my peace) at Arbela.³⁷

Cimmerian and particularly Scythian and Median invasions further weakened the kingdom of Urartu. The first of these peoples invaded Urartu about 713 B.C., coming from the north of the Black sea.³⁸ The Scythians destroyed the northern administrative centres of Urartu, while the Medes captured the central regions and by 585 B.C. Urartu had already ceased functioning as an independent political unit.³⁹

³⁷ Luckenbill, vol. II, sec. 871.

³⁸ Adontz, p. 292.

³⁹ Alexander Mongait, Archaeology in the U.S.S.R. (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publication House, 1959), p. 226.

CHAPTER II

THE URARTIANS

Relation with the Hurrians

We name the inhabitants of Urartu Urartians. They founded the first independent political unity in pre-Armenia; they produced a unique civilization.¹ The native as well as the Assyrian records provide evidence for both achievements, while the archaeological discoveries present concrete examples. But who were the Urartians to whom the credit for these goes?

The most favoured theory relates the Urartians to the Hurrians.² According to E. A. Speiser, it was in the early second millenium B.C., that the Hurrians overran Mesopotamia, from the north, in an

¹To mention a few items: They developed a writing system composed of cuneiform characters. To A. H. Sayce goes the credit for deciphering the Urartian inscriptions. (A. H. Sayce; A Primer of Assyriology (New York: Fleming and Revell Company, N.D.); p. 37). They possessed a pantheon including more than eighty deities of different origin and importance (N. Adontz, Histoire D'Armenie, p. 222). They founded cities and built fortifications, temples and even canals (Adontz, pp. 230-240). They developed a high quality metallurgy the remains of which have been discovered in Van and elsewhere, such as at Toprak Kale in Turkey and Karmir Blur near Erevan, the present capital of Soviet Armenia. See Map II for these places.

²Identical with the Old Testament "Horites," the Hurrian survivors in Palestine. They appear in Genesis 36:20,29; 14:6. Deuteronomy 2:12.

extensive migration.³ They played an important part in the affairs of the Orient for centuries, particularly after the fifteenth century B.C., for they formed not only the bulk of the population of the Mitanni empire⁴ in Mesopotamia, but were widely distributed "all over the Near East - from Anatolia to Elam, from Armenia to Egypt,"⁵ as evidenced by Hurrian texts⁶ and primarily by Hurrian proper names. According to I. J. Gelb, even as late as 1100 B.C. and on, there were Hurrian survivors restricted particularly to the territories between Mesopotamia and Lake Van, as evidenced by the mention of Hurrian proper names in the Assyrian records or elsewhere.⁷ To refer to a few examples:

Tiglath-Pileser I records in one of his inscriptions:

. . . I took my chariots and my troops and crossed the Tigris. Shadi-Teshub, the son of Hattu-shar(?), the king of

³E. A. Speiser, Ethnic Movements in the Near East in the Second Millenium B.C. (Baltimore: J. H. Furst Co., 1933), p. 16.

⁴Flourished in the fifteenth century B.C., and lasted until 1365 B.C., its destruction by Shupiluliuma (1380-1346 B.C.), the Hittite king.

⁵Speiser, p. 16.

⁶Discovered at Boghaz Koy, Nuzi, Ras-esh-Shamra, Mari, Egypt; the longest and the main source for the study of the Hurrian language is the letter of Tushratta, king of Mitanni to Amenhotep III of Egypt, found in the Amarna correspondence.

⁷I. J. Gelb, Hurrians and Subarians (Chicago: 1944), p. 90.

Urratinash, embraced my feet before I drew near (to him) in his own land. . . .⁸

I. J. Gelb locates Urratinash between Mesopotamia and Lake Van.⁹ He asserts that the name "Hattu-shar" for which he prefers "Hattu" is the Hurrian word for "Hittite."¹⁰

A later king, Shalmaneser III speaks of his fighting with a certain Irhuleni, the king of Hamath in Syria. He records:

. . . At that time Hadad-ezer, (king) of Aram(?Damascus), Irhuleni, the Hamathite, together with the kings of Hatti and the sea-coast, relied on each other's strength and came out against me to offer battle. . . .¹¹

I. J. Gelb claims "Irhuleni" to correspond to Hurrian "Urhalenni."¹²

What is of greater interest to us is I. J. Gelb's conviction that "Lutipri" the name of the father of an Urartian king, Sarduri I, as mentioned in one of his inscriptions,¹³ may be a Hurrian

⁸Luckenbill, vol. I, sec. 223.

⁹Gelb, p. 83.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 82.

¹¹Luckenbill, vol. I, sec. 563.

¹²Gelb, p. 82.

¹³Already quoted on p. 5.

name when separated thus - "Luti-ipri."¹⁴ These examples, even though insufficient, may indicate the existence of Hurrians in Mesopotamia and pre-Armenia as late as the time of the Urartian kingdom. However, this is not to say that the relation between the Hurrians and the Urartians may be deduced simply from the fact that Hurrians lived in pre-Armenia for a considerable time.

Their connection is rather based on the close resemblance of the vocabularies and some grammatical structures of their languages, both of which have been asserted to have a non-Indo-European and non-Semitic character.¹⁵

Here are concrete examples of similar words in Urartian and Hurrian according to N. Adontz.¹⁶

<u>Urartian</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Hurrian</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
pili	canal	pala	canal
huri	lord	ibri	kings
huradi	warrior	hurati	warrior
tarsuani	man	tarsu(u)anni	man
uli	other	uli	other
tiu	to speak	tiui	speech
baba	mound	papa	mound
hari	route	hari	route
aru	give	aru	give
ebani	city	umini	city

¹⁴ Gelb, p. 82.

¹⁵ B. Hrozný, Ancient History of Western Asia, India, Crete (New York: Philosophical Library Inc., 1955), p. 110; A. H. Sayce, "The Kingdom of Van," Cambridge Ancient History, vol. III, pp. 172-173.

¹⁶ N. Adontz, Histoire D'Arménie, p. 269.

As to similarities concerning some grammatical structures in Urartian and Hurrian, N. Adontz proceeds to say: first, the usage of the suffixes hi- ni- si occurs in Urartian the same way as in Hurrian; second, in the construction of sentences, the subject of a transitive verb takes "se" in Urartian, "s" in Hurrian; and likewise, "ni" is added to the subject of an intransitive verb in Urartian, "n" in Hurrian.¹⁷ These similarities prove to be quite valuable in relating the two languages and consequently the two peoples.

¹⁷Ibid.

Identification with the Χαλδαῖοι

Another problem concerning the Urartians is the almost sudden disappearance of their name soon after 585 B.C. As already mentioned at the end of the previous chapter, there were several waves of invasion into Urartu which caused, to a great extent, the gradual disintegration of the Urartian power and the final collapse of the kingdom. The Armenian invasion was the last in these series and proved to be the most significant for Urartu and its inhabitants. It is less than a century later, that we find Urartu under a new name, "Armenia,"¹⁸ and the Urartians replaced by a thoroughly different ethnic group, the "Armenians." What could have happened to the Urartians? Peoples neither rise up suddenly, nor do they die suddenly.

We may very well assume that the movements of the new peoples displaced some groups of the Urartians, while others remained in their conquered country, keeping their own name at least for a while. On the Behistan rock, in the trilingual inscriptions of Darius the Great, while the word for Armenia is "Armina" in the Old Persian text, it is "Ura-astu" in the Akkadian version of

¹⁸In the Behistan inscriptions of Darius the Great (521-486 B.C.), to be referred to later.

the text.¹⁹ "Ura-astu" quite certainly stands for "Urartu." At any rate, as far as we know, this name "Urartu" is never again mentioned in cuneiform texts.

A people named Alarodians, Ἀλαροῦδοι mentioned only in Herodotus, are generally accepted to refer to the Urartian survivors in Armenia.²⁰ They are mentioned only twice. In the first case, they appear with the Matienians²¹ and the Saspirees forming the eighteenth satrapy²² of Darius' Persian empire.

... Ματιηνοῖσι δὲ καὶ Σάσπειροι καὶ Ἀλαροῦδοισι
διηκόσια ἐπετέτακτο τάλαντα νομὸς ὄγδοος καὶ
δέκατος οὗτος....²³

... the Matienians and the Saspirees and the Alarodians were the eighteenth province, and the appointed tribute was two hundred talents.

In the second case, they appear again with the Saspirees in the

¹⁹R. Kent, Old Persian (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1953), p. 171.

²⁰W. W. How and J. Wells, A Commentary on Herodotus (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1961), vol. I, p. 286.

²¹Suggested to be identical with the Mitanni. How and Wells, vol. I, p. 94.

²²See Map II.

²³Herodotus Histories iii. 94.

army of Xerxes, both of them armed like the Colchians²⁴ with shields and short spears and swords.

. . . Κόλχοι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῆσι κεφαλῆσι κράνεα
ξύλινα, ἀσπίδας δὲ ὠμοβοΐνας μικρὰς αἰχμᾶς
τε βραχείας, πρὸς δὲ μαχαίρας εἶχον. . .
Ἄλαρόδιοι δὲ καὶ Σάσπειρες κατὰ περ Κόλχοι
ὠπλισμένοι ἐστρατεύοντο. . . .²⁵

. . . The Colchians had wooden helmets and small shields of raw oxhide and short spears and swords. . . . The Alarodians and the Saspies in the army were armed like the Colchians. . . .

After Herodotus we hear nothing about the Alarodians in Armenia or elsewhere.

What happened to those Urartians who had to seek new settlements after having been displaced by the invaders? Xenophon, in his Cyropaedia, a historical novel,²⁶ speaks about the Chaldaeans, Χαλδαῖοι, being at war with the Armenians during the time of

²⁴Living in Colchis, on the south-eastern shores of the Black sea. See Map II.

²⁵Herodotus Histories vii. 79.

²⁶We may suspect the historical value of the Cyropaedia, but in spite of that, it is certain that Xenophon could not have invented the names of the Armenians and the Chaldaeans who are historical peoples. Moreover, by the early sixth century B.C., the Armenians had already penetrated into the region south-west of Lake Van; therefore, it would not be strange to find them fighting the Chaldaeans.

Cyrus the Great (c. 577-529 B.C.), king of Persia.²⁷

Strabo mentions the Chaldaeans, Χαλδαῖοι to have been the subjects of Lesser Armenia²⁸ along with the Tibarenians Τιβαρηνοί.

Ἐπὲρ μὲν δὴ τῶν περὶ Φαρνακίαν καὶ Τραπεζοῦντα τόπων οἱ Τιβαρηνοὶ καὶ Χαλδαῖοι μέχρι τῆς μικρᾶς Ἀρμενίας εἰσὶν. αὕτη δ' ἔστιν εὐδαίμων ἰκανῶς χώρα. Δυνασταὶ δ' αὐτὴν κατεῖχον αἰεὶ, καθάπερ τὴν Σωφηνήν, ποτὲ μὲν φίλοι τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀρμενίοις ὄντες, ποτὲ δὲ ἰδιοπραγοῦντες· ὑπηκόους δ' εἶχον καὶ τοὺς Χαλδαίους καὶ Τιβαρηνοὺς, ὥστε μέχρι Τραπεζοῦντος καὶ Φαρνακίας διατείνειν τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν. . . .²⁹

The Tibarenians and the Chaldaeans, whose country extends to Lesser Armenia, are above the region of Pharnacia and Trapezus. This country³⁰ is fairly fertile. Like Sophene, it was always in the possession of potentates, who at times minded their own affairs and at times were friendly to the other Armenians.³¹ They had as subjects the Chaldaeans and the Tibarenians, and therefore, their rule extended to Trapezus and Pharnacia.

²⁷Xenophon Cyropaedia iii. 1. 34.

²⁸See Map II.

²⁹Strabo Geography xii. 3. 28.

³⁰That is Lesser Armenia.

³¹Those in Sophene, west of Lake Van; and those in Greater Armenia, See Map IV.

Strabo goes further to identify the Chaldaeans with the Chalybes, *Χάλυβες*, stating that the first were called Chalybes in ancient times.³² The Chaldaeans or the Chalybes of Strabo might correspond to the Chalybians, *Χάλυβες* of Xenophon, who calls them workers in iron; moreover, they appear again with the Tibarenians.³³

The Tibarenians of Strabo and Xenophon are apparently identical with the Tubal of the Old Testament in which they appear a number of times, but what interests us is their mention in connection to iron and brass working.

And Zillah, she also bare Tubal-cain, an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron: . . .³⁴

The Tibarenians of Herodotus do not seem to be any different than those of Strabo and Xenophon. As already mentioned earlier in this chapter, the fact that the Tibarenians were armed like the Colchians quite safely establishes them as the neighbours of the Colchians, who lived in Colchis on the south-eastern shores of the Black sea. The Tibarenians of Xenophon and Strabo inhabited the lands about Trapezus and Pharnacia, both being ports on the south-eastern shores of the Black sea.

³²Geography xii. 3. 19.

³³Anabasis v. 5. 1, 2.

³⁴Genesis 4:22.

Therefore, taking into consideration the facts the Chaldaeans and the Tibarenians appear together in several instances, that they are referred to as familiar with the use of iron, and that they inhabited lands south-east of the Black sea, we may safely conclude that all the sources referred to above, were introducing the same Chaldaeans and the same Tibarenians.

The major problem we are trying to deal with in this chapter is the possible connection between the *Χαλδαῖοι* and Urartians. In the inscriptions of Sargon II, Urartu appears with peoples called Muski, and Tabal or Tabalum.

At that time I....Hulli.....I presented to him and a daughter, together with the city of Hilakki, I gave to him and I extended his territory. But that simpleton, who did not keep faith, sent to Ursa, king of Urartu, (and) Mita,³⁵ king of Muski,.....kings of the land of Tabal, who had seized (some) of my territory. . . .³⁶

Mighty hero . . . who brought under his sway . . . the lands Namri, Ellipi, Bit-Hamban, Parsua, the Mannean-land, Urartu (Armenia), Kasku, Tabalum, up to the land of Muski; . . .³⁷

Tabal or Tabalum corresponds to the Tubal of the Old Testament and consequently to the *Τιβαρηνοί* of the Greek authors; while Muski corresponds to the Moschians, *Μόσχοι* of Herodotus. They

³⁵Mita appears to be Greek, Midas of Phrygia.

³⁶Luckenbill, vol. II, sec. 25.

³⁷Ibid., vol. II, sec. 118.

appear with the Tibarenians and two other peoples, the Macrones and the Mossynoecians in the army of Xerxes, all of them armed alike with shields and small pointed spears.³⁸

It is interesting to notice that both the Urartians and the Χαλδαῖοι appear with the same peoples, even though at different times and different places. However, this does not present a problem as long as we assume that the Tibarenians or the other neighbours of the Urartians, having been subject to the same fate, moved away together.

As already mentioned, the Chaldaeans and the Tibarenians were known as iron-workers. The Urartians, on the other hand, were not only familiar with the use of iron; but must have been skillful metallurgists. Iron ores were abundantly found in Armenia, particularly those which had "both a very high iron content (72%) and a striking metallic appearance that would attract the primitive metallurgist."³⁹ Furthermore, these iron ores were being worked even earlier than the Urartian period; according to the opinion of R. J. Forbes "from 1200-1000 B.C., iron working spread from the Armenian mountain region . . ."⁴⁰

³⁸ Histories vii. 78.

³⁹ R. J. Forbes, Metallurgy in Antiquity (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1950), p. 403.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 421.

At any rate, evidence for the Urartian iron or metal works is not lacking. Sargon II, referring to the punishment he imposed on Urartu for disobedience to Assur, lists all sorts of precious objects, metallic and non-metallic, which he carried from Urartu to Assyria, among which appear ". . . X iron ovens, nisibi of iron, nasri of iron, aruthi of iron, lamps(?) of iron, . . ." ⁴¹

The archaeological finds on the other hand, present concrete examples of Urartian iron or metal works. All kinds of bronze, copper, silver and iron objects along with pottery have been discovered in an Urartian cemetery at Iğdir; moreover, an abundance of exclusively iron objects, particularly weapons have been found a little north of Van, at Toprak Kale. ⁴² Thus both the Chaldaeans and the Urartians seem to have had an interest in metallurgy, iron-working in particular.

The most striking fact, however, is that, the Urartians had a supreme god named Haldi or Haldia. He appears quite frequently in the native inscriptions, ⁴³ as well as in the Assyrian records,

⁴¹ Luckenbill, vol. II, sec. 172.

⁴² D. Barnett, "The Urartian Cemetery at Iğdir," Journal of Anatolian Studies (London: The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1963), vol. XIII, pp. 154-161, 186.

⁴³ Adontz, pp. 154-180

specially in the inscriptions of Sargon II.⁴⁴ There seems to be no reason why the Urartians should not have been called "Hal-daeans" or "Khaldaeans" after their god, like the Assyrians after Assur. The displaced groups of the Urartians, at least some of them, could have migrated northwards under the name of their supreme protector, with the hope of starting afresh. Another possibility is that, they could have been given this name in the territories where they settled. It was quite natural and common in the ancient world to recognize peoples after their supreme deity. Therefore, as the Urartians could not have disappeared suddenly after their kingdom went to pieces, the name "Khaldaeans" may present evidence for their survival and existence in Armenia or elsewhere.

One other interesting point which may help us in the identification of the Urartians with the Chaldaeans of the Greek authors, is what Moses of Khorene tells us concerning the Chaldaeans (Քալդայի) and the Chaldaeans (Խալդայի). First of all, speaking of the sources for the history of the Armenian nation, he claims the Persians and the Chaldaeans (Քալդայի) to have possessed works full of information about Armenians.

⁴⁴ Luckenbill. vol. II, secs. 165, 171, 172, 173, 175, 176.

Եւ ընդ այս թի' ոք զարժապի, երբ բազում ազգաց
 ընալ ճարտենագիրք, որպէս անենեցուն ք յայրնի,
 Բանաւանդ Պարսից եւ Բաղդապացոյ, յորս առաւել
 ազգիս թերոյ Գրանին բազում ինչ իրաց յիշարակի, . . . 45

And let no one wonder about the fact that, even though many nations had writers as is apparent to all, particularly the Persians and the Chaldaeans did, among whom are found very many references to works belonging to our nation. . . .

Secondly, he identifies the people ^{of Pontus} with the Chaldaeans (խաչդիք).
 He says, ". . . Պոնդապացոյ որ եւ խաչդիք . . . 46
 that is, ". . . the people of Pontus, who are the Chaldaeans.

. . . " In the first case, Moses of Khorene is referring to the Chaldaeans of Babylon and not to the Urartians. No other people could have possessed more abundant material for the history of pre-Armenia than the Urartians. But Moses of Khorene is not talking about the sources for the history of Armenia or pre-Armenia; he is talking about the sources for the history of the Armenians. In the second case, however, he is definitely referring to the Urartians. His identification of the people of Pontus with the Chaldaeans safely establishes the latter along the south-eastern shores of the Black sea. Stephanus of Byzantium considers Chaldaea, that

⁴⁵ Moses of Khorene History of Armenians i. 2.

⁴⁶ Ibid., ii. 76.

is the country of the Chaldaeans " χώρα τῆς Ἀρμενίας ,"
that is to say, "country of the Armenians."⁴⁷

We may conclude that the Χαλδαῖοι of the Greek sources
and the Chaldaeans (כַּלְדָּיִם) of Moses of Khorene are identical.
We may also assert that the Χαλδαῖοι were Urartian survivors
living in the Black sea lands.

⁴⁷Stephanus of Byzantium, Ethnicorum Quae Supersunt (Berlin: Reimer, 1849), vol. I, p. 680.

CHAPTER III
THE APPEARANCE OF ARMENIA
AND
ITS PERSIAN DOMINATION

Urartu emerges as Armenia a little more than half a century after its collapse. It is on the Behistan rock,¹ in the trilingual² inscriptions of Darius the Great that the earliest evidence for Armenia is provided. The description of the conquest of Armenia by Darius himself makes the Behistan inscriptions a vital source for the early history of Armenia. Here, in full, Darius' account of the measures he took against the rebellious Armenians:

Saith Darius the king: An Armenian by name Dadarshi, my subject- him I sent forth to Armenia. Thus I saith to him: "Go forth, that rebellious army which does not call itself mine, that do thou smite." Thereupon Dadarshi marched off. When he arrived in Armenia, thereafter the rebels assembled (and) came out against Dadarshi to join battle. A place by

¹The Behistan rock is a natural cliff on the main caravan route from Bagdad to Tehran. There are sculptures and inscriptions engraved on it. The sculptures represent king Darius with two attendants behind him, and nine captive rebels standing in line, in front of him. The inscriptions are the account of the nineteen battles he fought to subdue the revolts in his provinces. R. Kent, Old Persian, pp. 107-108.

²Old Persian, Akkadian and Elamite.

name Zuzahya, in Armenia- there they joined battle. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda my army smote that rebellious army exceedingly; of the month Thuravahara VIII days were past, then the battle was fought by them.

Saith Darius the king: Again a second time the rebels assembled (and) came out against Dadarshi to join battle. A stronghold by name Tigra, in Armenia- there they joined battle. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda my army smote that rebellious army exceedingly; of the month Thuravahara XVIII days were past, then the battle was fought by them.

Saith Darius the king: Again a third time the rebels assembled (and) came out against Dadarshi to join battle. A fortress by name Uyama, in Armenia- there they joined battle. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda my army smote that rebellious army exceedingly; of the month Thairgarci IX days were past, then the battle was fought by them. Thereafter Dadarshi waited for me until I arrived in Media.

Saith Darius the king: Thereafter a Persian by name Vaumisa, my subject- him I sent forth to Armenia. Thus I said to him: "Go forth; the rebellious army which does not call itself mine- that thou do smite." Thereupon Vaumisa marched off. When he arrived in Armenia, then the rebels assembled (and) came out against Vaumisa to join battle. A district by name Izala, in Assyria- there they joined battle. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda my army smote that rebellious army exceedingly; of the month Anamaka XV days were past, then the battle was fought by them.

Saith Darius the king: Again a second time the rebels assembled (and) came out against Vaumisa to join battle. A district by name Antiyara, in Armenia- there they joined battle. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda my army smote that rebellious army exceedingly, on the last day of the month Thuravahara- then the battle was fought by them. After that, Vaumisa waited for me in Armenia until I arrived in Media.³

As a result of these battles Armenia was incorporated into the

³Kent, pp. 123-124.

Persian empire during the first year of Darius' reign, that is in 521 B.C.⁴

Saith Darius the king: These are the countries which came unto me; by the favor of Ahuramazda I was king of them: Persia, Elam, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, (those) who are beside the sea, Sardis, Ionia, Media, Armenia, . . .⁵

According to Herodotus, Armenia formed part of the thirteenth satrapy of Darius' empire.

... ἀπὸ Πακτυϊκῆς δὲ καὶ Ἀρμενίων καὶ τῶν
προσεχέων μέχρι τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου τετρακόσια
γάλαντα νομὸς τρίτος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. . . .⁶

. . . From the Pactyic country and Armenia and the neighbouring lands as far as the Euxine four hundred. These were the thirteenth province. . . .

By the time of Darius the Great, Armenia must have been still a young country. In the Behistan inscriptions, while in Old Persian Armenia is "Armina"; and in the Elamite version of the text it is "Har-mi-nu-ia," the equivalent word in the Akkadian version of the text is "Ura-astu." As already mentioned in the

⁴Darius dates the events by the day of the month without mentioning the name of a year. But if "Ham Ahyaya tharda" should mean "In the same year" as commonly accepted now; lines 4-6 in the fourth column of the text would read as follows: ". . . in one and the same year after I became king XIX battles I fought." Thus the events recorded in the first four columns of the Old Persian text, including those concerning Armenia would date within the first year of Darius' reign. Kent, pp. 160-163.

⁵Kent, p. 119.

⁶Histories iii. 93.

previous chapter, "Ura-astu" certainly reminds one of Urartu.

On the basis of information from the Behistan inscriptions, we can not tell exactly what Armenia was during the time of king Darius. The identification of the places where the battles took place between the Armenians and the Persians may suggest the position of the rebellious Armenians. The five place names mentioned are, in order of appearance, Zuzahya, Tigra,⁷ Uyama, Izala,⁸ Autiyara: the first three and the last being in Armenia, the fourth in Assyria. According to studies undertaken concerning the identification of these place names, they may be safely located in the region between north-west Assyria and south-west of Lake Van.⁹ The position of Armenia during the Achaemenian period of the Persian domination is better indicated by Herodotus. Speaking of Asia Minor and its inhabitants, he refers to the Armenians and locates them between the Cilicians in the west and the Matienians in the east.¹⁰ He considers the Euphrates river the boundary of

⁷Tigris, *Tippis* in Greek? R. Kent, Old Persian, p. 186. Tigra was a fort possibly on the Tigris river.

⁸See Map I for its position.

⁹H. Manantian, Անեակահ ԱՌԵԱՄՅՈՒՆ Ի ՆԱՅ ԵՂՉՎՈՐԴԻ ՊԱՐՏՈՒՄԵԱՆ (Erevan: Haybedhrad, 1944), vol. I, p. 53.

¹⁰Histories v. 49.

Cilicia and Armenia.¹¹ It appears that the Armenians inhabited the regions west of Lake Van; while the regions north and east of Lake Van must have still been unoccupied by them, but, as generally accepted,¹² formed the eighteenth satrapy of Herodotus, comprising the Saspies, the Alarodians and the Matienians.

Whatever may have been the boundaries of Armenia, it must have represented a military force of considerable value as early as the late sixth century B.C. According to the Behistan inscriptions, the Armenians were capable of arousing a rebellion; furthermore, were able to endure five battles organised against them by Darius. More interesting is the mention of an Armenian named Arkha, instigating a rebellion in Babylon. Darius records:

Saith Darius the king: While I was in Persia and in Media, again a second time the Babylonians became rebellious from me. One man by name Arkha, an Armenian, son of Haldita- he rose up in Babylon. A district by name Dubala- from there he thus lied to the people: "I am Nebuchadrezzar the son of Nabonidus." Thereupon the Babylonian people became rebellious from me, (and) went over to Arkha. He seized Babylon; he became king in Babylon.¹³

If Arkha was truly an Armenian, we may assume that the Armenians dared organising revolts even out of their own country. The name

¹¹Ibid., v. 52.

¹²W. W. How and J. Wells, A Commentary on Herodotus, vol. I, p. 286.

¹³Kent, p. 128.

"Arkha" is not of much help in asserting the identity of the rebel leader in Babylon. Arkha means "king" in modern Armenian (Hayeren). According to one suggestion, "Arkha" was the title of the Persian kings.¹⁴ If so, then it would not be surprising to find a rebel leader assuming the title of the Persian kings for ambitious purposes. Arkha is mentioned to have been the "son of Haldita." Haldita reminds one of the Urartian supreme god whose name was well preserved among the Urartian survivors. We may suspect Arkha to have been an Urartian who might have moved southwards and aroused a rebellion in Babylon for the good reason of attempting to re-establish the lost kingdom of Urartu. But Darius confused Armenia with Urartu in the Akkadian version of his inscriptions, he might have as well confused an Armenian with an Urartian calling him the "son of Haldita."

Another factor for the military strength of the Armenians is presented by the mention of an Armenian named Dadarshi, in the service of Darius. Dadarshi was ordered to go and take care of the rebellion in Armenia. The name "Dadarshi" appears again in column III, line 13 of the Old Persian text as the name of a Persian satrap of Bactria.¹⁵ It is interesting to notice the use of the

¹⁴Malkhasian, Բարսիլ (Beirut: Sevan, 1955), vol.I, p. 287.

¹⁵Kent, p. 128.

name both by an Armenian and a Persian. It might either provide an example of Persian influence upon the Armenians, for "Dadarshi" sounds Persian, or it might suggest a relationship between the Persians and the Armenians.

Later sources also prove the particular interest of the Persians in the soldiers and the horses that Armenia could provide for their armies. Herodotus refers to the Armenians in the army of Xerxes.¹⁶ Xenophon considers them a part of the troops of Orontas, the Persian satrap of Armenia.¹⁷ He also compares the Armenian horses with those of the Persians and finds the first smaller but much more spirited.¹⁸ Strabo mentions the satrap of Armenia sending every year twenty thousand foals to the Persian king at the annual festival held in honour of Mithras, the Persian sun god.¹⁹

A valuable eye-witness description of Armenia in the Achaemenian period of the Persian domination, about a century later than its incorporation into the Persian empire, is given Xenophon in his

by

¹⁶Histories vii. 73.

¹⁷Anabasis iv. 3. 4.

¹⁸Ibid., iv. 5. 36.

¹⁹Geography xi. 14. 9.

Anabasis.²⁰ The information which he provides applies to those parts of Armenia through which Xenophon and his ten thousand Greek soldiers retreated back to Sardis in Asia Minor.²¹ He introduces what he calls Western Armenia which he locates above the headwaters of the Tigris, around the region of the Teleboas river²² which is suggested to be identical with present Kara sou,²³ a branch of an eastern tributary of the Euphrates known as Mourad sou.

έντεῦθεν δ' έπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας
δέκα μέχρι ὑπερήλθον τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Τίγρητος
ποταμοῦ. έντεῦθεν δ' έπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς
τρεις παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Τηλεβοάν
ποταμόν. οὗτος δ' ἦν καλὸς μὲν, μέγας δ'
οὐ. κῶμαι δὲ πολλαὶ περὶ τὸν ποταμόν ἦσαν.
ὁ δὲ τόπος οὗτος Ἀρμενία ἐκαλεῖτο ἢ πρὸς
ἐσπέραν. . . .²⁴

²⁰Means "up country march" and is the account of the march of the ten thousand Greeks from Sardis in Western Asia Minor, to the gates of Babylon; and thence the retreat through Kurdistan, Armenia and Georgia back to Sardis. The Greeks were to participate the expedition organised by Cyrus the Younger in 401 B.C., against his brother, Artaxerxes II, king of Persia.

²¹See Map III for Xenophon's retreat through Armenia.

²²See Map III.

²³R. Grousset, Histoire de L'Armenie, p. 76.

²⁴Anabasis iv. 4. 3 and 4.

From there they marched two stages, ten parasangs, until they passed the headwaters of the Tigris river. From there they marched three stages, fifteen parasangs, to the Teleboas river. This was a beautiful river though not a large one, and there were many villages about it. This region was called Western Armenia. . . .

On the basis of this information, Xenophon's Western Armenia lay west of Lake Van, and possibly corresponded to Herodotus' Armenia.

Western Armenia was under a Persian governor, Tiribazus²⁵ who must have been an assistant of Orontas, the satrap of all Armenia.²⁶

The inhabitants of Western Armenia were a farming folk living in village communities. Both arable and animal farming must have been their chief occupations.

. . . ἐν δὲ ταῖς οἰκίαις ἦσαν αἰγες, οἴες, βόες, ὄρνιθες, καὶ τὰ ἔκγονα τούτων . . . ἦσαν δὲ καὶ πυροὶ καὶ κριθαὶ καὶ ὄσπρια καὶ οἶνος κριθίνος ἐν κρατήροισιν. . . .²⁷

. . . In the houses were goats, sheep, cattle, fowls, and their young; . . . Here were also wheat, barley and beans and barley wine in large bowls. . . .

The dominating language in Xenophon's Western Armenia seems

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid., iii. 5. 17.

²⁷Ibid., iv. 5. 25.

to have been Persian. Apparently all conversation between the Greeks and the inhabitants of Armenia took place in Persian. Even the women and the girls whom the Greek soldiers met at the water spring spoke Persian.

. . . αὐται ἡρώτων αὐτοὺς τίνες εἶεν. ὁ δ' ἑρμηνεύς εἶπε περὶσσιτὶ ὅτι παρὰ βασιλέως πορεύονται πρὸς τὸν σατράπην. αἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι οὐκ ἐνταῦθα εἶη, ἀλλ' ἀπέχει ὅσον παρασάγγην. . . .²⁸

. . . They asked the Greeks who they were, and the interpreter answered in Persian that they were on their way from the king to the satrap. The women answered that he was not there, but about one parasang away. . . .

The Greeks could not have possibly communicated with the peoples in Armenia in any other language than Persian, and they almost always did get their answers in Persian. The extent of Persian influence in Armenia can neither be unnoticed nor denied. However, it is worthwhile to take into consideration Xenophon's mention of some Armenian boys in their strange and foreign dress and with whom the Greeks had to talk by means of signs.

ἐπεὶ δ' ᾗλθον πρὸς Χειρίσοφον, κατελάμβανον κακείνους σκηνοῦντας ἐστεφανωμένους τοῦ ξηροῦ χιλοῦ στεφάνοις, καὶ διακονοῦντας Ἀρμενίους

²⁸ Anabasis iv. 5. 10.

παῖδας σὺν ταῖς βαρβαρικαῖς στολαῖς· τοῖς δὲ παῖσιν
ἐδείκνυσαν ὥσπερ ἐνεοῖς ὅτι δεοὶ ποιεῖν.²⁹

When they went near Cheirisophus, they found his troops also feasting in their quarters, crowned with wreaths of hay and served by Armenian boys in their strange, foreign (barbarian) dress; and they were showing the boys what to do by signs, as if they were deaf and dumb.

The boys could not have been dressed in Persian style, for that was familiar to the Greeks, and therefore, would not have appeared "strange and foreign." The boys were spoken to by means of signs. They were neither deaf nor dumb. Apparently they did not speak Persian, otherwise they could have been talked to through a Persian interpreter as in the other cases. In what style were they dressed? What language did they speak? Due to the lack of source material, we may not definitely prove, but simply suggest that the boys might have been dressed in Armenian style with which the Greeks were not familiar; and they might have only known Armenian in which case the Persian interpreters could not have been of any help. However, except for this single example, everything else appears to have been Persian in Xenophon's Armenia.

²⁹Anabasis iv. 5. 33.

CHAPTER IV
THE RISE OF INDEPENDENT KINGDOMS IN ARMENIA
AND
THE EMPIRE OF TIGRANES THE GREAT

The Achaemenian empire fell to Alexander the Great in 331 B.C. Armenia appears to have shared a similar fate. The Armenians definitely fought by the Persians against Alexander. In his description of the Persian army, Arrian places them with the Cappadocians in front of the right wing.¹ Apparently Armenia was subjected to Alexander's rule. Arrian mentions him sending a satrap, Mithrines to Armenia.² Strabo states Armenia to have been a Macedonian possession.³ This is not to say, however, that Alexander had been to Armenia personally. Nothing is said in this respect. But he sent his soldiers there. While introducing the mines in Armenia, Strabo mentions that Menon and soldiers were sent to the gold mines in Syspirtis by Alexander.⁴ This last

¹Anabasis of Alexander iii. 11. 7.

²Ibid., iii, 16. 5.

³Geography xi. 14. 15.

⁴Ibid., xi. 14. 9.

piece of information may also indicate the part of Armenia that fell to Alexander the Great. Syspirtis⁵ lay north-east of Lesser Armenia. After Alexander's death, when his empire split up into three major parts under his generals, Armenia was made part of the Seleucid empire. Strabo, in his sketch of the history of Armenia, mentions it under Persian and Macedonian domination, and then referring to the Seleucids, "under those who held Syria and Media."⁶ Appian also considers Armenia part of Seleucus' empire, which he claims to have extended from Phrygia to the Indus in India.⁷

It was in the first quarter of the second century B.C. that Armenia was liberated from the Seleucid rule. After Antiochus III (223-189 B.C.) was defeated by the Romans at Magnesia in 189 B.C., his two generals, Artaxias and Zariadris, who had been in charge of Armenia, were recognized as autonomous kings.⁸ They divided the country between them, and each ruled over his own kingdom. Artaxias ruled over the country round Artaxata, while Zariadris

⁵See Map IV.

⁶Geography xi. 14. 15.

⁷Roman History, Syrian Wars. 55.

⁸Strabo Geography xi. 14. 15.

had Sophene, Acisene, Odomantis and certain other regions under his control.⁹ Later, joining efforts they enlarged their territories by cutting off Caspiane, Phaunitis and Basoropeda from the country of the Medes, Chorzene and Gogarene from the country of the Iberians, Carenitis and Xerxene from the country of the Chalybians and the Mosynoeci, Acilisene and the country round the Antitaurus from that of the Cataonians, Taronitis from the country of the Syrians.¹⁰ Thus the kingdoms of Artaxias and Zariadris in Armenia must have been quite extensive, bordering Albania, Iberia and Colchis in the north, Media in the east, Assyria in the south and Cappadocia and Lesser Armenia in the west.

Independent of these two kingdoms there existed a third one, namely the kingdom of Lesser Armenia which lay north-west of the territories of Artaxias and Zariadris. Strabo introduces it as a prosperous country, independent and in good relation with the other Armenians.¹¹

The unification of these three Armenian kingdoms into a single political organisation was probably first attempted by Artaxias.

⁹Ibid., xi. 14. 5. See Map IV for the regions mentioned.

¹⁰Ibid. See Map IV for the regions mentioned.

¹¹Geography xii. 3. 28.

He at least tried to annex the territory of Zariadris to his own kingdom. Diodorus of Sicily tells us that Artaxias failed in his attempt as a result of the intervention of the king of Cappadocia, Ariarathes.¹²

It was a descendant of Artaxias named Tigranes who not only realised the unification of the three Armenian kingdoms but also created a considerably extensive empire, which however, seems to have been a one-man affair. As soon as he was on the throne, Tigranes must have started on a series of campaigns, first against Artanes, who had inherited the kingdom of Zariadris from the latter's successors, and then against Parthia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Phoenicia.¹³ Plutarch mentions Tigranes to have also conquered Palestine.¹⁴ But he does not seem to have proceeded that far to the south. Josephus tells us quite clearly that although he was expected to move to Palestine from Syria, the news of Lucullus' arrival in Armenia forced him to return home.¹⁵ Even though Palestine was not conquered by Tigranes, it could have been under his

¹²Bibliotheca Historica xxxi. 22.

¹³Strabo Geography xi. 14. 15.

¹⁴Lives, Life of Lucullus. xiv. 5.

¹⁵Jewish Antiquities xiii. 419-421.

influence, in which case Appian's information to the effect that his conquests extended as far as Egypt would be justifiable.¹⁶

At any rate, Armenia acquired its largest extent under Tigranes.

It is a difficult task to decide the character of Tigranes' Armenia. From the information available we may assume, on one hand, Persian influence still in effect, and on the other hand, an attempt at Hellenization.

There is no doubt that Tigranes was well acquainted with Persian ways, for he had been a hostage among the Parthians.¹⁷ He bore the title "King of Kings" which at the time was peculiar to the Persian monarchs. As a matter of fact, he was quite fond of his title. Plutarch mentions him getting outraged upon hearing that Lucullus, the Roman General, had denied him his title.

... Λουκούλλῳ δ' ὀργιζόμενος, ὅτι βασιλέα μόνον αὐτόν, οὐ βασιλέων ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ προσηγόρευσεν, οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἀντιγράφων αὐτοκράτορα προσεῖπεν. . . .¹⁸

¹⁶ Roman History, Syrian Wars. 48.

¹⁷ Strabo Geography xi. 14. 15.

¹⁸ Lives, Life of Lucullus. xxi. 7.

. . . He was vexed with Lucullus for addressing him in his letter with the title of king only, and not king of kings, and accordingly, in his reply, he would not address Lucullus as Imperator. . . .

According to Persian tradition, Tigranes had kings waiting on him. Plutarch gives the picture in an exaggerated manner.

βασιλῆῖς δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ἦσαν οἱ θεραπεύοντες αὐτόν, τέσσαρες δέ, οὓς ἀεὶ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχεν ὡσπερ ὀπαδοὺς ἢ δορυφόρους, ἰππότην μὲν ἐλαύνοντι πεζοὺς παραθέοντα ἐν χιτωνίσκοις, καθημένῳ δὲ καὶ χρηματίζοντι περιστῶτα ἐπηλλαγμένας δι' ἀλλήλων ταῖς χερσίν, . . .¹⁹

Many were the kings who waited upon him, and four he always had about him like attendants or body-guards, would run on foot by their master's side when he rode out, dressed in short blouses, and when sat transacting business, would stand by with their arms crossed. . . .

Not only the title of Tigranes was Persian, but his own name seems to have been Persian as well. "Tigranes" appears first in Herodotus as the name of a Persian Achaemenid commander in the army of Xerxes.²⁰ According to Strabo the Median word for "arrow" is Tigris,²¹ which is possibly related to the name "Tigranes."

¹⁹ Lives, Life of Lucullus. xxi. 5.

²⁰ Histories vii. 62; ix. 96, 102.

²¹ Geography xi. 14. 8.

Tigranes, however, was not the first king of Armenia with a name of Persian origin. All the kings of Armenia preceding Tigranes had Persian names or were Persian, to mention a few of them: Artaxias, Zariadris, Artanes.

A valuable piece of evidence indicating the force of the Persian influence in Armenia is Strabo's mention of the most popular worship of a Persian goddess, Anaitis²² in Armenia.

Ἄπαντα μὲν οὖν τὰ τῶν Περσῶν ἱερά καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Ἀρμένιοι τετιμῆκασιν, τὰ δὲ τῆς Ἀναΐτιδος διαφέροντως Ἀρμένιοι, ἐν τε ἄλλοις ἐδυστάμενοι τόποις, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀκιλισσηνῇ. . . .²³

The Medes and the Armenians have honoured the sacred rites of the Persians, the Armenians have honoured specially that of Anaitis, in different places and also in Acilisene they have set up temples. . . .

Even though at home with oriental customs, Tigranes was an admirer of Hellenistic culture and did not hesitate to introduce Hellenism into Armenia. Strabo's mention of Tigranes building a new city and populating it with the inhabitants of "Greek cities," he means to say Seleucid cities, should not escape our

²²"Anahita" is the Persian form. Appears in the inscriptions of Artaxerxes II. R. Kent, Old Persian, p. 167.

²³Geography xi. 14. 16.

attention.²⁴ Plutarch speaking more in detail, states the presence of many Greeks in Tigranocerta,²⁵ the newly-founded city, among other peoples all of whom were carried away from their homes to the city of Tigranes.²⁶ Coins of Tigranes with Greek inscriptions provide concrete examples of Hellenism in Armenia.²⁷ Plutarch informs that Artavasdes, the successor of Tigranes composed dramas, tragedies and wrote orations and histories; and that Greek compositions were introduced at banquets.²⁸

The empire of Tigranes did not last long. All the while he was busy, the Romans had been watching him in silence, and kept doing so until Lucullus, the Roman General had to clash with him while at war with Mithridates of Pontus, the father-in-law of Tigranes. Mithridates ran off to Armenia to find refuge, the Romans kept demanding him back. Tigranes refused to hand him over to the enemy and thus made Lucullus wage war on him. As a result, he lost

²⁴Ibid., xi. 14. 15.

²⁵See Map IV.

²⁶Lives, Life of Lucullus. xxvi. 1.

²⁷Charles Seltman, Greek Coins (London: Methuen & Co., 1960), Plate LIV.

²⁸Lives, Life of Crassus. xxxiii. 1 and 2.

Syria, Phœnicia, Cilicia, Galatia and Sophene to the Romans, apart from the destruction he suffered in his chief cities, Tigranocerta and Artaxata, and he never had the chance to recover his empire again.²⁹

²⁹Plutarch Lives, Life of Lucullus. xix, xxi, xxiii, xxv, xxvi, xxvii.

CHAPTER V

THE ARMENIANS

Relation with the Phrygians

It is time that we turn our attention to the information provided by Greek authors concerning the origin of the Armenians. To begin with Herodotus, in his description of the Persian army of Xerxes, refers to the Armenians as Phrygian colonists. In support of this view, he further introduces them armed similar to the Phrygians and grouped under the same leader. He regards the Phrygians as European immigrants to Asia.

. . . οἱ δὲ φρύγες, ὡς Μακεδόνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Βρίγες χρόνον ὅσον Εὐρωπήιοι ἔοντες σύνοικοι ἦσαν Μακεδόσι, μεταρῶντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἅμα τῇ χώρῃ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα μετέβαλον ἐς φρύγας. Ἀρμένιοι δὲ κατὰ περ φρύγες ἐσεσάχατο, ἔοντες φρυγῶν ἀποικοὶ. τούτων συναμφοτέρων ἦρχε Ἀρτόχμησ Δαρείου ἔχων θυγατέρα.¹

¹Histories vii. 73.

. . . As the Macedonians say, the Phrygians were called Briges as long as they were Europeans and were neighbours to the Macedonians; but when they changed their home to Asia, they also changed their name to Phrygian. The Armenians were armed just as the Phrygians, they were the colonists of the Phrygians. Both these together had for their commander Artochmes, Darius' son-in-law.

By considering the Armenians the colonists of the Phrygians, Herodotus not only relates the first to the latter, but also suggests the Armenians to have been inhabitants of Europe originally.

Strabo definitely believes the Armenians to have been the descendants of immigrants from Europe. He informs us that a certain Armenus, from a Thessalian city called Armenium, between Pherae and Larisa, accompanied Jason into Colchis, Iberia, Albania and many parts of Media and Armenia. He further informs us that Armenus and his followers settled down in what was named Armenia after Armenus.

. . . λέγεται δ' Ἰάσονα μετὰ Ἀρμένου τοῦ
 ἠετταλοῦ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν τὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς Κόλχους
 ὁρμήσας μέχρι τῆς Κασπίας θαλάττης, καὶ τῆν τε
 Ἰβηρίαν καὶ τὴν Ἀβρανίαν ἐπελθεῖν καὶ πολλὰ
 τῆς Ἀρμενίας καὶ τῆς Μηδίας, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ
 γὰρ τε Ἰασόνια καὶ ἄλλα ὑπομνήματα ^{παλαιοῦ}
 τὸν δὲ Ἀρμενον εἶναι ἐξ Ἀρμενίου πόλεως,
 τῶν περὶ τὴν Βοιβηίδα λίμνην μεταξὺ φερῶν καὶ

Λαρίσης· τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ τε οἰκίσαι τὴν τε Ἀκιλισηνὴν
καὶ τὴν Συσπυρῆτιν ἕως Καλαχανῆς καὶ Ἀδιαβηνῆς,
καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐπωνυμιον καταλιπεῖν.²

. . . It is said that Jason with Armenus the Thessalian on his voyage to the country of the Colchians went as far as the Caspian sea, and visited Iberia and Albania and many parts of Armenia and Media, as both the Jasonia and several other memorials testify. It is said that Armenus was from Armenium, one of the cities on Lake Boebeis between Pherae and Larisa; he and those with him settled in Acilisene and Syspirtis occupying the country as far as Calachane and Adiabene, and he left Armenia named after himself.

Jason's journey from Europe to Asia in mythical chronology precedes the fall of Troy. This would mean that Armenus and his followers who accompanied Jason must have settled down in the country they called Armenia as early as 1200 B.C. The regions of Armenia they are mentioned to have occupied are Syspirtis, Acilisene and the country as far as Calachane and Adiabene, that is, roughly speaking, the lands bordering Lesser Armenia and Cappadocia in the west and Assyria in the south.³ These areas supposedly inhabited by Armenus and his followers may perhaps be regarded as the early centres of Armenian settlement in Armenia.

²Geography xi. 4. 8.

³See Map IV for the regions.

As already seen in the preceding chapters, information from the Behistan inscriptions but particularly by Herodotus and Xenophon indicates the same. However, it does not appear right to place the Armenian migration into Armenia in the twelfth century B.C., by connecting it with Jason and Armenus.

The Armenians do not seem to have moved into Armenia from Europe in a single migration. In the piece of information quoted on page 48, Herodotus makes clear that the Armenians migrated to Armenia from Phrygia in Asia Minor where they had lived for a considerable time, it appears after their migration from Europe. Furthermore, Armenia as such did not exist much earlier than the sixth century B.C. The earliest evidence for it dates 521 B.C.

Certainly, Strabo did not invent the story about the origin of the Armenians. He must have depended on a particular source which he does mention in an indirect way. He states that Cyrsilus, a Pharsalian and Medius, a Larisaeon who were the followers of Alexander the Great, say that Armenia was named after Armenus whose followers settled in certain parts of Armenia.⁴ Therefore, it is possible to conclude that the story Strabo tells may have been invented during Alexander's conquests in the East, that is

⁴Geography xi. 14. 12.

in the fourth century B.C. Apparently Herodotus knew nothing of the story, otherwise he would have recorded it. Of course there is the possibility that the story did exist but he was ignorant of it. At any rate, it could not have been invented earlier than the sixth century B.C. for Armenia did not exist then. Even though the particulars of Strabo's story are not in accord with those of Herodotus, both writers relate the Armenians to Europeans and consider them immigrants from Europe.

A very interesting piece of information regarding the relation of the Armenians to the Phrygians is provided by a later writer, Stephanus of Byzantium. He states that the Armenians were originally of Phrygia and that much of their language was Phrygian.

. . . "Ἀρμένιοι δὲ τὸ μὲν γένος ἐκ Φρυγίας καὶ τῇ φωνῇ πολλὰ φρυγίσουσι⁵

. . . The Armenians are from Phrygia and in their language much is Phrygian. . .

Not only he confirms the opinion that the Armenians must have moved to Armenia from Phrygia, but asserts as well their close relation to the Phrygians by relating the languages of the two peoples. N. Adontz believes this to have been true. He thinks

⁵Ethnicorum Quae Supersunt, p. 123.

that the Armenians and the Phrygians were grouped under the same leader in Xerxes' army for their similar language, on which basis he thinks the rest of the groupings in the army were done.⁶

Only about two hundred Phrygian words have survived to the present. On the other hand, the Armenians referred to by the Greek authors (Greek and Persian sources) apparently have not left behind even a single written record in their native language for the good reason that they did not possess an alphabetic system. What has been put into comparison with the remnants of the Phrygian language is a much later Armenian first written down in the fifth century A.D. This is the language of the people who have been the inhabitants of Armenia and have been called and are still called Armenians and their country Armenia but only by foreigners. They name themselves Hayer,⁷ their country Hayastan and their language Hayeren. We shall have occasion to speak more about the Hayer, but now considering the relation of Hayeren to Phrygian, some words have been suggested identical in meaning and pronunciation in both languages. " *ἄνδρ* " (anr) meaning small and " *ἄνδρ* " (souin) meaning spear in classical Armenian and corresponding to "manu"

⁶Histoire D'Armenie, p. 312.

⁷"Hay" is the singular form, "Hayer" the plural form. The suffix "er" in Hayeren " *ἄρ* " is an indication of the plural.

and "sibyna" in Phrygian are examples.⁸

As a conclusion we may say that the information provided by Herodotus, Strabo and Stephanus of Byzantium favour the opinion that the Armenians were related to the Phrygians with whom they migrated from Europe to Asia about the twelfth century B.C. They settled down in what they called Phrygia in Asia Minor and lived there for a considerable time, until about the seventh century B.C., the Cimmerian and the Scythian invasions provided the Armenians a favourable occasion to move further east into Urartu where the Urartian kingdom was already on its way to decline.

⁸H. Manantian, Բննական ԱՊԵՐՅՈՒՆ և ՅԱՅ Երդրդի Մարտիրոսան, vol. I. p. 15.

The Armenians and the Hayer

Until the fifth century A.D. all information about the Armenians had been recorded in foreign tongues by foreigners (who had to write in their respective languages) as well as by the Armenians themselves. But once the inhabitants of Armenia invented an alphabetic system and had the possibility to write in their own language, they revealed themselves as Hayer, their country Hayastan and their language Hayeren.

It is undoubted that the language of the Hayer is of Indo-European origin. The Armenians of the Persian and Greek sources and the Hayer could only have spoken a single language or dialects of the same language. Strabo, while describing the lakes in Armenia, mentions Lake Mantiane,⁹ also called Capauta.¹⁰ He thinks it means "blue" when translated.

Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ λίμναι κατὰ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν
μεγάλαι, μία μὲν ἡ Μαντιανή, Κρανῆ
ἐρμηνευθεῖσα, . . .¹¹

⁹Or Matiane. Geography xi. 8. 8; xi. 13. 2.

¹⁰Ibid., xi. 13. 2.

¹¹Ibid., xi. 14. 8.

There are also large lakes in Armenia, one the Mantiane, which being translated means "Blue;" . . .

Strabo does not specify in what language "Mantiane" or "Capauta" means "Blue." But he must be referring to Armenian, the language of the people living in Armenia at the time, that is, first century B.C. Capauta corresponds to the old Armenian name of the lake, that is , Kapoit-azov meaning Blue Lake, rather Blue sea. "Kapoit" also means "Blue" in Hayeren, the language of the Hayer. Even though this is a single example, but it is the earliest evidence known for the common language of the Armenians and the Hayer .

The Armenians could not have suddenly become the Hayer in the fifth century A. D. They must have called themselves Hayer all the while foreigners referred to them as Armenians. The lack of a writing system and consequently the impossibility to express themselves in their native tongue must have been why the name "Hay" or "Hayer" was revealed not until the fifth century A.D. But of course the more complicated and essential problem is the fact that the same people have been referred to by foreigners differently than what they named and still name themselves. The Armenians are not the only people to present such a problem. The Romans spoke of the Hellenes as the Greeks. The Greeks referred

to Canaan as Phoenicia and called Misr Egypt.

The most plausible explanation in regard to this problem appears to lie in the assumption that the inhabitants of Armenia (Hayastan), prior to their settlement in Armenia must have comprised smaller groups each of which must have had its particular group name under which they migrated from Asia Minor further to the east. The Armenians must have been one of these groups, the first whom the Persians met, learned their name and applied it to all other groups who kept moving into Armenia. Other peoples, foreigners did the same after the Persians. The Hayer, on the other hand, must have been one of the later groups which moved into Armenia, and even though they dominated all the rest of the groups in Armenia they were called Armenians, and their country Armenia after their kinsmen who had been first to Armenia.

CHAPTER VI
THE URARTIAN CULTURE ON THE BASIS OF
ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS

This final chapter is a brief study of some items of the Urartian culture. It is based particularly on archaeological discoveries, as they provide concrete examples for exact description. The most important areas of Urartian excavation where abundant material has been discovered are Van, ancient Tuspa, the capital of the Urartians; Toprak Kale, ancient Rusahina a little north of Van; Karmir Blur, ancient Teisbaini near Erevan, the present capital of Soviet Armenia; Altintepe¹ in the eastern half of the plain of Erzincan and Musasir, the sacred city of the Urartians. In dealing with the culture of the Urartians, I will take into consideration their literature, religion, architecture, art and metallurgy.

LITERATURE. The literature of Urartu is mostly composed of the royal inscriptions of the Urartian monarchs. These inscriptions on steles, rocks and tablets were found scattered all over Armenia.

¹Its ancient name is still unknown.

The majority were discovered in Van or its vicinity, and hence are often known as the "Vannic Texts."² They are in the Urartian language, written in cuneiform characters reading left to right.³ The cuneiform script was borrowed from the Assyrians. It appears that prior to having a writing system of their own, the Urartians wrote in Assyrian. The earliest known inscription by an Urartian king, that of Sarduri I, was composed in Assyrian.⁴ Even after having adopted the cuneiform script and adapted it to the peculiarities of their own language, Assyrian was not entirely ignored. The Urartian kings composed bilingual inscriptions in Urartian and Assyrian,⁵ providing the key to the decipherment of the Urartian texts.

After many previous attempts it was the British scholar A.H. Sayce who deciphered the Vannic texts. To mention a few characteristics of the Urartian language; the phonetic system is composed of four vowels: a, e, i, u, and seventeen consonants: b, d,

²A.H.Sayce, "The Kingdom of Van," Cambridge Ancient History, vol. III, pp. 170-171.

³H.K.Jamgotchian, A.K.Aprahamian and S.S.Melik-Pakhshian, Հայկական Գրություն (Erevan: Haybedousmankhrad, 1963), vol. I, p. 90.

⁴Quoted in Chapter I, on page 5.

⁵Such an inscription of king Ispuini has already been quoted in Chapter I, on page 6.

g, h, k, l, m, n, p, q, r, s, s', s, t, t', z. The nouns usually end in "i" such as, "erili - ling," "ebani - city," and sometimes in "a" and "se" such as, "burgana - fort," "quiura - land," and "ase - man," "gunuse - fight." Words may take suffixes, of which the following are a few examples: the subject of a transitive verb takes the suffix "se," "Khaldise Karuni - Khaldi conquered;" the subject of an intransitive verb, on the other hand, takes the suffix "ni," "Khaldini istabi - Khaldi went." The suffix "ni" is also used for the formation of the accusative case, while the suffixes "i" and "e" are used for the formation of the genitive and the dative cases respectively. "li" is used to indicate the plural. Basic to the verbal system is the formation of the verbs by the combination of a series of monosyllabic words with those of two or three syllables, such as, "su - asu, hasu, zasu; du - adu, zadu, teirdu." The most commonly used pronouns in the inscriptions are the first person singular and the third person singular and plural.⁶ As already indicated previously,⁷ the Urartian language appears to have been related to the Hurrian language.

⁶N.Adontz, Histoire D'Arménie, pp. 256-266.

⁷Chapter II, pp. 12-16.

Cf. E.A.Speiser, Introduction to Hurrian (New Haven, 1941), p. 10.

The Vannic texts have brought to light much of the history of Urartu. They give us an insight into the social, economic and religious organisation of the Urartian kingdom. They deal particularly with the achievements of the Urartian kings, either commemorating their military victories or their construction works, such as the building of a canal, a temple, a palace, a stronghold. To Khaldi, the supreme deity of Urartu, is ascribed every achievement in war as well as in peace. We may take two inscriptions of king Menuas as examples. The first provides the literary evidence for the construction of a shrine dedicated to Khaldi; the second records a campaign of his against Sebeteriani, Huzana-ni and Supa-ni, presumably three rulers.

Through Haldi's might Menua, son of Ishpuini, to Haldi, the lord, a building, a shrine has set up, a stronghold he set up, (a) noble (?) (stronghold).⁸

Haldi partit, son guerrier combattit Sebeteria-ni (et son) pays; combattit Huzana-ni (et son) pays; combattit Supa-ni. Haldi (est) fort. le haldien guerrier (est) fort. Par la puissance haldienne partit Menua fils d'Ishpuini, il prit Sebeteria-ni (et son) pays. il prit Huzana-ni (et son) pays il prit Supa-ni. Il gagna les environs du Hatina. A Haldi cette stèle il tailla, a Sebeteria. A Haldi un sanctuaire il construisit à Sebeteria. . . .⁹

⁸ P. Hulin, "New Urartian Inscribed Stones at Anzaf," Anatolian Studies, vol. X (1960), p. 207.

⁹ Adontz, pp. 251-252.

RELIGION. Khaldi was the supreme head of the Urartian pantheon. He was honoured most. There is much praise in the Urartian inscriptions and all goes to the might and the power of Khaldi. He was the initiator of all things and the guide to success.

Temples were erected for his worship. Sargon II of Assyria records the capture of Musasir which he calls "the abode of the god Khaldia" and describes in detail his plunder of Khaldi's temple.¹⁰ Furthermore, a relief of Sargon from his palace at Khorsabad indicates the temple of Khaldi at Musasir.¹¹ Part of the sculptures on the relief represent a god or a king very elaborately dressed and facing left towards two triple spearheads placed one above the other. Another fragment appears to represent a similar sculpture of a god or a king, also facing a triple spearhead but looking towards the other god or king. The spearhead is indicated as the symbol of the god.¹² Two temples of Khaldi have been discovered and excavated; one was found at Toprak

¹⁰D. Luckenbill, Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia, vol II, sec. 213.

¹¹Tashin Özgüç, "Excavations at Altintepe," Belleten, vol. XXV (April 1961), p. 279.

¹²C.A. Burney, "Urartian Reliefs at Adilcevaz, on Lake Van, and a Rock Relief from Karasu, near Birecik," Anatolian Studies, vol. VIII (1958), p. 211.

Kale and the other at Altintepe.¹³ In the latter many offerings were also found, the majority of which consisted of spearheads similar to those indicated on the relief of Sargon. Consequently, the temple at Altintepe is alleged to have belonged to Khaldi.¹⁴ It appears that primarily weapons made of iron and bronze were dedicated or offered to Khaldi. The inscribed shield of Argisti discovered in one of the rooms in the citadel at Karmir Blur is an example. The inscription reads as follows: "From the fortress of Argisti, son of Menua; this shield Argisti, son of Menua, powerful king, great king, king of Biaina, ruler of the city Tuspa; (dedicated) to the god Khaldi."¹⁵ The offerings to Khaldi, consisting of spearheads as well as iron and bronze maceheads, scepters and arrowheads found in the temple at Altintepe provide another example. No doubt, Khaldi appreciated these offerings. He was the Urartian war god like the Assyrian Assur. He went to war, even fought battles for his king and army. Here is what an inscription of Sarduri II tells:

¹³I shall describe the temples under ARCHITECTURE.

¹⁴M. Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor," American Journal of Archaeology, vols. LXV (1961) and LXVI (1962), pp. 44-45 and 79 respectively.

¹⁵R.D. Barnett, "Russian Excavations in Armenia," Iraq, vol. XIV (1952), p. 163.

Haldi combattit le pays du roi du pays de Eriahi, combattit le pays de Abilianihî et il les presenta a Sarduri. Sarduri alla contre Eriahini-di, conquît le pays entier en un seul jour. . . .¹⁶

The Urartian pantheon included many other gods. At least seventy-nine more are mentioned on the so called Door of Mher at Van, along with the number of the sacrifices offered to each.¹⁷ The Urartians must have incorporated into their pantheon the gods of the countries they conquered. It appears from the number of the sacrifices offered to the gods that Tesheba,¹⁸ the storm god, and Ardini,¹⁹ the sun god, were the next two important gods after Khaldi. The sacrifices consisted of cows, sheep, oxen, goats and bulls. According to the inscription on the Door of Mher, Khaldi received six goats, seventeen oxen and thirty-four sheep; Tesheba received six oxen and twelve sheep; Ardini received four oxen and eight sheep; the rest of the gods were offered only a few animals each.²⁰ A sacrificial stand found in one of the rooms in the

¹⁶ Adontz, p. 172.

¹⁷ ibid., pp. 148-151.

¹⁸ Teshup of the Hurrians. Georges Roux, Ancient Iraq (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1964), p. 192. The town of Teishbaini (modern Karmir Blur) must have been named for his honour.

¹⁹ Very interestingly in the Assyrian version of the Urartian texts Musasir appears as "Ardini." Probably there was a sanctuary there dedicated to Ardini.

²⁰ Adontz, pp. 148-151.

citadel at Karmir Blur with traces of burning and censer may give us an idea about the process of offering sacrifices.²¹ As to the rituals, a bronze quiver of king Sarduri with ritual scenes among other decorations has been found at Karmir Blur.²² Little can be said about the funeral ceremony. Two coffins were found at Altintepe. One contained the skeleton of a man, while the other that of a woman. Beside the coffin of the man, there were gold, silver and bronze buttons which apparently had been sewn into a dress and iron arrowheads. The woman was buried fully dressed wearing a gold necklace and precious stones.²³

ARCHITECTURE. Fortresses, palaces, temples, dwellings, tombs and even canals existing to the present time provide evidence for the Urartian architectural achievements. These structures, unlike those of the Assyrians, were built of stone or mud-bricks resting on stone foundations. The Urartians appear to have been fond of massive walls, tall ceilings often made of pine or oak beams, floors of either a kind of mosaic or stamped earth and

²¹R.D.Barnett, "Russian Excavations in Armenia," Iraq, vol. XIV (1952), p. 143.

²²Ibid., p. 139.

²³Tashia Özgüç, "Excavations at Altintepe," Bellesten, vol XXV (April 1961), . 270.

colourful paints. The citadel at Karmir Blur, the temples at Toprak Kale and Altintepe, the grave at Altintepe and the canal of Menuas at modern Hayots Tzor are fine examples of Urartian large scale construction works. On the other hand, the ancient Urartian settlement south and west of the Karmir Blur citadel provides examples of Urartian dwellings.

The citadel at Karmir Blur seems to have been built in two periods: the earlier in the time of Menuas (828-785 B.C.), while the later in the time of Rusa or Rusas II (680-646 B.C.). A cuneiform inscription of the latter on a bronze door lock was found during the excavations. It reads as follows: "This fortress ('house of arms') of the town of Teishebaini belongs to Rusas, son of Argishti."²⁴ The citadel was a huge structure with massive walls containing a large courtyard and at least 120 rooms. The bases of the walls of the rooms were of unworked stones, and the walls of unbaked bricks which contained chopped straw; the ceilings were flat and made of either pine or oak beams. The citadel is thought to have been the court of an Urartian viceroy. Many store rooms were discovered and excavated. Some contained remains of food stocks, such as barley, wheat, millet, sesame, beans, lentil and even millet bread; others con-

²⁴Alexander Mongait, Archaeology in the U.S.S.R., p. 222.

tained 152 large vessels for wine; still others contained all sorts of objects -- iron and bronze weapons and tools, ornaments, wooden articles and fabrics.²⁵

The temples at Toprak Kale and Altintepe were found to be similar. They were built on rock foundations, on a square plan with the entrance to the south and a corridor leading to the cella against the north wall of which was the statue base. The walls were thick and lined with three courses of well dressed stones. In the area of the Toprak Kale temple several rooms with mud-brick walls were cleared which revealed traces of wall painting in blue and red, as well as some mosaic fragments consisting of concentric stone inlays. The wall of the cella of the Altintepe temple was also painted in red and blue, while the floor was of stamped earth.²⁶

The grave at Altintepe was constructed in the slope of a hill surrounded by a large wall of stones which gave the impression of an underground fortress. The grave contained rooms presumably used for the placement of the dead as well as their necessary

²⁵ Ibid.

R.D. Barnett, "Russian Excavations in Armenia," Iraq, vol. XIV (1952), pp. 132-147.

²⁶ M. Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor," American Journal of Archaeology, vols. LXV (1961) and LXVI (1962), pp. 44-45 and 79 respectively.

Tashin Özgüç, "Excavations at Altintepe," Belleten, vol. XXV (1961), p. 279.

belongings.²⁷ Some of the contents of one of the rooms has already been described above, under RELIGION.

As to the canal of Menuas, an inscription of his provides the literary evidence for its construction.

Par la Haldienne puissance Menua fils d'Ispuini ce canal conduisit; Canal de Menua (est) le nom. Par la Haldienne grandeur Menua (est) roi puissant, roi grand, roi de Biaina (ili) prince de la ville de Tuspa. . . .²⁸

However, a more concrete evidence for the canal is its continued existence to the present time. It bears the name of Semeramis. It begins one and a half kilometers from the Mzenkert village, irrigates vast distances of land until it terminates at Van. It is estimated to be fifty kilometers long.²⁹

The houses found south and west of the Karmir Blur citadel appear to have been inhabited by Urartian warriors and their families, as well as by farmers and craftsmen. The houses were built of roughly worked stones. They contained three rooms interconnected by doorways. The main room received its daylight from a hole in the ceiling, while the secondary rooms received their light through the doorway.³⁰ Other archaeological finds indicate

²⁷Ibid. (Bulleten).

²⁸Adontz, p. 248.

²⁹Ibid., pp. 239-240.

³⁰Mongait, p. 224.

Urartian houses excavated in rocks.³¹

ART AND METALLURGY. The numerous articles found at the Urartian excavation sites provide an extensive collection of Urartian art objects. To begin with pottery, at least four kinds -- gray ware, red ware, coarse black ware and plain ware -- have been identified in the finds at Toprak Kale and Karmir Blur. The gray ware objects consisted of a jug and a cup. The jug was round-bellied with strap handle and tall neck with pinched lip. The cup had swelling shoulders, flat foot and high lip. Open bowls, one handled jugs and pitchers, beakers, profiled cups and vessels, all of red polished ware, were found at Toprak Kale as well as at Karmir Blur. Vases of coarse black ware with wide neck and herring-bone combed design were also found at Toprak Kale. Apart from the four types of pottery mentioned, there were some other examples with paintings or geometric decorations. One was a large vase with birds painted on a yellowish clay background. Others were parts of huge jars the rims of which were decorated with figures of lions attacking bulls in high relief;³² and a

³¹A.H.Sayce, "The Kingdom of Van," Cambridge Ancient History, vol. III, p. 185.

³²R.D.Barnett, "The Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale, Near Van," Iraq, vol. XII (1950), p. 34.

R.D.Barnett, "Further Russian Excavations in Armenia," Iraq, vol. XXI (1959), pp. 1-19.

burnished black vessel with a painted shoulder-band having concentric circles of black and brown on yellow and bull's heads in high relief.³³

It appears that the Urartians were fond of bulls and lions like the rest of the peoples in Mesopotamia. All sorts of objects, mostly of bronze with bulls and lions on them have been discovered at Toprak Kale. Such as, a human headed winged bull-man or woman wearing a horned crown and a kind of ornament round the neck, two shields with rows of lions and bulls, a fragment of a bowl decorated with lions, a pair of handles from a large dish each handle being decorated with the head of a roaring lion and finally part of a figure of a male god standing on the back of a kneeling bull or bull lion.³⁴

Urartian ivory work on the basis of the finds from Toprak Kale consisted of human and animal figures. Examples are: a nude female figure of either a goddess or a worshipper wearing a high head-dress and a necklace, remains of a male figure wearing a fleecy garment and a heavy wig of hair, and parts of the paws of a lion.³⁵

³³R.D.Barnett, "Russian Excavations in Armenia," Iraq, vol. XIV (1952), p. 142.

³⁴R.D.Barnett, "The Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale," Iraq, vol. XII (1950), p. 15.

³⁵Ibid., p. 16.

As to the metal work of the Urartians, reference has already been made to their skill in metallurgy. Iron, bronze, silver and gold objects of all sorts discovered in abundance provide the evidence.

Iron was used especially for weapons. Finds at Toprak Kale, Karmir Blur and Altintepe and elsewhere in Armenia include flat axes, battle axes, lance heads, daggers, knives, swords and shields made of iron. Bronze was used, in addition to weapons, for various types of objects, such as utensils, seals, ornaments, statuets. To mention some examples: cups bearing the names of Menuas, Argisti, Rusas and Sarduri were found in one of the rooms of the Karmir Blur citadel. So were cylinder seals of Assyrian type, as well as seals of Urartian type. The latter were a combination of cylinder and stamp seals called stamp-cylinder seals. Ornaments included bracelets, necklaces, belts decorated with a certain design, such as dotted lines. A statuette of god Tesheba wearing a garment decorated with small squares, holding a disc-shaped mace in his right hand and a double axe in the left was also found in the citadel at Karmir Blur.³⁶ Silver and gold were used for ornaments of all kinds: bracelets, necklaces, ear-rings, belts and the like.

³⁶R.D.Barnett, "Russian Excavations in Armenia," Iraq, vol. XIV (1952), pp. 139-145.

It is not possible to say that a pure Urartian art existed. It was doubtless influenced by Mesopotamian or, to be more specific, by Assyrian art. However, there are certain examples which do not indicate any Assyrian influence. Such are the helmets which have a crest along the top but do not have ear-flaps and are held by a chin-strap. They must have been used in the ninth-eighth centuries B.C. for they appear first in the army of Tiglath-Pileser III worn by Urartians. In the seventh century B.C., however, these helmets are replaced by the Assyrian type with no crest along the top, an example of which is the helmet of Sarduri found at Karmir Blur.³⁷ The Urartians did have the Assyrian cylinder seals but in addition, they manufactured a combination of stamp and cylinder seals. Shields of Rusas III with clumsy finish and figures with a simpler and cruder style indicate no Assyrian influence.³⁸ It appears that particularly by the end of the seventh century B.C. Urartian art begins to resemble less the Assyrian style of art.

³⁷R.D.Barnett, "Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale - Addenda," Iraq, vol. XVI (1954), pp. 7-8.

³⁸R.D.Barnett, "The Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale, Near Van," Iraq, vol. XII (1950), pp. 36-39.

In addition to Assyrian objects, others of different origins have also been discovered at Urartian excavation sites. They provide evidence for the extent of the relation, economic or otherwise, between Urartu and the rest of the East. Scaraboids of Egyptian type show the connection of Urartu with either Phoenician or Egyptian circles.³⁹ Barrel-shaped beads of golden carnelian bored with a diamond giving a strictly cylindrical perforation, in contrast to the beads of Assyrian style characterized with a funnel-shaped perforation, suggest the first to have come from India or Iran.⁴⁰ Burnt fragments of textile were also found and are alleged to be silk in which case the earliest evidence for the contact between China and the west is provided.⁴¹ Interesting are the winged figures, usually with women's heads and apparently attached in pairs to cauldrons. They were found in some numbers in Van and Etruria. Forty Greek imitations of these winged figures were also found in different sites. According to the opinion of R.D.Barnett, they indicate certain affi-

³⁹R.D.Barnett, "Russian Excavations in Armenia," Iraq, vol. XIV (1952), p. 147.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 145.

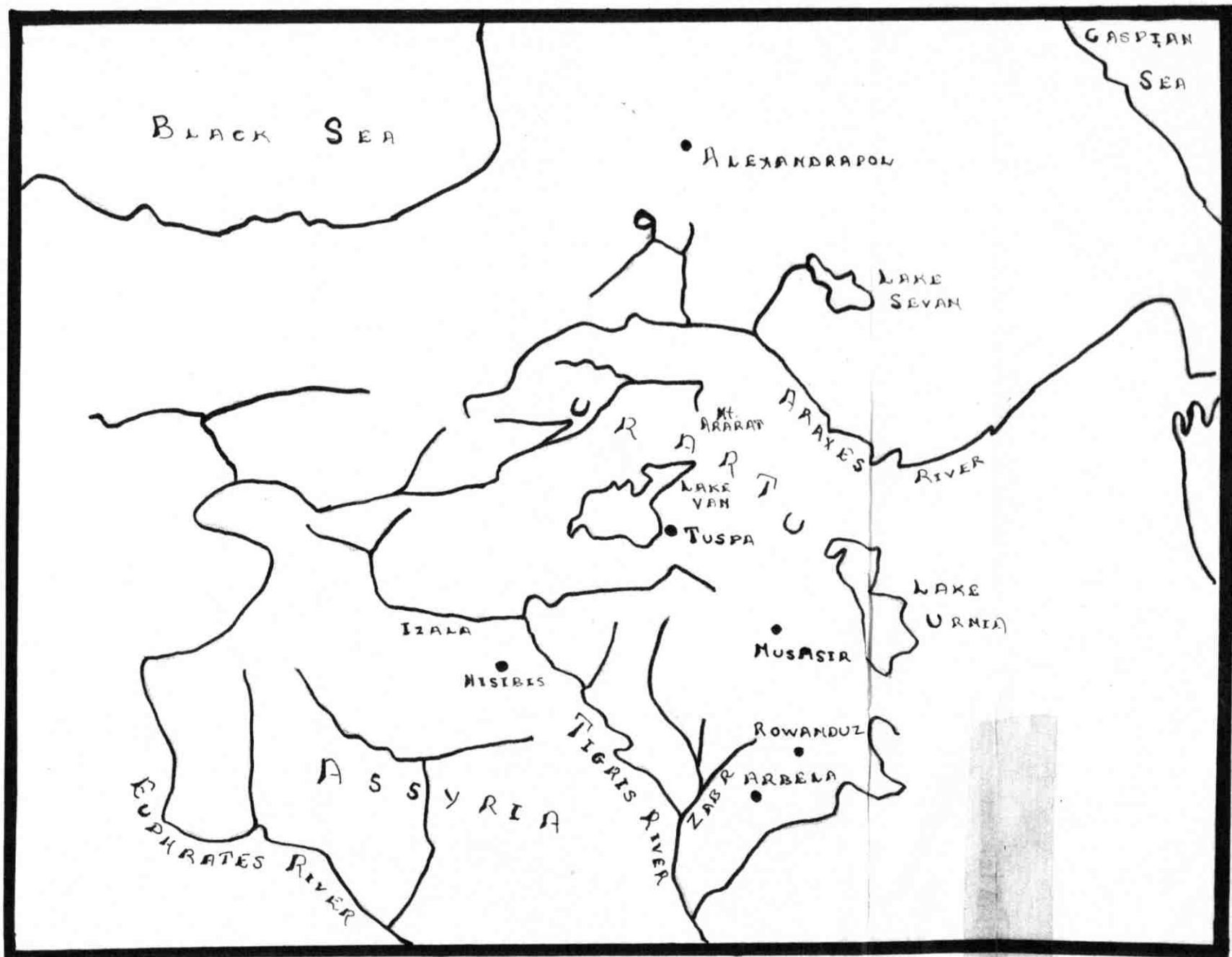
⁴¹R.D.Barnett, "The Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale, Near Van," Iraq, vol. XII (1950), p. 25.

nities to the art of Phrygia.⁴² Finally, objects of Scythian origin, such as arrowheads, as well as harnesses and a griffin's head, associated with the Scythian invasion of Urartu, were also discovered.⁴³

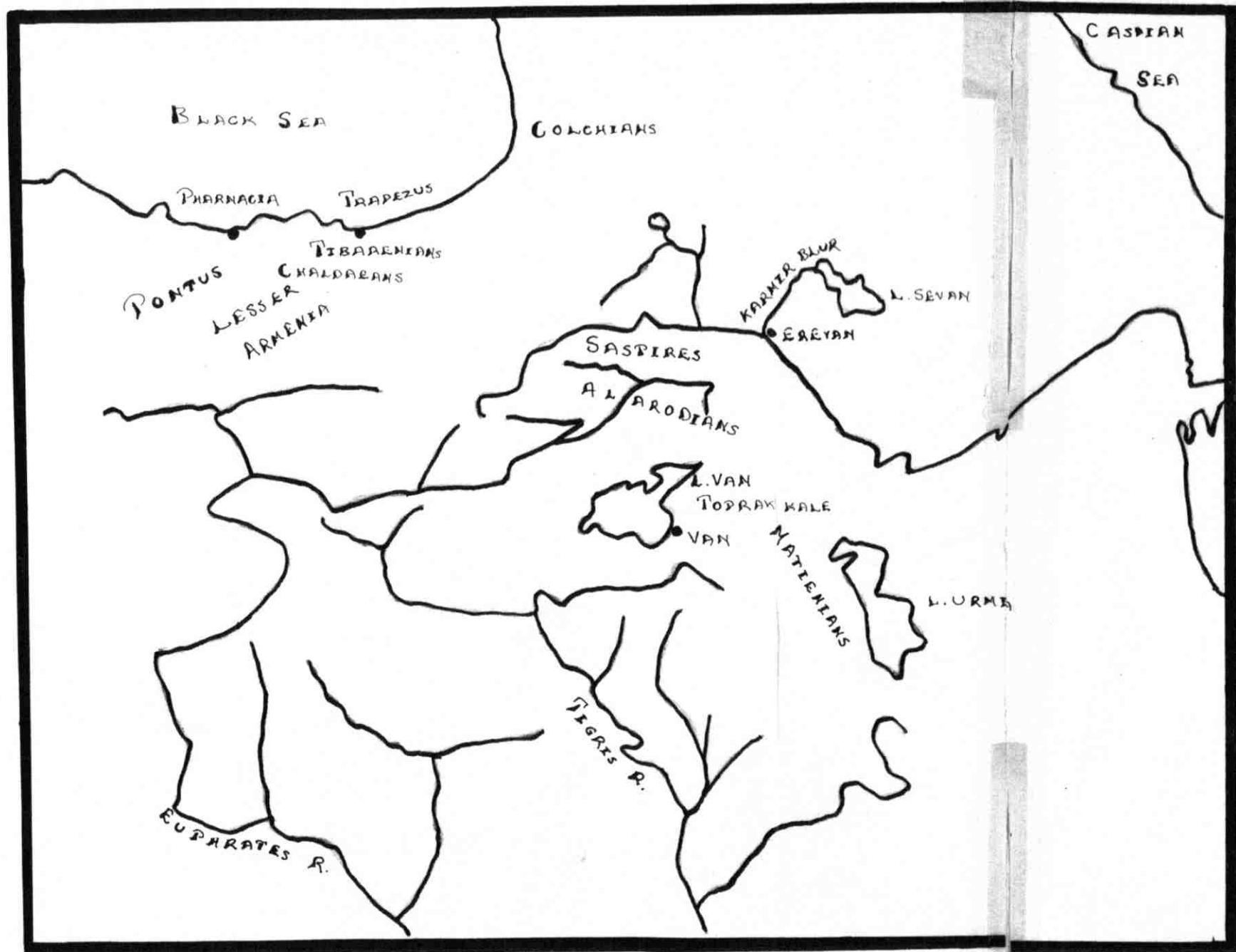
⁴²Ibid., p. 39.

⁴³R.D.Barnett, " Russian Excavations in Armenia," Iraq, vol. XIV (1952), p. 147.

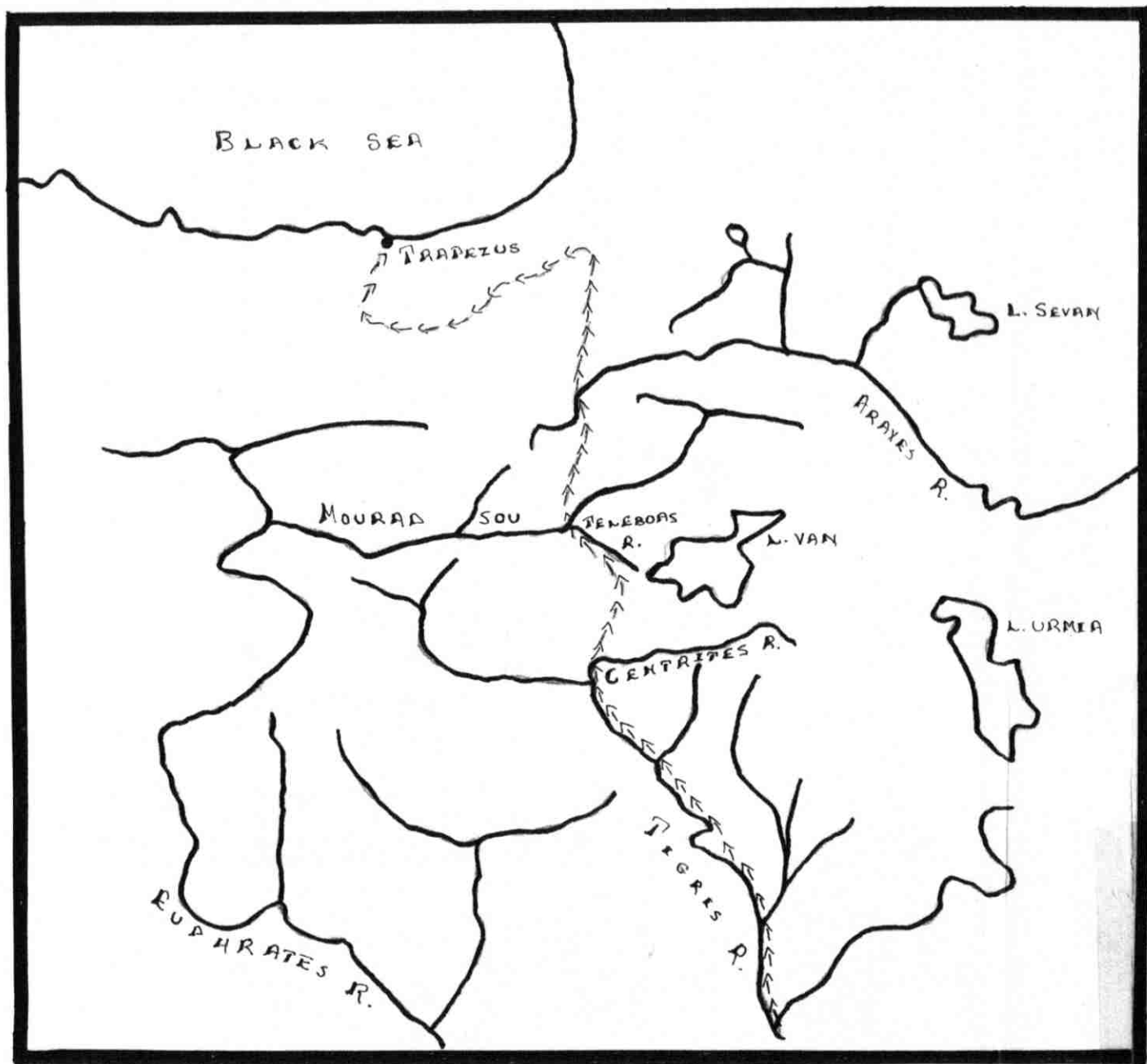
MAP I



MAP II



MAP III



→→→→→ XENOPHON'S MARCH THROUGH ARMENIA

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ancient Works

- Appian. Appian's Roman History. Translated by Horace White. (The Loeb Classical Library) London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1955.
- Arrian. Arrian - Anabasis of Alexander. Translated by E. Iliff Robson. (The Loeb Classical Library) Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1954.
- Diodorus. Diodorus of Sicily. Translated by C.H. Oldfather. (The Loeb Classical Library) Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1932.
- Herodotus. Herodotus. Translated by A.D. Godley. (The Loeb Classical Library) Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1963.
- Josephus. Jewish Antiquities. Translated by Ralph Marcus. (The Loeb Classical Library) London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1961.
- Moses of Khorene. Պատմութիւն Հայոց (Batmoutyoun Hayotz - History of Armenians). Venice: Makhitarian Publication, 1955.
- Old Testament.
- Plutarch. Plutarch's Lives. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin. (The Loeb Classical Library) Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1959.
- Ptolemy, Claudius. Geography of Claudius Ptolemy. Translated by Edward Luther Stevenson. New York: The New York Public Library. 1932.

- Stephanus of Byzantium. Ethnicorum Quae Supersunt. Berlin: Reimer, 1849.
- Strabo. The Geography of Strabo. Translated by Horace Leonard Jones. (The Loeb Classical Library) Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1961.
- Xenophon. Xenophon - Anabasis. Translated by Carleton L. Brownson. (The Loeb Classical Library) Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1950.
- Xenophon. Xenophon - Cyropaedia. Translated by Walter Miller. (The Loeb Classical Library) London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1953.

Modern Works

- Adontz, Nicolas. Histoire D'Armenie. Paris: Publication de L'Union Générale Armenienne de Bienfaisance, 1946.
- Forbes, R.J. Metallurgy in Antiquity. Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1950.
- Gelb, I.J. Hurrians and Subarians. Chicago, 1944.
- Grousset, René. Histoire de L'Arménie. Paris: Payot, 1947.
- How, W.W. and Wells, J. A Commentary on Herodotus. Vol. I. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1961.
- Hrozny, B. Ancient History of Western Asia, India, Crete. New York: Philisophical Library Inc., 1953.
- Kent, Roland. Old Persian. New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1953.
- Luckenbill, Daniel. Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia. Vols. I and II. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1926.

- Manantian, H. Բնական Կենսաբանական Հայ Ժողովրդի Պատմություն
(Knnakan Desoutyoun Hay Joghovrty Batmoutyan - An Objective Study of the History of the Armenian People.) Vol. I.
Erevan: Haybedhrad, 1944.
- Melik-Pakhshian, S.S., Jangotchian, H.K. and Aprahamian, A.K.
Հայ Ժողովրդի Պատմություն (Hay Joghovrty Batmoutyoun - History of the Armenian People). Vol. I.
Erevan: Haybedousmankhrad, 1963.
- Mongait, Alexander. Archaeology in the U.S.S.R. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publication, 1959.
- Olmstead, A.T. History of Assyria. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1923.
- Roux, Georges. Ancient Iraq. London: G. Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1964.
- Saggs, H.W. The Greatness that was Babylon. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1962.
- Sayce, A.H. A Primer of Assyriology. New York: Fleming and Revell Company, N.D.
- Seltzman, Charles. Greek Coins. London: Methuen and Co., 1960.
- Speiser, E.A. Ethnic Movements in the Near East in the second Millenium B.C. Baltimore: J.H. Furst, 1933.
- Speiser, E.A. Introduction to Hurrian. New Haven, 1941.

Periodicals

- Barnett, R.D. "The Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale, Near Van," Iraq, Vol. XII (1950), pp. 1-43.
- Barnett, R.D. "Russian Excavations in Armenia," Iraq, Vol. XIV (1952), pp. 132-147.

- Barnett, R.D. "Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale - Addenda," Iraq, Vol. XVI (1954), pp. 3-22.
- Barnett, R.D. "Further Russian Excavations in Armenia," Iraq, Vol. XXI (1959), pp. 1-19.
- Barnett, R.D. "The Urartian Cemetery at Igdır," Anatolian Studies, Vol. XIII (1963), pp. 154-161 and 186.
- Burney, C.A. "Urartian Reliefs at Adilcevaz, on Lake Van, and a Rock Relief from Karasu, near Birecik," Anatolian Studies, Vol. VIII (1958), p. 211.
- Hulin, P. "New Urartian Inscribed Stones at Anzaf," Anatolian Studies, Vol. X (1960), pp. 205-207.
- Mellink, M.J. "Archaeology in Asia Minor," American Journal of Archaeology, Vol. LXV (1961), pp. 37-52.
- Mellink, M.J. "Archaeology in Asia Minor," American Journal of Archaeology, Vol. LXVI (1962), pp. 71-85.
- Ozguç, Tashin. "Excavations at Altintepe," Bulleten, Vol. XXV (1961), pp. 269-280.

Other References

- Hasting, J. "Ararat," Dictionary of the Bible. Edinburg: T. and T. Clark; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898, Vol. I, p. 139.
- Malkhasian. Բարսիլակ (Pararan - Dictionary). Beirut: Sevan, 1955, Vol. I, p. 287.
- Sayce, A.H. "The Kingdom of Van," Cambridge Ancient History. (ed. Bury, Cook and Adcock) Cambridge: University Press, 1960, Vol. III, pp. 168-185.