

Ireland and Armenia:

Studies in Language, History and Narrative



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ABBREVIATIONS

- Alb. – Albanian
Arm. – Armenian
Av. – Avestan
B. – Breton
BBCS – Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies
Bulg. – Bulgarian
C. – Cornish
CMCS – *Cambrian Celtic Mediaeval Studies*
DIAS – Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies
DIL – *Dictionary of the Irish Language based mainly on Old and Middle Irish Materials*, RIA, Dublin, 1983.
Gk. – Greek
Goth. – Gothic
HE (Bede) – *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*
Hitt. – Hittite
IBS – Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft
IE – Indo-European
IEW – *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (2 vols; ed. J. Pokorny, Bern & München, 1959-69)
Ind. – Indian
ITS – Irish Texts Society
JIA – *Journal of Irish Archaeology*
JI-ES – *Journal of the Indo-European Studies*
JRSAI – *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*
KZ – *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*
Lat. – Latin
LG – *Lebor Gabála Éirenn* (5 vols; ed. R. A. S. Macalister, Dublin, ITS, 1938-56)
Lith. – Lithuanian
LL – *The Book of Leinster* (6 vols; ed. R. I. Best, O. Bergin, M. A. O'Brien & A. O'Sullivan, Dublin, RIA, 1954-83)
LU – *Lebor na hUidre* (ed. R. I. Best & O. Bergin, Dublin, RIA, 1992 [1929])

- MIr. – Middle Irish
MMIS – Mediaeval and Modern Irish Series (DIAS, Dublin)
MW – Middle Welsh
NW – Modern Welsh
OC – Old Cornish
OCS – Old Church Slavonic
OE – Old English
OHG – Old High German
OGeo. – Old Georgian
OIr. – Old Irish
OPers. – Old Persian
OW – Old Welsh
PBA – *Proceedings of the British Academy*
PIE – Proto-Indo-European
Phl. – Pahlavi
RIA – Royal Irish Academy, Dublin
Skt. – Sanskrit
TCD – Trinity College, Dublin
TPhS – Transactions of Philological Society
Ved. – Vedic
VJ – *Vestnik Yazykoznaniiya*
W. – Welsh
YAv. – Young Avestan
ZCP – *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*

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Most of the papers were delivered at a Celto-Armenian symposium in Yerevan, held between 7-9 September 2009, at the Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts (Matenadaran). We are grateful to the Director of the Institute, Professor Hrach Tamrazyan, for providing the venue and arranging a tour of the Matenadaran manuscript collection.

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INTRODUCTION

SÉAMUS MAC MATHÚNA
MAXIM FOMIN
ALVARD JIVANYAN

This volume is concerned with the history and traditions of two small countries on the western and eastern fringes respectively of the Indo-European world. The focus is primarily on the early medieval period but attention is also paid to other periods in some of the contributions. The aim has been to compare aspects of the cultures of the two countries and seek to establish the inherited elements of a shared Indo-European background, influence of other languages and traditions such as the world of Christian and Classical learning, and possible contacts over the centuries.

Keynote address

The work opens with a wide-ranging study ‘Creative Witness in Ireland and Armenia: Parallels in Historiography, the Eremetical Tradition, Myth and Legend’ by Séamus Mac Mathúna which investigates and compares the historiographical, eremetical, mythical and legendary traditions of the two countries and draws attention to a number of close parallels in these areas.

The dominant theme of the study is that of creative witness, that is the manner in which eyewitness testimony has been both used and manipulated to play a critical role in the formation and development of approaches to the subject areas under investigation. Parallels between the traditions in these areas may be explained to a great extent by the fact that the authors and actors are working within the same paradigms and drawing on the same or similar sources. The origin of certain myths and legends shared by the traditions is sometimes difficult to determine with precision but some of them doubtless stem from a shared Indo-European heritage; how and from where they were diffused is more difficult to ascertain, a question which must be considered alongside the linguistic evidence.

Indo-European dimension

Having set the scene in this introductory essay, the first section of the book begins with a consideration of the linguistic data. Professor Karl Horst Schmidt's article of 2007 on 'Armenian and Celtic: Towards a New Classification of Early Indo-European Dialects' opens proceedings on this important topic. In his paper, Schmidt firstly examines the position of Armenian within the Indo-European family and then proceeds to delineate some linguistic features and innovations which appear to prove early contact of Proto-Celtic with Eastern Indo-European languages. In this regard, he considers matters such as the inflected relative pronoun **yos*, desiderative formations, and the future in **-syē-/-syo-*. He also discusses Armenian lexical features and linguistic peculiarities. Finally, he comments on the criteria required for revealing linguistic features in prehistory.

The paper by Alexander Falileyev and Petr Kocharov 'Celtic, Armenian and Eastern Indo-European Languages: Comments on a Recent Hypothesis' considers K. H. Schmidt's

hypothesis outlined above and seeks to examine possible connections between Proto-Celtic, Proto-Armenian and other Eastern Indo-European languages. In the first part, they examine common Celto-Armenian morphological isoglosses discussed by Schmidt as well as the sigmatic aorist. In the second part, they turn their attention to various Celto-Armenian lexical isoglosses, comparing them with the evidence of Eastern IE, Tocharian, Germanic, Baltic and Greek linguistic data. They conclude that the exclusive Celto-Armenian correspondences are less important than those found between Armenian, Greek, and Indo-Iranian.

Maxim Fomin examines references to Armenia in Early Irish and other sources in his paper on 'Armenia in Ireland: Indo-European Cognates, Medieval Legends, and Pseudo-Historical Accounts'. He begins by investigating the manner in which Armenian linguistic material was used by early Celtic scholars in their work on Indo-European reconstruction and proceeds to survey a range of Celto-Armenian isoglosses. He concludes by presenting works of eighteenth century Irish antiquarians who sought to discover the roots of the race of the Gaels in Armenia.

Origin myths and legends

Armen Petrosyan in his 'Armenia and Ireland: Myths of Prehistory'

presents a comparison between some central characters of the Armenian ethnogenic myth and those of the Irish and Welsh traditions. He also draws attention to Indian and Greek comparanda. He examines the myth of the eponymous patriarchs of the Armenians, Hayk, Aram and Ara the Handsome (*Ara Gelec'ik*), and argues that there is a close parallel between the figures of Ara in Armenia and Bres in Ireland. He concludes that these latter two figures are derived from an Indo-Europeanised version of a Near Eastern myth. He associates Celtic Beli/Bile and Dôn/Danu with Indic Bali and Dānu juxtaposing them with Greek Bēlos, the father

of Danaos, identifying the figure of Celtic Beli/Bile with Semitic *b'l* 'lord'. Finally, the author suggests that some of the Celtic

mythologems may have been formed as a result of contact between the Celtic tribes and the peoples of the Balkans and Anatolia and then transmitted from there to other parts of the Celtic world.

Sergey Ivanov's contribution 'Armenia: the Cradle of the Gaels and the Amazons?' alludes to a paper by John Carey¹ in which he outlines the Irish pseudo-historical tradition that places the ancestors of the Irish people in Scythia. Ivanov draws attention to a different branch of the tradition which links Armenia and the Armenians with the Irish in genealogies going back to Japheth and in one instance to Shem. He also presents evidence from other Irish texts in which the women of the mountain of Armenia are clearly to be identified with the Amazons. The author explores how the Amazons became associated with Armenia and how this came to be reflected in Irish sources.

John Carey in his paper 'Lore of Origins in Medieval Ireland' examines the problem that the newly converted Irish people faced in connecting their own lore of origins with the account of Noah's descendants in Genesis. He considers the Irish migration legends as presented in *Lebor Gabála* and seeks to

¹ Carey, J., 2006, 'Russia: the Cradle of the Gaels?', in: Mac Mathúna, S. & M.

Fomin, eds., *Parallels between Celtic and Slavic. Proceedings of the First International Colloquium of Societas Celto-Slavica held at the University of Ulster, Coleraine, 19-21 June 2005. Studia Celto-Slavica 1*, Coleraine: TSO Publishers, 149-62.

establish if there are elements of pre-Christian belief in this work and in other sources. According to the author, there is suggestive evidence of a belief in gods and people who had existed before the Fall and the Flood. He refers to such matters as the doctrine of a subterranean race, the idea of transformation and rebirth, and argues that such elements and ideas had been appropriated by the ecclesiastical establishment for the service of a Christian vision of history.

Christianity in Armenia and in Ireland

In his paper 'Adoption of Christianity in Armenia: Legend and Reality', Hayk Hakobyan investigates the conversion of Armenia to Christianity carried out by Gregory the Illuminator as described in the *History of the Armenians* by Agathangelos. The author points out that according to the accounts of Agathangelos and others, Gregory moved between the pagan temples counter-clockwise, beginning with the temple of the supreme god situated in the south, then proceeding eastwards to the temples of two female goddesses and finishing at the temples of the two male gods of the pantheon in the west. Gregory's itinerary reflected the standard hierarchy in the ancient Armenian pantheon, as well as the cultural landscape. Gregory's path around the Armenian shrines is associated with Agathangelos' tale of their destruction, and with the saint's declaration of religious domination over these shrines.

Hamlet Petrosyan in his paper 'Similarities between the Early Christian Armenian Monuments and Irish High Crosses in the Light of New Discoveries' examines possible parallels between Irish High Crosses and Armenian stone crosses (*khachkars*) and the so-called Armenian 'encircled crosses on poles'. He argues that the latter (dated between the fifth and seventh centuries A.D.) are more similar to the Irish High Crosses than are the former. During his major excavations of Tigranakert's Citadel over a period of many years, he found evidence of such crosses in fragmented state that support his view with regard to the validity of this comparison. Some of the crosses at this site and others were covered with figurative reliefs. He concludes that it has yet to be determined if these monuments played any role as a prototype for the Irish High Crosses, and if they did, to what degree.

In his article 'The Byzantine and Armenian Cultural Interface: A Sketch,' Dean Miller considers the cultural exchange between Armenia and Byzantium and focuses primarily on the

Armenian contribution to the survival and governance of the Empire. He looks at such issues as the character of the relationship between Armenian kingdoms and their powerful neighbour and on the matter of accommodation and acculturation of re-settled Armenians in Byzantium, including the Armenian quarter of Constantinople. He studies the question of religious identity and Christological controversy between Greek and Armenian Orthodoxies, touching upon issues of art, architecture and language.

In her paper, 'Re-Introduction of Lithic Discourse to Britain and Ireland: Armenian-Byzantine Influence', Natalia Abelian investigates the influence of stone carving from the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire on the stone work (lithic) art canon of the British Isles in the seventh century. She refers to the importation of stone workers and stone carvers from the East to Britain and the important role played by Theodore of Tarsus (Cilicia) on artistic, religious and historical matters. The author examines the probable Armenian educational background of Theodore, who became Archbishop of Canterbury in 669. She argues that there are common motifs in Northumbrian art (stelae) and Armenian artefacts and concludes that seventh century art stonework in the British Isles was influenced by both Armenian prototypes and also by Syrian and Byzantine traditions.

Narrative, historical poetics and folklore

In his paper, 'On Some Ritual Mythological Features of the Armenian Epic *Daredevils of Sassoun*', Sargis Harutyunyan argues that the Armenian epic *The Daredevils of Sasoun* presents allegorical accounts of events that occurred in Mesopotamia and Southern Armenia in the distant past and that the heroes of the epic are based on original Armenian ancestors. Harutyunyan surveys various stylistic features of the epic, especially the *volormi* prologues, which serve as a kind of introduction to the ancestor veneration ritual. According to the author, the recitation that follows the prologue relies on three primeval myths: the myth of the sacred twins, the myth of the Thunder God (or Demi-god), and the Mihr or Mitra myth. Harutyunyan pays further attention to a set of pre-Christian ritual traditions and beliefs that have been reconciled within the Armenian Christian ethical and religious system.

The contribution on ‘Metamorphosis as a Major Fairy Trope in Irish and Armenian Tales’ by Alvard Jivanyan concludes the volume. Jivanyan argues that parallels between Irish and Armenian sources are to be sought on the level of style, and primarily on the level of the rhetoric of the fairy tale text. The author proposes that major fairy tale tropes (simile, metonymy and metamorphosis) reveal remarkable affinities and she pays particular attention to the trope of metamorphosis and its manifestations in the Irish and Armenian fairy-tales.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

**CREATIVE WITNESS IN IRELAND AND ARMENIA:
PARALLELS IN HISTORIOGRAPHY, THE EREMETICAL
TRADITION, MYTH AND LEGEND**

SÉAMUS MAC MATHÚNA
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Introduction

Ireland and Armenia have much in common, not least the fact that both share an Indo-European heritage and similarities in their process of conversion to Christianity. Before the introduction of Christianity to Armenia, there was a rich cultural tradition that reflected the confluence of ideas and beliefs which had affected the country over many centuries due to its pivotal location on the eastern border of Western Europe and the western border of Eastern Asia. It was for many centuries a buffer zone between the Roman Byzantine Empire and the Persian Empire, often functioning as a feudal or client state to these powerful neighbours.

Ireland, on the other hand, is a small island on the western periphery of Western Europe and was not in pre-Christian times as greatly influenced by external cultures as was Armenia. Although it had connections with Britain, and other countries further afield, the Roman Empire did not establish itself in the country.

There was, however, a remarkably strong oral culture in Ireland which was maintained at the highest levels of society by a mandarin learned class of historians, lawyers, poets, and holy men. They upheld and transmitted the socio-political, artistic, and religious norms of society, underpinning the position of those nobles, ethnic groups, and dynasties who were in power. While there was no nation in the modern sense of that term and much internecine strife, the country, not unlike Armenia, had a distinctive language and culture which set it apart from its more powerful neighbours.

While the process of conversion to Christianity in the two countries appears to have been achieved without engendering too much bloodshed, in Armenia the initial response by the pagan king, Trdat or Tiridates III (298-330 A.D.), led to the persecution and torture of a number of Christians, including the principal evangelist Saint Gregory the Illuminator. Many of those who were tortured and martyred under Trdat later attained cult status and sainthood after the acceptance of the conversion by the king. Although the conversion was carried out reasonably quickly in both countries, this does not imply that all forms of earlier beliefs, and the fables and legends relating to them, disappeared overnight; on the contrary, many old beliefs, practices and superstitions remained in place alongside the new religion, and fortunately a number of these earlier beliefs, myths and legends have been transmitted and recreated by medieval and later Irish *literati* and by early Armenian historians and authors and other writers. Moreover, the oral tradition, including music and song, has continued to play a major role in the maintenance and transmission of the respective cultural heritages.

With the introduction of Christianity to Armenia and Ireland, the Church quickly became the dominant and elite force in the cultural spheres of literature and learning, the invention of a script for the native language having been introduced in the fourth century to Armenia by the monk Saint Mesrop Mashtots (c361/362-440 A.D.) and in the fifth century to Ireland by Christian clerics. The translation of Christian and ecclesiastical texts in the first instance, and then of other important non-Christian texts of other cultures, alongside the development of an indigenous written literature in the Armenian and Gaelic or Irish languages, are part of this process.

Since the new Armenian alphabet had been expressly created to preserve and transmit Christian teaching and thought through the medium of the Armenian language, and since this alphabet predates the introduction of writing in Ireland, the first written texts in Armenian are more numerous in number and earlier than those written in Gaelic. In Ireland, the main language of writing used by the Church was Latin and it was only by degrees that the use of the vernacular became increasingly utilised. This may have begun as early as the late sixth century.

The present paper is principally concerned with material written in the Christian era by authors who were closely associated with spreading the Christian message and transmitting and partly recreating earlier pre-Christian materials in the light of that message. The focus will be primarily on historiography, with some remarks on parallels in the early eremitic traditions and between the mythologies and legends of the two countries.

I. Historiography

The major traditional histories of Armenia are matched by works of a similar nature from early Ireland. *The History of Armenia* by Movsēs Khorenatsi¹ which traces Armenian history from the time of Noah down to the death of Mashtots in 440 A.D. and the beginning of literacy, integrates oral traditions of pre-Christian Armenia with biblical and world history, providing the people with a genealogy bringing them back to Japheth.

This is mirrored in Irish tradition by the *Lebor Gabála Éirenn* ‘The Book of the Taking of Ireland’² which ranges in its account from the creation of the world according to Genesis to various pre-historical invasions of Ireland until the coming of Maic Miled (‘the Sons of Mí¹’) or the Gael and the early history of the country.³ The history of the Gael from the time of the dispersal of nations at the Tower of Babel is presented in the work together with their wanderings from an original homeland, taken by most medieval pseudohistorians to have been Scythia, but by some to have been Armenia.⁴

Similarly, after the construction of the Tower of Babel, the first ancestor of the Armenians, Hayk, refuses to remain in Babylonia under the yoke of the tyrannical Bel and moves with his family to the Armenian Highland, north-west of Lake Van.

The peregrinations of the Gael, and of the Armenians to some degree, are partly based on that of the servitude of the Israelites and their wanderings in the wilderness before reaching the Promised Land. As is the case with Khorenatsi’s *History*,

¹ See Thomson 1978.

² See Macalister 1938 (edition); Carey 2009.

³ Carey 1994, 2005, and his paper in this volume; Scowcroft 1988.

⁴ On Scythia as an original homeland of the Gaels, see Carey 2006: 149-161, and on Armenia, the papers by Ivanov and Fomin in this volume.

Irish events and personages are synchronised with those of biblical, patristic and Classical literature. For example, both Khorenatsi and the Irish synchronists based their accounts not only on the Bible but also on works of Jewish and Christian historians such as Flavius Josephus and Eusebius of Caesarea. Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*,⁵ and his *Chronicon* or *Chronicle*⁶ were important sources for Irish and Armenian authors as they were for other medieval historians, and the pivotal position of the Armenian tradition as a cradle of early historiography and learning is reflected in the fact that the Armenian translation of the *Chronicon*, in which both parts of the work are extant, would appear to be especially valuable due to the loss of the original Greek text.⁷ Khorenatsi made extensive use of the *Jewish Wars* of Flavius Josephus,⁸ the *Alexander Romance*,⁹ and, it would appear, a number of earlier Armenian works.¹⁰

The Irish historians of medieval Ireland also avail of sources such as Saint Augustine's *De civitate Dei*,¹¹ Orosius' *Historiae adversum paganos*,¹² translated by Saint Jerome, and Isidore's *Etymologiae* (early seventh century AD).¹³ The sources mentioned here are supplemented in both the Armenian and Irish works with native myths and legends which are integrated into the overall chronological scheme.

⁵ Lake *et al.* 1926-32; see also trans. by G. A. Williamson (1989).

⁶ Schoene 1875, Karst 1911.

⁷ In a recent work, Greenwood (2008: 197-254) presents new evidence which suggests that the diminished standing of the work in some quarters should be re-evaluated.

⁸ See Josephus.Org – The Flavius Josephus Home Page - <http://www.josephus.org/>

⁹ The oldest version of the *Historia Alexandri Magni*, attributed to an unknown author sometimes called Pseudo-Callisthenes, is the Greek Recension α text which dates to the third century AD. This is the source of the early Armenian version which dates to the fifth century (Kroll 1926).

¹⁰ On the Armenian translation of the *Jewish Wars* and Khorenatsi's adaptation of it in the *History*, see Thomson 1978: 25-31, 57-8.

¹¹ Walsh 1958.

¹² Paulus Orosius, *Historiarum Adversum Paganos Libri VII*, The Latin Library, The Classics Page (<http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/classics.html>).

¹³ Lindsay 1911.

Fact and Fiction

R. W. Thomson, in his Introduction to his edition and translation of Khorenatsi's *History*, asks what the purpose was "in composing such an extraordinary book, in which fact and fiction, history and legend, the real and the imagined, are interwoven in a most confusing manner?" (Thomson 1978: 56). He addresses these matters, placing the work in the context of ancient and later historiographical writing. Similar issues with regard to Armenian historical texts in general are discussed by him in other contexts, including his edition of the history attributed to the seventh century bishop Sebeos (Thomson, Howard-Johnston & Greenwood 1999). Albeit Sebeos' work seems to lack an explicit motivation, it is of particular interest in that it can be dated with confidence to the mid-seventh century and has been assessed by James Howard-Johnston to be a reliable historical source, a work of real importance for the study of late antiquity.¹⁴

Returning to Khorenatsi's purpose in writing his history, while it is true that the book does indeed consist of various kinds of material, this was not particularly 'extraordinary' for the time in which it was written. Even the most sober and serious of the ancient historians were given to mixing these categories of evidence. What can be said in the context of the present enquiry is that Khorenatsi's purpose is more or less the same as that of the compilers of the Irish *Lebor Gabála* and of Geoffrey Keating who wrote a renowned and influential history of Ireland in the seventeenth century (Comyn & Dineen 1902-14). It was to reconstruct as fully as possible the earlier histories, including invasions and colonisations, of the countries concerned and, as we have indicated above, to locate these histories in the scheme of biblical and world history. Khorenatsi states that no such written histories previously existed in Armenia – "There is no study of the antiquity of our land" (Thomson 1978: 254, III 1) – and he strongly censures the "unscholarly habits of our first ancestors" (Thomson 1978: 68-9, I 3), who did not bequeath to the people any study of the antiquity of the land, remarking furthermore that the Armenians in his own day, as in the past, were not enamoured of scholarship and intellectual books. However that may be, he has written this history so that "people may read very carefully and avidly

¹⁴ See chapters by Howard-Johnston in the first volume of Thomson, Howard-Johnston & Greenwood 1999.

the history of our fatherland” (Thomson 1978: 255, III 1). A medieval Irish monastic historian, writing in the late ninth or early tenth century, similarly lambasts the foolish Irish for their failure to commit to writing their past achievements:

The foolish Irish nation, forgetful of its history, boasts of incredible or completely fabulous deeds, since it has been careless about committing to writing any of its achievements. Therefore I propose to write down the genealogies of the Irish race: firstly the race of Éber, secondly the race of Éremon, thirdly the race of Ír, and fourthly the race of Lugaid son of Íth (Byrne 1974: 137).¹⁵

Both works also set about recounting the deeds of the greatest men and ancestors of their nations (e.g. Thomson 1978: 103, I 19). They are similar to the biblical Pentateuch in this regard insofar as there is a focus in the latter on creation myths and the ancestors of the Hebrew race in Genesis and on national traditions in Exodus and other books. We recall here that the Irish scholar T. F. O’Rahilly in his great work *Early Irish History and Mythology* (1946) argued that one of the chief motives of the compilers of the *Lebor Gabála* “was a desire to unify the country by obliterating the memory of the different ethnic origins of the people” (O’Rahilly 1946: 19). What of the historicity of Khorenatsi’s book in comparison

with that of the *Lebor Gabála*?

The Armenian author in particular is at pains throughout to say that his book is based on sources which he has examined and analysed closely for historical accuracy and veracity. Yet it is clear at the same time that a goodly portion of the work is concerned with the genesis and history of the Armenian people in a mythical sacred time. This does not of course vitiate his claim to be faithfully following his sources, or that historical persons do not lurk behind heroic legendary figures, but it does call into question the nature of truth and history and the necessity of controlling such works as the *History* and *Lebor Gabála* against other sources to enable us to distinguish between fact and fiction.

¹⁵ *Imprudens Scottorum gens, rerum suarum obliuiscens, acta quasi inaudita siue nullo modo facta uindicat, quoniam minus tribuere litteris aliquid operum suorum praecurat, et ob hoc genealogias Scotigenae gentis litteris tribuam; primo gentis Ebir, secundo gentis Herimon, tertio gentis Hir, quarto gentis Lugdach meic Itha,* (O’Brien 1962: 192).

With regard to the *Lebor Gabála*, O'Rahilly took the view that it "may be described as a deliberate work of fiction, yet the compilers could not afford entirely to ignore the popular traditions which were current in their day" (1946: 193-4). This is an important comment inasmuch as popular traditions for O'Rahilly are not necessarily fictitious: he concludes, for example, that although the list of pre-Christian kings of Ireland in *Lebor Gabála* and elsewhere "is, for the most part, a work of pure fiction, and many of the names in it are obviously mythical" (O'Rahilly 1946: 161), with the person of Túathal Techtmar, an ancestor of the dominant ruling Uí Néill dynasty who defeated the *aithrech-thúatha* 'the subject peoples', we are "on the comparatively solid ground of legendary history" (O'Rahilly 1946: 161-2). Indeed, this myth of the defeat of the unfree or subject peoples appears to be very old, recalling the Indo-European myth of the defeat by representatives of the first and second functions *a là Dumézil* of those of the third. Túathal's successful campaign is told in the form of the heroic biography as is that of a number of other legendary figures of the past, such as Cormac mac Airt or Níall Noíghiallach, eponymous ancestor of the Uí Néill. Níall's historicity seems assured and F. J. Byrne (1973: 71, 66) is also inclined to regard Cormac's career as historical.¹⁶

O'Rahilly (1946: 283) disputes Cormac's historicity, but finds the bases of historical truth behind many of the early legends, and distils from the artificial invasions outlined in *Lebor Gabála* a series of actual conquests and colonisations of the country. Like the compilers of *Lebor Gabála*, Khorenatsi was also a euhemerist and Armenian ancestors such as Hayk, Aram and Ara the Handsome no doubt originate from divine figures, as do their opponents, Bel (to be identified with the Babylonian god Bel-Marduk), Barsamin and Šamiran. There may be elements of historical veracity lodged in the narratives concerning these mythical and legendary figures and their careers but without corroborating documentation, this must remain a moot point.¹⁷

Khorenatsi's avowed role of dispassionate observer who can be entirely relied upon to acknowledge his sources and not exaggerate or distort them, has also been called into question by

¹⁶ See also Ó Cathasaigh 1977 on this question with particular reference to Cormac mac Airt.

¹⁷ See Armen Petrosyan's contribution to this volume.

Thomson and other scholars, who argue that his purpose was to boost the reputation of the Bagratuni family at the expense of the Mamikoneans.¹⁸ His Bagratuni bias is clear as is the Mamikonean bias of the *Epic Histories* attributed to Faustos Buzand,¹⁹ on whose work Khorenatsi, without acknowledging his source, bases his account of events from the time of the deaths of Trdat and Saint Gregory until the division of the country between the Byzantine and Sassanian empires in 387 A.D.; according to Thomson, he likewise uses as a primary source, again without acknowledgement, the pro-Mamikonean *History* of Łazar Parpetsi for the period from 387 A.D. until the appointment of Vahan Mamikonean as governor of Eastern Armenia in 485 A.D.²⁰ Since Łazar's work was not written until c500 A.D., Khorenatsi would need to be placed at a greater remove from the fifth century than has traditionally been considered to be the case. As with the borrowings from Faustos Buzand and Łazar Parpetsi, Khorenatsi similarly borrowed extensively from Koriun's *Life of Mesrop Mashtots*, claiming indeed to have been a pupil of Mesrop's, but again giving no prominence to the Mamikonean family.²¹

The *Lebor Gabála* and the Irish genealogies likewise contain dynastic propaganda, some of it quite similar to the Armenian, and it has been argued by historians of early Ireland that one must treat the claims of this material to historical accuracy with scepticism. As D. Ó Corráin puts it:

in the world of early medieval Irish historiography, an origin is the demand the present makes upon the past, not knowledge of the past for its own sake – a much more historical pretence. To treat these texts literally as raw data

¹⁸ Thomson 1978: 46-7, 59; Garsoian 1989: 44-45.

¹⁹ Garsoian 1989.

²⁰ Thomson 1978: 49- 51. Łazar, a chronicler and historian who flourished between the mid-fifth to sixth century, was a close friend of Vahan Mamikonean who asked him to write a history of Armenia. The first part of the work deals with the history of Armenia during the period from the middle of the fourth century until the death of Mashtots in the middle of the fifth. The importance of patrons in the writing of early Armenian histories is clearly of very great importance. See Robert Bedrosian's 1985 English translation of the work.

²¹ See Norehad 1981 (English trans.); also Smbatyan & Melick-Ogadjanyan 1962 (Russian trans.). Thomson (1978: 49- 51) takes the view that Khorenatsi's work reflects a much later period when the Bagratids were gaining the upper hand over the Mamikoneans in the later eighth century.

reporting simple historical descent is to blinker oneself and, worse, to patronise as primitives the makers of the historical discourse (Ó Corráin 1998: 185).

The second Armenian traditional history, Agathangelos' *History of Saint Gregory and the Conversion of Armenia*, is concerned with the conversion of Armenia by Saint Gregory the Illuminator (c257–c331 A.D.) and is contained in a number of variants and versions.²²

Saint Gregory had come to Armenia from Caesarea in Cappadocia to evangelise the country. He had been taken to Caesarea from Armenia as a young boy to save him from being killed by king Trdat, whose father, Khosrov, had been murdered by Gregory's father Anak, a Parthian Arsacid noble. Brought up in a strong Christian tradition in Caesarea, he came to Armenia to atone for his father's crime and gained employment in the service of Trdat. When he refused to obey the king's command to venerate the goddess Anahit and take part in the idolisation of the gods, his ancestry was uncovered by Trdat, who had him persecuted and tortured. Gregory was nevertheless determined, irrespective of the price, on spreading Christianity in the country. Following the persecution, the king was changed into a wild boar.²³ Having restored Trdat to human form, St. Gregory succeeded in converting him and they became involved in a joint campaign of the destruction of pagan temples and the eradication of idol worship. In fact there were a number of campaigns – three according to A. Carière – during which the pagan temples and sanctuaries were destroyed.²⁴ This campaign appears to have been supported by the nobles and elite but was clearly at odds with the beliefs of the people, a situation not unlike that which transpired in early Ireland. Trdat's campaign of persecution against Christians in Armenia coincides with a pattern of such persecution at various times during the third century.

²² See Thomson's (1976) edition.

²³ While Thomson translates Trdat's condition as some sort of mental affliction ("demon possession", Thomson 1976: 219), Garsoïan (1982: 153, esp. notes 32–4), argues that the king is actually metamorphosed into a wild pig, or, more accurately, into a wild boar (*varaz*): his transformation is intended to be real. See p. 14 and note 26 below.

²⁴ See Carière 1899 and Hayk Hakobyan's paper in this volume who discusses the campaigns and the relationship between the legends contained in Agathangelos' history and real events.

It appears to immediately precede the great Diocletianic Persecution throughout the Roman Empire between 303 and 311 A.D. Although Emperor Constantine the Great legalised Christianity as a religion of the Roman Empire in 313 A.D., and albeit both Christian and pagan worship were permitted from then until 391 A.D., the cult of martyrs continued to flourish. Constantine began the persecution of pagans towards the latter part of his reign and towards the end of the fourth century, in 392 A.D., Theodosius I passed legislation prohibiting pagan worship altogether (MacMullen 1984).

The location of the principal pagan temples is of importance in not only throwing light on the process of conversion but also, when compared with other sources, in contributing to our understanding of some of the main pagan gods worshipped in the country at this time. Although the text states that Saint Gregory went to the four corners of Armenia, Garsoïan (1999) argues that the only location mentioned in the south of the country is Ashtishat in south west Taron where he destroyed the shrines of the divinities Vahagn, Anahit and Astlik and first made a beginning at building churches at these shrines.²⁵ However, his attention remained focused on Vatarshapat. That there was a Christian community in southern Greater Armenia preceding Saint Gregory's mission is certain and indeed it appears to be likely that the main centre of Christianity was originally in Taron, subsequently transferred in later tradition, according to Garsoïan, to Vatarshapat (Etchmiadzin). This is supported by the *Epic Histories* of Faustos Buzand (Book III §14) where it is clearly stated that the first church of Armenia was in Taron:

He (Daniel) was of Syrian race and held the dignity of the chief throne of Taron, of the great and first church of the mother-of-the-churches in all Armenia. That is to say of the first and foremost place of honor, for [it was] there [that] the holy church was built for the first time and an altar raised in the name of the Lord (Garsoïan 1989: 86).

²⁵ Hakobyan refers to “the geographically disproportionate character of the destroyed temples’ distribution” and discusses in some detail the number and location of the temples.

Further to this is the fact that the Armenian Church traces its apostolic origins back to the apostle Thaddeus or Addai who had come from the Mesopotamian city of Edessa, thus probably linking the early Church with southern Syria and Antioch. Khorenatsi, in his second book, refers to the fifth century Armenian adaptation of the Syriac *Teaching of the Apostle Addai* (the Labubna) which has Thaddeus evangelise the East (Thomson 1978: 39-40). He would have known of this tradition from Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* which tells of the correspondence between the king of Edessa, Abgar, and Jesus and the subsequent conversion of Abgar to Christianity by Saint Thaddeus.

The same question concerning fact and fiction as was raised with regard to Khorenatsi's *History of Armenia* and the Irish *Lebor Gabála* applies both to Agathangelos' work and to the seventh century Lives of Saint Patrick, the patron saint of Ireland, by Muirchú moccu Mactheni in his *Vita Sancti Patricii* and Bishop Tírechán in his biography (known as *Collectanea*) of the same saint. Essentially, these works are hagiographical documents (Tírechán less so than the others) which contain many of the typical characteristics of the genre. They constitute heroic biographies of their respective saints, portraying them as performing miraculous and supernatural feats, withstanding tortures of the most vile kind in the case of Gregory, or, in the case of Patrick, battling with pagan druids in thaumaturgic contests and overcoming them. Both also appear to have elements of the Expulsion and Return formula of the international pattern: Patrick was taken prisoner from his home in Britain and spent his early years in captivity as a shepherd in County Antrim before making good his escape, only to return later, as Gregory did, to evangelise the country. These hagiographical documents draw heavily on canonical and apocryphal scriptures and the saints portrayed in them are based on Old and New Testament figures such as Moses, Elijah, John the Baptist and Jesus himself.

This is not to say that there is no historical truth whatsoever in the two narratives. For example, the Roman Emperor Diocletian is explicitly connected by Agathangelos with the persecution of Christians which in Armenia occurred following the Roman invasion of the country. It appears that there was an understanding between the Emperor and Trdat that this would not occur and that the unexpected invasion brought on the latter's illness.

The narrative also says that the Emperor wished to marry the beautiful young nun Saint Rhipsimē, who rejected his advances and fled to Armenia to avoid him. The Emperor then contacted King Trdat, exhorting him to persecute Christians and intercede on his behalf with regard to Rhipsimē. Trdat himself, however, became obsessively enamoured of the virgin's beauty, only to be similarly rebuffed by her. He then had both herself, her guardian Saint Gayanē, and others suffer the death of martyrs during his persecution of Christians. It is possible that the invasion was unexpected and was carried out in spite of tacit understandings to the contrary between Rome and Trdat, but the historical veracity of the details of these events as narrated by Agathangelos is clearly open to conjecture. Much regarding the nature and detail of the persecution and torture is highly doubtful: Gregory's torture in the pit, for example, resembles that of Daniel in the Den of Lions and appears to be an embroidered account of his sufferings.

One of the purposes of the Agathangelos work was to demonstrate unequivocally St Gregory's position as the first Catholicos, the one who founded the Armenian Apostolic Church's hierarchical structure and established it as the pre-eminent religious authority in the land. This is linked also to the establishment and promotion of the new see of the Church at Vafarshapat rather than in the south west of the country in Taron. Agathangelos merely gives a nod to the importance of Taron as to do otherwise might undermine one of the primary purposes of the narrative which is to promote Vafarshapat.

The same is true of Muirchú's *Life of Saint Patrick* insofar as his aim is to give the seal of historical truth and approval, through the person and actions of Saint Patrick himself, to the claim of primacy by Armagh to the leadership of the Church in Ireland. In linking the ancestors of the dominant Uí Néill dynasty with Armagh, his intention was to sever their attachment to their own saint, Colum Cille, and form an alliance between them and Saint Patrick's Armagh.

The conversion of King Trdat by Saint Gregory is paralleled in the Irish record by the activities of Saint Patrick in seeking to convert the pagan king Lóegaire of Tara. Initially, both the kings, and the pagan priests of Armenia and druids of Ireland, bitterly opposed the saints. Lóegaire is expressly compared with Nebuchadnezzar and Trdat's demonic ravings and transformation

into a wild pig (or wild boar) are similarly compared in Agathangelos to the Babylonian king's condition.²⁶ Here below is Muirchú's description of Lóegaire's pagan celebrations at Tara,

which he calls the Babylon of the Irish, and, in contravention of regal edict, Saint Patrick's lighting of the Paschal fire on the neighbouring Hill of Slane before the king's fire had been lit:

- (1) It so happened in that year that a feast of pagan worship was being held, which the pagans used to celebrate with many incantations and magic rites and other superstitious acts of idolatry.
- (2) There assembled the kings, satraps, leaders, princes, and the nobles of the people; furthermore, the druids, the fortune-tellers, and the inventors and teachers of every craft and every skill were also summoned to king Lóegaire at Tara, their Babylon, as they had been summoned at one time to Nebuchodonosor, and they held and celebrated their pagan feast on the same night on which holy Patrick celebrated Easter.
- (3) They also had a custom, which was announced to all publicly, that whosoever in any district, whether far or near, should have lit a fire on that night before it was lit in the king's house, that is in the palace of Tara, would have forfeited his life.
- (4) Holy Patrick, then, celebrating Holy Easter, kindled the divine fire with its bright light and blessed it, and it shone in the night and was seen by almost all the people who lived in the plain.
- (5) Thus the fire from his tent happened to be seen at Tara, and as they saw it they all gazed at it and wondered. And the king called together the elders and said to them: 'Who is the man who has dared to do such a wicked thing in my kingdom? He shall die.' They all replied that they did not

²⁶ Cf. Agathangelos, *History of the Armenians*, Chapter 6, §212: "An impure demon struck the king and knocked him down from his chariot. Then he began to rave and to eat his own flesh. And in the likeness of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, he lost his human nature for the likeness of wild pigs" (Thomson 1976: 217). On Nebuchadnezzar, see Book of Daniel, Chapter 4. Trdat's condition appears to be based on the account of him losing his sanity and living in the wilderness like an animal for seven years. When his sanity is restored, he gives thanks to God and honours him.

know who had done it, but the druids answered: ‘King, may you live forever! Unless this fire which we see, and which has been lit on this night before the (fire) was lit in your house, is extinguished on this same night on which it has been lit, it will never be extinguished at all’ (Bieler 1979: 84-7, I 15(14)).

This divine fire and light represent the new Christian faith and religion which will spread across the land. This may be compared with the Agathangelos account of Saint Gregory the Illuminator’s wonderful vision of the celestial city which also explicitly explains the allegorical nature of what is revealed to the saint (§§736-56, Thomson 1976: 277-97). In the middle of the city was a circular base of gold, the immovable rock of the establishment (*cf.* Matt. 7.25), upon which was a tall column of fire, identified as being the Catholic Church. Saint Gregory also saw three further red-coloured bases with columns, where Saint Rhipsimē and her thirty-two companions, and the other Armenian Christians, had been martyred. On the summit was a divine throne of fire with the Lord’s cross above it, around which spread light in every direction. This light was the Spirit of God, and the light shining from the midst of the four columns was the grace of the Spirit which would flow from the Catholic Church. Saint Gregory was instructed to build the temple, the cathedral of the Armenian Apostolic Christian Church, at Vatarshapat, where the fiery column has its base of gold. From here the tenets of the new Faith would be radiated throughout the land.

The motif of the light of the sacred fire spreading to the four cardinal points of the land is not confined to the Christian tradition in the two countries. We shall return to this matter later in more detail but it may be noted here in passing that it is a pervasive theme in early Irish tradition.²⁷ For example, Uisnech, the centre of Ireland and a prehistoric royal cult site, was the place from which the chief druid of Ireland, Mide, lit the first fire whose flames shed over the four quarters of the country. From it, every chief fire and hearth in Ireland was kindled, entitling Mide’s successors to a tax from every house in the land. At Uisnech also there was situated a secret well which was reputed to be the source of the twelve chief rivers of Ireland.²⁸

²⁷ Mac Mathúna 2010: 12-25.

²⁸ Rees and Rees 1961: 160, Mac Mathúna 2010: 13.

Eyewitness Testimony, Hearsay and Oral Transmission

The claim in the Conclusion to Agathangelos' work that he was either an eyewitness to the events narrated in the text or that he had heard oral reports of them is intended to lend veracity to the so-called 'chronicle' and reflects the nature of historiographical writing at the time. He says:

Now according to your command, King Drtad, we have written all this down as a chronicle in the literary style of the Greeks. Like the Old Testament prophets and rulers, we have put down these events for future generations everywhere to read and learn from; *we have not set them down from old tales but according to what we ourselves saw and heard* (Thomson 1976: 430; my emphasis).

Similarly, the author of the *Epic Histories* speaks as a contemporary or eyewitness of events which took place in the fourth century, which, as Garsoian points out is "patently impossible" (1989: 6) given that the Armenian alphabet was not created until the beginning of the fifth century.

Early historians, such as Josephus, took the view that history to be true should be written within living memory and hence eyewitness accounts by those who actually participated in the events were essential. In the Preface to his *Jewish Wars* (1.1), he says:

...while some men who were not concerned in the affairs themselves have gotten together vain and contradictory stories by hearsay, and have written them down after a sophisticated manner; and while those that were there present have given false accounts of things, and this either out of a humor of flattery to the Romans, or of hatred towards the Jews; and while their writings contain sometimes accusations, and sometimes encomiums, but no where the accurate truth of the facts (my emphasis).

He claims that modern historians do not stand up against their earlier colleagues, who he highly commends:

For of old every one took upon them to write what happened in his own time; where their immediate concern in the actions made their promises of value; and where it must be reproachful to write lies, when they must be

known by the readers to be such. Yet shall the real truth of historical facts be preferred by us, how much so ever it be neglected among the Greek historians (my emphasis).

Indeed Thucydides and Polybius, who were Josephus' models, felt that the veracity of the history was enhanced if the eyewitness or writer was actually involved in the events, as Josephus claimed to be. Thucydides (1.22-3) says:

And with reference to the narrative of events, far from permitting myself to derive it from the first source that came to hand, I did not even trust my own impressions, *but it rests partly on what I saw myself, partly on what others saw for me, the accuracy of the report being always tried by the most severe and detailed tests possible.* My conclusions have cost me some labour from the want of coincidence between accounts of the same occurrences by different eye-witnesses, arising sometimes from imperfect memory (my emphasis).

Polybius (*Histories*, 12.27) is equally, if not more, explicit. In his critique of Timaeus, he refers to eyewitness authority as being the cornerstone of historical writing:

But personal investigation demands great exertion and expense; though it is exceedingly advantageous, and in fact is the very corner-stone of history. This is evident from the writers of history themselves. Ephorus says, *“If writers could only be present at the actual transactions, it would be far the best of all modes of learning.”* Theopompus says, *“The best military historian is he who has been present at the greatest number of battles; the best speech maker is he who has been engaged in most political contests”* (my emphasis).

An unbroken series of named eyewitnesses which preferably circulated in accounts independent of one another was of the highest historical order. While it is true that written sources become increasingly important during the Christian period, the collection of oral reports remained a central plank of good historical writing.

Khorenatsi points out on various occasions that he has included “what is taken from books and similarly from wise men learned

in these matters, from whom we have attempted to make a judicious collection of antiquarian lore” (*History* I 19), and refers, for example, to old unwritten tales that circulated among the wise men of the Greeks whom he names, one of these being a certain Olympiodorus, who mentions that many tales have come down by tradition and were circulated by villagers who retell them to his own day. Having given such an oral account from Olympiodorus about Xisuthros based on a lost book, Khorenatsi clarifies his historical methodology when he says that “I am repeating in this book all that comes from hearsay and from books so that you may know everything and understand the sincerity of my regard for you” (*History*, I 6).

If the series of oral reports is broken by a long period of anonymous general oral tradition, the question of truth becomes more problematic. Hence, we find Khorenatsi using expressions such as “they say” or “as we have heard”. As Thomson (1978: 10) says: “he can be referring to tales about Armenian heroes of the past, to various noble families’ claims to ancient pedigrees, or to stories about foreign lands”. This is not to say that the general oral tradition cannot be used or that the events it relates did not take place but it does suggest that one must proceed with caution in seeking to separate fact from fiction. Garsoïan, for example, argues that oral transmission lies at the heart of the *Epic Histories* whose author, unlike Khorenatsi, does not cite specific sources and seems to have composed independently of written authority:

Oral transmission, then, is the fundamental key to the problem of the sources in the *Epic Histories*, whatever their ultimate origin ... their author does not seem to have been in any sense a learned man or to have searched for written evidence on which to base his account. His main source of information, as indicated by the very title of the work, was the living, oral tradition of Armenia’s immediate past and the tales and songs still related by bards [*gusans*] in his own time. As a result he is our main source for the evidently vast oral literature of Early Christian Armenia, to which we have almost no other access (Garsoïan 1989: 30).

Notwithstanding the fact that the *Epic Histories* fail to identify authorities and sources, lack a clear chronological frame,

and contain inaccuracies and distortions, she argues that their reliance on oral materials is in line with the Iranian epic approach to historical narrative (Garsoïan 1989: 54). More importantly for present purposes, with respect to the historical veracity of the *Histories*, the same scholar holds that:

they are an accurate reflection of a living society ... a compilation, admittedly chaotic at times, of varied materials bearing on the events, institutions, customs, and beliefs of fourth-century Armenia set out in the order of successive generations, through which the complexities and contradictions of a society in transition from a still surviving Iranian past to fervent Christianity, yet fully aware of itself as a distinct entity, have been transmitted more successfully than might have been possible through a narrower and more synthesized approach (Garsoïan 1989: 54).

Irrespective of the actual veracity of the details, the Armenian histories were generally believed to be true by those who read and heard them and they became the established authority on the subject. This was also true up until recent times of *Lebor Gabála* and of a range of other Irish 'historical' texts in which the eyewitness account is of the essence. In many tales, ancients and ancestors are said to either have lived for centuries and are therefore in a position to verify and authenticate past traditions which they themselves witnessed and/or participated in or they are resurrected from the dead in order to perform this function.²⁹ Two such ancients were Fintan mac Bóchra, husband of Noah's granddaughter Cessair, who outlived the Flood and survived for many centuries by means of being reborn in various animal forms, and Tuán mac Cairill, another antediluvian shapeshifter who realised a number of rebirths and survived into Christian times becoming a hermit and recluse.³⁰

The methodology adopted by early Irish historians is that the remote past was not directly recoverable: history was a study of the probable truth or otherwise of historical documents and memories rather than the factual truth of the remote past itself (Toner 2005).

²⁹ See Nagy 1983.

³⁰ For further discussion of this matter, see John Carey's article in this volume.

Hence, in many early texts reference is frequently made to sources which have different versions of events under discussion, a matter already discussed by early classical historians such as Herodotus. In relying heavily on the sifting of documents and employing the method of the eyewitness account, the Irish historians were demonstrably working within the accepted classical historiographical paradigm. They were also following in the footsteps of Isidore of Seville who makes a distinction between *historia* ‘true things that happened’ (*res verae quae factae sunt*) and *fabula* ‘things that neither happened nor could happen because they are contrary to nature’ (... *quae nec factae sunt nec fieri possunt, quia contra naturam sunt*) (Lindsay 1911: I xlvi.5). The eyewitness account is singled out as being the most authoritative ‘for what is seen is related without lies’ (*quae enim videntur, sine mendacio proferuntur*) (Lindsay 1911: I xli.1).

While Khorenatsi says that only reliable accounts should be accepted, he also adds that different versions from books and other written sources must be compared (Thomson 1978: I 19; II 13, 75), and if there are conflicting reports, or if what happened is difficult to determine, the historian should explore the problem and not ascribe unwarranted reliability to one account over the other (Thomson 1978: II 64). He takes a stand sometimes on the reliability of sources, opting for the one over the other. Thomson (1978: 10) points out that:

Once he uses the phrase “as is said” to refute a written source, without so noting explicitly (I 17, n. 3); and another time he refers to what “some unreliable men say” (I 22) to give a different version.

Khorenatsi makes a distinction between tales and fables, the former having an acceptable historical basis, the latter being exaggerated and false (*History*, II 8) but often having allegorical significance (*History*, II 42). When reviewing the accounts of what he calls earlier storytellers who wrote about events from the Creation to the Flood and the subsequent voyage of Xisuthros to Armenia, he says that “sometimes they tell the truth, sometimes they lie” (*History*, I 6). He then proceeds to present the version of Berossus, the famous ancient Mesopotamian historian, his “beloved Sybil... who is more truthful than most other historians” (*History*, I 6), pointing out that, irrespective of whether others consider the events as narrated to be

fables or the truth, he is nonetheless persuaded that there is much truth to them. On occasions, he steps back from taking a stand on the veracity or otherwise of the sources, stating, for example, with regard to the taking of the land by Xisuthros and his sons that “the descendants of Aram make mention of these things in the ballads for the lyre and their song and dances. And whether these tales are false or true is of no concern to us” (*History*, I 6.80).

This recalls the famous colophon at the end of the Book of Leinster version of *Táin Bó Cúailnge* which runs as follows:

But I who have written this (*historia*), or rather this (*fabula*), give no credence to the various incidents related in it. For some things in it are the deceptions of demons, others poetic figments; some resemble the truth, others not; others are for the delectation of foolish men.³¹

Like Khorenatsi, the author of the colophon makes historical judgements about what he thinks is probable and what is not probable, and although he dismisses much of the work as fabulous, he nevertheless finds a core of historical truth in it. The first line of the colophon suggests that the usual term used for the *Táin* was *historia*, and the fact the scribe felt it necessary to comment on the truth-value of the text suggests that other scholars accepted it as a true account.³²

The History of Vardan and the Armenian War by Elishē (Elisæus), also known as Vardapet Elishē, deals with the resistance of the Christian Armenians against the persecution of the Sassanian Persians, whose King Yazhert (Yazdegerd II, c438-57 A.D.) viewed Christianity as the enemy and engaged in a violent campaign to establish and strengthen Zoroastrianism.³³ This work, and *The History of Lazar Parpetsi*,³⁴ describes the Armenian revolt of 450/451 A.D. against Sassanian rule and the treatment and fate of prisoners in Iran. The hero of the piece is Vardan Mamikonean, who refuses to be converted and chooses exile as a Christian rather

³¹ *Sed ego qui scripsi hanc historiam aut uerius fabulam quibusdam fidem in hac historia aut fabula non accomodo. Quaedam enim ibi sunt praestrigia demonum, quaedam autem figmenta poetica, quaedam similia uero, quaedam non, quaedam ad delectationem stultorum* (See C. O’Rahilly 1967: ll. 492¹-5; Schlüter 2009: 27).

³² Poppe 1999: 37; Toner 2000, 2005.

³³ Thomson 1982, *id.*, 1982a: 136-7; ed. Tēr-Minasean 1957.

³⁴ See Thomson 1982a: 136, esp. n. 5 for further reading on the subject.

than a life under the Sassanian yoke.³⁵ The work emphasises the centrality of the Church and presents a code of conduct for Armenian Christians.

This type of work is also represented in early Irish Christian sources in various monastic rules and other Church writings but one must wait until the reconquest by the Tudors of England in the sixteenth and later centuries to experience a similar persecution of Roman Catholics in Ireland. The reconquest, which sought to extirpate the native language and culture and effect a change of religion to Protestantism, elicited from native clergy and *literati* a strong Counter-Reformation response, spearheaded by clergy who were educated in Irish Colleges on the Continent of Western Europe. The response included not only the production of Catholic texts written in the Irish language, many of which were of a polemical nature, but also the assembling and sifting of historical and religious documents, written in both Irish and Latin, and the publication of milestone works of scholarship in these domains which amounted to a harvesting and restatement of past events and achievements and a recovery of the ancient voice and culture of the Irish in face of concerted colonial efforts to silence it.

One of these texts was *Forus Feasa ar Éirinn* 'A Basis of Knowledge about Ireland', written in the 1630s by the Bordeaux-educated Dominican priest Geoffrey Keating (Seathrún Ceitinn).³⁶ His work traces the history of Ireland from its origins to the Norman invasion of the twelfth century. He presents a national vision of a country with an independent sophisticated culture and civilisation of great antiquity going back to the time of Adam, a country which incorporated Irish people of Gaelic and Norman descent of the Catholic Faith and excluded later Protestant and colonial arrivistes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Keating, like Khorenatsi, normally says what his sources are, and he takes historians such as Giraldus Cambrensis,³⁷ Richard Stanihurst (1584), Sir John Davies (1612) and others to task for their failure to present a true history of Ireland. They failed not simply because of their bias against the Irish but because they ignored the Irish language historical documentary sources. In other words, he takes them to task for being poor historians.

³⁵ On the Mamikoneans, see Toumanoff 1969.

³⁶ Comyn & Dineen 1902-14.

³⁷ Scott & Martin 1978; O'Meara 1982.

For the most part, Keating used the same methodology employed by the earlier synchronic Irish historians while simultaneously providing a critical guide to a number of non-Irish writers and contemporary historical scholarship. In this regard, B. Cunningham (2004: 83) states that his methodology was similar to that of Thomas Messingham, whose book on Ireland's saints, *Florilegium insulae sanctorum*, was published in Paris in 1624. Keating names English authors such as Bede, Nennius, Geoffrey of Monmouth, John Speed, Raphael Holinshed, William Camden, George Buchanan, John Milton and Hector Boece and lists his Gaelic sources as including *Lebor Gabála, Réim ríoghraidhe* ('Succession of the Kings of Ireland'), *Lebor na gCert, Cóir Anmann, the Psalter of Cashel* (a lost manuscript compiled c1000 A.D. and highly valued by later historians and scribes), *Leabhar Ard Mhacha, Leabhar na hUachongmhála, Saltair na Rann, Leabhar Glinne-dá-loch*, biblical, patristic and Classical literature, Irish annals and genealogies, king and hero tales, and *dindshenchas* or place-name lore.³⁸

The History of Vardan is similar to the other two Armenian historical works discussed above in the manner in which the demonic nature of the purveyors of paganism are depicted. In Agathangelos (§§778-81, Thomson 1976: 316-21), for example, the king, on his way to Artashat to destroy the altars of the goddess Anāhit, came across on the road the shrine of the god Tir, "the interpreter of dreams, the scribe of pagan learning, who was called the secretary of Ormizd, a temple of learned instruction," (Thomson 1976: 317). The king and his men destroyed and razed the shrine but only its defenders had taken the visible form of demons and rushed at them with lances, javelins and spears. Saint Gregory intervened and dispersed the demons who went to the Caucasus, ceaselessly beating the air because St. Gregory, in their own words, "has separated us from the habitation of men" (Agathangelos §780, Thomson 1976: 319). It is also reported that "the demons appeared in the places of worship of the most important shrines of the Armenian kings" (§786, Thomson 1976: 325). In *The History of Vardan*, the *mogpet* or chief *magus* of the Persian king, Yazdegerd II, who was better informed of Zoroastrian laws than many of the wise men, was uncontrollably zealous in persecuting Christians

³⁸ See Comyn and Dineen 1902: 78. For a list and discussion of his sources, both native and foreign, see Cunningham 2004: 59-101.

and became so inflamed with anger that he was like an inextinguishable fire, gnashing his teeth as if he were fatally wounded (Thomson 1982: 93) the king himself was said to have been:

like an evil demon, thundering like a dragon, roaring like a wild beast, shaking his whole worldwide empire as if it would crack and scatter in its entirety over the hills, hollows, valleys ... I have sworn by the sun, the great god who with his rays illuminates the whole universe and with his warmth gives life to all existing things, unless tomorrow morning, at the rising of the splendid one, each of you bends his knee to him with me, confessing him as god, I shall not cease to bring upon you every form of affliction and torture until you fulfil the desires of my commands (Thomson 1982: 96).

It appears from the description in Agathangelos that the demons have become winged creatures of the air somewhat on a par with the birds encountered by Saint Brendan in the *Navigatio Brendani* (§11) who explain that they had fallen with Lucifer when he rebelled against the Lord and that they now wander ceaselessly through the air and the firmament. Since they had not taken sides in the conflict between God and Lucifer, they can see God's presence but are separated from him. In the Irish folk tradition, the *sídhe* or Otherworld people, are sometimes equated with these fallen angels or spirits cast out of heaven. As neutral fallen angels, they are also depicted as demons who are sometimes given a little respite from their woes, unlike, it would seem, the demons described by Agathangelos.³⁹

II. The Eremetical Tradition

In this section, we continue with the theme of 'witness' as it relates to the eremetical tradition. The original meaning of the word 'martyr' in Greek (μάρτυς, stem μάρτυρ-) was 'witness' or 'testimony given by a witness' and it was used in both the secular and religious domains. Jesus was the first great Christian martyr to suffer death for bearing witness to his beliefs. Later, in the early Church, the testimony of many Christians who bore witness to

³⁹ See Dando 1980: 259-76; Carey 1984: 101-2; Mac Mathúna 2007: 118-22.

Jesus and the gospel was not accepted by the authorities and they, too, were persecuted and put to death.

Following the decrease in the number of martyrs, pilgrimage and the cult of the holy places began to play an increasingly important role in the Church. As persecution decreased, Christians sought new ways of closely following Christ and bearing witness, and the eremetical tradition was one of the principal means by which this was attained, following Christ by separating oneself from this world. This was a form of what was called *bánmartre* ('white martyrdom') in Early Irish, as opposed to *dercmartre* ('red martyrdom'), the suffering of death on account of one's beliefs.⁴⁰

It is clear from the Armenian *Histories* and other sources that the eremetical tradition, whereby holy men spent long periods in solitude in isolated and deserted places, with no stable dwellings, was a central plank of the Apostolic Church from the outset. According to Agathangelos (§839, Thomson 1976: 372-3), Saint Gregory frequently went to live in solitude in the deserted mountains, making his dwelling in grottoes and caverns and living on a diet of herbs. He brought pupils with him and they spent their time in prayer and mortification. He took as his example Elijah and John the Baptist. Finally he withdrew entirely to the Cave of Manē and died there (§861-2, Thomson 1976: 398-9). In the *History of Vardan*,⁴¹ it is said of its author, Elishē, that at he separated from his brothers and made his dwelling in a place of solitude in the desert. His day consisted of prayer and supplication, he lived on a diet of herbs, was dressed in a garment of hide and goat skins, and spent his time wandering in caves and mountains and holes in the ground. He dwelt in a cave called 'Elishē's Cave'. Daniel of Tarōn dwelt in uninhabited mountains and in a little cave in a small wood, wore only a garment of skins and sandals, and lived of the roots of plants. His disciple, Epiphanius, lived on top of a mountain called "The Throne of Anahit" and in the desert in rocky caves with the wild beasts as his companions.⁴¹

Irish Saints' Lives, the earliest extant ones which are written in Hiberno-Latin, date from the seventh century and treat of the conversion of the country to Christianity. Two Lives of St Patrick

⁴⁰ A third form of witness and pilgrimage was called *glasmartre* 'green martyrdom' which entailed fasting and labour, "or suffering toil in penance and repentance"

(Henry 1966: 32, note 1).

⁴¹ Garsoïan 1989: xiv, 48-9; quoted by Garsoïan 1999: 211.

and two of St Brigit belong to this period and treat of events and protagonists of the fifth century; the Life of St Columba deals with events in the sixth century. These texts were written at a time when the hagiographical tradition and the cult of the saints had been firmly established in both the East and the West.

While Sulpicius Severus's *Vita Martini* exercised a very significant influence on Irish hagiography (Picard 1985), the *Vita Antonii* by Athanasius, in Evagrius's Latin translation, was also well-known in the monastic schools of Ireland (Bertrand 2006). *The Life of St Paul of Thebes*, or Paul the Anchorite († c341 A.D.), as told by St Jerome in *Vita Pauli primi eremiti* (Migne 1845), and the lives of other Egyptian ascetics would similarly have been known to early Irish Christianity. The Lives of these clerics, hermits and saints, encompassing the ideal of leaving one's own place to seek out a *terra deserta* or wilderness for the sake of God, were to have a profound influence on the Irish Church and Irish ascetism. The initial impetus of witness also led to the great exodus of Irish pilgrim exiles, *perigrini*, to Scotland, England and Continental Europe, often never to return again (called in Old Irish *ailithre cen tintiúid* 'other-landness without returning') where they contributed so immensely to missionary activity and the development of Christianity and scholarship during the Dark Ages (Henry 1965: 29ff.). The eremitic ideal further led to the development of one of the most appealing genres of literature in Medieval Irish, the *immram* or voyage tradition, and to the *Céli Dé* movement of the eighth century which gave a major fillip in the ninth and tenth centuries to the production of hermit-nature and penitential poetry (Henry 1965: 40-66).

Together with the rise of coenobitic ascetism under the direction of Pachomius in the fourth century in Upper Egypt, the ideals of both anchoritic and communal life spread widely throughout the Roman provinces. Indeed, the anchoritic ideal, as exemplified by Paul the Hermit, St Antony and Syrian ascetics, was already well-grounded in Egypt and Syria before Pachomius.

There was, it is true, a difference in the conditions under which the Egyptian and Syrian ascetics lived their lives inasmuch as the searing heat and harsh conditions of the Egyptian desert forced the ascetic to either remain within his cell far removed from others or to stay alone in his cell within a community as in coenobitic monasteries. In Syria, on the other hand, the terrain was

not true desert and climatic conditions were not as harsh as in Egypt so that ascetics could move about from place to place in the mountains and wilderness practising extreme forms of self-mortification and disciplining the body (Conrad 1995). Some religious also gathered on the outskirts of villages and towns or wandered about in more deserted surroundings to seek greater degrees of solitude.

It is not surprising that early forms of eremitic life in Armenia, given the climatic conditions and the proximity and influence of Syria, are concerned with the anchoritic ascetic life and also often involve wandering from place to place. The spread of the Egyptian models to Palestine, Syria and Asia Minor served to sustain and underpin this earlier tradition.

On the other hand, the communal life, as exemplified by the foundations of Sts Basil and Cassian, influenced greatly the early established Armenian Apostolic Church and, by the mid-fourth century, had spread to the province of Gaul. The communal life involving *stabilitas* flourished in Gaul, and the rule of St Benedict, partly modelled on that of St Basil, had a major influence on the development and form of Irish monasticism leading to both the establishment of larger stable communities and, together with the influence of anchoritic ascetism, to many smaller ones along the rugged western Atlantic seaboard and in other deserted places. Possibly due to the degeneracy of the older religious establishments, some religious took up abode in a *dísert* ^{desert}, attached to a monastery or close to it, where they could lead a more devout life while being able to share in the religious life of the church (Kenney 1929: 468). In this regard, early Irish practice partly mirrors that of Egypt, Syria and Armenia.

The most famous Irish voyage text, written in Latin and perhaps composed as early as 800 A.D., is the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis*, the voyage of Saint Brendan, known to later tradition as Brendan, the Navigator (Selmer 1959). This text, and many other early Irish voyage tales, such *Immram Curaig Máele Dúin*, 'The Voyage of Mael Dúin', contain cameos of Irish hermits with only their hair covering their bodies who are engaged in renouncing the body, fasting, or eking out a living in caves, rocks or grottoes on deserted islands fed by the Lord on a morsel of fish

and a little water.⁴² The account from Chapter XXVI of the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani* of Brendan and his monks meeting Paul the Hermit on a deserted island is ultimately dependant for its inspiration on the description of Paul the Hermit in the Theban desert as presented in the *Vita Antonii*. In the *Vita*, it is related that Paul went to the desert and lived in a cave beside a clear spring until he was 43 years old, with a palm tree nearby, the leaves of which provided his clothing. Then a raven started bringing him half a loaf of bread daily. He remained in his cave for about another 100 years. Saint Antony visited him in the desert when he was 113 years old.

III. Myth and Legend

Notwithstanding the presence of a Christian community in Armenia before St. Gregory, the country as presented by Agathangelos is overwhelmingly pagan at the time of conversion towards the beginning of the fourth century. He says at the beginning of the first part of the book that King Khosrov, father of Trdat, having invaded Persian territory in order to avenge the killing of the Parthian ruler Artavan, returned to Vafarshapat to celebrate his conquest and that he “honored his family’s ancestral worship sites, with white oxen, white rams, white horses and mules, and he gave a fifth of all his plundered goods to the priests. He similarly honored the temples of the idol-worshipping cults throughout the land”; and Trdat’s initial response in persecuting Saint Gregory and his followers is, of course, linked to his strong attachment to pagan belief and custom (Agathangelos §53, Thomson 1976: 65). The continuing presence of pagan beliefs and practices are clearly articulated in Faustos Buzand’s *Epic Histories*:

Idol worship in the south-western district of Taron (III.iii, xiv), the secret devotion to pagan gods (III.xiii), the casting of lots for the purpose of divination (V.xliii), and most of all, the continuation among the upper classes and indeed even at court of barbaric funeral practices unbecfitting the Christian “hope ... [in] the renewal of the resurrection” (IV.iv, xv;

V.xxxi) are repeatedly condemned by the author (Garsoïan 1989: 51).

⁴² Stokes 1888-9; Oskamp 1970; Mac Mathuna 1997.

We are mindful of the fact that Zoroastrianism, which exercised a very strong influence on Armenian culture, did not place the same emphasis on ascetism as did Christianity and considered wealth to be in tune with the spiritual life. Russell (1985: 447-58) draws attention to the association between Phl. *xwarrah* (Av. *x^varənah* - 'glory') and *rāyōmandih* 'the possession of riches', pointing out that various *yazatas* are invoked by a formula in which their wealth and glory are coupled, and notes the scorn with which Agathangelos (§126) chronicles the prayer of Trdat for 'fullness of abundance from manly Aramazd' (*lūt' iun parartut' ean yaroyñ Aramazday*);⁴³ the word *parart* 'fat, rich' appears to be a Middle Iranian loanword, the whole thing suggesting "that richness was regarded as a particular attribute of the Creator Himself by Armenian Zoroastrians" (Russell 1985: 448).

Similarly, throughout the span of medieval and Early Modern Irish literature, the relationship between wealth, power and praise poetry is a pervasive theme. The fame and wealth of princes are dependant on their justice, prowess and generosity – their *fīr flathemon* – which is extolled by the poets (*filid*) who exercised a religious and spiritual function which they had partly inherited from the druids, the sacerdotal class in early Celtic society before the advent of Christianity.

With regard to Avestan tradition, *x^varənah* - is the luminous fiery substance associated with the righteous king. It was seized by Apam Napat (Vedic *Apām Napāt* 'Descendant of the Waters') and deposited for safekeeping by him in Lake Vourukasa.

In early Irish tradition, *Topur Nechtain* 'the Well of Nechtan', whose name corresponds to *Neptunus* and (*Apām*) *Napāt* (IE **nept-*, **nepot-* 'sister's son, nephew') was located in Nechtan's *síd* or otherworld dwelling. If anyone looked into this well his eyes would burst, such was the luminosity issuing from it. This well, also called the well of Segais, is associated with the dispensation of regal qualities of wisdom and poetic science. It is the well out of which the poets drink their knowledge, similar to the Indian *khā r. tasya* 'the well of truth' and the Norse *Mímisbrunnr*, from which Odinn receives his great knowledge.⁴⁴

⁴³ Cit. from Russell 1985: 448; Thomson (1976: 139) translates "abundant fertility from noble Aramazd".

⁴⁴ See further Mac Mathúna 2010: 23, 35.

The cult of Enki, the Sumerian “Lord of the Earth”, the *en-abzu* “Lord of the Abyss” and of the underground freshwater ocean, is also the supreme god of wisdom the keeper of the divine *Me*. His is one of the earliest water cults to be documented, going back to at least the third millennium BC, and spreading under the name of Ea throughout Mesopotamia into the Assyrian, Hittite and Hurrian traditions: Enki stands at empty riverbeds filling them with his water, and is depicted with two rivers, the Tigris and Euphrates, spurting forth from his shoulders, replenishing the earth. In Babylonian and Sumerian traditions the universe, as in India, consisted first of moisture, the primeval waters, in which living creatures and gods were generated. I take him to have exercised similar functions to Varuna in Indian tradition and Manannán mac Lir/Nechtan/Lug in Irish culture.⁴⁵

His consort is *Nin-hursag* ‘Lady of the Mountain’ and goddess of waters, known as *mah* ‘The Great (Sublime) One’ or *nin-mah* ‘The Great Lady’. She is also known as *ama-dingireneka* ‘mater deorum’, identical with the Irish goddess Anu in *Sanas Cormaic*. As Heinrich Wagner (1975: 19) noted, *Nin-hursag* is reminiscent of the Irish goddess Brigit, whose name also originally means ‘The Great One’ and appears to be attested as *Brigantia* in Latin inscriptions from Britain. The Celtic tribal name *Brigantii* and the town name *Brigantio-* (*Briançon*, *Bregenz*) may also be derived from the name of the goddess. She was appropriated by the Church as one of the great saints of Ireland. We may add that Poebel (1914: 32; cit. in Wagner 1975: 19) suggested an identification between *Nin-hursag* and *Ki* ‘earth’, the consort of *An/Anu* ‘heaven’, which would underpin the idea of the primeval earth-mountain from which the world was created. This links further with Inanna (Ištar in Assyrian and Babylonian tradition), the morning and evening star, and with the goddess Anahit in Armenian tradition who appears to be modelled to some degree on the Iranian Anahitā. Given the centrality of the earth-mountain concept, it is entirely appropriate that the hermit Epiphanius, referred to above, should live on top of a mountain called “The Throne of Anahit”. Anahitā seems to have developed under the influence of Inanna/Ištar, whose lands of Mesopotamia were conquered by the Persians. Like Anahit, the goddess Astik

⁴⁵ For further discussion of Enki, see Jacobsen 1970.

(‘little star’) in the Armenian tradition is also a version of the mother-goddess. The consort of Vahagn, she has clearly been influenced by Inanna/Ištar of Sumerian/Akkadian tradition, who was also the deification of Venus, the eastern and western star. All told, we have a suggestive correspondence between the Irish Brigit and Armenian goddesses Anahit and Asthik.

Fire and Water

We have seen that the symbolism of fire figures prominently in both Agathangelos’ description of the establishment of Valarshapat and Muirchú’s account of the spread of Christianity in his Life of Saint Patrick; and reference has been made above to the pre-Christian motif of the spreading of the fire from the ritual royal centre of Uisnech in Ireland and to the importance of water as a symbol of fecundity and power emanating from this sacred site.

We will now pursue a little the link between fire and water, bearing in mind that water plays a central role in the depiction of the eremitic life in early Ireland. Agathangelos (§127, Thomson 1976: 139) refers to Trdat invoking three principal gods — Aramazd, Anahit, and Vahagn, the latter having connections with both fire and water.⁴⁶ According to Agathangelos (§809, Thomson 1976: 347), St. Gregory the Illuminator destroyed the temple of Vahagn at a place of sacrifice for the kings of Greater Armenia, which is called Ashtishat on account of the many cultic sacrifices made there, and had a chapel built to St. John the Baptist. The monastery that grew up around it remained a major centre of pilgrimage in Armenia until destroyed by the Turks in the Genocide of 1915.

Russell (2004: 318) reports that the Chapel of the Resurrection there was called *Diwatur*, the House of the Demons, and that a native of the area, one Smbat Shahnazarian, said in his memoirs that he saw huge idols and heard their voices in a cave beneath the chapel. The idea of demons or monsters or former gods dwelling in caves and in the underground is not uncommon in mythology and folk belief and was for many centuries the most dominant and persistent belief among the people of Ireland. According to early sources, the Irish believed in *in t-áes síde*

⁴⁶ See Petrosyan 2007: 174-201 (esp. 177-87) to whom I am indebted for some of these insights.

⁴⁷ On Aramazd and other gods not discussed here, see Petrosyan 2007: 174-201.

(the people of the *síde* or the fairy mounds) before the arrival of Christianity.⁴⁸ This race are generally depicted in literature and folk belief as chthonic beings living in caves and caverns, under mounds, in springs and wells, at the bottom of lakes, on islands in lakes, and on islands off the coast of Ireland. They are also described as living on islands far across the sea, sometimes also on and beneath the sea itself.⁴⁹ The underground location is conveyed in pseudo-historical and legendary sources as having occurred following the defeat of the Túatha Dé Danann by Maic Míled, the Sons of Míl, the ancestors of the Gaels. The Túatha Dé are also depicted as previous invaders and colonists, who defeated another race of giants called the Fomoiré, gaining from them the kingship of Ireland and the secrets of the fertility of the land. This appears to be another example of the exemplary Indo-European myth referred to earlier in connection with the defeat of the *aíthech-thúatha* by Túathal Techtmar, in which the Túatha Dé Danann represent the gods of the first and second functions who gain supremacy over the gods of the third function (the Fomoiré).⁵⁰

Further to the subterranean location of the demons in Armenian tradition and *in t-áes síde* ('the people of the *síde*') in Ireland, there was also a belief amongst some medieval Irish scholars in the Antipodes, located beneath the earth on its other side, a matter addressed by Dr Carey in an important paper some years ago.⁵¹ Interestingly from the comparative angle and the use of similar sources by Medieval Irish and Armenian authors, there is also an Armenian source which deals with this question: the seventh century Armenian scholar Anania Sirakac'i in the third part of his *Cosmology*, 'Concerning the Earth', considers the view of pagan philosophers that creatures live on both sides of the earth, and concludes that they do not live there, giving as his evidence a dream-vision he had in which he conversed with the sun in the form of a young beardless youth of golden countenance, clearly

⁴⁸ *For túaith Hérenn báí temel; tuatha adortis síde: ní creitset in fírdeacht inna Trindóie fíre*. 'On the folk of Ireland there was darkness; the people used to worship the *síde*: they did not believe in the true Godhead of the true Trinity' (Stokes & Strachan 1975: I.317).

⁴⁹ For further discussion, see Carey 1982-3; Mac Mathúna 2010, 2012, and 2012a (forthcoming).

⁵⁰ The Túatha Dé Danann appear to be the gods of the Gael who they had taken with them when they settled in the country.

⁵¹ See Carey 1989 and his contribution to this volume.

a reminiscence of Mithra/Mher, Armenia being one of the last strongholds of Mithraism.⁵²

As Russell (1988-9: 161, n. 2) remarks, mention of a vision of the sun recalls the ‘Song of the birth of Vahagn’ as it is preserved in the Khorenatsi’s *History* (2.31). He is also luminous – a flaming red-haired god born from a reed in the sea and associated with the waters of Lake Van. In addition to other qualities, he is a slayer of dragons (*visaps*)⁵³ who slew dragons when they grew too big in Lake Van.

The Monster in the Lake: Slaying the Serpent/Dragon

Voyage narratives often link up with the myth of the combat of the hero with the dragon/serpent/monster. Indeed most examples of the combat in the Irish tradition, and elsewhere, occur in water, particularly under water. The myth was widespread in most mythologies of the Near East and Indo-European worlds, the subjugation of the monster being a prerequisite for the proper functioning of the social order, and the wealth and peace that flow from it: this order is either non-existent or in a state of chaos, disturbed or destroyed due to violation of the principles of truth and justice upon which the cosmos rests (Old Irish *fír* (*flathemon*), ‘the (Ruler’s) Truth’, Ved. *r ta-*, Av. *asa*). The myth is represented by such legends as that of Marduk and Tiamat in Babylonian tradition, Bel and the dragon in the third of the apocryphal additions to

⁵² “‘For although it was known to me from the Prophets, all the holy Scriptures, and the sayings of the clerics, that there is no living thing underneath the earth, I affirmed still that there were antipodeans, and assumed that my opinion was in agreement with the divine Word.... I fell asleep, and I saw in a dream how the

Sun, after rising, inclined to descend to earth, I went forward and embraced him. And he was a youth, beardless, with golden visage ... attired in white and shining raiment. Dazzling light emanated from his mouth.... Tell me, to whom do you give light? Beneath the earth are there any other living creatures, or not?’ And he replied, ‘No, there are not, I shed my light upon lifeless mountains, crags, canyons, and hollows’” (Cit. from J. R. Russell 1988 :89; 2004: 294). See Abrahamyan & Petrosyan 1979: 74 (in Modern Eastern Armenian) and Russian translation in Ter-Davtian & Arevshatian 1962: 46. See also Russell 1984 who argues that the legend of Er as recorded by Plato is Armenian as reflected in the legend of Ara the Handsome who must have been revived after death in the original myth.

⁵³ He may also have taken over some of the exploits of the great Hittite weather-god Teššub, whose name survives in Armenian Tosp and who was worshipped before the arrival of Iranian religious cults. See Petrosyan 2007: 183; also Russell 2004, 2004a.

Daniel, Indra and Vrtra in the Vedic tradition, in which the god Indra slew the ophidian Vrtra and freed the waters and cows which were being held by it. Vrtra is also known in the R̥g-Veda as *Ahi*, 'serpent'. Other IE representatives of the myth include the Hittite Illuyankas slain by the Storm-god Tarhunt, incarnation of the Hurrian weather god Teššub; the Greek Zeus and Typhon, Hercules and the Hydra, and Armenian Vahagn.

In the early Irish tale *Echtrae Fergusa maic Léti* 'The Adventure of Fergus mac Léti' (Binchy 1952), a mythical king of Uster, Fergus mac Léti, falls asleep beside the sea and is carried into the water by very small beings called *luchorpáin*, lit. 'small bodies', one of which is called an *abacc* 'dwarf', a word with aquatic associations. Fergus awakens and succeeds in extracting from his tormentors a charm whereby he can travel and survive under water, lakes, and seas. He must not, however, frequent a certain lake in his own kingdom. He later violates this taboo by entering the lake, hence breaking his contract with the Otherworld people and endangering his kingdom: he encounters a monster (*muirdris*) in the lake, and in terror, flees out of the water. He is now no longer fit for kingship, a fact which is reflected in the distortion to his face, occasioned by his terror at the sight of the monster. He spends years in seclusion, failing to tend to his kingdom. On being upbraided for his blemish and failure one day, he eventually faces the monster in underwater combat, vanquishes it, emerging from the water with its head, but dies himself from his wounds.⁵⁴

There are many other variants of the legend of the slaying of the monster or serpent in the Irish and Celtic traditions, most of which we cannot pursue in the present paper. Among the most well-known variants are those connected with the hero Fráech mac Idaeth, who defeats a monster in a lake while he is seeking the hand of the daughter of Queen Medb of Connacht (Meid 1967). Fráech is a *síd*-man, nephew of the river goddess Bóand. The entrance to his underground home is a cave at Rath Crúachan in Connacht, the royal residence of Queen Medb.

Legends about the combat with the dragon are often combined with the pursuit of vessels symbolising fecundity and regeneration, so-called Cauldrons of Plenty and Cauldrons of Rejuvenation.

⁵⁴ Watkins 1995; Mac Mathúna 2010: 16-21; 2013 (forthcoming).

As these stories are also concerned with sovereignty, we find symbols associated with kingship, for example, golden cups which can distinguish truth from falsehood. In a rather late story, called *Giolla an Fhiughha* 'The Lad of the Ferule' (Hyde 1899), we have a good example of the combination of the themes of the slaying of the monster and the Cauldron of Plenty. The hero is set the ordeal of finding a wooden rod or stick which is at the bottom of a lake in a country appropriately called *Tír fo Thuinn* 'The Land under the Waves'. There is also a magic Cauldron of Plenty there guarded by a fearsome serpent. Needless to say the hero is successful in his quest and succeeds in the process of winning back his kingdom for the king of this subterranean world.

The monster in *Giolla an Fhiughha* has five heads, which coincides with versions of the IE myth in which the adversary of the god/hero has either three heads or multiple heads. We have in Irish tradition earlier accounts of the defeat of the multi-headed water monster which we cannot pursue today. Ireland also has a great Cyclops, its own Polyphemos, recounted in the legend of the slaying of the one-eyed Balor by his grandson Lugh, thus ensuring the success of the invasion of Ireland by the Túatha De Danann.⁵⁵ Balor had an eye in the middle of his head and one behind, and struck dead anyone at whom he looked. In his *History*, Khorenatsi speaks about the saga of Tork Angeleay, who used to hurl great boulders at marauding ships approaching the Black Sea: he was ferocious and had what seems to have been an evil eye. Tork may owe something to the Hittite god Tarkhu/Tarkhuntas, who is represented as holding a lightning bolt, similar to Zeus the Thunderer. Russell (1996-7) suggests that Tork may be a reminiscence of the son of the underworld Anatolian god Nergal, an archaic and unique reflex of the Cyclops type. Petrosyan (2006: 222-38) has also discussed how the cult of the deity (re)born from the rock spread in the Armenian Highland, Transcaucasia and other regions in Asia Minor – the "Caucasian Prometheus". Urartian Haldi was such a deity and he argues that, despite the fact that Haldi is a god and Hurrian Ullikummi a monster, that there is a correspondence between the two. Finally, we should note that the theme of the slaying of the monster is a commonplace in Irish hagiography in the Lives of the Saints.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ See Armen Petrosyan's article in this volume.

⁵⁶ See Mac Mathúna 2010: 18-20, Fomin 2010: 200-4.

IV. Conclusion

This enquiry has investigated various aspects of the historiographical, eremetical and mythical traditions of ancient Armenia and Early Ireland. The first part concentrated for the most part on comparing the approaches to the writing of history adopted by Movsēs Khorenatsi and other early Armenian historians with the compilers of the *Lebor Gabála* in Ireland. As T. F. O’Rahilly pointed out many years ago with regard to the *Lebor Gabála*, this account is essentially a fiction constructed to present a history of Ireland which would coincide with biblical and world history. The approach permitted the imaginative conception of a number of invasions and conquests of Ireland based on native and foreign myths and legends. These myths and legends as presented underpin the legal rights and powers of the various dynasties of the Gael to their patrimony.

The beginning of the history of the Armenian and the Gaelic peoples is the creation of the world and the flood as depicted in Genesis and other sources. Khorenatsi in this case favoured the version of Berossus which stems from the Babylonian myth of the creation of the world and the flood: the Noah figure, Xisuthros, opposes the tyrant Bel and survives the flood, arriving in his boat with his people in Armenia.

Both Khorenatsi and the Irish synchronists are working more or less within the same historiographical paradigm and in addition to using a number of the same historical sources also employ similar devices and euhemeristic approaches to their material. In the case of Khorenatsi, he goes to great lengths to detail these sources. While this lends the semblance of veracity to his narrative, it is necessary to proceed with caution in seeking to distinguish between fact and fiction. The importance of patrons to the early Armenian historians needs also to be emphasized.

Central to both historiographical traditions is the eyewitness account which was considered to lend veracity and authenticity to the events narrated. Indeed, the thread running through the whole paper is that of creative witness, of eyewitness testimony being used and manipulated to play a critical role in the verification of history and tradition.

The second section leads from the first in that it takes as its cue the practice of Saint Gregory, as documented by Agathangelos,

and of other Armenian clerics, monks and saints of seeking out the eremitic life. This was a form of martyrdom, the original meaning of martyr being to bear witness. In Irish tradition, in which martyrdom in the sense of being persecuted and killed on account of one's beliefs did not play a role, the concept of bearing witness to God by leaving one's home, either by seeking out a solitary place at a remove from one's base or by going into exile abroad, was explicitly viewed as a form of white martyrdom.

The final section brings us back to the matter of creation and creative witness in respect of legend and myth. The antediluvians Fintan and Tuán in Irish tradition outlived the Flood, and through a series of transformations and rebirths over many centuries, were in a position to bear witness to events past. While the Irish Flood myth in *Lebor Gabála* is primarily based on Genesis, I argue that water and flooding, and the allied myth of the dragon, were already linked to cosmos and chaos in native Irish materials.⁵⁷ If this material did not reach Ireland through the influence of the Bible and the Classical world, the question arises as to when, where and how it and other correspondences came about. In the case of the creation, flood and dragon myths in the Bible and Khorenatsi's *History*, the Sumerian/Babylonian material appears to take precedence and to have been the point of diffusion (King 1918). That is to say, diffusion explains a number of the similarities between these particular myths in some Eastern Indo-European cultures and those of Mesopotamia. Moreover, the content and verbal similarities in the material are sufficiently close to fulfill diagnostic tests of proof (King 1918): these are areas which are geographically quite close to one another in which there has been constant cultural intercourse over many centuries in prehistory.

Irish and the other Celtic languages, on the other hand, are geographically far removed from this core area of diffusion and identifying node areas of cultural contact is fraught with difficulties and pitfalls. Did the correspondences come into being, for example, during the Proto-Celtic period when the Thracians, who would have had contact with the Celts, possibly made their way from the Balkans and Anatolia eastwards along the Black Sea? We cannot answer this question definitively. Some linguistic evidence suggests early contact between Proto-Celtic and Eastern

⁵⁷ See also Mac Mathúna 2013.

Indo-European languages,⁵⁸ but the hypothesis that mediation through Illyrian and Thracian could account for such correspondences has been contested.⁵⁹

On the other hand, given the close correspondences between Albanian and Armenian with Balto-Slavic and Greek, and the possibility that Proto-Armenian speakers may have moved along the southern shore of the Black Sea,⁶⁰ the question still remains open if this corridor could represent a point of influence in accounting for similarities between Eastern and Western Indo-European cultures.

It is necessary to weigh the evidence of the materials being compared very carefully using various diagnostic tests of language, poetics, anthropology and signification in order to establish common source or influence of one set of data on another. I leave open the possibility that native Irish flood legends may have arisen under different circumstances and be more or less typologically rather than genetically related to Mesopotamian and other flood myths.⁶¹ In any event, various myths appear to have been shared by speakers of Proto-Indo-European and peoples of early Mesopotamia and the best we can say at present is that the Celts brought their own myths and a number of these other myths with them when the Proto-Indo-European homeland broke up.

⁵⁸ See Schmidt's 2007 influential article on this matter (revised version reprinted in this volume).

⁵⁹ See Falileyev and Kocharov in this volume.

⁶⁰ Kortlandt 2003.

⁶¹ See Mac Mathúna 2010: 42-3 on the difficulty of determining the points of origin and diffusion of certain other beliefs and myths.

Abbreviations:

- Agathangelos**, see Thomson, R.W. 1976.
Augustine, see Walsh, G. G. *et al.* 1958 (translation).
Eusebius, see Lake, K. *et al.* 1926-32.
Foras Feasa ar Éirinn, see Comyn & Dineen 1902-14.
Giraldus Cambrensis, see Scott & Martin 1978; Ó'Meara 1982.
Lebor Gabála Érenn, see Macalister 1938-1956.
Thucydides, see Strassler R.B. *et al.* 1998.
Polybius, see Paton 2012.

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PART 1.

INDO-EUROPEAN DIMENSION

ARMENIAN AND CELTIC: TOWARDS A NEW CLASSIFICATION OF EARLY INDO-EUROPEAN DIALECTS

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Introduction

This contribution consists of four parts:

- (1) On the linguistic position of Armenian within the Indo-European (IE) language family;
- (2) On some grammatical features which seem to prove early contact of proto-Celtic with eastern Indo-European languages;
- (3) On the possibility of revealing common features in morphology, syntax and word formation between proto-Armenian and proto-Celtic;
- (4) Towards a classification of the criteria for revealing linguistic features in prehistory.

1. On the position of Armenian within IE language family

The identification of Armenian as an autonomous IE language of non-Iranian descent starts with Hübschmann (1875: 35) who comes to the conclusion: "Das armenische steht im kreise der arisch slavolett. sprachen zwischen iranisch und slavolettisch," discarding, however, the particularly close connections between Armenian and Greek which since Pedersen (1924: 308) are generally acknowledged:

daß das Arm. unter den lebendigen idg. Sprachzweigen etwa nach drei Seiten hin nähere verwandtschaftliche Beziehungen hat: w. zum Griech., ö. zum Indisch-Iran., n. zum Slavisch-Balt.; das Alban., das als zwischen dem Arm. und dem Slav.-Balt. stehend betrachtet werden kann, würde sich aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach, wenn es vollständiger überliefert wäre, dem Arm. noch bedeutend näher als das Slavisch-Balt. stellen.¹

¹ Cf. moreover, the authors cited by Schmidt 1980: 51, footnotes 9 and 10.

Extending the basis of comparison and referring to correspondences between the IE languages Armenian, Greek, Phrygian and Indo-Iranian, I pointed out that

The coincidences between these languages were more extensive in prehistoric times, having since been obscured by later innovations. In other words, one may say that the unattested Armenian of the 15th century B.C. must have had closer connections with Greek and Indo-Iranian than the historically attested Armenian of the 5th century AD (Schmidt 1980: 39).

Fourteen years later, Clackson stressed that “there is not sufficient evidence to suppose any closer link between Greek and Armenian than between either language and Indo-Iranian, and the reconstruction of a Greek-Armenian-Indo-Iranian dialect area is sufficient to account for these agreements” (Clackson 1994: 202).

1.1 The augment: an important innovation

An important common innovation, of these languages, shared by Phrygian as well, is the *augment*, which is placed in front of the indicatives of the past tenses:

Old Phrygian $\epsilon\delta\alpha\epsilon\zeta$ ‘he erected’: Hittite *dāiš*, Armen. *eber* < **e-bher-e-t* = reek $\epsilon\epsilon$, Sanskrit *abharat* (Schmidt 1980: 42).

The interpretation of the *augment* as an IE category (cf. Grundriß II/1: 10f.), however, must be rejected, since this morpheme does not occur in a language attested as early as Hittite, and since, in addition to that, the *augment* already refers to tense and not to the earlier category of aspect.

1.1.1 Injunctive

In this context the *injunctive* (Injunktiv) may be mentioned as a verbal category which lacks both primary personal endings and augment. According to Hoffmann (1967: 35), this category was “als Primitiv eine der Keimzellen des indogermanischen Verbalsystems”, “aus der durch formale Differenzierung einerseits der Ind. Präs. (Primärendungen), andererseits Imperfekt and Ind.

Aor. (Augment) hervorgegangen sind”.² As to the synchronic function of the *injunctive*, the *noems* (Noeme) “lexikalische Bedeutung (einschließlich Aktionsart), Aspekt, Person (einschließlich Numerus), Diathese und Erwähnung” are listed by Hoffmann (1967: 278f.).

1.1.2 *Permansive: a typological comparison*

Typologically, the IE *injunctive* may be compared with the Old Georgian *permansive* (Permansiv), an archaic category (Deeters 1930: 1ff., Schmidt 1969).

As to its syntax and morphology, the *permansive* is constructed as an aorist ending in a suffix *i* plus present tense personal endings (Deeters 1930: 111); as to semantics, *permansive* and *injunctive* bear a close resemblance to each other: the *permansive* “drückt allgemeingültige Wahrheiten aus, die zeitlos gelten, steht also in Sätzen und – der Natur der Texte entsprechend – besonders häufig in Aussagen, die sich auf Gott beziehen” (Deeters 1930: 111f.); the *injunctive* “bezeichnet das distinktiv-relevante Noem Erwähnung... seine sachgemäße Benennung wäre demnach Memorativ” (Hoffmann 1967: 279). “Ein Eigenwert des Injunktivs besteht also in seiner Zeitstufenlosigkeit” (Hoffmann 1967: 266).

Injunctive expresses “eindeutig allgemeingültige Wahrheiten, Erkenntnisse und Erfahrungen, wie z.B. naturgesetzliche Tatbestände, Rechtsnormen, Gebräuche, Sprichwörter and ähnliches” (Hoffmann 1967: 114).

1.2 Prothetic vowel: a second important innovation

A second important common innovation of Phrygian, Armenian and Greek, which, however, is lacking in Indo-Iranian, is the so-called *prothetic vowel*, generally explained as the reflex of an older laryngeal:

Phryg. αva ‘man’, Armen. ayr reek αv < h_2ner- vs. Sanskrit *nar-*, Oscan *ner* etc. (Schmidt 1980: 38; Pokorny 1959: 765).

² This theory, however, is partly outdated, as the *augment*, as stated above (1.1), cannot be reconstructed for Proto-IE, but only for the IE dialects, e.g. Greek, Armenian, Indo-Iranian, Phrygian.

1.3 Language contact

The two common innovations (*augment*, *prothetic vowel*) acknowledge that there must have been a time when the languages involved here were in close contact with each other, according to the principle that “Die Kriterien einer engeren Gemeinschaft können nur in positiven Übereinstimmungen der betreffenden Sprachen, die zugleich Abweichungen von der übrigen sind, gefunden werden” (Leskien 1876/1963: XIII).³

2. On the early contact of Proto-Celtic with Eastern IE languages

2.1. Italo-Celtic hypothesis

As regards the traditional assessment of the position of Celtic within the IE language family, it was mainly Lottner (1858: 193; 1861) who established the Italo-Celtic hypothesis (cf. Schmidt 1996: 10f. with further references).

2.2 Lateral hypothesis

On the other hand, later on Myles Dillon comes to the conclusion that “facts of language, literature, institutions and religion from India and from Ireland... are rather survivals in lateral areas of an old Indo-European inheritance” (1973: 5).

2.3 Innovations as the evidence for early contact

What needs to be investigated, however, are the innovations which seem to prove early contact of Proto-Celtic with eastern IE languages. Evidence for this is given by three grammatical features which meet the requirements of three basic principles:

1. They are restricted to Celtic and eastern IE languages

This feature is the inflected RELATIVE PRONOUN **yos* which, according to principle no. 1, is attested both in eastern IE languages (Indo-Iranian, Greek, Slavic, Phrygian) and in Celtiberian:

yomui... *šomui* (Botorríta IA 7)
iaš ... *šaum* (Botorríta IA 8)
ioš ... *auseTi* (Botorríta IA 10) (Schmidt 1996: 24f.).⁴

³ Cf. the recent discussion of “the common innovation hypothesis” by Clackson 1994: 17-28.

⁴ Szemerényi 1990: 223-4 explains the relative pronoun **yos* as an innovation of the *sat^hm* languages, a theory that is as little convincing as his supposition

2. *They are not attested in Italic*

Celtic also satisfies the requirement of the above principle, as Italic deviates from Celtic by the use of the interrogative pronoun **k^w o-/*k^w i-* in relative function. As this has its parallel in Hittite (cf. “im lebendigen Paradigma existiert nur der Stamm *kui-*, der substantivisch und adjektivisch, als Interrogativum wie als Relativum gebraucht wird,” Friedrich 1960: 68) and Tocharian (cf. “das gewöhnliche toch. Interrogativpronomen hat gleiche Formen für alle Genera und Numeri. Die gleichen Formen werden in Wtoch. auch als Relativum gebraucht, während im Otoch. bei relativer Verwendung eine Partikel *ne* angefügt wird,” Krause & Thomas 1960: 165), it must be regarded as pretty old.

Because of that, and as we cannot reconstruct an autonomous independent relative pronoun for IE, **yos* in Celtic and eastern IE meets the requirement of the next principle – common innovation:

3. On the basis of Leskien’s maxim of 1876 (see 1.3 above)
*they do not reflect the IE proto-language, but the result of
 later developments.*⁵

The discussion of eastern contacts of Proto-Celtic has already been dealt with earlier among others by Kretschmer (1896: 125ff.) and Wagner (1969).⁶ Schmidt’s theory has been accepted and expanded by De Bernando Stempel (1997) and Isaac (2004).⁷

2.3.1 *Desiderative*

Feature no. 2 is “the Desiderative formation, marked by reduplication as well as by a thematically inflected *s*-suffix, which in roots ending in a resonant is preceded by a laryngeal” (Schmidt 1996: 23). This formation is restricted to Indo-Iranian and Celtic. In Indo-Iranian it functions as a desiderative, in Celtic it is used as a future (Thurneysen 1946: 414):

“Dagegen muß *yo-* im Hispano-Keltischen (s. K.H. Schmidt, *BBCS* 26, 1976, 385) und im Keltischen im allgemeinen als unabhängige Neuerung angesehen werden”.
⁵ Cf. Schmidt 1991: 16; *id.*, 1992: 464-6; *id.*, 1996: 21-6; *id.*, 2000: 21. In his critical but somewhat superficial review of Schmidt 1996 even Lindeman 1999: 236 acknowledges “that Professor Schmidt’s thoughts about early eastern influences on Celtic may well basically be true”.

⁶ Cf. also Falileyev & Isaac 2003; Falileyev 2005, 2005a, 2006.

⁷ Cf. also Stempel 1996: 309 and Kalygin 2006.

OIr. *·céla* (future) < * *cechlā* - < **ki- klā* - < **kik* \ddot{H} -*se/so-*:
 pres. *celid* ‘conceals’ (Rix *et al.*, 2001: 322f.); Skt. *cik a e*
 < **k^wi-k^w* \ddot{H} -*se/so*: *kar-* ‘make’, part. perf. pass. *k^witā-* (Rix
 et al. 2001: 391f.); OIr. *génaid* ‘will wound’ = Skt.
i hā sa i ‘will kill’ < *g^{wh}ig^{wh}* *nH-se-/so-*.⁸

2.3.2 Future

Feature no. 3 is the Future in *-*sye-/syo-*, which is attested in Gaulish as well as in Indo-Iranian, Baltic, Slavic, and possibly Greek. The Indo-Iranian, Slavic and possibly Greek record confirms the insertion of a laryngeal after roots ending in a resonant, in the same way as it is attested in the desiderative formation:

Gaulish (Chamalières) *bissiet* ‘he will split’: *b^heid-*, **b^hid-*,
toncnaman toncsiōntio (Cha m.) ‘who will swear the oath’,
pissú mi (Çam.) < *k^wis-siō* ‘I shall see’; *marcosior* (peson
 de fuseau) ‘que je chevauche’ (Lambert 1995: 63).

Skt. *ka i-y -ti* ‘he will make’ (with laryngeal) vs. *ak -y -ti*
 ‘he will speak’, Av. *vax-šyā* ‘I shall see’ (without
 laryngeal), Old Church Slavonic *byšęš ee*, *byšęš tee* < *b^huH-*
sye-/o-, τὸ μέλλον [‘what is to be’], reek κείοντες
 κοιμηθήσομενοι [‘about to sleep’] = Ved. *šay i-ya -nt-*.

3. Armenian and its linguistic peculiarities

Armenian is characterised by two peculiarities which complicate the reconstruction of its position within the IE language family:

- a) It is a typical “language in contact” being strongly influenced by outside interference of other languages;
- b) In comparison with Indo-Iranian, Greek, Phrygian and Celtic its tradition is rather late.⁹

⁸ Lambert 1995: 63 explains *marcosior*, *bissiet*, *toncsiōntio* as “Futur: désideratif en *-sie/o-*, parfois déponent”, but his attempt to reduce *bissiet* to the root **b^heu* with *b^hwi-* > *bi-* (*id.*, 158) explains the double *ss* just as little as his reconstruction of *pissiumti* < *k^wis-siō* (pres.) instead of **k^wis-siō* (fut.) (Schmidt 1981: 265).

⁹ Cf. the earliest traditions of the languages in question: Rigveda 1000 BC, Greek 1400 BC, Old Phrygian 8th c. BC, Celtic 6th c. BC vs. Armenian 5th c. AD.

3.1 Armenian and inherited vocabulary

Foreign influence on Armenian is quite strong, particularly in the field of vocabulary, since only a small percentage of words can be traced back to direct inheritance from IE. Kapancjan (1946: 31) and Abaev (1978: 47) speak of 10% (in comparison with 35% in Ossetic). In his masterly organised *Armenische Grammatik* of 1897 Hübschmann registered the different (Iranian, Syriac, Greek etc.) loanword strata before making a list of words of genuine Armenian etymology.¹⁰

3.2 Kartvelian influence on Armenian

An important contribution to the investigation of Kartvelian influence on Armenian has been made by Deeters in his early work *Armenisch und Südkaukasisch*, with the significant subtitle *Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Sprachmischung* (1926/1927; further investigations into the field cf. Schmidt 1974; *id.*, 1980).

3.3 Late tradition of Armenian

As to the rather late tradition of Armenian, I advanced the hypothesis that “the linguistic differences between Old Armenian and Greek or Indo-Iranian respectively decrease as we go back in time, the languages having also been closer to each other geographically in prehistoric times” (Schmidt 1980: 39f.).

3.4. Reconstruction of pre-Armenian

On the basis of this theory an attempt shall be made to consider the probability of the existence of features in pre-Armenian which are no more attested in the Old Armenian record, starting with the three Celtic examples, discussed above (see 2.3 above).

3.4.1 Relative pronoun *yo- and interrogative pronoun k^wo-, k^wi-

The position of Armenian within the IE language family may be considered as an argument for the etymology of the Armenian relative pronoun *or* < **yor*, proposed by Pisani (1966: 239; cf. also Szemerényi 1990: 224). The original differentiation between the relative pronoun *yo- and the interrogative pronoun *k^wo-, k^wi- in

¹⁰ On later collections of loanword strata in Armenian cf. Schmidt 1980: 36ff. “A statistical analysis of isoglosses” between Armenian and “each of the other Indo-European languages” is given by Djahukian 1980.

Armenian, assumed by Pisani, has its parallel in Celtic.¹¹ Probably, the development in IE has been the following: $*k^w i-$, $*k^w o-$ interrog. pronoun $> k^w i, k^w o-$ interrog. and relat. pronoun (Italic, Hittite, Tocharian) $> k^w i, k^w o-$ interrog. pronoun vs. $*yo$ relat. pronoun (Celtic and east IE languages, including Armenian). That means that $*yo-$ is an innovation shared by Armenian and Celtic.

3.4.2 Desiderative formation

As concerns feature no. 2, the desiderative formation limited to Indo-Iranian and Celtic, it must be considered as an archaic innovation of Celtic and east IE languages preserved only in Celtic and Indo-Iranian. The distribution is similar to that of the feminine forms of the numerals ‘3’ and ‘4’, clearly attested only in Indo-Iranian and Celtic, which Stempel (1996: 309) explains “als gemeinsame Neuerungen”, “da das enus femininum als relativ jung einzustufen ist”.

3.4.3 Future formation

In contrast to feature no. 2, feature no. 3, the future formation in $*-sye-/-syo-$ (see 2.3.2 above), is preserved not only in Indo-Iranian and Celtic, but also in Baltic, Slavic and possibly Greek. The lack of this formation in Armenian must be the result of innovation, as is proved for the following reasons:

- a) The merger of subjunctive and future is one of the typological correspondences of Old Georgian (OGeo.) and Classical Armenian (Cl. Arm.): OGeo. present $da\ sc'e$ ‘I write it’: subjunctive -future (subj.-fut.) $da\ sc'e\ de$ aorist $da\ c'e\ e$: subj.-fut. $da\ c'e\ o$; Cl. Arm. pres. $sirem$ ‘I love’: subj.-fut. $si\ ic'em$, aor. $si\ ec'i$: subj.-fut. $sirec'ic'$ (cf. Schmidt 1964).
- b) The use of completely new formants, i.e. $-(i)c^k$ $< IE * - (i)s^k e$, which is also attested in Greek: Arm. $si\ ic'em$ $< *sire-is^k -e-mi, tam$ ‘I give’: Aor. etu : subj. ac' $< *d^s k\ \bar{o}$: reek $\varepsilon_{\text{ισκομαι}}$, $\lambda_{\text{ισκομαι}}$ (Schmidt 1985: 232).

¹¹ Cf. the Celtic interrogative pronoun: OIr. $cía$ ‘who?’ = OW. $pui < k^w ei$ (Thurneysen 1946: 292; and see Jordán Coléra 1998: 101).

- c) There are typological parallels for new formations of future stems, as e.g. the Old Irish *f*-future which is restricted to weak verbs. “The stem of the *f*-future has the suffix *-fa-* and is inflected like an *a*-subjunctive” (Thurneysen 1946: 396).

4. Conclusion

The reconstruction of prehistoric stages of Proto-Indo-European is based on different methods: as pointed out by Jakobson (1971: 530),

The typology of languages looks for the invariant in a variation. The number of grammatical categories or distinctive features and their combinations is restricted, and languages are confined to a limited number of structural (grammatical or phonemic) types.

In contrast to this approach, “it may then be assumed that Proto Indo-European has been reconstructed as an earlier historical stage of Indo-Iranian, Greek, Albanian and so on” (Lehmann 2002: 3).

What needs to be investigated, however, is the prehistoric construct of an IE language as e.g. Armenian. Starting from a couple of correspondences Armenian shares with eastern IE languages, we come to the conclusion that the rather late attested Armenian language must have had even more correspondences in common with those languages in prehistoric times. The evidence is increased by the fact that Proto-Celtic which is generally taken as western IE language is characterised by features of an eastern IE language as well.¹²

¹² This article was first published in the *Bulletin of Georgian National Academy of Sciences*, vol. 175, no. 1 (January-February-March), Semiotics and Linguistics (Tbilisi: Georgian Academy Press, 2007), pp. 199-203. We are grateful to Professor Schmidt, the Georgian Academy of Sciences and Professor Tamas Gamkrelidze for permission to republish the article (together with the addenda and corrigenda supplied by the author).

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**CELTIC, ARMENIAN AND EASTERN INDO-EUROPEAN
LANGUAGES: COMMENTS ON A RECENT HYPOTHESIS**

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1. Introduction

In his paper ‘Armenian and Celtic’, significantly subtitled ‘Towards a new classification of early Indo-European dialects’, K.

H. Schmidt (2007: 202) argues that Armenian must have had more correspondences in common with the Eastern IE languages (Indo-Iranian, Greek, and so on) in prehistoric times than a couple of attested shared innovations.¹

Furthermore, he claims that Proto-Celtic, generally taken as a Western IE language, Proto-Italic being its closest relative (cf. Ringe 2006: 5-6), shared some of the Eastern features, too. As an argument in favour of his theory, Professor Schmidt (1996: 22-26, cf. 2007: 200) points to several joint innovations that connect Celtic with the Eastern IE idioms, namely the inflected relative pronoun * *os* (Indo-Iranian, Greek, Slavic, and Phrygian), future in *-*s e* / -*s o* - (Indo-Iranian, Baltic, Slavic, and possibly Greek), desiderative formations with reduplication and thematic *s*-stems (Indo-Iranian). The sigmatic aorist (Slavic, Indo-Iranian, and Greek) has also been added to this list (Isaac 2004: 53).

As we know, Schmidt’s theory has been accepted and elaborated by some scholars (e.g., Isaac 2004, 2007: 75-95, 2010) and doubted by others (e.g., Lindeman 1996).

¹ See previous article for a revised version of Prof. K. H. Schmidt’s paper.

2. Morphological isoglosses

2.1. Future stems and desiderative formations

K. H. Schmidt (2007: 200-2) explains the lack of future stems in *-s e-/s o- in Armenian as a loss caused by later innovations. Indeed, such a phonetic cluster had a little chance to survive as a productive future affix in Proto-Armenian where *-s- was dropped after vowels (cf. Beekes 2003: 197) and had specific developments after consonants. It is remarkable, as Schmidt (1996: 23) notes, that the only attestations of *-s e-/s o- future suffix claimed for Proto-Celtic are found in Gaulish (e.g., *bissíet* ‘he will split’, *pissú mii* ‘I will see’, etc.), whereas it was replaced by different formations in the other branches of Celtic.

Further, Schmidt states that the desiderative formation with reduplication “is an archaic innovation of Celtic and east IE languages preserved only in Celtic and Indo-Iranian” (*ibid.*). However, there are alternative views on this matter. Thus, Jasanoff (2003: 136-8) has claimed the existence of *i*-reduplicated thematic present stems characterised by an “iterative” (originally “desiderative”, *ibid.* 132) suffix in Anatolian, cf. Hitt. $\bar{i}\check{s}\check{s}(a)$ - ‘to do’ from *(H) *i*-(H)*ih*₁-s- from PIE *H *eh*₁- ‘werfen’ (see LIV 225 and Kloekhorst 2008: 389 for criticism), along with Ved. *cíkítsa-* ‘desire to know’, YAv. *rīr xša* - ‘desire to leave’ and Old Irish reduplicated future. Other isolated relics of that morphological type, which then should be dated to the PIE epoch, are found elsewhere, cf. the derivation of Lat. *d scō* ‘I learn’ from *d* *d* *-sé-* ‘be willing to perceive’ (LIV 110; see Isaac 2004: 54 and De Vaan 2008: 172 for criticism and alternative suggestions; see also Kortlandt 2010: 141 on the reduplicated *s*-present in Italic and its relation to Indo-Iranian and Celtic reduplicated sigmatic formations).

Alternatively, F. Heenen (2006) treats the Indo-Iranian desideratives as secondary stems in *-sa-* derived from reduplicated stems by analogy to the aorist subjunctive. The crux of the problem is anyway irrelevant for Armenian where reduplicated desideratives are missing. This leaves one with the relative pronoun and sigmatic aorist as the only morphological isoglosses that might connect Celtic and Armenian under the umbrella of the Eastern IE languages in contact.

2.2. The use of the inflected relative pronoun

The use of the inflected relative pronoun * *os* in Celtiberian (e.g., *l'sTas: T Tas s sonT : somu*, Bottorita A7), as Schmidt (1996: 24) maintains, “corresponds both to Proto-Celtic and to eastern Indo-European”. According to G. R. Isaac (2004: 52), “such a complex innovation cannot have come about in various languages independently, so its distribution is therefore diagnostic of prehistoric contacts”. The Armenian data is not considered in the classical schemes of the hypotheses (Schmidt 1996: 24-5; Isaac 2004: 52-6), but in his 2007 paper Schmidt (2007: 201) refers to Pisani’s suggestion to see in the Armenian relative pronoun *or* a reflex of the earlier * *or*.

This reconstruction requires a comment. According to B. Olsen, the Armenian relative and interrogative pronouns *or* go back to * *otero-* and **k otero-* respectively (Olsen 1999: 783) which makes the Armenian relative pronoun an independent morphological innovation. However, R. Beekes (2003: 162) rejects the interrogative prototype on the ground that **k* - did not disappear in Armenian and supports the reconstruction of * *os* for the relative pronoun. Another issue is the actual distribution of * *os*. Besides the languages mentioned by K. H. Schmidt, it is probably found in Germanic (De Bernardo Stempel 2008: 398), which can by no means be perceived as an Eastern IE language. In fact, there seems to be no decisive evidence for the IE distribution of the two markers of relativity attested in the daughter languages — * *o-* (Germanic, Celtic, Baltic, Slavic, Indo-Iranian, Greek, Phrygian, and Armenian) and **k o-/*k i-* (Anatolian, Latin, Sabelian, and Tocharian).²

2.3. Sigmatic aorist

In his discussion of last feature shared by Celtic and the Eastern IE languages within Schmidt’s hypothesis, G. R. Isaac (2004: 54) notes that “Italic (in Latin), Albanian and Tocharian all have reflexes of the sigmatic aorist, but its occurrence among verbal roots is restricted, with no productivity (no trace in Germanic, Anatolian and Armenian)”. Concerning Anatolian, he adds that

² This distribution may not necessarily characterise dialectal groups: see Clackson 2007: 171-176 for a recent discussion of the problem and arguments in favour of the reconstruction of the two PIE relative markers: a restrictive relative **k o-/*k i-* stem and a non-restrictive * *o-* stem and Stifter 2010 with further references, where *inter alia* Lusitanian data is adduced.

“though the Hittite 3 sg. pret. in *-s* of the *hi*-conjugation may well be ultimately connected with the origin of the sigmatic aorist, as most recently argued by Jasanoff (2003), it does not, in itself, constitute a sigmatic aorist” (Isaac 2004: 54, fn. 8).

Though the sigmatic aorist may, indeed, be counted as an anachronism for Hittite, it is certainly not so in the case of Armenian. In two publications H. Pedersen (1905: 206; 1906: 423-424) had developed S. Bugge’s idea (1893: 47) that some of the Armenian root aorists continue the PIE sigmatic aorist, e.g. Arm. *anēc* ‘he cursed’ from PIE **h₃ne d-s-* (see LIV 303).

Although a number of scholars consistently follow this view (e.g. Kortlandt 1987), it has been challenged by others who prefer to interpret the root auslaut *-c-* as the outcome of **-d-* and thus, derive such roots from the PIE **-e/o-* presents – *anicanem* ‘I curse’ < PIE **h₃ne d-e/o-* (e.g. Godel 1965). In view of the ambiguity of interpretation, this evidence can hardly be considered decisive in establishing Armeno-Celtic connections within Eastern IE / Celtic framework.

3. Lexical isoglosses

3.1. Previous discussion of Celto-Armenian isoglosses

As we have seen, morphological innovations shared by Armenian and Celtic are at least troublesome. What about correspondences on the lexical level? Celto-Armenian lexical isoglosses have been thoroughly studied by such authorities as H. Pedersen, A. Meillet, G. Solta, J. Schindler, E. Makaev and others. The most comprehensive survey of lexical *Celto-Armeniaca* was offered by G. Solta nearly half a century ago. Progress in Celtic and Armenian studies as well as the development of Indo-European linguistics both allow a comprehensive reconsideration of this list of correspondences.

This task had been already fulfilled, at least partially, by E. Makaev fourteen years after the publication of Solta’s book. In his valuable contribution, which is not eagerly acknowledged particularly in “Western” scholarship, Makaev (1974) critically

revised the list of Celto-Armenian isoglosses discussed by Solta.

The following remarks, based on Makaev’s comments on Solta’s discussion, take into account the most recent relevant publications on Celtic, Armenian, and Indo-European linguistics. It should be noted right at the beginning of this section that the

Schmidt's model of the IE di-alects correlates to some extent with the distribution of several lexemes.

Leaving apart the oft-quoted correspondence of Arm. *harkanem* 'I strike', OIr. *orgaim* 'I smite, kill' (Solta 1960: 257 - 258, Makaev 1974: 54-57, Klingenschmitt 1982: 214-216) that has been analysed differently - as cognates of Hitt. *ḫark-* 'disappear', *ḫarka-*, *ḫarnink-*, *ḫarknu-* 'destroy' (Kloekhorst 2008: 306 -307) from PIE **h₃erg-* 'unkommen' (LIV 301; see also valuable comments in Schumacher *et al.* 2004: 499f.) - the following considerations may be offered.

3.2. Eastern IE, Celtic, and Tocharian

The reflexes of PIE **mel-* 'verfehlen, trügen' (IEW 719-20) are found in Armenian (*mel* 'sin, fault'), Iranian, Greek, Celtic (Mlr. *mell* 'confusion, error (?)', mainly in glossaries), and Baltic (Lith. *melas* 'lie'). Toch. B *māl* 'to wound, damage' may belong here as well (Hamp 1973; cf. Matasović 2009: 263 -4) which would disturb the distribution of attestations within Schmidt's hypothesis.

However, Armenian and Celtic probably reflect the underlying **mel-s-o-* (or alternatively **mel-s-eh* ₂ as suggested in Martirosyan, 2010: 463), and the first member of Gk. *βλάσφημος* 'ill_speaker' continues **m^l-s-* (see Olsen 1999: 64-65), which brings the three languages reflecting the original *s*-stem closer to each other and attributes the word to the above mentioned Greek-Celto-Armenian isoglosses.

3.3. Eastern IE, Celtic, and Germanic

A number of lexemes from the "Eastern" IE languages are matched by Celtic and Germanic cognates. Thus, the cognates of Arm. *mux* 'smoke' are found in Celtic (Mlr. *múch* 'id.', a word occurring in glossaries), Gk. *σύχω* 'I smoulder', Baltic (Lith. *smáugti* 'suffocate'), Slavic (Russ. *smuglij* 'swarthy'), and Germanic (OE *sméokan* 'to smoke') (IEW 971). Note that the Brittonic *comparanda* (W. *mwg*, B. *mog*) point to a short vowel; the Irish word has been analysed as both an *u-* and *ā-*stem (see references in De Bernardo Stempel 1999: 97); the Greek example presupposes a final aspirated guttural, while the Old English one - a plain guttural (cf. Matasović 2009: 281); the Armenian cognate requires explanation of the root vocalic length and voiceless auslaut (see Martirosyan 2010: 484 with further bibliography). If Arm. **mu^l* in *a^lamu^lk* 'darkness' is not a product of reduplication (from *a^lĵ*

a-m-u^hj-k, cf. Meillet 1898: 279) and is a stem that goes back to *(s)mug^h-lo- (see Suk iasyan 1986: 88, 204), it may be compared to Greek ἀπο_σμυγ_έντες ‘smoldering’ and evidences for the voiced guttural from other languages. Yet another Armenian noun *murk* ‘roasted wheat’ (if from *(s)mug-ro-, Olsen 1999: 199), if relevant here, poses the problem of non-aspirated voiced guttural. Devoicing of the guttural is then restricted to the derivatives of Gk. σμύχω and Arm. *mux*, *moxir* ‘ashes’, and *mut* ‘darkness’ (if the latter is from *(s)muk^h-to-, cf. Olsen 1999: 41) – the exact conditions of such a devoicing remain unclear.

Arm. *erevim* ‘I appear’ finds parallels in Celtic (OIr. *richt* ‘form, shape, guise’ and W. *rhith* ‘id.’), Gk. *πρέπω* ‘I am seen’, and, possibly, in Germanic (OHG *furben* ‘to clean’) (IEW 845). Note that both Solta (1960: 374-5) and Makaev (1974: 57) consider Greek-Armenian connection here closer than Celto-Armenian or Celto-Greek – **prep* (Greek and Armenian) vs. **r_p-tu-* (Celtic, cf. Irslinger 2002: 123). One should also keep in mind a possibility of an alternative reconstruction of the root **k rep-*, because **prep-* is defective in view of the Proto-Indo-European root structure constrains on the repetition of stops (Schindler 1972: 67; Clackson 1994: 165-166). Such reconstruction fits the Greek and Armenian evidence but not Celtic.

An interesting case is provided by Arm. *beran* ‘mouth’, which has been long equated with Mlr. *bern* ‘gap, bridge’ and ‘mouth’, Lith. *burnà* ‘mouth’, Bulg. *bàrna* ‘lip’, and OHG *bora* ‘hole’. Alb. *brimë* ‘id.’, quoted in this connection by several authors, makes the distributional pattern visibly random. The Albanian form, however, may not belong here in case it goes back to an adjective in *-*mo-* (Proto-Albanian **brima*) related to Alb. *birë* ‘hole’ (see Orel 1998: 26, 37 for possible derivational patterns involved here). As E. Makaev (1974: 58) aptly notes, this word is irrelevant for the areal characteristic of Celtic and Armenian, for it occurs in the majority of IE languages (cf. PIE **b^herH-* ‘cleave’ *vel sim.* to which the quoted Albanian form belongs as well) (IEW 133-5; LIV 80). Moreover the semantic development from ‘hole’ to ‘mouth’ is trivial for the expressive vocabulary. G. Solta (1960: 292) maintained that phonetically the Armenian data is closer to Celtic. Indeed, the Armenian and Irish words share the *e*-grade of the root (cf. Olsen 1999: 297 and 671).

3.4. Eastern IE and Celtic

An interesting distributional pattern is supplied by the reflexes of the PIE word for ‘alder’, which according to IEW 1169 (after Lidén 1905-6: 485-487; see Martirosyan 2010: 208), is attested only in Celtic (B. *gwern* ‘mast, alder’, Mlr. *fern* ‘alder’), Arm. *geran* ‘log’, and Alb. *verr* ‘white poplar’ (the form *verrë*, often quoted here, denotes ‘hole’ and has a different etymology, see Orel 1998: 500

1). However, if Ind. *vara* ⁿ*a* ‘Crataeva roxburghii’ indeed belongs here (M. Mayrhofer leaves the word without explanation, cf. EWAI II.513-514), this would suggest a PIE status of the word (Mallory & Adams 1997: 11). The details of the semantic development are debated. Thus, E. Tumanyan (1978: 222) maintains that Armenian has preserved the meaning ‘log’ in this Celto-Armeno-Albanian isogloss; the original meaning ‘alder’ is supported by the fact that the Irish word developed the meaning ‘shield’ (made of alder, of course). As B. Olsen has noted (1999: 297), the formal correlation of Arm. *geran* to Mlr. *fern* is the same as in case of Arm. *beran* and Mlr. *bern*, for which see below.

3.5. Baltic, Armenian, and Celtic

Cognates of Arm. *oyc* ‘cold’ are found in Celtic (OIr. *úacht* ‘cold’, cf. W. *oer* ‘id.’) and Baltic (Lith. *áušt* ‘to become cold’) (IEW 783). As stated in Mallory & Adams (1997: 113), although the Baltic and Celtic reflexes of the underlying **h₃e^ug-* ‘cold’ (or **h₂e^ug-*, see Beekes 2003: 184, or **Ho^uǵ-*, see Hamp 1994-5) point to the North-West, the Armenian form may prove the PIE antiquity of the root. The distribution of the reflexes, however, fits Schmidt’s theory. Both Armenian (**Houg-*) and Old Irish (**oug-tu-*) protoforms reflect the *o*-grade of the root.

3.6. Greek, Armenian, and Celtic

Several Greek-Celto-Armenian isoglosses are certainly attested. Thus, Arm. *dyrgn* ‘potter’s wheel’ corresponds to Celtic (OIr. *droch* ‘wheel’) and Gk. *τροχός* ‘wheel, potter’s wheel’ (Makaev 1974: 57). Recently, H. Martirosyan (2010: 245) offered the most thorough account of the proposed solutions to explain the difference between the root vocalism of Greek and Celtic (**d^hrog^h-*), on the one hand, and Armenian (**d^hro^hǵ^h-*), on the other, of a noun stem derived from a root **d^hreg^h-* ‘to drag’ (LIV 154). E. P. Hamp’s solution (1982: 144-6) that presupposes the contamination of the outcomes of the nominative stem **erdug-*

(from $*d^{hr\bar{o}g^h}$ -) and oblique stem $*darg$ - (from $*d^{hr\bar{g}^h}$ -) seems untenable as well as that of Matasović (2009: 105) and others who derive the Armenian word directly from $*d^{hr\bar{o}g^h}$ -. In view of Arm. *burgn* ‘tower’ (Gk. *πύργος* ‘id.’) and *baʻnal* ‘to rise’, it is tempting to connect *durn* ‘potter’s wheel’ with *daʻnal* ‘to turn’ (from PIE $*d^heg-$ ‘to turn’, LIV 146). However, the semantic proximity of the Armenian and Greek words for the potter’s wheel makes it unlikely to derive the two words from different PIE roots.

More than thirty years ago J. Schindler (1975) considered the close relationship exhibited by Gk. *ὀδύνη* ‘pain’, OIr. *idu* ‘pain, labour’, and Arm. *erkn* ‘id.’ that go back to PIE $*h_1ed-uōn-/-uon-$. Other cognates are semantically remote, cf. Hitt. *dālu* ‘evil; evilness’ from $*h_1ed-uōl$ (Watkins 1982: 261; Kloekhorst 2008: 420-422). This comparison is accepted by B. Olsen (1999: 139) but rejected, for example, by F. Kortlandt (1976: 98), R. Beekes (2003: 199-200), R. Matasović (2009: 127), and H. Martirosyan (2010: 267-268). Thus, Matasović notes that the cluster $*du$ is supposed to yield OIr. $*db$, and connects the Irish word with Goth. *fiṭa* ‘I give birth’, while Beekes compares Gk. *ὀδύνη* with *ὀδών* ‘tooth’, for which he reconstructs $*h_3-$ (cf. *νώδος* ‘toothless’), and rejects Armenian etymology altogether on this ground. H. Martirosyan, following H. Ačʻayan (1971-9: II, 65), derives Armenian *erkn* along with *er nčʻm* ‘I fear’ from PIE $du e-$ ‘to fear’ (LIV 130).

Another example of the same areal distribution is notably presented by a reflex of a compound. Two Celtic composite nouns – OIr. *buachaill*, W. *bugail* ‘cowherd, herdsman’ – have been long compared with Gk. *βουκόλος* ‘id.’ Now, Arm. *koy*s ‘young girl, maiden, virgin’ may be viewed as a possible hypocoristic compound $*g^{u}ou-k^{u}i-$ from $*g^{u}ou-k^{u}olh_1-ah_2$ ‘cow_girl’, as hinted in Pedersen (1909: 54) and elaborated by Olsen (1999: 82), which offers a perfect match to the Greek-Celtic pair. It is of note that the word similarly acquired the meaning ‘youth, boy’ in later Irish.

3.7. Armenian and Celtic

There are only two lexical isoglosses in Solta’s and Makaev’s lists that pretend to be exclusively Celto-Armenian.

The first of them, constituted by Arm. *olor* ‘smooth, polished’, *lerk* ‘bald, hairless, soft’, Mr. *lerg* ‘sloping expanse, stretch of ground’ (cf. MW. *llwrw* ‘path’), had been offered already by H. Pedersen (1909: 105; see Solta 1960: 182; for a summary of etymologies of the Armenian word see Makaev 1974: 59-60).

The same comparison is found in Pokorny's IEW 679 s.v. **lerg_u* 'glatt, eben', which can be alternatively reconstructed as **lerg* -. In this entry Pokorny notably refers (although with the question mark) to OHG. *Lurch*. However, B. Olsen (1999: 965) admits that "the semantic connection between Arm. and Celtic is weak, and even though the two Arm. words are probably interrelated they are difficult to account for in detail, so until we have a more striking external cognate it remains to be seen if they belong to the inherited part of the vocabulary", and R. Matasović (2009: 244) maintains that the comparison "is more likely to be a chance similarity". As for semantic side of the comparison, note, however, Ir. *learg thais a thaoibh míndeal-bhaigh* 'the soft slope of his smooth comely side'.

A different etymology that does not account for the Celtic *comparanda* had been suggested for the Armenian word already by H. Petersson (1920: 87-89), who considered it as a continuation of PIE *(s)*leg* ^u-*ro-* (thus, Makaev 1974: 59-60) from the root PIE **sleig*- 'schleimig, gleiten, glä _uten' (IEW 663-4), reconstructed as **sle* _g- (LIV 566-67). Such etymology is formally problematic for Armenian and in any event impossible for Celtic. The other "rare Celto-Armenian isogloss" (Solta 1960: 424), represented by Arm. *matn* 'finger' and Old Welsh *maut* 'thumb' (MB *meut*), was suggested more than a century ago already (in Henry 1900: 200). The two drawbacks of this comparison were considered by E. Makaev (1974: 58-9). Referring to J. Morris Jones (1913: 163), he observed the (false) mutation of the Old Welsh form in view of the Modern Welsh *bawd* and pointed out the unexpected non-aspirated dental in the Armenian reflex. If we assume ***baut* for the Old Welsh form, it is tempting to consider here Arm. *boyt* 'thumb'. The latter, however, is tentatively derived from **b^heut(t)a-*, **b^hout(t)a-* (from PIE **b^heu* _H- 'to grow', cf. ahukyan 1987: 114-115; Olsen 1999: 69), which makes the comparison impossible due to the then unexpected vocalism in Brittonic since the outcome of Proto-Celtic diphthongs **-eu-*, **-ou-* in W. is *-u-* (see Schrijver 1995: 192ff). The word for 'thumb' oscillates between feminine and masculine genders in the history of the Welsh languages (GPC 265). In its Old Welsh attestation *ir maut* (see Falileyev 2000: 110), the (definite) article is supposed to trigger the lenition of the initial consonant if the noun is feminine. But, since the lenition is normally not indicated graphically in that

period (Falileyev 2008: 58-9 and see a collection of Old Welsh data in Falileyev 2000: 94-96), OW *maut* may well be the original form, provided that its Breton cognate also has the initial *m-*. Note also that J. Morris Jones (*loc. cit.*) draws attention to the fact that in few cases initial *m-* and *b-* interchange in the history of Welsh. Therefore, the original proto-form for the Celtic words may be indeed **mVt-*. It should be reminded that J. Pokorny (IEW 703) hesitantly lists the Celtic forms (remarkably without their Armenian counterpart) in his entry **mē-*, **m-e-t-* ‘etwas abstecken, messen, abmessen’ under condition that they reflect **mō -ta*. The following two scenarios would bring the Armenian word to the same underlying Proto-Indo-European root **meh₁-* ‘to measure’ (LIV 424-5): one should either reconstruct **mh₁-d-* (unattested elsewhere), or postulate **mh₁-t-* accepting Meillet’s claim (1900: 395) that the dental did not change in front of a nasal (cf. Arm. *akn* ‘eye’ from PIE **h₃ok-*, thus, **māt_n-* in Olsen 1999: 125). In any event, a relationship, if any, between Celtic and Armenian data remains obscure.

Other (seemingly) exclusive, Celto-Armenian, isoglosses deserve mentioning. Arm. *gayl* ‘wolf’ and Irish *fáel* ‘id.’ (probably originally an *u*-stem, declined in some texts as a dental stem) have been long derived from an interjection **uai* (IEW 1110-1, cf. Solta 1960: 34; recently Mallory, Adams 1997: 647). This analysis is totally dismissed by R. Matasović (2009: 406), who thinks that the correspondence “could be accidental, since it is based on only two IE languages” and that the connection with the interjection “is not convincing”. According to B. Olsen (1999: 34), however, these may reflect an agent noun of PIE **uoi-* ‘maker, howler’, and may well be a tabooistic substitute of the “standard” PIE word for wolf – **ul_k^uos* (see ample evidence supporting this etymology in Martirosyan 2010: 197). B. Olsen also discusses the suggestion of W. Winter and F. Kortland, who have derived the Armenian word directly from the latter (**ul_ko- > *gl_o- > *gal_o- > *galo-*) and provides counter arguments for such an analysis. It is of note that the morphological model underlying derivation of the Irish word for ‘wolf’ from an interjection is not unparalleled – P. De Bernardo Stempel (1999: 226) considers two more examples of non-deverbal nouns in **-lo-* and **-lā-*, cf. *mál* ‘eminent person, prince, chief’ from PIE **me_g(H)-* ‘groß’ and *úall* ‘elatio, arrogantia’ from IE **oups-* ‘unten an etwas heran’ (IEW 1106-7).

A further Celto-Armenian isogloss may be provided by the entry **steig* - ‘Schulter, Arm, Schenkel’ in Pokorny’s IEW¹⁰ 1018. The entry contains Celtic *comparanda* (OIr. *toib*, *tóeb*, DIL *taeb* ‘side’, MW ^{tu} ‘id.’), Armenian (‘*ē n* ‘shoulder’), and Slavic (Russ. *stegnó* ‘hip’). Although this triple comparison is accepted (with various caveats) by several scholars (cf. Olsen 1999: 131; Matasović 2009: 387), the Slavic forms have been treated differently by M. Vasmer (1958: III.8). This leaves us with another exclusive Celto-Armenian isogloss. It may be noted, however, that it has been queried whether “the Celtic and Armenian words belong together” (Mallory & Adams 1997: 518).

J. E. Rasmussen (1999) derives Armenian *kat n* ‘milk’ from a collective **g^əit-snah₂* ‘dropping, flow of drops’, and thinks that it is a close cognate of OIr. *bannae* ‘drop, milk’ < **g^uəit-sniah₂*. Celtic *comparanda* are represented by OIr. *bannae* (? *io*-stem) ‘drop, pustule’ and ‘milk’ (always spelt as *bainne* and occurs mostly in glossaries), MW *ban* ‘drop’ (GPC 253), MB *banne* and OCo. *banne gl. gutta*. These forms reflect **band o-* according to R. Matasović (2009: 54-5, see the comments and bibliography against the comparison with Skt. *bindú-* ‘drop’). Ir. additionally, Arm. *kat n* (note especially the dialectal material provided by Ačar’yan (HAB II.480-1): Agulis *kaxc* ‘, Havarik *kaxs* < *alc*’) is compared with Gk. γάλα (γάλακτ) ‘milk’, Lat. *lac* (*lact-*) ‘id.’, and Hitt. *galaktar* ‘nutriment, sap’ (Pedersen 1905: 2002; Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1984: II.568; Mallory, Adams 1997: 381-2). The crucial point of this comparison is the unexpected phonetic development of **-lkt- >* Classical Armenian *-t-* - and dialectal *-lc-* - (see criticism in Olsen 1999: 137, fn. 268). However, some attempts to solve this intricate development seem promising. Thus, J. Weitenberg (1985: 104-5) reconstructs acc. **g^lgt-m* for *kat n* and nom. **g^lgt-s* for dial. **alc*’ (see also Kortlandt 1985: 22; Beekes 2003: 166; Martirosyan 2010: 345); still, the double reflex of **-l-* in Armenian requires further explanation.

Finally, there is a couple of examples, when allegedly Celto-Armenian isoglosses are considered as borrowings from a third language. For example, B. Olsen (1999: 383) offers an interesting comparison of Arm. *andey* ‘(heard of) cattle’ with W. *anner* ‘young cow’, Mir. *ander* ‘young woman’; she derives the Armenian form from **(h)and^hih₂ o-* and suggests the Celtic proto-form **(h)and^h-er-V-*. Recent work on the Celtic side of the problem

by P. Schrijver (2002) has suggested that the Brittonic forms go back to **andēr* and the underlying Proto-Celtic form must be **andeir-*. According to Schrijver, the Irish form must be viewed as a (late) loan. He continues: “hence we are left with the conclusion that British **andēr* - lacks an Indo-European etymology and is strikingly similar to the native Basque word *andere* ‘lady,’” (Schrijver 2002: 214). It is not surprising, therefore, that the Celtic forms have been considered by several scholars to be borrowings from Basque (cf. e.g., Matasović 2009: 441 and see references cited in Schrijver 2002). As the Basque influence on Armenian is more than unlikely (note, however, that J. Pokorny thought that both Celtic and Basque words were borrowed from Hamitic, but this suggestion has been considered untenable, see Schrijver 2002: 205), and as the Brittonic word does not have IE etymology at least in Schrijver’s analysis, the Celto-Armenian isogloss becomes illusory. However, Schrijver (2002: 214) acknowledges that his preferred reconstruction of the Celtic etymon takes into account its compatibility with the Basque and Irish words as well as with the Gaulish *anderon*, which, as this scholar himself admits, may not belong here at all. The remaining proto-forms accountable for the Brittonic evidence are **and yr-* and **and dr-*. As for Arm. *andey* or *andi* (both variants are attested in the Bible), it is best explained as derivative from *and* ‘cornfield; (dial.) pastureland’ (the etymology had been proposed already in NHB I.132; see Martirosyan 2010: 77 and 72-4 for details on the etymologies of *andey* and *and* respectively).

Another Celto-Armenian isogloss may raise similar problems. B. Olsen (1999: 176, 671) follows H. Pedersen (1905: 202) in connecting Armenian *k ar* ‘stone’ (*i*-stem in the singular and an *i*- or *n*-stem in the plural) with OIr. *carrac* ‘rock’. She notes that “we may be dealing with a word of non -IE origin which means that the reason for the irregular inflection cannot be determined”.

The Celtic *comparanda* is well-represented (cf. OW *carrecc* ‘stone’, MW *carrec*, C. *carrag*, OB *carrec*; cf. Mlr. *carric*, see further references in Falileyev 2000: 22). Although the Celtic forms have been considered to be of IE origins (cf. IEW 531-2, to IE **kar-* ‘hart’), their non-IE origin has been maintained by many scholars. The idea of substratum source of the word for ‘stone’ has been recently elaborated by H. Martirosyan who postulates the underlying substratum **kar-* (Arm. *k ar*) and its derivative **kar-k-*

‘stony rise (where cultic rites were practiced)’ reflected in Armenian mountain name *K’ark’ē*, the above-cited Celtic forms, Germanic cognates of OEng. *hearg* ‘heathen temple, idol, altar’, Illyrian mountain names *Κερκετίον ὄρος* and *Κερκίνη*, Pruss. *Kercus*, and further in Hitt. *ar a-* (see further Martirosyan 2010: 656, 685-6). By default, this suggestion is open for further discussions and we hope to review this evidence in the future.³

3.8. Conclusions on Celto-Armenian lexical isoglosses

Taken at face value, the exclusive Celto-Armenian correspondences are significantly less important than those found between Armenian, Greek, Indo-Iranian, Albanian, and Balto-Slavic languages. It should be reminded that joint morphological innovations serve as primal indicators of prehistoric linguistic contact, while lexical correspondences in a limited group of IE languages may reflect the inherited vocabulary lost in other branches or point to joint areal innovations (or even borrowings)

All things considered, although K. H. Schmidt’s claim about the closer early connections between Eastern IE languages and Armenian is rooted in a fair amount of data (cf., e.g., Ačaryan 1968; Kortlandt 1980, 1986; ahukyan 1980; Clackson 1994), the use of Armenian correspondences as a proof of the closer contact of Proto-Celtic with Eastern IE languages is much less evident. On top of that, the hypothesis of Armenian-Baltic-Celtic closer affinity through a possible mediation of “Illyrian” and Thracian postulated by Solta (1960: 233) should be discarded unless new evidences are found in its favour.

4. Armenian data relevant for Celtic etymology

4.1. Although the close affinity of Celtic languages to Armenian is a phantom, it is quite expected that the Armenian data may be fruitfully used for historical studies of the inherited Celtic lexicon and vice versa, and the data of the two groups of languages are of course of paramount importance for PIE reconstruction. Two examples of this fruitful cooperation between scholars of Celtic and Armenian are provided below.

4.2. *W. daear* ‘earth, soil, land’ (GPC 875) is very well attested in the history of the language; the word is frequently employed in the

³ In this respect see also Falileyev *et al.* 2010: 13 (with further references) for the most difficult *car-*, possibly of various origins and different meanings, attested in Celtic place-names in antiquity.

early poetry, and sometimes participates in the trivial opposition 'land'/'sea' and 'ground'/'sky', cf. LIA 5 *ymor ar dayar* or T. 22.7 *o dayar hyt awyr*. It has cognates in other Brittonic languages (C. *doar*, *doer*, *dor*, *dour*, B. *douar*), but its parallels are notably not attested in Goidelic. However, the authenticity of the Common Brittonic word is not in doubt notwithstanding that it has not received an accepted etymology. V. Henry (1900: 104) reconstructs Celtic **di-aro-* or **di-saro-* with the meaning 'ce qu'on partage' or 'ce qui est susceptible de partage, d'appropriation', a cognate of Skt. *dáyate* and Gk. *δαίεται* 'il partage', OCS. *delu* 'portion', thus, from PIE **deh 2(-)* 'to share' (LIV 103-4). J. Morris Jones (1913: 100, 147) tries to connect it with the PIE word for 'earth' and derives it from **ǵʰdji-er̥ā*. A still less likely source for the Brittonic word is **des ar(ā)*, which was connected with OPer. *dahyu-* 'land';¹ or this see a critical analysis by R. Elsie (1979: 91) with further references. It should be considered that there is a certain discrepancy in the formation of the plural of the Welsh form and according to GPC 875, the following are attested: *-au*, *-oedd*, *-on*, and, with the vowel affection, *deyeri*, *deyerydd*, *daeërydd*. This makes its attribution to a certain type of stem problematic.

The Armenian *comparanda* have been used to elucidate the pre-history of the Brittonic word already for a century. H. Pedersen (1909: 66) suggested that W. *daear* is a cognate of Arm. *tiezerk* 'world'. This comparison has been elaborated by Rasmussen (1992: 98f.), who reconstructs **dems-(h 1)egʰerə2-* 'the borders of the dwelling' (see also Olsen 1999: 671), cf. Arm. *tēr* 'lord' < **ti-ayr* < **dems-h2nēr* and *tikin* 'mistress' < *dems .gu énh2*.

A different Armenian word for the analysis of W. *dayar* has been used by V. Orel (1988). He reconstructs PIE **dueir(o)-* 'earth' on the basis of Arm. *erkir* 'earth' and the Brittonic forms. This reconstruction was criticised for several reasons (see De Lamberterie 1998: 888-90 and Kocharov 2005: 38-45 for a useful survey of the available etymologies for Arm. *erkir* in conjunction with *erkin* 'sky' with further bibliography), which do not seem to be altogether grave. Thus, M. Peters (1994: 209) admitted the phonetic plausibility of this analysis, but noted that the reconstructed stem is then restricted to Armenian and Celtic, which seemed for Peters highly unlikely. As indicated above, however, exclusive Celto-Armenian isoglosses may occur, therefore this objection is not in fact disturbing. What is interesting with Peters'

analysis, is that he offers – quite in passing! – a very attractive etymology for the Welsh word. Peters (1994: 210, fn. 27) tentatively suggests a comparison of W. *dayar*, etc., with Gk. *διερός* ‘wet’. Semantically, as it was noted (Kocharov 2005: 43), this finds an interesting match in a Slavic formula *Mat’ syra zeml’ya* ‘mother moist earth’. It may be noted that the Welsh word occurs as a hendiadys for ‘land’ in a combination with another general term for land *tir*, thus *tir a dayar*, cf. already Old Welsh *dy thir hac di dair* ‘your land’ in “Braint Teilo” (Falileyev 2008: 123–4). Now, W. *tir* (cf. also OC *tir* gl. *tellus*, OIr. *tír*) is an apparent cognate of Lat. *terra* from Proto-Italic * *tersā* – with the underlying meaning ‘dry’, cf. Ir. *tír, tírim* ‘dry’, *tíraid* ‘dries’. The Celtic and Latin nouns are derived from PIE **ters-* ‘dry up’ (LIV 637–8; De Vaan 2008: 616). One may wonder therefore, if a combination of *dayar* ‘wet soil’ and *tír* ‘dry soil’ in this Welsh set phrase could echo in a way the duality of the early apprehension of ‘earth’ within ‘dry’ / ‘wet’ binary model, if it is allowed to exist.

4.3. Finally, the relevance of the Armenian data for Celtic etymology becomes evident in the case of OIr. *gobae*, etc. (from Proto-Celtic **g^h/g^{hu}ob-ro-*, see Blá žek 2008: 77) that has been long compared to Lat. *faber* ‘smith’. This etymology is however disturbed when the Latin word is to be compared to Arm. *darbin* ‘craftsman (original meaning, see HAB I.636); smith’. Such correspondence, first suggested by A. Meillet (1894: 165), points to **d^hHb^h-ro-* or **d^hab^h-ro-* (see Schrijver 1991: 102; Martirosyan 2010: 234–7) from **d^heHb^h-* (LIV 135–6); see also Beekes 1996: 230 on the possible non-Indo-European origin of the reconstructed stem. The comparison with Lith. *dirbti* ‘to work’, OE *deorfan* ‘id.’, Skr. *dr̥bhāti* ‘to tie’ from PIE **derb^h-* (LIV 121) would offer an alternative etymology for the Armenian and Latin words but not the Celtic one; this etymology, however, is rather doubtful. Yet another explanation of the Arm. *darbin* is available that considers the Armenian word as a borrowing from Hurrian *tabira* (Yakubovich *p.c. apud* Blá žek 2008: 79, fn. 2)⁴. In the latter case, Lat. *faber* is best compared with the Celtic *comparanda*.⁵

⁴ At the time of writing Václav Blá žek’s *Indo-Euro ean “Sm th” and H s D v ne Colleagues (JI-ES Monograph Series 58, 2010)* was unavailable to us.

⁵ The authors thank Dr Hrach Martirosyan for comments on the earlier draft of the paper. Petr Kocharov also thanks the Russian Foundation for Basic Research (grant

Abbreviations:

EWai – see Mayrhofer 1986-2001.

GPC – *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, Caerdydd, 1950-2002.

HAB – see Ačar^yan 1971-9.

IEW – see Pokorny 1959.

LIV – see Rix *et al.*, 2001.

NHB – *Nor ba^rg r^hay azean lezu* (*New Dictionary of the Armenian Language /In Armenian/*), Yerevan, 1979-81, 2 vols.

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ARMENIA IN IRELAND: INDO-EUROPEAN COGNATES, MIEVIAL LEGENIS AND PSEUDO-HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS

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0. Introduction¹

In this article, I will look at a selection of Celtic works in which Armenian comparanda were previously invoked. In the first part, I will pay particular attention to etymological research in which Armenian lexical items were mentioned in connection with Celtic linguistic data. Secondly, I will look at references to Armenia in medieval Irish documents ranging from *Auraicept na nÉces* to the Irish translation of *The Adventures of Sir Marco Polo*, and, finally, glance at the works of Charles Vallancey and his colleagues of the eighteenth century antiquarian movement, who, when looking for the origins of the Irish race, found them in Armenia.

1. Celtic and Armenian: Indo-European linguistic ancestry

Celtic was recognised as a prominent part of the Indo-European linguistic family since the time of Sir William Jones, Johann Kaspar Zeuss (1853) and others.² Armenian began to be treated as a

¹ I would like to thank Dr Elena Parina for her comments expressed in relation to the earlier version of the sections 1.1-1.12 of this paper. I would also like to thank Petr Kocharov for his generous advice regarding the validity of some Armenian etymologies proposed. Many kind thanks are due to Prof. Séamus Mac Mathúna for his kind support and constant encouragement. All remaining mistakes and omissions are, however, my sole responsibility.

² One need not be reminded of Jones' famous address to the Asiatick Society in Calcutta on 2 February 1786, which laid the foundation of Indo-European Studies, as a separate branch of philology: "The Sanscrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the *Greek*, more copious than the *Latin*, and more exquisitely refined than either... there is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the *Gothick* and the *Celtick*, „ though blended with a very different idiom, had the same origin with the *Sanscrit* (Müller 1986: 1). Contrariwise, Carl W. F. von Schlegel's musings *On the Language and Wisdom of the Indians* perceived Celtic (together with Armenian) as marginalised, and hence, unimportant, in contrast with Sanskrit, Germanic, Latin and Greek: "The old Indian language, Sanscrit... has the greatest affinity with the

special branch of Indo-European independent of Iranian since the mid-1870s as a result of the work of Heinrich Hübschmann (1875; 1877; 1883) and Antoine Meillet (1911). Meillet, “in his first article in the *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique*, devoted to the development of Armenian consonant clusters, supported Hübschmann’s view that Armenian is an independent Indo-European language, different from Iranian” (Sommerfelt 1962: 381).

One of the most remarkable features of Armenian phonology, i.e. a sound-change of the Indo-European *p* to *h* in Armenian (cp. Armenian *hayr* ‘father’, *hur* ‘fire’ and Greek *patēr*, *pyr* ‘id.’) was noted by Rasmus Rask in the *Undersøgelse om det gamle Nordiske Sprogs Oprindelse* essay published in Copenhagen in 1818 (Pedersen 1931: 75) and since has become a cliché in Indo-European linguistics.³

In Celtic Studies, it was Whitley Stokes who brought Armenian on a par with Celtic in his etymological studies of Old Irish texts and lexemes.⁴ In a preface to his publication of *The Lives*

Greek, Latin, as well as the Persian and German languages... The affinity of the Indian language with the Armenian, the Slavonian, and the Celtic, is on the contrary, very unimportant, in comparison with the striking uniformity of other languages supposed to be derived from that stock” (cit. from Lennon 2004: 399

400). As regards the question why some languages in the nineteenth century were important and some were not, and how the unimportant suddenly became important, see Ananya Kabyr (2011: 94) on various aspects of comparative philology and its place in “the webs of empire that once connected Germany,

Ireland, India and Britain, on the one hand, and Europe’s pre-modern past and its imperial present on the other”.

³ This feature itself was noted by Whitley Stokes in ‘Celtic Etymologies’ (1897: 44) and was invoked again in ‘A Supplement to *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*’ (1910: 462) in a note to p. 500, line 13. Comparing Scottish Gaelic with Old Irish, the feature was highlighted by George Henderson in his ‘Supplement to the Outlines of Gaelic Etymology’: “*h* in anlaut before a vowel seems to come from *p*. So apparently in Irish *haue* = *παις* and *Hēriu* cognate with *περία*. This change is regular in Armenian, see Brugmann’s *Grundriss*, §30; Stokes in *Bezenberger’s Beiträge* 23, 44” (Henderson 1911: B).

⁴ In the second part of our work, we will be mainly drawing on Stokes’s translations of medieval Irish compositions in which various references to Armenia are contained. For other aspects of Stokes’s work on comparative linguistics see the collection edited by Boyle & Russell (2011), especially the articles relating to Stokes’s work on comparative philology (Maier 2011), continental Celtic (Blom 2011), Sanskrit cognates and cultural concepts (Fomin 2011), and Early Irish lexicography (Moran 2011).

of *Irish Saints from the Book of Lismore* he included a number of interesting observations in regard to Celto-Armenian linguistic correspondences, for instance, “the Older Irish names for ‘wolf’ are *brech* = Skr. v^rka , and *fael* = Arm. *gail*” (Stokes 1890: xciv).

Another prominent Celticist, Carl Marstrander, in his 1913 publication of the inaugural volume of *The Contributions to the Dictionary of the Irish Language* series, had included the Armenian cognate of the Irish oronym *Dea*, attested in Ptolemy, namely *Dee*. He invoked this example to demonstrate “that in the 2nd century the Irish substitution of $-ā̄s$ by $-iās$ in fem. $-ā$ -stems had not yet taken place” (DIL, s.v. 2 *dea*).⁵

Through time, the stock of linguistic parallels from Armenian became quite substantial in Celtic Studies. For instance, the *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien* among other examples includes etymologies of *art* ‘bear’ and *cú* ‘hound’, in which Sanskrit, Avestan, Greek, Latin and Armenian cognates are used:

« **art**, m. “ours”. C’est le vieux nom indo-européen de l’ours: scr. $rkaś$, av. *arša*, arm. *arš*, gr. $ἄρκτος$, lat. *ursus* »
(Vendryes 1959: A-91)⁶

« **cú** m. th. à nas. “chien”... Il s’agit d’un mot ancien don’t les rapprochements ind.-eur. sont bien connus...: irl. *cú* renvoie à la flexion alternante * $u)ōn$, gén. *nas*, cf. scr. $śvā śu)vā$, gén. *śnas*, av. *spā*, gén. *śnam*, armén. *šun*, gén. *šan*, gr. $κύων$, gén. $κυνός$, lat. *canis* ».

(Bachellery & Lambert 1987: C-257)

⁵ The story of the compilation of the DIL is to be found in the ‘Historical note’ to the dictionary written by E.G. Quin in 1975. Unfortunately, this is still the only Armenian linguistic parallel in *The Dictionary of the Irish Language*. Such parallels belong to the field of etymology which, as a subject, for some reason was not popular with the RIA editorial board of the DIL. We shall look at such parallels below, and at this point let us mention that such etymologies are to be found in Matasović 2009; Vendryes 1956, 1960, 1974; Bachellery & Lambert 1987;

Lambert 1998.

⁶ Matasović (2009: 42-3) does not include an Arm. cognate in his discussion of PCelt **arto-*.

In addition, with the emergence of the laryngeal theory, Armenian comparanda has become a helpful tool in demonstrating various phonological and morphological changes characteristic of Indo-European and Proto-Celtic. For instance, in his overview of Old Irish K. McCone (1994: 71) invoked Armenian (along with Anatolian and Greek) evidence in order to demonstrate that the laryngeal in initial position was lost before a consonant in Celtic:

*Cailleadh laraingeach tosaigh roimh chonsan sa Cheiltis,
mar a tharla i bhformhór na dteangacha Ind-Eorpacha
seachas an Anatóilis, an Ghréigis agus an Airméinis (h > a).*

The initial laryngeal was lost in front of a consonant in Celtic, as happened in the majority of the Indo-European languages other than Anatolian, Greek and Armenian ($h > a$).

In a number of works, Karl-Horst Schmidt (1980; 1985, 1999, 2010) compared various Celtic and Armenian features within the scope of Indo-European linguistics and discovered various points of their intersection. These include the relative pronoun **yos* as well as “the desiderative formation, marked by reduplication as well as by a thematically inflected *s*-suffix, which in roots ending in a resonant is preceded by a laryngeal” (Schmidt 1996: 23), “the prepositional construction in the Insular Celtic languages ... caused by the loss of the participle, a development which is paralleled in Classical Armenian” (*id.*, 2010: 482) and the future formation in **-syē/-syo*.⁷

In what follows, I will try to survey the stock of linguistic parallels found between Celtic and Armenian vocabularies, which will primarily come from the domain of Indo-European word-formation and etymology.⁸

⁷ For further details, see K. H. Schmidt’s contribution to this volume which is a revised version of his 2007 publication.

⁸ The list of parallels surveyed below is not intended to be an exhaustive one. For further and fuller detail, see Falileyev and Kocharov’s contribution to this volume, esp. part 3, ‘Lexical isoglosses’. I have primarily based my findings on Clackson 2007, Mallory & Adams 2008 (hereinafter MA), Matasović 2009 (hereinafter EDPG) and Martirosyan 2010 (hereinafter EDA) whose research incorporated earlier relevant works in the field, esp. Makaev 1974, as well as others.

1.1. Swadesh-Starostin 100 word list

This survey will begin with an evaluation of Celto-Armenian cognates in a famous 100 culture-free list of terms that are believed to be a core vocabulary constant across various IE linguistic traditions. This list was compiled by Morris Swadesh (1960), reviewed by Johann Tischler (1973), and modified by Sergey Starostin in 2006 in a series of seminars convened in Moscow.

We will use the list as produced by Mallory and Adams (MA 97-9). This list is used in glottochronology and despite the criticisms expressed in relation to the method and the postulates it rests upon, I will look at superficial correspondences provided by the list in order to establish true cognate terms between Celtic – mainly Old Irish (OIr.) as well as occasionally Middle Irish (MlIr.), Old (OW), Middle (MW) and Modern Welsh (NW) – and Classical Armenian (Arm.) which can help us in identifying the level of linguistic commonality that once existed between the two linguistic traditions.

The 100 word list can be broadly divided into the following sections: pronouns (items 1-10 of the list), numerals (11-12), adjectives of size (13-15), nouns connected with humans and animals, including various parts of the body (16-52), verbs of human activity (53-70), cosmological objects and weather conditions (70-75, 91), natural objects (76-85), colours (86-90), adjectives of description of state (92-99) and a noun of naming (100).

Statistical analysis of the Mallory-Adams list shows that Celtic shares only 39% of all its vocabulary compared with Armenian as well as, for instance, with Tocharian (39%), in comparison with Italic (59%), Indic (57%), Iranian (56%) and Germanic (49%). It is only Albanian (27%) and Anatolian (31%) that both have fewer cognates with Celtic than Armenian. So, what are these cognates?

Firstly, these are personal, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns: ‘I’ (PIE **h₁es*, Arm. *es*; PIE **h₁me*, OIr. *mē*, MA 416), ‘you’ (sg.) (PIE **túh₂*, OIr. *t*, Arm. *du*, MA 416), ‘we’ (PIE **wéi*, OIr. *nī*, Arm. *mek*, MA 416), ‘you’ (pl.) (PIE **uswé*, OIr. *sī*, Arm.

⁹ Cit. from Parina 2009: 139; for the most up-to-date discussion of the Swadesh wordlist, its modifications and developments, see Kassian, Starostin, Dybo & Chernov 2010.

i-jez, MA 417), ‘this’ (PIE * *so/tód*, OIr. *so/-d*, Arm. *ay-d*, MA 417-8), and ‘who’ (PIE * *k^wós*, OIr. *nech* ‘someone’, (< **ne-k^wos*), Arm. *ov* (< **k^wos/k^wom*), MA 419),¹⁰ and, secondly, a numeral ‘two’ (PIE * *dwéh₃*, OIr. *dáu*, Arm. *erku*, MA 310), as well as an adjective of size ‘big; large’ (PIE **meǵhā* -, OIr. *maige*, Arm. *mec*, MA 319).

Also, animal nouns, such as ‘woman’ (PIE * *ǵ^wénh_a*, OIr. *ben*, gen. *mna*, Arm. *kin*, gen. *kno* *ǵ*, MA 204- 5) and ‘man’ (PIE **h₁ⁿr*, OIr. *ner* ‘force’ (cf. NW *nêr* ‘hero’), Arm. *ayr*, MA 204), as well as ‘bird’ (PIE * *ha^wewei*, NW. *hw^yad* ‘duck’, Arm. *haw*, MA 143) and ‘dog’ (PIE * *u^wōn*, OIr. *cú*, Arm. *sun*, MA 138), together with noun-attributes of ‘birds’ and ‘dogs’ – ‘feather/wing’ (PIE **pet(e)r/n*, OIr. *ēn* ‘bird’, Arm. *t’r’ ě’im* ‘fly’, MA 181) and ‘bone’ (PIE * *h₂óst*, OIr. *esna* ‘ribs’, Arm. *oskr*, MA 187 = EDPC 44, **astn(iy)o*).

There are plenty of cognates in the two vocabulary lists dealing with various parts of the human body: ‘ear’ (PIE **h₂óus-*, OIr. *ó*, Arm. *unkn*, MA 175), ‘eye’ (PIE * *h₃ok^w*, OIr. *enech* ‘face’, Arm. *akn*, MA 175), ‘tooth’ (PIE * *h₁dónt-*, OIr. *dét*, Arm. *atamn*, MA 175), ‘tongue’ (PIE **dn^{ghu}ha-*, OIr. *tengge*, Arm. *lezu*, MA 175), ‘foot’ (PIE **p^d*, OIr. *is* ‘below, under’, Arm. *otn*, EDPC 131, **fissu-*), ‘knee’ (PIE **ǵ^ōónu*, OIr. *glⁿ*, Arm. *cunr*, MA 183), ‘breasts’ (PIE * *psténos*, OIr. *sine* ‘teats’,¹¹ Arm. *stin*, MA 181), ‘heart’ (PIE * *krídyo-*, OIr. *cride*, Arm. *sirt*, MA 187 = EDPC 220, **kridyo-*).

Finally, let us note many correspondences in the sphere of verbs of perception and various human activities: ‘drink’ (PIE **peh₃(i)*, OIr. *ibid*, Arm. *əmpem*, MA 256), ‘lick’ (PIE **lejǵh*, OIr. *ligid*, Arm. *lizem*, MA 256), ‘eat’ (PIE * *h₁éd*, OIr. *ithid* ‘he eats’, Arm. *utem* ‘I eat’, MA 254), ‘suck’ (PIE * *dheh₁*, OIr. *denid*, Arm. *diem*, MA 256), ‘hear’ (PIE * *le^{u-}*, OIr. *ro cluinethar*, Arm. *lsem*, MA 335), as well as ‘what is heard, fame’ (PIE * *lutós*, OIr. *clóth* ‘heard’, *clu* ‘good rumour, fame’, Arm. *lu* ‘known’, MA 335),

¹⁰ Note that both Arm. and OIr. preserved those pronouns that distinguished an alien aspect (PIE **ha^élyos* ‘other’: OIr. *aile*, Arm. *ayl*, MA 318), as well as marked the idea of completeness, wholeness (PIE * *olⁱō*, OIr. *uile* ‘whole’, Arm. *ofj* ‘whole, sound’, EDA 57).

¹¹ According to Mallory and Adams, the OIr. lexeme is derived from the stem *speno* ‘woman’s breast, nipple’ which ‘appears to be a metathesised and simplified Western version of PIE **psténos*’ (MA 182).

‘sleep’ (PIE **swep-*, OIr. *súan*, Arm. *‘un*, EDPC 351, **sowno-*), ‘swim’ (PIE **pleu-*, OIr. *luid* ‘moves’, Arm. *luanam* ‘I wash’, MA 404), ‘sit’ (PIE **sed-*, OIr. *saidid*, Arm. *nstim*, MA 296), ‘speak’ (PIE **wek*^w < Present o-grade **wok*^w *ti*, OIr. *focal* ‘word’, Arm. *gočem* ‘call’, MA 352).

Other cognates are to be found among the terms used to denote natural objects: ‘moon’ (PIE **méh₁nōt*, OIr. *mī* ‘month’, Arm. *amis* ‘month’, MA 128-9), ‘star’ (PIE **h₂st r*, OIr. *ser*, Arm. *astl*, MA 129), ‘water’ (PIE **wó^{dr}*, OIr. *uisce*, Arm. *get* ‘river’, MA 125), and to ‘name’ humans (PIE **h₁nó^{mn}*, OIr. *ainm*, Arm. *anum*, MA 358 = EDPC 38, **anman*).¹²

However, beyond the proto-forms indicated on the list given above, one can find further parallels in different areas of PIE vocabulary than was originally supposed, that point out to a closer relationship between the two languages.

1.2. Kinship terms

Correspondences between Old Irish and Armenian in the area of family and kinship lexicon can be extended without any difficulty. These include such appellations as ‘father’ (PIE **pha^tr*, OIr. *athir*, Arm. *hayr*, MA 210), ‘mother’ (PIE **mé_ha^{tēr}-*, OIr. *māthair*, Arm. *mayr*, MA 213), ‘brother’ (PIE **b^hréhater-*, OIr. *brāthair*, Arm. *elbayr*, MA 214), ‘sister’ (PIE **swés^ōr-*, OIr. *siur*, Arm. *‘oyr*, MA 256), ‘daughter’ (PIE **dhuǵ^h a^t r*, Gaul. *duxtir*, Arm. *dustr*, MA 213), ‘grandfather; maternal uncle’ (PIE **h₂ewh₂o-*, OIr. *auē* > *ua* ‘grandchild’, Arm. *haw* ‘grandfather; ancestor’, EDA 82, **an*), ‘mother-in-law’ (PIE **swe^kru-h₂*, MW *chwegr*, Arm. *skesur*, MA 215 = EDPC 362, *swe^r*).¹³

The verbs applicable to this category include ‘to ask’ (someone in marriage) (PIE **per^k*, OIr. *arcu* ‘I beseech’, Arm. *harsn* ‘bride’, MA 358), and ‘to bear’ with a specific meaning ‘to bear a child’ (PIE **b^her-*, OIr. *beirid*, Arm. *berem*, MA 404) as well

¹² The correspondence between OIr. *ainm* and Arm. *anum* (sic!) (MA 358) < *PIE *h₁nó^{mn}* ‘name’, was hotly debated by Matasović. Deriving OIr. *ainm* and Arm. *anun* from PIE **h₃nomn^h*, he discards “the evidence of Gr. *enyma* as too uncertain for positing the initial **h₁-*; however, unlike the Leiden school, I do not believe the evidence warrants **h₃neh₃mn^h*” (EDPC 38, **anman*).

¹³ For PCelt *duxtir* ‘daughter’, Matasović (EDPC 109) links OIr. *Der-* with Arm. *dustr*. He also proposes to link OIr. *auē*, *ua* ‘grandson’, derived from Proto-Celtic stem **awyo* ‘descendant, grandchild’ with Arm. *haw* ‘uncle’ (EDPC 50).

as the terms for ‘birth pangs’ (?PIE * *ped-*, OIr. *idu*, Arm. *erkn*, EDPC 127, **fedon-*) and ‘family, household’ (PIE **ǵ*, OIr. *énhies*, OIr. *genas* ‘procreation, conception’, Arm. *cin* ‘birth’, MA 205). Martirosyan (EDA 590) proposed a comparison of Arm. *su* ‘sterile, childless’ with OIr. *suth* ‘birth, fruit’ and Sanskrit *s te* ‘give birth, beget’, etc. deriving these lexemes from PIE *n-suH-k-*.

1.3. Numbers

As far as numbers are concerned, the list of correspondences is still impressive. We get cognate forms not only in the sequence of basic numbers¹⁴ from 3 to 10 – ‘three’ (PIE **tréyes*, OIr. *trí*, Arm. *ere*, MA 311), ‘four’ (PIE **k^wetwóres*, OIr. *cethair*, Arm. *č’ór*, MA 311 = EDPC 179), ‘five’ (PIE **pénk^we*, OIr. *coic*, Arm. *hing*, MA 312), ‘six’ (PIE **(s)we^s*, OIr. *sé*, Arm. *vec*, MA 313), ‘seven’ (PIE **septm*, OIr. *secht*, Arm. *ewt’n*, MA 314), ‘eight’ (PIE **h₈₀ to_{h3(u)}*, OIr. *ocht*, Arm. *il’*, MA 314), ‘nine’ (PIE **h₁₀₀neh₁^m*, OIr. *noí*, Arm. *inn*, MA 314), and ‘ten’ (PIE **dé*, OIr. *deich*, Arm. *tasn*, MA 315), but the list of parallel formations continues further (primarily on the basis of the PIE root *k^womt(ha)*): ‘twenty’ (PIE **wik¹*, OIr. *fiche*, Arm. *san*, MA 316), ‘thirty’ (PIE **trī-omt(ha)*, OIr. *tríochó*, Arm. *eresun*, MA 316), ‘fifty’ (PIE **pénk^we-omt(ha)*, OIr. *coíca*, Arm. *yisun*, MA 316), and ‘sixty’ (PIE **(k)s(w)^e-omt(ha)*, OIr. *sesca*, Arm. *vat’sun*, MA 316).

1.4. Fauna

Cognate terms for animals and birds, wild and domestic, as well as insects and reptiles, are attested in abundance. Beside cognate terms for ‘dog’, ‘wolf’ and ‘bear’ already noted above, let us point out the following corresponding names ascribed to various animal species. The list of such names among the domestic animals, includes ‘whelp, young dog’ (PIE **(s)ken-* ‘new’, OIr. *cana*, *canu*, Arm. *skund*, EDPC 187, **kanawon-*), ‘sheep’ (PIE **h₂₀wi-*, OIr. *oí*, Arm. *hóviv* ‘shepherd’, MA 140 = EDPC 301, **owi-*), ‘horse’ (PIE **h_{1e}wos*, OIr. *ech*, Arm. *ēš*, MA 139 = EDPC 114, **ek^wo-*), ‘cow’ (PIE **g^wus*, OIr. *bó*, Arm. *kov*, MA 140 = EDPC 71, **bow-*), ‘buck, he-goat’ (PIE **bhuǵos*, OIr. *boc* ‘buck’, Arm. *buc* ‘lamb’, MA 141 = EDPC 83, **bukko-*), a general term used for ‘a young of

¹⁴ As regards the basic number ‘two’, see 1.1 above, p. 86.

an animal, kid' (PIE **men-* 'small', Mlr. *menn*, Arm. *manr* 'small', EDPC 266, **menno-*), also 'rooster' (PIE **klh₁-*, OIr. *cailech*, Arm. *a'alal*, EDA 159).

Shared vocabulary in the appellation of wild animals and birds extends to 'hind elk' (PIE **h₁elh₁nih₂*, OIr. *elit*, Arm. *eln* 'deer', MA 139 = EDPC 115, **elap(t)̄*, 'lynx' (PIE **lu*, OIr. *lug*, Arm. *luṣun*, MA 142), 'fox' (PIE **h₂lop-*, MW *llewyn*, Arm. *duṣ*, MA 138 = EDPC 243, **loferno-*), 'heron' (PIE **ger-*, NW. *garan*, Arm. *k unk*, MA 144) and cognate verbs meaning 'bird cry' (the "raucous sounding", PIE **kau(k-)*, NW. *cuan* 'nightfowl', Arm. *u* 'sighing', MA 364; PIE **ġ ar*, OIr. *do-gair*, Arm. *cica r n* 'swallow', *cica r nuk* 'nightingale', MA 354). Etymologically transparent are onomatopoeic 'cuckoo' (PIE **u*, OIr. *cúach*, Arm. *k(u)ku*, MA 144) and 'eagle' (PIE **h₃or-*, OIr. *irar*, Arm. *urur*, MA 144).

A category that comprises various insects and pests includes such cognates as 'louse' (PIE **(o)nid*, OIr. *sned* 'nit', Arm. *aniĉ*, MA 150-1) and 'tick, beetle' (PIE **diġ h*), OIr. *dega* 'stag beetle', Arm. *tiz*, MA 151).

Cognates in the world of reptiles are restricted by 'snake' (PIE **h₃éng w his*, OIr. *esc-ung* 'water snake', Arm. *awj*, MA 148).

1.5. Vegetation

Turning to the cognate lexemes in the domain of the flora, let me point the reader to 'alder' (PIE **werno/eh₁*, OIr. *fern*, Arm. *geran*, MA 158 = EDPC 414, **werno-*), 'elm' (PIE **pteleyeh₁-/pteleyeh₁-*, Mlr. *teile* 'linden', Arm. *t'eli* 'elm', MA 159), 'blackberry' (PIE **morom-*, NW. *merwydd* 'mulberry', Arm. *mor* 'blackberry', MA 160), 'sprout' (PIE **dhal-*, NW. *dail* 'leaf', Arm. *dalar* 'green', MA 161),¹⁵ 'resin, pitch' (PIE **ġ ih₃wo-*, OIr. *bí*, Arm. *kiv*, *kvoy* 'tree pitch', MA 161 = EDPC 67, *bīwV* -).

Martirosyan also compares Arm. *eĉ'i* 'birch' and OIr. *beithe* 'box tree' < **bētu iā* MW. *bedw* 'birches' < **betua* < **betuiā* that "may derive from QĪE **ġwet u) ieh₂*... The Armenian form is close to the Celtic both formally and semantically. Compare also *kiv* 'tree

¹⁵ Matasović points at the correspondence between MW *deillyau* 'emanate, proceed, originate', and Greek *thállo* 'blossom' and Arm. *dalar* 'green', linking the latter with Mlr. *duilne* (EDPC 102, **dol-v*). "Some linguists reconstruct the PIE root as *ḍelh₁-*, but I do not believe that the evidence warrants that reconstruction. Celtic generalised the zero-grade of the root in **dal-n-* (< **d h₁n-eh₁*), but the o-grade is probably attested in **dolisko-* 'seaweed' and **dol-v-* 'leaf'" (EDPC 88, **dal-n-*).

pitch, mastic, chewing-gum' which too (1) comes from an old **u*-stem; (2) belongs to the same semantic sphere; (3) is closely related to Celtic and Slavic" (EDA 359).

Matasović indicates Arm. *hac* 'i 'ash-tree' among the cognates of the OIr. *uinnius* 'id.' (EDPC 301, **osno*-).

1.6. Human body and senses

Celtic and Armenian also share a significant number of nouns that describe the human appearance as well as various parts and organs of human body, including verbs connected with (presence/absence of) various human vital functions: ¹⁶ 'form, appearance' (PIE **prep-* 'appear', OIr. *richt*, Arm. *erewim* 'be evident, appear', MA 327 = EDPC 141, **frixtu-*), 'nose' (PIE **sreg^h-* 'snore', OIr. *srón* 'nose', Arm. *r^hngun-* 'id.', EDPC 352, **srognā*), 'chin' (PIE **sme^ru-*), OIr. *smech*, Arm. *mawru-* 'beard', EDPC 347, **smeko-*), 'jaw' (PIE **ǵénu-* > OIr. *gin* 'mouth', PIE **ǵ^hondhadh-o-s* > Arm. *cnawt* 'chin', MA 176), 'elbow, forearm' (PIE **h²selVn*, OIr. *uilen* 'corner, elbow', EDPC 297, **olīnā*), and closely related PIE **h²zelek* > Arm. *olo* 'shin, leg', MA 182), 'spleen' (PIE **sploigh²⁻ⁿ*, OIr. *selg*, Arm. *p^haycaln*, MA 187 = EDPC 141, **sfelgā*), 'testicles' (PIE **h²rǵhis*, OIr. *uirge*, Arm. *orji*, MA 184 = EDPC 300, **orgyā*), 'entrails' (PIE **h²eh²itr-* > OIr. *inathar*, MA 187, cp. PIE **h²ien-t(e)rom* > Arm. *anderk*, MA 186), 'side' (PIE **teig^w*, OIr. *tóib*, Arm. *t^en* 'shoulder', MA 182 = EDPC 387, **toybo-*), 'sneeze' (PIE **pster*, OIr. *sréod*, Arm. *p^hrngam*, MA 196 = EDPC 149, **fstr-ew-*), 'sleep' (PIE **swópno-*, OIr. *súan*, Arm. *un*, Matasović 2009: 351, **sowno-*), 'die' (PIE **mer-*, OIr. *marbaid* 'kills', Arm. *me^ranim* 'I die';¹⁷ cf. also PIE **g^weh²-*, OIr. *baid*, Arm. *kam* 'stand', EDPC 52, **ba-yo-*), 'death' (PIE **dheu-*, OIr. *díth*, Arm. *di* 'corpse', MA 199), 'mortal being = human' (PIE **mórtos*, OIr. *mart* 'violent death', Arm. *mard* 'a human').

¹⁶ Including the sphere of intellectual activity and speech, attested in both languages in the verb 'find (out)' (PIE **weyd-*, OIr. *ro-finnadar* lit. 'I have found out', Arm. *gitem* 'know') and the noun 'voice, word' (PIE **wok^w* 'voice', MW **gwaethl* 'debate', Arm. *gočem* 'I call') (EDPC 422, **wi-n-d-o-*; 429, **wox-tlo-* 'dispute').

¹⁷ As P. Kocharov informs me (p.c.), the Arm. verb "present stem formation is not entirely clear (a back formation from root aorist **mers-* > Aor. *me^r* > Pres. *me^r* - *anim* or a renovated nasal present **mer-nH-m* > **me^r anam* → *meranim*)."

1.7. Sphere of settled life

Early Irish and Armenian linguistic traditions share a number of cognates in terms of their communal and settled way of life and everyday activities. These are ‘inheritance’ (PIE *^{h1}orb^ho-, OIr. *orb* ‘heir’, Arm. *orb* ‘orphan’, EDPC 299, *^{h1}orb^ho-, OIr. *orb* ‘home’, (PIE *^dm OIr. *dam*, Arm. *tun*, MA 206), ‘fire’ (PIE *^{h2}eh_x-ter, OIr. *āith* ‘furnace’, W. *odyn* ‘id.’, Arm. *ayrem* ‘I burn’, EDA 63 = MA 67), ‘door’ (PIE *^{dh}w^r, OIr. *dorus*, Arm. *dur-k*, MA 224), ‘stay, remain’ (PIE *^{men}, OIr. *ainmne* ‘duty’, Arm. *mmam* ‘stay, expect’, MA 219 = EDPC 38, *^{an-men-V-}), ‘earth, ground’ (PIE *^{telh2-m-} ‘surface’, OIr. *talam*, Arm. *t’al* ‘district’, EDPC 366, *^{talamōn-}), ‘field’ (PIE *^{h2érh3}w^r, OIr. *arbor* ‘seed’, Arm. *haravun* ‘field’, MA 163 = EDA 394), ‘plow’ (PIE *^{h2érh3}trōm, Mlr. *arathar*, Arm. *arawr*, EDA 128), ‘grind’ (the cereal) (PIE *^{melh2}, OIr. *meilid*, Arm. *malem*, MA 168 = EDPC 255, *^{mal-o-}), ‘quern’ (PIE *^gw^rreh_x-w-on-, OIr. *brán*, *bró*, Arm. *erkan*, MA 243 = EDPC 75, *^{brawon-}), ‘raw, uncooked’ (PIE *^{h2omós}, OIr. *om*, Arm. *hum*, MA 260 = EDPC 299, *^{omo}), ‘salt’ (PIE *^{seha-(e)}, OIr. *şalann*, Arm. *al*, MA 261), ‘meat’ (PIE *^m(m)s, OIr. *méthas* ‘fat, fat meat’, Arm. *mis*, MA 261), ‘wool’ (PIE *^{h2ulh1-no/eh2-}, OIr. *olann*, MW *gwlan*, Arm. *getmn*, EDA 204) as well as ‘honey’ (PIE *^{meli-t-}, OIr. *mil*, Arm. *metr*, EDA 462 = EDPC 263, *^{meli}).¹⁹

1.8. Travel, trade and craft

Besides all forms of activities that describe the settled way of life, Celtic and Armenian also share a number of word formations that belong to the field of mobility, travel, trade and economics in general: ‘boat’ (PIE *^{neh2u-}, OIr. *nau*, Arm. *naw*, EDA 500 = EDPC 285, *^{nāwā-}), ‘silver ~ money’ (PIE *^{h2reg-nt-om}, OIr. *argat*, Arm. *arcát*, MA 242 = EDPC 41, *^{arganto-}), ‘yoke’ (PIE *^{yugóm}, Ml *cuing*, OW. *iou*, Arm. *luc*, MA 248 = EDPC 437, *^{yugo-}), ‘passage’ (PIE *^{sentos} < *^{sent-}go, OIr. *sét*, Arm. *ant’ac*, MA 250), ‘footprint, track, path’ (PIE *^{pedom}, Mlr. *inad* ‘position, place’ (< *^{eni-pedo}), Arm. *het* ‘footprint, track’, MA 250 = EDPC 116, *^{eni-}

¹⁸ Mallory & Adams derive OIr. *orb* ‘heir, inheritance’, and Arm. *orb* ‘orphan’ from PIE *^{h23orbhos} ‘orphan’ (MA 208).

¹⁹ Despite a correspondence between OIr. *fin* and Arm. *gini* < PIE *wóinom* ‘wine’, this pair cannot be invoked as the Irish lexeme is a direct borrowing from Lat. *vīnum*.

fedo-), ‘pass/spend the night’ (PIE **h₂wes*, OIr. *foaid*, Arm. *goy* ‘is’, MA 219 = EDPC 428, **wos-o-*; cf. also PIE **h₁e/oi-g^h*, OIr. *óegi* ‘guest’, Arm. *ēj* ‘to stay overnight’, EDA 277), ‘take, grasp’ (PIE **dergh*, OIr. *dremm* ‘troop, band’, Arm. *trc’a* ‘bundle of brushwood’, MA 272) vs. ‘give’ (PIE *deh₃*, OIr. *dánaid*, Arm. *tam* < PIE **dh₃-ye/o-*), ‘gift’ (PIE *déh₃r/n*, OIr. *dán*, Arm. *tur*, EDPC 90, *dānu*) and ‘measure’ (PIE *med*, OIr. *midithir* ‘judges’, Arm. *mit* ‘thought, reason’, MA 318). One can also probably refer to craftwork, poetry and related terms in this regard:

It is tempting to compare Arm. *‘erday/’erday* ‘scribe’ with Welsh *cerdd* ‘craft, poetry, poem’,²⁰ OIr. *cerd* ‘craft; poetry’, ‘craftsman, artisan, gold- and silversmith; poet’ from QIE. * *erdā* -, cf. Gr. *κέρδος* n. ‘gain, profit, desire to gain, cunning, wiles’ (EDA 662).

1.9. War and battle

A number of cognate verbs that are applicable to descriptions of warfare survived in Celtic and Armenian: ‘strike’ (PIE *g^when-*, OIr. *gonaid* ‘wounds, strikes’, Arm. *ganem* ‘I strike’, MA 279), ‘wound’ (PIE *wen*, NW. *gweint*, Arm. *vandem* ‘I destroy’, MA 280), ‘destroy’ (PIE *h₂erk-*, OIr. *oirgid*, Arm. *harkanem* ‘split, fell’, MA 281), ‘strike, stab’ (PIE **g^wel-*, MW *bel, belu* ‘pierce’, NW. *ballu*, Arm. *elem* ‘torture; suffer’, MA 282 = EDPC 61, * *bel-o-*), ‘break, crush’ (PIE **bheg*, OIr. *boingid*, Arm. *bekanem*, MA 371)²¹ as well as adjectives that describe emotionally loaded states of being – ‘angry, violent’ (PIE *bhorg^wo*, OIr. *borb* ‘stupid, violent’, Arm. *bark*, MA 340) and ‘frightening, threatening’ (PIE *garǵos*, MIr. *garg* ‘rough’, Arm. *karcr* ‘hard’, EDPC 151, * *gargo-*) – as well as pointed weapons: ‘pointed, sharp’ (PIE *haek*, NW. *hogi* ‘sharpen’, Arm. *asetn* ‘needle’, MA 298).

²⁰ Note that Arm. *erg* ‘poem; song’ (which “is regarded as an inheritance from the IE poetic language”, EDA 259) is related to OIr. *erc* ‘sky’ (both derived from PIE

h₁erkw-o). However, Makaev (1974: 56-57) points out that an OIr. lexeme may belong to the PIE name of the Thunder God (**perk^w-*).

²¹ Matasov (2009: 60) prefers an earlier form of the Old Irish verb, *do-beig* (< PCelt *bego*), comparing it to an aorist form of its Armenian cognate *ebek* ‘broke’ to highlight the existing relationship between the two verbs.

1.10. Seasons and time

The two language groups preserved cognate terms only for three seasons, namely ‘spring’ (PIE $wé^{sr}$, OIr. *errach*, Arm. *garun*, MA 302), ‘summer’ (PIE $sem-$, OIr. *šam*, Arm. *am* ‘year’, MA 302 = EDPC 321, $*samo-$), and ‘winter’ (PIE $ǵ$ *heim-*, OIr. *gaim*,²² Arm. *jiwn* ‘snow’, MA 302 = EDPC 170, $*gyemo-$ < PIE h *yem-*) which hints at the existence of the originally tripartite division of the ‘year’ (PIE *wet*, OIr. *feis*, Arm. *heru* ‘last year’ < $*per-wet$, MA 302) among the Indo-Europeans. Also common to both languages are the nouns denoting the division of time into ‘day’ (PIE $dye(u)$, OIr. *día*, Arm. *tjw*, MA 301)²³ and ‘evening’ (PIE $wesk^w$ *er-*, OIr. *fešcor*, Arm. *gišer*, MA 303 = EDPC 416, $*wesk^w$ *ero-*), and the adjectives ‘old’ (PIE $sénos$, OIr. *sen*, MW *hen*, Arm. *hin*, MA 303 = EDPC 330, $*seno-$) and ‘new’ (PIE $newos$, OIr. *núae*, Arm. *nor*, MA 303 = EDPC 293, $*nowyo$) as well as ‘slow’ (PIE $duh2-$, OIr. *dóe*, Arm. *tev* ‘duration’, EDPC 110, *dwāyo* -) which all denote various temporal categories.²⁴

1.11. Descriptive adjectives

A few words suffice to describe parallels existing among the pairs of adjectives describing various states of being: ‘warm’ (PIE g^w *hrensós* > OIr. *grís* ‘heat, fire’; PIE g^w *her* > Arm. *jerm*, MA 344) and ‘cold’ (PIE h *seug-*, OIr. *uacht*, Arm. *oyc*, MA 348),²⁵ ‘bright’ (PIE $*leukós$ > OIr. *lóch*, PIE $*lóuk(es)$ > Arm. *loys* ‘light’, MA 328-9; cf. also PIE $*b^h$ *eh2-* ‘shine’, OIr. *bán* ‘white’, ‘perhaps Arm. *banam* ‘open’’, EDPC 55, $*bāno$) and ‘dark’ (PIE $*tem^{(ə)}$ -, MÍr. *temen*, Arm. *T* ‘*əmnis* n. loc.’, EDA 676), ‘dry’ (PIE $*ters$, Arm. *t’ar* *amim* ‘wilt, fade’, MA 346, also Arm. *t’ar* *am* ‘withered’, cognate with OIr. *tírīm* ‘id.’) and ‘wet’ (PIE $*nébhos$ ‘cloud, mist, sky’, OIr. *nem* ‘heaven’, MA 129, cognate with Arm. *amp* ‘wet’;²⁶ cf. also PIE

²² Also note Gaulish *Giamonios* as the name of a winter month (MA 302).

²³ Matasović (EDPC 101) reconstructs OIr. *díe* from PCelt *dīy wjo* ‘day’ and also links it with Arm. *tiv*. He also hints at the existence of a lexeme to denote ‘last year’, PIE $*per-uti$ > PCelt $*feruti-$, linking OIr. *innuraid* and Arm. *heru* together (EDPC 128).

²⁴ Discussing the etymology of Arm. *amanak* ‘time’, Martirosyan (EDA 46) wonders whether there is any relation between this lexeme and OIr. *amm* ‘id.’.

²⁵ Similarly, Matasović derives OIr. *úar* ‘cold’ and Arm. *oyc* ‘cold’ from PIE h *sewg-* ‘id.’ (EDPC 301, $*owgro-$).

²⁶ As P. Kocharov (p.c.) informs me, an oft-cited parallel with Arm. *nam* ‘wet’ cannot be legitimately invoked here, as the Arm. word is “an Iranian loanword, cf.

*del- ‘sprinkle’, OIr. *delt* ‘dew’, Arm. *tel* ‘strong rain’, EDPC 95, *delto-), ‘hard, solid’ (PIE *kar-*, OIr. *carrac* ‘rock’, Arm. ‘*ar* ‘hard’, EDA 685), and, finally, ‘thin, sparse, fine’ (PIE *menus/menwos*, OIr. *menb* ‘small, tiny’, Arm. *manr* ‘small’, MA 320).

1.12. Emotional, productive and telic verbs

Cognate verbal formations between Celtic and Armenian abound. Among verbs expressing emotions are ‘complain’ (PIE * *leha*, OIr. *liid*, Arm. *lam* ‘I weep’, MA 362 -3), and ‘lament’ (PIE * *ġem*, Mod. Ir. *geamh* ‘prattle’, Arm. *cmrim* ‘grieve’, MA 363). Note also expressions of grief, of contentment, happiness and desire, among them the onomatopoeic formations ‘alas’ (PIE * *wai*, OIr. *fae*, Arm. *vay*, MA 359) and ‘laugh’ (PIE * *kha*, OIr. *cais*, Arm. *xaxank*, MA 359) as well as the lexemes denoting ‘satisfaction’ (PIE * *sehztis-*, OIr. *saith* ‘satisfaction’, Arm. *hač* ‘contended’ (< * *seh2(i)-*), MA 342) and ‘wish’ (PIE * *wel(ha)*, MW. *gwell* ‘better’, Arm. *gel* ‘beauty’, MA 341) ²⁷ Verbs, expressing some form of productive activity, include ‘work (with clay), build’ (PIE * *dheigh*, OIr. *con-utainc* ‘builds’, Arm. *dizanem* ‘I heap up’, MA 371), ‘cut off, apart’ (PIE *(s)ker, OIr. *scaraid* ‘separates, divides’, Arm. ‘*ert'em* ‘skin’, MA 373), ‘split, chip’ (PIE *(s)kel, MIr. *scoiltid* ‘chips’, Arm. *skalim* ‘split, be splintered’, MA 374), ‘press, squeeze together’ (PIE *gem*, MIr. *gemel* ‘fettors’, Arm. *čmlem* ‘press together’, MA 384), ‘grind’ (PIE *melh2*, OIr. *meilid*, Arm. *malem*, MA 168 = EDPC 255, *mal-o-, *mel-o-). Telic verbs include ‘approach’ (PIE *pelh2-*, OIr. *ad-ella*, Arm. *elanem* ‘I exit’, EDPC 125, * *fal-na-*), ‘attain’ (PIE *h'enek-*, OIr. *ro-icc* ‘reaches’, Arm. *hasanem* ‘I arrive’, MA 396), ‘go’ (PIE *h1el-*, MW. *el* ‘may go’, Arm. *el* ‘climbed, came out’, MA 397), ‘run’ (PIE *dhregh-*, nominalised in OIr. *droch* ‘wheel’, Arm. *durn* ‘wheel’ MA 400 = EDPC 105, * *droko-*), ‘leave (behind)’ (PIE *leik^w-*, OIr. *léicid*, EDPC 240, *li-n-k^w-o-, and Arm. *l'anem*, MA 401), ‘drive’ (PIE * *ha eġ*, OIr. *ad-aig*, Arm. *acem*, MA 406 = EDPC 27, *ag-o-).

Pahlavi *nam(b)* ‘wet’ that is further compared to Lat. *nimbus* from reduplicated *ne-nb^h- or infixed *ne-n-b^h- stem of the same root as in *neb^h-os⁷.

²⁷ Note also Matasović (EDPC 48) who proposes to link MW *ewyllys* ‘will, appetite’ and Arm. *aviwn* ‘lust’ for Proto-Celtic stem *awislo- ‘wish, desire’ which he derives from PIE *h2ewH-* ‘wish’.

* * *

It is probably true to say that the Celto-Armenian shared vocabulary points to the existence of a proto-phase in the development of the two language groups when they belonged to a unity not yet divided into Western, Central and Eastern Indo-European groups. Looking back at the compiled list, one cannot help thinking that it provides quite a comfortable vocabulary for a speaker of this proto-language.

Such domains of human life as kinship and family (including the concept of 'home'), seasons and time, war and peace, battle and labour, body and senses are covered by these Celto-Armenian isoglosses. It is too early to make any far-reaching conclusions, but such cognates can cast some light on the problem of calendrical formation and the introduction of the fourth season, on the character of IE immediate family, on farming and agricultural practices, as well as on economics and craftsmanship. Proto-Celts and Proto-Armenians at this period of their IE unity were already able to express their emotions quite well and to count to at least 60! Furthermore, they were able to plan and judge their actions, and contrast various natural phenomena (warm vs. cold, dry vs. wet, dark vs. light etc.) if necessary.

2. Armenia in medieval and early modern Irish writing

It is safe to say that Armenia became incorporated into the mindset of the medieval Irish literati from quite an early age. In the composition *Sex Aetatis Mundi*, contained in the late eleventh century 'Book of the Dun Cow' (*Lebor na hUidre*) manuscript, Armenians are listed at the end of the list of the progeny of Shem, son of Noah. Having mentioned the lands and inhabitants of Persia, Assyria, Syria and India, the compiler speaks of the sons of Saram, son of Shem and grandson of Noah:

Clanna Saram meic Sem meic Noi .i. Us. is uad atár Traconitidi 7 is les ro cumtaiged in Damaisc. etir Pasilisitina 7 Coelensiria atá a ferand side. Ul. is úad atát Armiannai. Gether is úad atat Arcannai. Mes. is úad atat Meones. de sil Samar (sic!) meic Sem meic Noah dóib sein ule 7 is i nAsia atat (Bergin & Best 1929: 4).

The progeny of Saram son of Shem son of Noah, i.e. Us. It is from him that are Traconitidians and it is his [people] built Damascus. His other lands are between Palestine and Little Syria. Ul. Armenians are from him. Arcanians are from Gether. Meonians are from Mes. They are all from the progeny of Samar son of Shem son of Noah and they are in Asia.

The late eleventh century *Book of Leinster* contains a poem ‘Ros fessa i curp domuin dúir’ written by Mac Cosse, the learned man of Ros Ailithir (M^r. *fer legind Ruis Ailithir*) in which the Lord’s division of the world into three parts (Europe, Asia and Africa) is presented (M^r. *tri ranna ra delig Dia, Euraip Affraic is Asia*, Best & O’Brien 1957: 524). The poem then goes on to describe Asia first. A similar passage is also found in the second part of the Rawlinson B 502 manuscript written in the mid-twelfth century, in the composition *Miniugud na Croeb Coibnesta*, a description of the wonderings of the descendants of Éremón up to the time of Eochaid Mugmedón’s sons, in which the itinerary of the Gaels is conveyed as follows:

*Ni haise atát tair na fír | Eufrait is Tigir | ... |
is tuatha Mesopotámia | Siria fri Eufrait aníar
Co mothor Mara Torrián | o Egipt fethit a fóit |
fothúaid cosin Capadóic | Fri Magena atuaid a thréin |
fri Capadóic fri hArmein
(Best & O’Brien 1957: 526 = Rawlinson B 502, fo. 78 a₄)*

There is no reproach before the men | Euphrates and Tigris |
... | and the tribes of Mesopotamia | Syria towards Euphrates
in the west | to the wilderness of the Tyrrhene
(Mediterranean) Sea | from Egypt direct their course |
northwards to Cappadocia | to Magena from the north its
strength | to Cappadocia and to Armenia.²⁸

We will come back to the origin of the Gaels and their treatment in the works of the eighteenth century antiquarians later. As far as the works of the medieval Irish scribes and their treatment of the

²⁸ See further an article by John Carey in this volume on the insular medieval lore regarding the origins of the Irish.

Armenians in a more detailed way is concerned, let us turn to Eg. 1782 MS.

Its folio 56 a 2 contains a poem devoted to characteristics of various nations, including the Jews, the Greeks, the Saxons, the Spaniards, the French, the Scots, etc. The majority of the peoples listed, however, are taken from the stock of the European nations, and there are only three, including the Armenians, that are of Middle Eastern provenance:

*Cumtach na n-Iudqide n-ard ocus a format fírgarg.
mét na n-Arménech cin feall. is sonáirti na Serrchenn...
Mormenna Cruithnech cin ail. cruth etrad in Gaóidelaib.
genus na n-Gérmanach n-glan, mochin, a Chríst,
dan cumtach.*

The architecture of the Jews and their truly fierce envy.
The large size of the Armenians without deceit,
And the strength of the Saracens...

The high spirit of the Picts without blemish,
Beauty of shape and lust in Gaels.
The chastity of pure Germans, welcome, o Christ,
From whom is protection.

(Meyer 1897: 112-3)

According to the Irish medieval linguistic tradition, Armenian (amongst the other seventy-two select languages) played its part in the compilation of the Irish tongue:

*Cest, caidhead na a n-anmandh na da cenel sechmogat o
rofaghlaime? Ni ansa. Beithin, Scjthi, Scuit,
German... Maguich, Armoín, Amuis, Goircc, Galaid...*

Query, what are the names of the 72 races from which the many languages were learnt? Not hard. Bithinians, Scythians, Scots, Germans... Magogians, Armenians, Amuis, Gairg, Galatians...

(Calder 1917: 16-7).

All these references do not really say much, apart from the fact that the medieval Irish believed that Armenians were of large size, inhabited some distant territories of faraway Asia and lived

between such tribes as the fictional Magogians and no less fictional Traconitidians.²⁹

More elaborate descriptions of Armenia entered the discourse of medieval Irish writing only with the translation of *The Book of Ser Marco Polo* into Irish from the Latin version of Francesco Pipino (written down c. 1255) which survived in the fifteenth century manuscript *The Book of Lismore*. The description of Lesser Armenia (in historical terms, the kingdom of Cilicia) opens *The Book*, which then goes on to describe Armenia proper, including its major landmark – the mount Ararat, synecdochically called by the source “mount Armenia” (Mlr. *sliab Armenia*):

§3. *Nairméin b ec cetamus, fo chis do Magnus il sí. Tír ísidhe co n-imat cathrach 7 maini na n-anaithnidi fria creic 7 cundradh. Glaisia is cathair oirechais dí 7 ar muir ata sí. Tursie .i. proibhinnsi fuil innti. tír eibtidhi isidhe. 7 do Macumetus adhruid. Eich amra leo 7 imat sida.*

§4. *Nairméin mhór imorro, tír forlethan ísidhe. Fo mhamus Magnus fuil sí. Imut cathrach 7 maine leo. Da chathair oirdnidi le. Agiron 7 Baririm a n-anmanna 7 isin túrsin ata sliab Armenia. Is airside roairis in áirc iar ternam o dhilinn.*

§3. In the first place, the Lesser Armenia, it is under tribute to Magnus. A country with abundance of towns, and unknowable treasures for trade and traffic. Glaisia (Ayas), which stands on the sea, is its chief city. A province therein is Tursie (Turkey): this is a mountainous country, and they (the inhabitants) worship Mahomet. Excellent horses they have and plenty of silk.

§4. Now the Greater Armenia, this is an extensive country. It is under the yoke of Magnus. They (the inhabitants) have the abundance of towns and treasures. Two noble cities it has, Agiron (Erzrum) and Baririm are their names; and in that country is the Mount of Armenia. Thereon the Ark rested after escaping from the Deluge.

(Stokes 1896: 246-9)

²⁹ See the contribution by Sergey Ivanov below for an overview of the Irish sources in which Armenia and the Armenians have strong associations with the Magogians within the medieval Irish cosmography and aetiology.

Looking at these instances, it is important to note that Armenia was treated on the par with India – as a far away and rich land situated in the Orient, full of treasures and densely populated. As appropriate comparanda, let us look at the following piece from the *The Buke of John Maundeville* translated into Irish in 1475 by Fingin O'Mahony, describing India:

*Tiagur asan tír sin annsa n-Inndia móir atá arna roinn a tri,
 7 is adhbhal tes an tíre sin, 7 an Indía bec atá can
 imforcraidh tesa na fúachta, 7 ind Innía is sía uainn díb atá
 sí rofhuar, 7 atá do mét a seca 7 a h-oigre co n-déin cristal
 da h-uisci 7 co fásann diamont co lór innti, 7 atá do
 láidirecht an díamoint fhásus innti nach fuil ar doman ní
 úrchóidighes dó acht fuil bocain.*

§137. From that land men go into the Greater India, which is divided into three parts, and mighty is the heat of that land. And the Lesser India is without excess of heat or cold; but the India that is farthest from us is exceeding cold, and such is the greatness of its frost and its ice that it makes crystal of its water and that the diamond grows abundantly in it. Such is the strength of the diamond that grows therein that nothing on earth can hurt it save a he-goat's blood.

(Stokes 1899: 240-1)

However, there was one feature that identified Armenia in a unique way in the eyes of the Irish: that is the Noah's ark resting on the top of Ararat, the most important Armenian mountain. One can also find a reference to Ararat (called there by its real name) and to the Noah's ark (visible on the mountain's peak in good weather) in the

Buke:

*An t-slige ó Troposonda co cathair Artirón do múiretur 7
 d'airgetur Tuircínigh, 7 úaithe sin co cnoc Araráa da n-
 gairitt Idhail Dánó, mura fuil airc Náei, 7 do cíd h-daeine a
 soinind maith ar an cnoc sin hí...Ocus assin trit an Aramén
 móir 7 co cathair Casátus mur a tarladur na tri rí g dáchéle
 ac dul leisna h-aiscedha dochum Meic Dé.*

§132. The road from Trebizond is to the city of Arturon, which the Turks destroyed and ravaged. And from that to Mount Ararat, which the Jews call Dano, where there is the ark of Noah³⁰ and in fine weather men see it on that hill...

§134. And thence (*one goes*) through Great Armenia, and to the city Casatus, where the three kings met together, when they went with presents to the Son of God.³⁰

(Stokes 1899: 238-9)

The description of the country itself and its religion is contained further in the *Buke* following the description of the kingdom of Persia:

Atá ríghdacht na h-Armene láimh ré sin ina rabadur cethra ríghdhachta uair écin; 7 is mór saidhbhir an tír si, 7 atá sí síar ó ríghdacht na Pers ar fad co Turcia, 7 a letheatt ó Alaxandria co ríghdacht Med, 7 is imdha cathracha áille 'sa ríghdacht, 7 is í Taurisi cathuir is m' ainm indti... Doba cristaidi in trath sin Tursie 7 Suria 7 Tartairia 7 Iudeia 7 Palastini 7 Arabia 7 Harmapé 7 Persaidh 7 Medhaigh 7 Airmein 7 in Eighpt uile.

§228. Hard by is the kingdom of Armenia, wherein were once upon a time four kingdoms. Great and rich is this country, and it stretches westward from the kingdom of Persia along to Turkey, and its breadth is from Alexandria to the kingdom of Media. There are many beautiful cities in this kingdom, but Taurisi (Tabriz) is the city most of name therein...

§268. At that time Turkey was Christian, and Syria, and Tartary, and Judaea, and Palestine, and Arabia, and Harmape, and Persia, and Media, and Armenia, and the whole of Egypt.

(Stokes 1899: 278-81, 298-9)

³⁰ The *Buke of Maundeville* continues on “And thence to the Land of the Women”. On the linkages existing between the so-called “Land of Women” (in this context, of the Amazons) and Armenia in Irish compositions, see the article by S. Ivanov in this volume.

3. Whence came the Irish: from Celto-Scythia or Phoenicia?

Finally, I would like to deal with the writings of the eighteenth century Irish antiquarians who, similarly to the twelfth century *The Book of Leinster* genealogists, tried to uncover the origin of the Irish race. It was the general Charles Vallancey, who, in his 1786 preface to a composition entitled *A Vindication of the Ancient History of Ireland*, attempted to propose an early dynamic tribe of nomadic people, the Scytho-Celts (which he also called as the Celto-Scythians, the Scytho-Iberian nation in Asia, etc.), whom he divided into two major groups – “the Nomade or Northern Scythian, and the civilized or Southern [Magogian] Scythian of Armenia” (Vallancey 1786: 11, cit. from Lennon 2004: 93):

[T]he body of [Southern] Mogogian [*sic*] Scythians ... were a polished people before they left Asia; the first astronomers, navigators, and traders, after the flood... That, from their first settlement in Armenia, they soon passed down the Euphrates to the Persian Gulph, round the Indian Ocean, to the Red Sea, up the coast of the Mediterranean almost to Tyre. The Greeks knew them by the names of the Phoenicians of the Red Sea, by Ichthyophagi and Troglodytae: in Scripture they are called *Am Siim* or Ship people, and *Naphuth Dori* or Maritime folk.
(Vallancey 1786: 13-4, cit. from Lennon 2004: 93)

In the nineteenth century, Canon Ulick Bourke wrote a history primer entitled *Pre-Christian Ireland*, which was published in 1887. It opens with a questionnaire on the “Certainty of Early Celtic Settlements in Eire”:

Q.1. Where did the earliest races who first reached Ireland come from? A. From the east, from the high table-lands reaching from Mount Ararat in Armenia, by the Caspian Sea, south and east.

(cit. from Lennon 2004: 131)

Let me conclude by saying that whether the inhabitants of Ireland originally travelled from Armenia or not, it did occupy a very special place in their heart. My last example of a reference to this country contained in the store of Irish writing comes from a poem ‘Cáit Bheilbhinn’ by an eighteenth century Irish poet Peadar O’Doirnín (al. Peter O’Dornin) (1704-1769), who invoked

an intriguingly rare metaphor when speaking of his beloved and his feelings:

*Táinte Éireann dá bhfaighinn féin is a bhfuil insa Spáinn,
Agus bláth péarlaí na hÁirménia go huile in mo láimh,
Ba dá fhearr liom mo ghrá séinmh a bheith eadra mé is
lár...*

If I got the treasures of Ireland and the ones which are in
Spain,
And the prime of the pearls of Armenia all in all in my hand
I would still prefer my tender love to be between me and the
ground...

(Ó Buachalla 1969: 43).

And if the pearls of Armenia, together with all the treasures of
Spain and of Ireland, are taken to be as important as the love of the
poet (lasting until he is dead), how more important can they be?

Abbreviations:

EDA = **Martirosyan**, H., 2010, *Etymological Dictionary of the Armenian Inherited Lexicon*, Leiden: Brill.

EDPC = **Matasović**, R., 2009, *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic*, Leiden-Boston: Brill.

MA = **Mallory**, J.P., **Adams**, D. Q., 2008, *The Oxford Introduction to Proto-Indo-European and the Proto-Indo-European World*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (1st ed. 2006).

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PART 2.

ORIGIN MYTHS AND LEGENDS

ARMENIA AND IRELAND: MYTHS OF PREHISTORY¹

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1. Armenia

The legends of the beginning of Armenia (ethnogenic myth) have reached us in the books of the “father of Armenian history” Movses

Khorenatsi and the seventh-century writer Sebeos (Khorenatsi I 6, 9-20; Sebeos I; see Thomson 1978: 77 f.; 83 ff.; 357 ff.). According to these sources, Armenia was first inhabited by one of the youngest sons of Shem, elder son of Xisutres (Noah), and his descendants (Khorenatsi I 6). The second time Armenia was occupied by the legendary forefather of the Armenians Hayk, son of biblical Thogarma, and his descendants.

After the construction of the tower of Babel, Hayk refused to obey the deified Babylonian tyrant Bel the Titanid (identified with the biblical Nimrod), and with his large patriarchal family, consisting of three hundred men, moved to the north and settled in Armenia. Bel attacked Hayk with his huge army, but was killed in battle. Hayk is considered the eponymous patriarch of the Armenians and the Armenian autonym (self-appellation) *Hay* is derived from his name. Hayk's eldest son Aramaneak moved to the

north, to the Ayrarat province and its core plain to the north of Mt. Ararat (modern name: Ararat Valley), which remains the domain of the subsequent generations of the Haykids. After several generations the second eponymous patriarch of the Armenians, Aram, through many battles enlarged Armenia's borders in all directions and created a new, powerful Armenia.

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

¹ I am greatly indebted to Séamus Mac Mathúna and Maxim Fomin for their important and thoughtful comments on an earlier version of this paper. Also, I would like to express my thanks to John Carey and Hrach Martirosyan who provided me with some important literature on the figures of Irish prehistory.

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

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

The adversaries of the Armenian heroes represent divine figures of Mesopotamia: e.g., Bel represents the great Babylonian god Bel – Marduk (see Petrosyan 2002; 2007; 2009).

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

2. Ireland

The legendary *Lebor Gabála Éirenn* 'The Book of the Taking of Ireland' represents a compilation of stories about the origins of the peoples of Ireland (Macalister 1938-1956). According to it, Ireland was first inhabited by Cessair, a granddaughter of Noah, together with her father, Bith, and her followers. The next invasion was led by Partholón, a descendant of the biblical Magog, son of Japhet. Partholón's tribe was overcome by the Fomorians, a class of chthonic gods or demons. Later, Neméd, another descendant of Magog, of the Greeks of Scythia, arrived to Ireland. After the

death of Nemed, oppressed by the Fomorians, some groups of the Nemedians fled from Ireland, but returned afterwards. Firstly, there were the *Fir Bolg*. Secondly, there were the *Tuatha Dé Danann* ('The People of the Danu goddess'), a godly race, who came from the north of the world in three hundred ships. In the narrative tradition developed by the Irish *literati* which carried on very strong Christian overtones, the Tuatha Dé Danann were demoted down to heroes and heroines in a way, similar to the figures of the Armenian ethnogonic myth, who were in fact the earliest Armenian gods in epic guise.

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

The prehistory of Ireland culminates in the story of the sons of Míl, the mythic ancestors of the Irish people. They are represented as the descendants of a Scythian prince, one of the chieftains who built the Tower of Babel. Journeying through many lands they reached Ireland and wrestled it from the Tuatha Dé Danann. During this campaign Eremon was the leader of the expedition.

3. Comparison

It is difficult to say what kind of story was told by the common people about the origins of Armenia in the times of Khorenatsi and before. However, in Khorenatsi's account the influence of the

Mesopotamian, Greek and Biblical sources is obvious. The figures and genealogies of the Armenian patriarchs are juxtaposed and reconciled with the Biblical genealogies and emended with the Greek historical narratives written by the Christian authors (the

influence of the Greek tradition on the figures of the adversaries of the Armenian patriarchs is especially significant).

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

Myth is beyond the spatial and temporal characteristics of reality. This holds true especially for the myths of creation, which explicate the formation of space and time. However, the epicised myth can be seen as acquiring historical – spatial and temporal – characteristics. In Armenian learned tradition, two waves of occupation of Armenia are recorded. According to the Irish source of *Lebor Gabála Éirenn*, Ireland was occupied several times. Theoretically these waves of settlers could reflect some historical events – the memory of the earlier tribes that inhabited the territories before the Armenian and the Irish settlers arrived. However, the stories are strongly mythicised and it is hazardous to draw univocal historical conclusions from them. The historical memory may well have been conflated there with the legends of the so-called ‘magical ancient people’ known to many traditions.²

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

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

² For the Armenian tradition, see Petrosyan 1991; for the Irish, see Carey 1982; Kondratiev 1998. The legend of the pre-Haykid population of Armenia has been considered to be an echo of the Urartians, the ancient inhabitants of Armenia. However, this idea is only speculative. Most probably, the memory of the Hurro-Urartian tribes survived in the names of the two younger sons of Hayk, Xoř and Manawaz, who might be regarded as the eponyms of the Hurrians and Urartians (Petrosyan 2002: 143 f., 179 f., with bibliography).

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

The Indo-European associations of the Irish and, generally, Celtic myths and legends, including those which are examined in this contribution, are well known. Here I will confine myself to pointing out some works of Dumézil and his followers (Littleton 1982: 72, 92 f., 167 ff., with bibliography).

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

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

In India, the myth of the thunder god Indra and his arch-adversary, the serpent Vṛtra, son of Dānu (i.e., the Dānava), leader of the Dānavas, is transformed into the story of Indra, the leader of the Devas (the gods) and Bali, the leader of the Dānavas, ruler of

the Otherworld, a late incarnation of the serpent V^{rtr}a. In Armenia, Hayk is the epic transposition of the Indo-European thunder god, a counterpart of Indra, while his adversary Bel and his followers and descendants would correspond to the Indian Bali and the Dānavas.

Bel, the deified king and eponym of Babylon, as briefly noted earlier, represents the Babylonian great god Bel¹ –Marduk. Baršam, the adversary of Aram, who in a legend recorded by the seventh century author Anania Shirakatsi is represented as the ancestor of the Assyrians/Syrians (Abrahamyan, Petrosyan 1979: 95 f.), is a truncated version of the god Baršamin, i.e., Syrian Ba‘al Šamin ‘Lord of Heaven’. The first element of the name of Ba‘al Šamin is etymologically identical with the name of Bel (Semitic *b‘l* ‘lord’). Thus, Aram and Baršam, second eponyms of Armenia and its southern neighbours, would represent the alloforms of Hayk and Bel, respectively (see, e.g., Petrosyan 2007: 299).

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

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

In Wales, the goddess Dôn is the counterpart of the Irish Danu, the eponym of the Tuatha Dé Danann (for the Celtic myths,

in addition to the cited sources, see also Squire 1975; Rees and Rees 1961; Shkunaev 1991; Ellis 1992; Jones and Jones 1994). The pantheon of Welsh gods is generally agreed to be divided into two warring camps: the Children of Dôn (Plant Dôn) and the Children of Llyr. The Children of Dôn are the descendants of the goddess Dôn and god Beli, or Beli Mawr ('the Great'), the ruler of the

Otherworld. These may be taken as the Celtic counterparts of the Indic Dānavas and their leader Bali. The Welsh data are confusing and univocal conclusions are not always possible. However, Beli is regarded as the father of several divine figures, Llund Llŷen and Nyniaw among the number, an ancestor of whom several royal lines of Wales claimed descent.

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

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

Table 1:

<i>India</i>	<i>Armenia</i>	<i>Greece</i>	<i>Wales</i>	<i>Ireland</i>
Bali the Great	Bel	Bēlos	Beli the Great	Bile
King of the Dānavas		King of Egypt, father of the eponym of the Danaans	Father of the Children of Dôn	Father of the adversaries of the Tuatha Dé Danann

Adversary of Indra	Adversary of Hayk, the founder of the clan of adversaries of Armenia	King, ancestor of the kings of several countries	Ancestor of native British rulers	Ancestor of the Irish
Ruler of the Otherworld	Ruler of Mesopotamia ("Otherworld")		Ruler of the Otherworld	Comes from Spain ("Otherworld")
	Succeeded by Ninos and his son Ninuas	Succeeded by Ninos, and his son Ninyas	Father of Nyniaw	

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

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

In Irish tradition, the leader of the people of Danu, the predecessor of Bres the Handsome, is Nuadu, possessed with a magic sword, who came from the Northern islands with a fleet to

Ireland. He lost his hand in the first battle of Mag Tuired against the Fir Bolg and was provided with a silver arm. Thus he was called *Argatlám/Airgetlám* ‘Silver hand(ed)’ (**arg*’-). Nuadu’s counterpart in Welsh tradition is *Lludd Llaw Ereint* ‘Lludd of the Silver hand,’ whose name is derived from Nudd by alliterative assimilation (*Nudd Llaw Ereint* > *Lludd Llaw Ereint*). As **Nodons*, this deity is known from several sites in Britain, where, in Roman inscriptions, he is identified with Mars, the war god.³ Lludd/Nudd, as was pointed out, is a son of Beli and a member of the Plant Dôn (note that Nudd and Nuadu represent the anagrams of Dôn and Danu). Of Beli’s sons, Lludd was the oldest and after his father’s death the kingdom of Britain came into his hands (for Nodons, Nuadu and Llud, see Carey 1984, with references).

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

In Manetho’s *Egyptian History*, fragmentarily extant in later sources, Aigyptos and Danaos are presented as Sethos(is) and Armais, respectively (Jos. Flavius, *Contra Apion* I 15 ff.; Eusebius of Caesaria, *Chronicles* I 215 ff.). This obscure identification makes Danaos comparable with the Armenian Aram and his incarnation Aramayis/Armayis⁴ (see Table 2 below).

³ Let us mention in passing that the Norse god Týr is another Indo-European deity equated with Mars who lost his hand.

⁴ These names, irrespective of their actual etymologies, are assonant with the Indo-European **H₂rHmo*-/**armo*- ‘hand’ (cf. Arm. *armukn* ‘elbow’, English *arm*, Gall. *aram* *ō* ‘bifurcation, point of separation’, etc). From this (folk) etymology, considering the association of the hero with **arg*’- ‘white, silver’,

Table 2

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

There is a remarkable affinity between the figures of the Irish and Armenian "handsome" leaders *manqué*, Ara the Handsome and

Bres. The former is identified as one of the ancient Near Eastern young and handsome deities, consorts of the Mother goddess, the Armenian cognate of the Phoenician Adonis, Phrygian Attis and others ("the dying and rising god" according to an outmoded term,

see, e.g., Matikian 1930). Furthermore, as previously stated, he is considered a demonstrative example of the "third function" figure.

Interestingly, Adonis, Ara the Handsome's cognate, is said to be a son of Theias or Thias, king of Assyria (i.e., a descendant of Bēlos).

is but one step to the idea of the "silver _handed" god. However, *īā*m and *llaw* 'hand' in the names of Argatlam and Llaw Ereint are derived from another stem.

Šamiram, Greek Semiramis, an adversary of Ara the Handsome, is one of the central mythological characters of the Armenians (her name is derived, probably, from the historical queen Sammuramat, wife of the Assyrian King Samsi-Adad V, who ruled in the end of the 9th century BC). In the context of Armenian tradition, she represents the epicised version of the ancient transfunctional goddess, whose character later was split into the three goddesses of the pre-Christian Armenian pantheon (Petrosyan 2007a: 185, 194; see also Abeghian 1975: 156-162).

Bres, or Eochaid (Eochu) Bres, is the son of Elatha, the king of the Fomorians, and a Tuatha Dé Danann woman, whose name coincides with that of Ériu, the eponym of Ireland. After the first battle of Mag Tuired he is chosen to be the king by the urging of women. According to a version of the *First Battle of Mag Tuired*, seven years later Bres dies “after taking a drink while hunting”. This is reminiscent of the fate of the Near Eastern “dying gods” killed during boar hunts or by boars (Hor, Tammuz, Adonis, Attis).⁵ The story of a young handsome god/hero, counterpart of the “dying god” killed by a boar or during a boar hunt is known in Europe as well (e.g. Germanic Sigfried/Sigurðr, Irish Diarmaid, see respectively Schröder 1960: 119 ff.; A. H. Krappe *apud* Rees & Rees 1961: 295).

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

Bres’ wife is the goddess Brigit, who is also reminiscent of the “dying god’s” consort the “mother goddess”. In the Celtic

⁵ In Armenian tradition, Ara the Handsome, as the final figure of the epic of the creation of Armenia, corresponds to King Artawazd, the final hero of the early Armenian epic *Vipasank* of Artaxiad period (second-first centuries BC), another incarnation of the “dying god” who perished while going to a boar (and wild asses) hunt (Khorenatsi II 61; regrettably, the word *boar* is omitted in R. Thomson’s English translation); for a late version of the myth of Ara the Handsome, in this context, see Petrosyan 2002: 112.

world, in the form of Brigantia, she is equated with the Roman Victoria, Caelestis and Minerva. According to *Cormac's Glossary*, Brigit was a set of triplet goddesses, daughters of the Dagda, all of the same name: a goddess of poetry, a goddess of smith-work, and a goddess of healing (Stokes 1868: 23).

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

Table 3.

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

4. Consideration

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

Anonym emphasises the ethnogenic role of Hayk's eldest son Aramaneak/Aramenak/Armenak, from which one can conclude that he, contrary to Khorenatsi, considered him the eponym of the ethnonym *Armen* (Sargsyan 1998: 123). However, Aramaneak, as the first Haykid settler of Ayrarat, the central province of Armenia, and its core plain, is the first eponym of this area. On the other hand, Ayrarat is said to be named after Ara the Handsome and is otherwise called “The Field of Ara”. Thus, Aramaneak, as the second eponym of Armenia and the first eponym of Ayrarat can be regarded as a conflation of the name Aram with the Indo-European eponymous *aryomen-, i.e., he may represent the Armenian cognate of the Irish Eremon, the first Irish leader in Ireland (note

that **aryo-* would yield Arm. *ayr-*). Notably, Aramaneak represents the “Mitraic” aspect of the Dumézil’s first function (Ahyan 1981:

264 f.; Dumézil 1994: 133) and thus actually corresponds to the heirs of **aryomen-* (Petrosyan 2002: 82 ff.; for **aryomen-* and his “Mitraic” heirs, including Eremon, see Puhvel 1981: 324 ff.). No doubt, the name of Ara(y) the Handsome may also be somehow associated with this complex.

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

Bel and *Bēlos* of the Armenian and Greek myths are derived, undoubtedly, from the Semitic *bʿl* ‘lord’. The association of the Celtic *Beli/Bile* with Dôn /Danu and Indic *Bali* with Dānu make them inseparable from *Bēlos*, the father of Danaos. Thus, whatever the source of the Celtic *Beli/Bile* might have been, this figure was identified or conflated with the Semitic *bʿl* ‘lord’.⁶

In Indo-European traditions, the Semitic *bʿl* might have been equated with the Indo-European homophonic stems in folk-etymological association. The textual examination shows that the transparently Semitic *Bel* in Armenian tradition has been associated with two homophonic Indo-European stems: **bhel-* ‘to blow, swell’ and **bhel-* ‘to shine; white’ (see respectively Harutyunyan 2000: 231 and Petrosyan 2002a). Interestingly, the Celtic god *Belenos* (identified with *Apollo*), who sometimes is regarded as the early counterpart of *Beli* and *Bile*, and *Balor*, who, due to the homophony of his name, could have been conflated with the otherworldly figure of *Beli/Bile*, among the number of other

⁶ This could have resulted from the early contacts of the Indo-Europeans and Semites (Petrosyan 2007). In theory, the figure of Celtic/Germanic *Beli* may also be interpreted on the basis of Théo Venneman’s hypothesis of the “European Semites.”

etymologies, are also derived from those stems (for Belenos, see Pokorny 1959: 118 ff.; for Beli and Bile: Kondratiev 1998; Kalygin 2006: 32 ff.; Fomin 1996, with bibliography; cf. De Vries 2006: 75 f.; for Balor: Tsymbursky 1987).

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

Beli, even regardless of his etymology, would have been associated with “white”. It is attested that in the Welsh tradition, the rulers of the Otherworld are explicitly connected with “white” (Squire 1975: 279). Lludd and Nuadu are “silver handed”, while Nuadu’s great sword, his hand substitute, came from the city of Findias (‘White’). In several Irish genealogies, Nuadu is succeeded by Finn (‘White’), while Nudd’s son is called Gwyn (‘White’; the cognate of Irish Finn). This feature is derived from Nodons, whose characteristics are inherited by the two figures, the father and the son: Nuadu/Nudd and Finn/Gwyn (Carey 1984).

However, Nuadu and his people, similar to Sanasar, are associated with the clouds. In the *Second Battle of Mag Tuired*, the Tuatha Dé Danann upon reaching Ireland burned their ships (so that they would not think of fleeing to them). The smoke and the mist filled the land; therefore it has been thought that they arrived in the clouds of mist (also, they “spread showers and fog-sustaining shower-

clouds”, see Squire 1975: 72). One of the etymologies of Nuadu/Nudd/Lludd associates him with Cymric *nudd* ‘haze, mist’ (Pokorny 1959: 978; Carey 1984: 2 f.). Note also that the great sword of Nuadu is comparable with the “Lightning Sword”, the most significant attribute of Sanasar.

The considered Celtic myths are noticeably close to the Greek ones. While in the majority of myths the clans eponymised by the cognates of the Indic Bali and Dānu figure as the opponents of the native gods and heroes, in Greek and Celtic traditions the roles are inverted: the Danaans are Greeks who fight against the Trojan foreigners, the Tuatha Dé Danann and Children of Dōn are native deities, while Beli and Bile figure as ancestors of the native kings and people of Wales and Ireland.⁷ The “positive” roles of the Greek

Danaans and the Celtic Tuatha Dé Danann, which differentiate them from their Indo-European counterparts, might be interpreted by analogy of the opposite roles that the Devas as gods and devils take on in the Vedic Indian and the Avestan Iran traditions, respectively. However, the name of Nyniaw, son of Welsh Beli, which seems to be inseparable from Ninos and Ninyas, descendants of Bēlos, shows that the Welsh Beli was confused with the late, pseudo-historic figure of Bēlos of the Greek tradition. The myth of the young and handsome “third function” divinity, object of sexual desire/consort of a goddess, is most characteristic for the Eastern Mediterranean mythologies. Taking into account the evident closeness of the figures of Ara and Bres, particularly, succession of a ruler associated with IE ^{arg} -, one may conclude that the two figures are derived from a particular, Indo-Europeanised version of a Near Eastern myth.⁸

Celtic tribes invaded the Balkans in the first quarter of the third century BC. Three of them migrated to north-central Anatolia and established a long-lived Celtic territory to the east of Phrygia, which became known as Galatia. One of those tribes inhabited the area of

⁷ Another specific Greco-Celtic (Danaan-Tuatha Dé Danan) correspondence is the affinity between the myth of Perseus, the son of Danaë, who kills the evil-eyed Medusa and his own grandfather Akrisios, on the Greek side, and that of the god Lug of the Tuatha Dé, who kills Balor of the Evil Eye, his own grandfather, on the Irish side.

⁸ According to one of the Classical Greek mythographers, after Adonis died, the mourning Aphrodite found him at “Cypriote Argos”, in a shrine of Apollo (see Nagy 1990: 229). Likewise, in folk tradition, Ara was killed in Arzni (ancient Arzni < *arg -), at the foot of Mt. Ara to the north of the Ararat Plain (Petrosyan 2002: 83).

Pessinous, the Phrygian city sacred to Attis and his consort mother goddess. It is believed that the Galatians had taken over the supervision of the cult of Attis. It is there, in the west of Asia Minor, that the kings Bēlos and Ninōs of Lydia, and the epic of the war of the Danaan Greeks against Troy are localised, while Atys, the son of the last king of Lydia killed during a boar hunt (Herod. I 43), echoes the figure of Attis. The historic name Ἀρμαίς is attested from Lycia (a neighbouring country to Lydia and Phrygia in the west of Asia Minor, see Howink ten Cate 1961: 132). The identification of Danaos, son of Bēlos, as Armais, would also occur, probably, in the west of Asia

Minor. The Lycian *Armais* is almost identical with the Armenian *Ar(a)mayis*, which could have been borrowed from a related Anatolian source and conflated with Aram later (Djahukian 1981: 52 f.; Petrosyan 2009b: 68 f.). This name is derived from the Anatolian *arma-* 'moon, moon god'. The association of the moon with silver and **H₂^{erg}* - is prevalent, which may explain the identification of Danaos with Armais (*Arma-*^{moon} : **H₂^{erg}* - = Danaos : Argos).

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

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ARMENIA: THE CRADLE OF THE GAELS AND THE AMAZONS?

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The title of this brief note contains a deliberate allusion to the paper by John Carey 'Russia: the Cradle of the Gael?' (2006). In that study, the Irish pseudo-historical tradition which places the ancestors of Irish people in Scythia is presented. In what follows I shall draw specific attention to a different branch of these pseudo-historical speculations and, *pari passu*, address some of the Middle-Irish texts where Armenia is mentioned.

To start with, Armenia and the Armenians are constantly to be found in the genealogies of the Irish kings said to be descendants of Japheth, which included the enumeration of Japhethic tribes;¹ in the narratives concerning the Flood;² and, finally, in the lists of 72 tribes and languages of the world.³ It is evident that these go back mainly to the biblical and patristic sources.⁴ However, there are also some minor discrepancies from this scheme. Thus, in the Irish text on *Sex aetates mundi* the Armenians are said to have descended from Shem, not from Japheth.⁵ But the most curious deviation concerns other point pertaining to the origin of the Gael. The Irish well-established tradition on wanderings of the Irish before they came to their

¹ *Armēin* in Meyer 1913: 30, 55.

² *Slíab Ar-^{mentā}* 'the Mountain of Armenia', Stokes 1883: ll. 2601-4, 2613-6.

³ Cf. *Armoín*, Calder 1917: 18; *Armainit*, *ibid.*, 179; *Armen*, Van Hamel 1915: 131; *Armén* in Carney, 1969: 157.

⁴ Such as Isidore's *Etymologiae*, lib. ix, and *Liber Generationis*, cf. Van Hamel 1915: 132.

⁵ *Ul is uad atat Armiannai. Gether is uad atat Arcani. Mess dianid comainm Mosoch is uad sunt Meones. Do sil Saram meic Sem meic Noe doib sin uili 7 is i mAssia atat* (Tristram 1985: 221). In her translation, p. 257: 'Von Hul stamen die Armenier ab. Von Gether stamen die Araucanier ab. Von Mes, dessen anderer Name Mosoch lautet, stamen die Meonier ab. Aus dem Same Arams, des Sohnes Sems, des Sohnes Noahs, sind jene alle, und sie leben in Asien'. Cf. *ibid.*, 244.

present homeland traces their route all the way back to Scythia through Spain and Egypt, if we put aside the details and variants of this multiform and many-layered lore. In the Ba recension of the *Lebor Gabála*⁶ we find a story which looks very much like an interpolation and begins as follows:

Ceist: cad ē tairthud fīr Mac Mīl? Ní[a]nnsa. Cenēl fil ic Slēib Armenia .i. Hiberi a sloinniudh. Bui rī amra occo .i. Mīlith mac Bile meic Nema. Bui -side hī cosnam flaithiusa fria br^āthair a athair, fri Refelair mac Nema

What is the true story of the Sons of Míl? [Their origin is] a people that is in the mountain of Armenia, called *Hiberi*.

They had a famous king, Míl s. Bile s. Nema. He was holding the kingship against his father's brother, Refloir s.

Nema (Macalister 1956: 48-49).⁷

Afterwards the story tells that Míl was expelled from his kingdom and came to Egypt and, ultimately, to Ireland. Van Hamel (1915: 138) sees in this traces of a separate tradition incorporated into the main body of the legend. If this is correct, we have evidence for a different line of genealogical speculations dwelling, obviously, upon the similarity of the Latin name for Ireland (*Hibernia*) and the Caucasian region labeled as Iberia.

Not only the Irish came to be associated with Armenia. In the text of a Middle-Irish tract *In Tenga Bithnua* ('The Evernew Tongue', hereinafter TB) there is an intriguing passage echoed also in a poem 'The Works of the Sixth Day' which contains some material clearly dependant on TB. The TB text has come down to us in three recensions. Below I shall quote the passage in question from the first two recensions of TB – TB¹ and TB² – and from the poem on 'The Sixth Day of Creation'.

TB¹. *Bantracht file i slebib Armenia, moo cacha doeinib a ndelbha. Nocho berat acht ingena dogrés. Andso cacha feraib a bhferga 7 a ngala oc dula do chath. Eirgit asa suan*

⁶ See Van Hamel 1915: 99-105. Labeled as second redaction by Macalister (1938: xiii-xix).

⁷ Cf. Van Hamel 1915: 137-138.

medon aidche; arosclaiçet toidli teined assa mbelaib: doacmongat a n-ulchi conicce a n-implinda. Ór as chainiu cach forloscud arrecar inna ndornaibh dessaib iarna ngeinemain dogrés.

The women that are in the mountains of Armenia, greater are their forms than (those of) any humans. They bring forth daughters only. Harder than (those of) any men are their angers and their valours in going to battle. At midnight they rise from their sleep: out of their mouths they loose flashes of fire; their beards reach as far as their navels. After their birth, gold that is brighter than every blaze is always found in their right hands.⁸

TB². *Bantrocht Slebe Armenia, ni beraid acht ingena do gres. Erged asa codlad a medon aidchi co sceet slamraigi teneð as a mbelaib. Ro-soiçet a n-ulchqda a n-imleannq doib. Or as caime d'oraib in betha fogabar ana ndornaib desa iarna n-ec.*

The women of Mount Armenia bear only daughters. They rise from sleep at midnight and spew masses of fire from their mouths. Their beards reach their navels. The finest gold of all [kinds of] gold in the world is found in their right fists after death.⁹

(‘The Works of the Sixth Day’):

*Mna Sleibi Armenia, gan meing,
barr a n-ulcha go n-implind,
amhlaidh tuismhid, rø feasaid,
or 'na lamhaibh laeçhdhesaib*.

The women of the Mountain of Armenia – without deception – the tips of their beards reach their navels. This is how they are born, let you know, with gold in their warrior right hands (Carney 1969: 153 (text), 160 (translation)).

⁸ TB¹ § 103, pp. 130-131.

⁹ TB² §54, pp. 42-43. While this paper has been prepared for publication, there appeared a new edition of TB (both of the first and the second recensions) by John Carey (Carey 2009).

Undoubtedly, the women described here are the Amazons. Moreover, Armenia and the Amazons are mentioned in a passage from the *Táin Bó Cuailnge* relating to the deeds of Cú Chulainn:

*Dochúaid-sium turus ba sía | go ránic slébi Armenia.
Ralá ág dara aiste | ra chuir ár na Cíchloiste.*

For Cú Chulainn went a longer journey *than this*,
as far as the mountains of Armenia.

He waged combat beyond his wont.

He slaughtered the Amazons

(O'Rahilly 1967: ll. 1290-1294 (text); 174 (translation)).

It should be remembered that *cíchloiscthi* 'burnt-breasted' is a rendering of one of the numerous etymologies offered for the Greek Ἀμαζόνες. It is worth noting that in this case the image of Cú Chulainn is modeled after that of Heracles, a hero who surpassed all the other Greeks just to the same degree as Cú Chulainn surpassed his Irish clansmen. Heracles was famous for his victory over the invincible women-warriors and this fact was very well known to the Irish, as this quotation from the Irish *Alexandria* shows:

*is e ro bris for bandtracht na cichloiscthe cath cruaid calma
curate,*

Er (Herkules) ist es, der eine harte, tapfere, heldenhafte
Schlacht über die Frauenschar der Amazonen gewann
(Peters 1967: 487b, ll. 39-40).

But the question remains: how could it happen that the Amazons appear to be associated with Armenia?

This detail seems to be peculiar to the Irish, for, to my knowledge, this association has never been mentioned by the Classical authors, although they occasionally indicate their Caucasian ties.¹⁰ The possible explanation may be that in the genealogical and cosmographical lore the Armenians are constantly

¹⁰ Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae*, XXII, 8, who locates the Amazons near the Caspian sea and the Mount Caucasus. They are said to be the neighbours of the Alani (*id.*, XXXI, 2).

placed near the Magogians,¹¹ and a dim echo of the contacts between the Magogians and the Amazons is discernible as late as in the middle of the fourteenth century: for instance, in *The Pricke of Conscience* we read that Gog and Magog closed beyond the Caspian mountains are ruled over by the queen of the Amazons.¹² Maybe, it was this allusion which was instrumental in transferring the Amazons to Armenia. By the way, *Armeni* and *Amazones* are named one after another in the list of tribes from the *Liber Generationis* published by Migne.¹³

However, all these tentative considerations do not account straightforward for the fact that the Amazons are linked with Armenia in the Irish narratives. But it seems certain that what we have here is an evidence of geographical ideas shared not only by the group of three closely related texts (TB¹, TB² and the poem on ‘The Works of the Sixth Day’), but also reflected in the greatest Irish epic *Táin Bó Cuailnge*. Whatever their origin, they appear to have been influential enough to give Armenia such a prominent position in the Irish genealogical and cosmographical thought.

Abbreviations:

¹
TB₂, see Stokes 1905.

TB, see Nic Énrí & Mac Niocaill 1971.

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¹¹ Cf. *Magoich, Armēin, amuis gaire* (Meyer 1913: 30, 55); *Magoig, Armaint, amuis gairg* (Calder 1917: 179).

¹² Morris 1863: 121, ll. 4424-36.

¹³ *Medi, Albani, Gargani, Arrei, Armeni, Amazones, Culi, Corzieni* <...> (Migne 1844-64: III.661C). The PL text appears to be the same as *Liber generationis I* published in Mommsen 1892: 97-8.

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LORE OF ORIGINS IN MEDIEVAL IRELAND

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1. Europe: its myths of origin and of conversion

The Irish were the first European people to accept Christianity without ever having been part of the Roman Empire. While they were, of course, by no means isolated from the Roman provinces of Britain, or from the wider world beyond, this independence did mean that the process of conversion represented, in Ireland, a cultural transformation more radical than it had entailed elsewhere in Europe. The new faith, together with the Mediterranean tradition which was its backdrop and the Latin literacy which was its vehicle, confronted an indigenous society with its own kings and wise men, its own laws and poems, its own vision of reality — a society which, while not unaware of Greco-Roman civilisation, had never experienced the cultural subordination to Rome to which almost all of the other Celtic peoples had been exposed. And so the Irish embraced the Christian religion, and the classical learning which came with it, while retaining a keen sense of the continuing value of many of their own traditions. This double outlook had a myriad consequences, which could afford matter for a dozen seminars. In the limited time available today I would like to consider a few aspects of a single topic: how the Irish thought about their own origins, and about the beginnings of their land.

The intellectual problem which they confronted was one faced by every other newly converted people: how to build a bridge between their own lore of origins and the account of Noah's descendants contained in Genesis 10, as this had been explicated by such Jewish and Christian scholars as Josephus, Eusebius and Jerome. Most of the results of such speculation were sketchy, if not perfunctory, and preserved little of the old traditions. In France, the Merovingians might assert descent from a water-monster (the story is recounted in *The Chronicles of Fredegarius*, see Krusch 1888: 95) while English kings traced their lineage to the royal wizard-god

Woden;¹ but the myths which had lain behind such claims were for the most part allowed to fade into forgetfulness. One influential model was provided by the Romans who had, centuries earlier, sought a place for themselves in the epic world of the Greeks. Their fictional descent from Trojan refugees was already being imitated by the Gauls under the Empire,² and was taken up by many other groups in the course of the Middle Ages.

While some elements in the migration legend of the Irish may likewise go back ultimately to Vergil, or to his commentator Servius, the main inspirations for their legendary history lay elsewhere. In part, Irish scholars drew directly on the Bible: the emergence of the Gaels – that is, the people who became the Irish of historic times – was shaped by the building of the tower of Babel (where the Irish language itself is said to have been devised) and subsequently by the Israelites' crossing of the Red Sea; while the Gaels themselves were portrayed as another Chosen People, escaping from Egypt to endure years of homelessness, but eventually taking possession of their own Promised Land. The various settlements which successively occupied Ireland were placed more or less in parallel with the sequence of 'world kingships' which had been developed by Eusebius; and the spatial setting for the whole extended story was supplied by the ancient geographers, as mediated by the Christian historian Orosius. This schema, the main outlines of which had been thought out by the end of the eighth century at latest, had burgeoned into an enormously complex body of doctrines by the eleventh, when it was recorded in the treatise called *Lebor Gabála* or 'The Book of Taking'.³

2. Traces of pre-Christian elements in the Irish doctrine of origin

The basis of all of this in ecclesiastical learning is easy to recognise, and uncontroversial. But does the system also perhaps preserve, as so many other elements in Irish tradition appear to do, traces of pre-Christian belief?

¹ Thus Bede speaks of "Uoden, from whose progeny the race of the kings of many provinces takes its origin" (HE i, 15).

² Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae* xv, 9.4-6.

³ For a comprehensive discussion, see Scowcroft 1988; more briefly, Carey 1994.

2.1. The legends of the settling of the sons of Míl Espáine

There are some arresting possibilities. The first Gaelic settlers of Ireland are said to have been led by a group of brothers. Most of their names are transparently derived from names for Ireland itself – Éremón and Érennán from *Ériu*, the Old Irish form from which the name ‘Ireland’ is derived, or Eber from Latin *Hibernia* – while their father Míl Espáine is just as patently artificial, with a name taken from the Latin phrase *miles Hispaniae* or ‘soldier of Spain’. The function of these figures in the narrative is also programmatic and one-dimensional: they serve as ancestors for one or another of the dynasties of historic times, or are used as the purported basis of notable place-names.⁴ Only two of the sons of Míl Espáine appear as real characters in the story, and only these two have names which are not circumscribed by the schema’s synthetic –historical agenda: here, if anywhere, we can hope for hints of an older story. They are Donn, the eldest of the brothers and their leader until his untimely death; and Amairgen, chief poet and lawgiver of the Gaels.

When Donn, Amairgen and the others arrive in Ireland, they must conquer it from the *Tuatha Dé* or ‘Tribes of the Gods’ – the ancient divinities who are the powers of the land.⁵ The notion that the Gaelic settlement involved the overthrow of the pagan gods is the most striking, and perhaps the most significant, link between the pre-Christian religion and the medieval pseudohistory of the Irish: I shall have more to say about this presently. For the moment, though, we can stay focussed on the adventures of the two brothers. As Donn and Amairgen advance toward the centre of the island, they encounter three goddesses, each a personification of Ireland as a whole: Amairgen, as a poet, honours them and promises them fame, while Donn, as a warrior, defies them in the pride of his strength. Later, when the entire enterprise is threatened by a magical storm, it is the inspired words of Amairgen which gain the victory for his people: Donn, still boasting that he will conquer the land by force, perishes by drowning and is buried on an island which forever after is called the ‘House of Donn’.

⁴ On the role of dynastic propaganda in Irish legendary history see Carey 2005, especially 33-4.

⁵ For a translation of the narrative which follows, it may be convenient to consult my own rendering of the first recension of *Lebor Gabála* in Koch & Carey 2003: 263-71.

The contrast between the brothers is vividly delineated: does anything lie behind it? Donn, as he appears in the story which I have just been summarizing, is only one aspect of a complex and potent figure. Elsewhere, this is the name of one of the lords of the 'Tribes of the Gods', a being in whose name oaths were sworn, and to whom animals were offered in sacrifice, until quite recently.⁶ Even more intriguing is the belief that his island, the 'House of Donn', was the place to which all of the Irish went after death; and the further statement in a ninth-century poem, which gives the earliest extended account of the origins of the Irish, that they all shared Donn as an ancestor. The idea that the universal progenitor is also lord of the realm of the dead may have figured in Indo-European myth: thus the Indian god of death, Yama, was also held to be the forefather of humanity. More immediately relevant to Ireland is the testimony of Julius Caesar, according to whom the druid priesthood taught that the Celts of Gaul were descended from the god of the underworld. Our Irish story, in other words, may preserve echoes of a druidic myth of the origins of mankind.⁷

This foundation legend whose protagonists are two brothers, one of whom dies while the other survives, invites comparison with the story of Romulus, Remus and the origins of Rome. But the roots of the pattern may go deeper still. The name of Yama, the ancestral death-god of India of whom I was just speaking, itself means 'twin'; and Scandinavian and Germanic myth likewise spoke of a twin as a primordial ancestor.⁸ When the Greek historian Diodorus Siculus (*Histories* iv.56.4) says that the Celts on the Atlantic coast worshipped divine twins who were believed to have come from the sea, he may be referring to a Gaulish myth akin to the Irish story of Amaidgen and Donn.

The sons of Míl Espáine are said to have come to Ireland in the first place to avenge the killing of their uncle Íth. The latter had been the first Gael to arrive on the island, but had been murdered out of jealousy by its kings because he had given a just judgment and had assessed the virtues of the land — two of the

⁶ The evidence is surveyed in Müller-Lisowski 1948.

⁷ Meyer 1919 constitutes a seminal contribution, which in many respects remains the definitive analysis of the evidence. A more recent discussion of Donn in terms of Indo-European analogues is Lincoln 1981.

⁸ The most extensive discussion of the Germanic evidence is probably Ward 1968.

actions traditionally ascribed to a rightful ruler.⁹ Íth, whose death paves the way for his people's occupation of a new territory, is to this extent comparable with Donn; it is his name, however, which is probably the most interesting thing about him. *Íth* is in fact the Irish word for 'fat' or 'lard' – not a very illustrious name, one might think. But it seems to be derived from Indo-European **pei-*, the same root which yields *Ériu*, or Ireland: Ireland, like Pieria in Thrace, was called the 'fat land' on account of its fertility and abundance.¹⁰ That the first of the Gaels to set foot in Ireland should have a name which may be etymologically linked with the name of Ireland itself is certainly interesting, and may be profoundly significant. For the etymological connection, if valid, would only have been evident at a stage in the development of the Irish language far earlier than the coming of Christianity. Íth may, in other words, provide linguistic evidence of the antiquity of some elements in Irish pseudo-history, that same antiquity for which I have already been arguing on thematic grounds.

2.2. Supplanting Ireland's old divinities

Let us turn now to the remarkable idea that possession of the land of Ireland could only be achieved by supplanting its divinities. As we have seen, the Gaels meet three goddesses as they journey through Ireland. The earliest account of one of these meetings gives us an intriguing insight into the identity of the beings from whom the land was to be conquered.

Amairgen asked [the goddess Banba] concerning her race. 'I am descended from Adam,' said she. 'To which lineage of Noah's sons do you belong?' said he. 'I am older than Noah,' said she. 'I was on the peak of a mountain in the Flood.'¹¹

The old gods, in other words, are humans like ourselves insofar as they are descended from Adam; but they belong to a branch of humanity not descended from Noah, a race which survived the Flood without having voyaged in the Ark. Other sources indicate that their origins lie even further back: not only did they escape the

⁹ Cf. Carey 1995: 55–6. For the importance of the king's assessing the contents of his realm, see Kelly 1976: §§32–52.

¹⁰ See the discussion by Koch 1986: 7–9, *idem* 1991: 22–3.

¹¹ Macalister 1938–56: V.34; cf. *ibid.*, 52–4, 78.

Flood, but also the Fall. In one Old Irish tale, the god of the sea states that his people are free from old age and death because ‘the Fall has not touched us’; ¹² and in another early account one of the supernatural folk explains the magical concealment which divides them from mortals by saying that ‘It is the darkness of Adam’s sin which prevents our being counted’.¹³

In the legends, the old gods are most frequently referred to as ‘the people of the *side*’, *side* being a word for hills or mounds which were conceived of as the dwellings of supernatural beings. The divine powers, in other words, are most typically imagined to exist beneath the earth. The need to fit this essentially pagan concept into a Christian cosmology inspired these lines in a famous seventh-century hymn:

Beneath the world, as we read, we know that there are
inhabitants whose knee is often bent in prayer to the
Lord....¹⁴

Here, with marvellous audacity, some words of Saint Paul in his *Epistle to the Philippians* (2.9-10) – that, at the name of Jesus, ‘every knee shall bow, of those in heaven, and on the earth, and beneath the earth’ – are used to support the doctrine of a subterranean race. That these beings ‘beneath the earth’ might indeed be a sinless branch of humanity is stated outright in an eighth-century Irish commentary on Genesis:

Some say that when the stars are hidden from us they shine
for others, lest God’s creatures be superfluous. Some say
that there is another race of Adam there, which [God]
created before [Adam] fell; when^{ce} it is said ‘to whom every
knee shall bow, of those in heaven, and on earth, and
beneath the earth.’¹⁵

This is not the only way in which the medieval Irish explained the ‘Tribes of the Gods’ in (more or less orthodox) Christian terms: elsewhere we find them described as ‘belonging to the exiles who came from heaven’,¹⁶ angels banished to the surface of the earth

¹² Mac Mathúna 1985: 40, quat. 44.

¹³ Bergin & Best 1934-8: 180.

¹⁴ Carey 2000: 43.

¹⁵ MacGinty 2000: 54 §133.

¹⁶ Carey 1984: 101-2.

because they sided neither with God nor with Lucifer in the primordial conflict of the celestial powers; or else – and here there are plentiful parallels elsewhere – as delusions, as demons, or as famous mortals divinized by their posterity. But the doctrine that the gods who had been worshipped by the pagan Irish, and who were still believed to linger in the landscape, were a race of unfallen, antediluvian humans is particularly interesting. It is the earliest recorded ‘rationalization’ of the people of the *side*; and it is one for which, so far as I know, no analogues exist elsewhere. Most striking of all is the fact that it not only acknowledges the reality of the gods but views them in a positive light, as beings wiser and holier than their mortal kindred.¹⁷

The legendary history of Ireland extends, in all its rich proliferation of detail, back to the first arrival of the Gaels in Ireland and beyond: through all the reigns of the kings of the gods; to the time of the Fir Bolg, who ruled Ireland before them; to Nemed and his followers, who were there before the Fir Bolg; to Partholón, who was there before Nemed; to the Flood; to settlers in Ireland before the Flood. A modern historical critic might ask how there could be a record of all these things, and feel smugly superior to the credulous ‘Dark Ages’ which would never have posed such a question. But in Ireland the question *was* posed; and – typically – it elicited a multitude of answers. Some parts of the distant past have been retrieved, we are told, when saints or poets summoned the witnesses to those days back from the dead;¹⁸ or else the texts invoke the authority of Fintan mac Bóchra, who came to Ireland in the time of Noah and was kept alive by God’s will throughout all the ages thereafter, until his knowledge could be written down when literacy came to Ireland in the wake of the Faith.¹⁹ But there are stranger stories than these.

2.3. Stories of saints and first settlers

One remarkable text relates how, in the course of his missionary activities, a saint named Finnia met a hermit and recognised that the old man had in fact existed since the first human settlement of Ireland. He was called Tuán, a name meaning ‘the Silent One’.

¹⁷ I have attempted to provide a more extended account of the spectrum of opinions on this issue in the essay ‘The baptism of the gods’, in Carey 1999: 1–38.

¹⁸ See the discussion by Nagy 1983.

¹⁹ A valuable survey of the sources is provided by Nic Cárthaigh 2007.

At Finnia's insistence, Tuán related his experiences: the settlements by Partholón, Nemed, the Fir Bolg, the Tribes of the Gods and the sons of Míl Espáine, and the arrival of Patrick and the other saints. But the most interesting part of the story is not what Tuán knew, but how he was able to know it. Whenever old age weighed upon him he would go to one particular cave, and fast there for three days. Then he would go to sleep; and in his sleep he would gain the ability to pass into another shape, and would also regain the memory of all of his previous experiences. In this way he was rejuvenated as a stag, a boar, a bird of prey, and a salmon; the salmon was caught, cooked, and then eaten by a woman who conceived and bore him again as a human child (Carey 1984).

We can ask two simple questions about such stories. Where did they come from? And what function did they serve? The image of a being surviving through the ages by means of a chain of transformations and rebirths, and the idea that the performance of specific rituals might make it possible to recover memories from beyond the lifetime of the individual, seem to have little to do with Christianity. Rather, a figure like Tuán reminds us of what some Greek and Roman writers said about the druids of Gaul: that they taught that the soul is imperishable, and returns to a new body after every death.²⁰ For early medieval Ireland, these accounts are supplemented by the words of a seventh-century theologian, who says that even in his day there still existed druids who recounted 'laughable tales' of how 'their ancestors flew through the ages in the form of birds'.²¹

3. Conclusion

This is perhaps the most startling survival of pre-Christian belief of any which I have considered in this talk: that a literature composed by monastic scholars includes tales of reincarnation which are in direct conflict with the Church's teaching regarding the fate of the soul. But this is not to be regarded merely as a bizarre survival: we should also notice how the doctrine is being modified and applied. Stories like the tale of Tuán do not describe the way that things are now: Tuán lived at the time of the conversion, and it is then that his fantastically prolonged existence came to an end. Not only this: he died after having handed on all of his accumulated knowledge to

²⁰ Thus Kendrick 1927: 213-14, 216.

²¹ Migne 1844-64: xxxv, 2164; cf. Carey 2000: 58.

the saints and their scribes – so that, as the text states, ‘all of the history and genealogy in Ireland have their origin from Tuán the son of Cairill’.

The ecclesiastical establishment, in other words, acknowledges the supernatural knowledge of the old order only to appropriate it: the only place where Tuán’s lore can now be found is in the manuscripts produced in monastic scriptoria. It would be difficult, I think, to find a better expression of the audacious compromise which lies at the root of Irish culture: a culture which harnessed the teachings of the druids, and the memory of the gods, in the service of a Christian vision of history.

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PART 3.

CHRISTIANITY IN ARMENIA AND IN IRELAND

**ADOPTION OF CHRISTIANITY IN ARMENIA:
LEGEND AND REALITY**

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The most crucial event in Armenian history occurred on the threshold between the 3rd and the 4th centuries AD, with the adoption of Christianity as the country's official religion. Agathangelos, an early Armenian medieval historian, commented extensively on this event in his book, *The History of Armenians*. In his composition, legends of both narrative and literary character are meshed in different ways with real events.¹ As a consequence, this amalgamation throws up obstacles and distractions when one attempts to reconstruct the real course of history.

Regardless, his unique book provides us with the primary data that makes it possible to reconstruct the most important event of Armenian and Near Eastern history, which occurred at the border between the ancient Classical and medieval worlds. Despite the fact that the book has been critically studied since the beginning of the 20th century, until recently it was the only version of the *History of the Armenians* that was accessible to Armenologists. If studied more carefully, the following picture emerges.

Gregory the Illuminator, the new religious head of Armenia, accompanied by King Tiridates III (298-330 AD), ruler of Armenia Major, erected thousands of wooden crucifixes throughout the country, all close to pagan temples. In this way, they identified the places where Christian chapels and churches would be built. This iconic symbol of the Christian faith was erected in villages, boroughs, towns, at road intersections, in squares, streets, and along every major route of departure and arrival to settlements.

¹ Further referred to as **Agathangelos**, followed by a number of the corresponding chapters; e.g. *cf.* reference 5. References made to the critical edition of the ancient Greek text of Agathangelos are further referred to as **Ag Greek** followed by the number of the corresponding chapter.

Armenia's ruling and intellectual elite had agreed to destroy all signs of previous faith – the signs of “temptation” – by erasing and obscuring any artefacts, or, in the language of the early historian, “the images of the non-gods” (Agathangelos 778), and rebuild Christian churches in their place, regardless of public sentiment. As for the pagan temples themselves, it would appear that, apart from a few exceptions, any resistance was limited. In cases where opposition was encountered, pagan priests and any servants who made futile attempts to defend their temples and sanctuary towns, were declared ‘devils’ and either escaped or were killed and/or driven away.

The position of the Armenian king in this story is quite intriguing. He actively participates in the battle against paganism, which, in the final analysis, is a struggle against the Armenian people and the state pantheon. It is fair to say that Agathangelos, in his *History of the Armenians*, represents the Armenia Major of the late 3rd century as an entirely pagan country, and its conversion to Christianity fundamentally depended on the joint campaign waged between Gregory the Illuminator and Tiridates III.

The scholar A. Carière wrote that there were three campaigns in which pagan sanctuaries were destroyed. These occurred:

- 1) from Vaharshapat, the capital of Armenia Major, to Artashat, the former political centre;
- 2) from Vaharshapat to the basin of the Euphrates river, where the Armenian province of Higher Armenia was situated;
- 3) from Vaharshapat to Caesarea, in Asia Minor, returning to the Armenian capital via Ashtishat, another religious town in western Armenia (Carière 1899).

The scholar also noted another event: two rulers of Armenia, King Artashes I (189-164 BC) and his grandson, ‘the king of kings’, Tigran the Great (95-55 BC), waged campaigns against the Greek towns of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, and returned with trophies that included statues of the Greek gods. The two kings presented these statues to prominent Armenian temples.

A. Carière indicated that the kings had the pagan statues installed in a sequence that was similar to the arrangement found in the pagan temples which were later destroyed by Gregory and Tiridates (Carière 1899: 24, 27, 37).

Another notable feature in Carière's three defined campaigns is the unequal geographical distribution of the temples that were destroyed.² As we shall see in our analysis below, two temples were located to the east (Agathangelos 778), one to the south (Agathangelos 809), and a further five temples were located to the west (Agathangelos 784-6, 789-90). The adoption of Christianity as the official religion of Armenia was linked to the destruction of these eight supreme temples of the ancient Armenian pantheon. Such outbursts of violence in relation to native centres of worship (in which both divinities and royal ancestors were honoured) seems very peculiar when one considers that forced religious conversion was not a characteristic of the Near East, which had a long tradition of religious tolerance.³

The use of brutal force began in the east, near the ancient capital of Artashat and its vicinity to the temples of Artemis and Apollo (Agathangelos 778, cf. Greek 103-5):

Isk anden valvalaki t' agavorn ink 'nišxan hramanav, yev amenec'un havanut'yamb, gorc i jern tayr yeranelvuyn Grigorⁱ, zi əzharajaguyn əzhayrenakan hnamyac'n naxnyac'n yev zyur karcyal astvacsn č'astvac a nvanyal anhišatak arnel, jñjel i mijo. Apa ink'n isk t'agavorn xaləyr gənayr amenəyn zōrōk'n handerj i Valaršapat k'alak'e yert'al hArtašat kalak', averel and əzba ginsn Anahtakan dic'n. Yev vor hEerazamuyñ telisn anvanyal kayr. Nax dipyal i čanaparhi yerazac'uyc' yerazahan paštaman Tri dic', dpri gitutyān k'rmac', anvanyal Divan grč'i Vormzdi, usman čartarutyān mehyan: nax i na jern arkyal k'akyal ayryal ave^rryal kandec'in.

² Moses Khorenats'i, *History of the Armenians* (edition: Abeghyan and Harutyunyan 1913; English translation in Thomson 1978), II 12, II 13.

³ According to the archaeological data, many of pagan stone artefacts of the II-I millennia BC were Christianised and survived in Armenia by having small crosses inscribed on them; many Urartian cuneiform inscriptions survived to be incorporated into masonwork of Armenian churches. Also, some examples of Christianisation of Egyptian temples in Karnack (ancient Thebes) are well known. As for Roman Mithraistic temples, there were closed but not destroyed. Peoples of the Near East did not usually harm the creations of their ancestors, even in the context of confrontation of different local beliefs. In the case of Jewish attacks on cities and shrines in Palestine, attested in the Old Testament, it is the characteristic of the newcomers' activity that destroyed local settlements as places that were of importance to their enemies.

The king, by sovereign edict and with the agreement of all, immediately entrusted Blessed Gregory with the task of rooting out and obliterating the former ancestral deities ('false gods') of his forefathers. The king himself travelled with his army from the city of Valarshapat to the city of

Artashat, planning to destroy the altars of the deity Anahit there, as well as others that were in a place called Erazamoyrn. En route, the king first encountered the shrine of the god Tir – the interpreter of dreams, the scribe of pagan learning, who was known as the secretary of the temple of Ormizd, a place of learning and instruction. The king's army set upon it and destroyed, burned, ruined and razed the shrine of Tir to the ground.

Soon after, the campaign moved on to the five celebrated temples in the west, in the upper reaches of the Euphrates basin. The central point for all campaigns was Valarshapat, the capital of Armenia and the present location of Saint Etchmiadzin. This was the place where Gregory the Illuminator is said to have experienced visions.

In effect, the Armenian pagan religion endured a triple deathblow – like an evil creature in a traditional fairy tale, which, in order to be overthrown, is normally decapitated three times.

According to Agathangelos, the first of the Western Armenian temples to fall was Thordan – the residence of a "shining" solar divinity called Barshamina (Agathangelos 784):

Yev apa hanjn araryal əznosa amenapah šnorhac 'n Astuco, yev inġ 'n arġyal əzi agavorn xalayr gnac 'yal yert 'ayr, zi yev hayl kolmans amenayn sahmanac 'n Hayastan ašxarhin sermanescen əzbann kenac'. Yev yert 'ayr hasaner i Daranahyac' gavařn, zi yev and zanvaneloc 'n əzsut astvacoc 'n zbaginsn korcanesc 'en, vor ěr i geoln T'ordan, mehyan anvanyal spitakap 'ar dic 'n Baršamina: nax əzna korcaneyn, yev əzpatker norin p'šreyn, yev əzganjsn amenayn, zoskuyn yev zarcat 'uyn, avar harkaneyn yev zayn alk'atac' bažanyal bašxein. Yev zgyoľn amena_{yn} dastakertok 'n handerj yev sahmanok 'n hanun yekelec 'vuyň nvirein, yev zamenap 'rkič' nšanin orinak yev and kangnein.

Then Gregory entrusted them to the all-protecting grace of God, while he himself, taking the king, hastened to the other regions of Armenia, that they might there sow the Word of Life. He entered the province of Daranahik in order to destroy the altars of those falsely called gods. In the village of T'ordan, there was a famous temple to the glorious god Barshamin. First they destroyed this and smashed Barshamin's image; they plundered the temple's treasures, taking both gold and silver, and distributed it to the poor. They devoted the whole village, with its properties and territories, to the name of the church. And here, too, they erected a crucifix, the all-saving sign.

Next, Gregory "went to the fortified site of renowned Ani, the site of the royal burial ground of the Armenian kings. There, his army destroyed the altar of the god Zeus-Aramazd, called father of all the gods" (Agathangelos 785).

Yev apa het aysorik anden i sahmanakic 'gavařn Yekelyac' yelaner. Yev and yerevyal divac'n i mec yev i bun mehenac'n Hayoc' t'agavorac'n, i telic' pařtamanc'n, hAnahtakan mehenin, hErezn avani, ur i nmanut'yun vahanavor zoru řolovyal divac'n martnč'cin, yev mecagoč' barbarov řzlerins hnč'ec'uc'anein. Vork' p'axstakank' yelyalk' yev ynd p'axčeln noc'a korcanyal barjraberj parispk'n hart'ec'an. Yev vorq dimyal hasyal ěin řzgastac'yal zorok'n, surbn Grigor t'agavoravn handerj, přrein zoski pat_{kern} Anahtakan kanac'i dic'n. yev amenevin řztelin qandyal vatnein, yev zoskin yev zarcat'n avar ařyal. Yev anti ynd getn Gayl haynkuys anc'anein yev k'andein řzNaneakan mehyann dstern Aramazda i T'iln havani. Yev řzganjs yerkoc'un mehenac'n avaryal řolovyal i naver spasuc' surb ekelec'vuyñ Astuco t'olvin teleok'n handerj.

After this, Gregory travelled to the neighbouring province of Ekeleats'. Here, demons appeared in the Armenian kings'

most important place of worship, the temple of Anahit, in the town of Erež (Yerez). The demons formed an army carrying shields and gave battle; with a tremendous cry they made the mountains echo. They were put to flight, but, as

they fled, the high walls collapsed and were flattened. Those who had arrived – Saint Gregory, the king and the pious army – smashed to pieces the golden image of the female deity Anahit, and destroyed and pillaged the place, seizing all its gold and silver. From there, Gregory’s army crossed the Gayl River (Kelkit River) and destroyed the temple of Nanē, the daughter of the god Aramazd, in the town of T¹il (Agathangelos 786).

Afterwards, Gregory “hastened” (*put’ acyal hasaner*) to the region of Derdjan (Agathangelos 789).

Gayr hasaner i Mrhakan mehyann anvanyal vordvuyn Aramazda, i gyuln zor B¹ agaya řičn koč’en ysť part’evaren lezvin. Yev zayn i himanc’ bryal xlein.

He came to the temple of Mihr, the son of Aramazd, to the village called Bagaya ich in the arthian tongue . This he destroyed down to its foundations (Agathangelos 790).

Let us make some observations about these passages relating to the five Armenian temples, tracing successive campaigns from one religious centre to another:

1. Thordan

Thordan was on the south-western slopes of Mount Sepuh (modern Kohnam) (Adontz 1908: 48). The following sequence of shrines: Thordan – Ani – Yerez – Thil – Bagaya ich, could not simply have occurred as Agathangelos states, since Thordan was at the cross-roads between Ani or Yerez. Neither could Thordan have been the departure point of Gregory’s western campaign.

According to the Greek version of Agathangelos, “the king hurried also to destroy the temple of Zeus” (Greek 106). After this, Gregory, “together with the king, reached the village of Thordan, in the region of Daranaghi, where the temple of Hrea [Rhea] was situated” (Greek 108). Then “they moved to the fort resš Ani... the temple of Zeus” (Greek 110). The Greek version of Agathangelos twice mentioned the temple of Ani, dedicated to Zeus-Aramazd: Gregory, before he could reach Thordan, departed for Ani and once more reached Ani after Thordan. The revised sequence of pagan temples can thus be presented in the following way:

- - - -

Thordan

As for the Greek pagan statues brought from abroad and erected in Armenian temples by Artashes I (the 2nd century BC Armenian king), they were installed in the following sequence: Zeus (**Ani**) – Artemid (**Yerez**) – Athenas (**Thil**) – Hephaestus () – [Aphrodite (**Ashtishat**)] (**Thordan**) (*Moses Khorenats'i* II 12).

His successor, Tigran the Great, arranged the statues in the temples in a similar way:

(Ashtishat) – Thordan. In the latter, the sacred sites of Yerez and Thil were just disposed of.

In traditional Armenian philology and historical geography, Bagaya ich is identified as a settlement in the province of Terdjan, in eastern Armenia, which is present-day Turkey. However, there was another Bagaya ich, situated west of the Euphrates River, on the slopes of Mount Sepuh. With this knowledge, one could suggest that the five ancient Armenian temples were, in fact, concentrated in the same geographical environment – on the slopes of the mountain dedicated to the Armenian gods and the spirits of royal ancestors. They occupied the eastern, western and southern slopes of Mount Sepuh, but not the northern side.

According to Agathangelos' account – in addition to the above-mentioned information on the Greek statues erected by Artashes and Tigran – Gregory moved between the pagan temples in a very specific order. First, he approached the temple of the supreme god of the Armenian pantheon, Zeus-Aramazd. Then, he visited the temples of Anahit, Nane, Mihr and Barshamina.

The location of those five sites is quite intriguing. Nowadays, **Ani** is located on the right bank of the Euphrates River. **Yerez/Yeriza**, Erzincan, in modern Turkey – is a town 30 miles east of Ani, on the south-eastern slopes of Mount Sepuh. **Thil** is about nine miles west of Yerez, on the opposite bank of the Gayl River (Lycos). **Thordan** is located on the southern slope of Mount Sepuh, 12 miles to the north-east of Ani. "The graves of nine saints" are here, as well as the chapel of Gregory the Illuminator.

– as well as the temple of Mihr – was approximately nine miles west of Thordan.

The worship of the supreme god **Zeus** was practised in the temple town of Ani-Kamakh, on the southern slopes of Mount Sepuh. The temple of **Anahit**, the second divinity of the pantheon, occupied the eastern slopes of the mountain, sharing these with Nane. The cult centre of the third god of the supreme triad – **Mihr** – occupied the western slopes of the mountain, sharing these with the solar divinity Barshamin (a Syrian counterpart of Bel-Shamin). Thus, the space around the sacred mount was shared between the Armenian supreme divinities in the following way: the east was allocated to the two female gods, the west was intended for the two male gods, and the south was meant for the supreme God – **Zeus-Aramazd**. As for the north, nothing was mentioned in relation to it.

So, Gregory made a circle of the Armenian shrines following the direction of the solar path, beginning with the temples of the supreme god and goddess, and finishing at the temple of the 5th god of the pantheon. Such movement reflected the standard hierarchy in the ancient Armenian pantheon, as well as the cultural landscape. Although Gregory's path around the Armenian shrines is associated with Agathangelos' tale of their destruction, the distinct order in which he visited them could also indicate an expression of respect rather than that of aggression, for the following reasons.

Let us invoke some examples from early medieval Armenian literature representing the horizontal dimensions of space. One of these includes the records of Khorenatsi, who is credited with the earliest known historiographical work on the history of Armenia. In it, the King Azhdahak of Media, the husband of Tigranuhi (an Armenian princess) relates details of a fearful vision he experienced:

Ēr inj, asē, ov sirelik', linel aysor herkri ancanot'um, merj i lyarn mi yerkar herkre ħarjrut'amb, voro gagat'n šastkut'yamb sarnamanyac' t'ver patyal: yev asejn gogc'es herkrin Haykazyanc' zays linel. Yev i nayel im herkaraguyns i lyarn, kin vomn čiranazgest, herknaguyn unelov zyuryav ter, nstyal yerevec'av i čayri aynpisvo barjrut'yan, ačel, barjrahasak yev karmrayt, yerkcanc' əmbrnyal c'avovk'.

Yev i herkaraguyns nayel im haŋnpisi yerevumn yev i hiac'man linel, čnav hankarc kinn yeris kataryals i dyuc'azanc' hasakav yev bnut'yamb. Arajinn zeransn acyal i vera aryucu šlanayr arevmuts yev yerkrordn i vera əncu i hyusisi hayelov. Isk yerordn əzvišap anari sanjyal i meruys vera šahatakyal arjaker terut'yans

My friends, it happened to me today that I was in an unknown land, near to a mountain that rose high from the earth and whose peak appeared enveloped in thick ice. One would have said that it was in the land of the Armenians. As I gazed for a long time at the mountain, a woman appeared, dressed in purple and wrapped in a veil the colour of the sky, sitting at the summit of the great hill. Her eyes were beautiful, her stature tall, her cheeks red, and she was seized with the pains of childbirth. As I watched in amazement for some time, the woman suddenly gave birth to three heroes, fully formed in stature and form. The first was mounted on a lion and flew to the **West**; the second, riding a leopard, looked to the **North**; but the third rode a monstrous dragon, and launched an attack on our empire [= to the **South**]”
(Moses Khorenatsi I 26 = Thomson 1978: 116).

Khorenatsi provides further examples, telling the reader about the struggle of the Armenian princes and General Smbat against the Romans:

*Almuk šp'ot'ic' imm lyal harevmuts, ynd vor vstahac'yal
 Artashes nškahyal ənddimal hromayec'voc'n terut'yann,
 voč talov harks. Isk Dometianosı kayser kasuc'yal zors i
 verə Artasısi arak'e, voroc' hasyal i kolmans Kesaru,
 əzTiran yev yzzorsn arevmtyan araji arkyl acen tagnapav
 minčev i k'aj əndarjak hovitn Basena, horum ənddem dipyal
 Artavazd arevelya yev hyusisayin zorok'n, handerj amenayn
 vordvok'n ark'ayi, yev paterazmyal sastkapes vtangin. Horo
 i verjs paterazmin hasyal Smbat haravayin zoroqn ynd mej
 anc'yal aprecucane zordisn ark'ayi, halt'utyun yev zrav
 paterazmin araryal. Zi t'epet yev ceraguyn er, yeritasardapes
 hardaryac' yev mlyac' əzčakatn yev hetamut yehyal
 halacyac' əzzorsn hromayec'voc' minčev i sahmans Kesaru.*

When tumult and confusion arose in the **West**, Artashes took courage from these events to rebel against the Roman Empire, withholding tribute. But the Emperor Domitian was angered and despatched an army against Artashes. When it arrived in the region of Caesarea, it swept Tiran and the western army before it, driving them quickly back as far as

the very wide valley of Basen. Artavazd hastened to oppose it with the armies of the **East** and **North**, accompanied by all the king's sons. They fought fiercely and were hard pressed.

At the end of the battle, General Smbat arrived with the army of the **South**, and advancing into the midst [of the fray] he saved the king's sons, winning victory and ending the battle... and, pursuing the Roman army, he threw it back as far as the borders of Caesarea (*Mos^{es} Khorenats'i* II 54 = Thomson 1978: 197).

In these examples, different points of the compass represent different emotions and distinct functions: anxiety (West), threat (North and East) and victory (South), and the story is moving from one direction to another, finally going full circle.⁴ Whether this activity is aggressive or peaceful, such circumambulation of the territory represents a process (encircling), manifesting royal possession over a particular area in space as well as its delimitation.

Although there were thousands of temples in ancient Armenia, clusters of prominent shrines were concentrated in a limited space. Most of them were situated around Mount Sepuh. Although the ancients built the five temples in question at an irregular distance from each other and could not mark the sacred mountain with a regular grid of shrines, they perceived the sacred space as an area with four horizontal sides as well as three vertical levels. Five trees, five cauldrons; four to the corners (the original ancient points of the compass) and the 5th "element" in the middle – this arrangement constituted the ideal construct of ancient cultural space for many ancient peoples (Shkunaev 1980).

The way in which Gregory the Illuminator approached the **five** main pagan temples of Armenia is reminiscent of a circular motion going around them, from the supreme shrine to the next sanctuary according to its rank; from the south to the east; from the east to the north; from the north to the west, counter-clockwise.

⁴ On ancient Indian and Greek parallels (Gamkrelidze & Ivanov 1984: II.502) of these Armenian examples and their subsequent analysis, see Hakobyan 2001: 152-153. Such parallels include the birth of the Buddha (the four great kings correlating with the points of compass stood over Buddha's mother and took the newborn child on the skin of a spotted tiger) (*Mahāvastu* III 315.2; *Mahāvagga*, I 2.1); four living creatures before the throne of the Lord (New Testament, *Revelation*, 14.3); transformation of animals in Homer, *Odyssey*, d 456-458 (Gamkrelidze & Ivanov 1984: 456-458).

Both Agathangelos and Khorenatsi indicate three other Armenian temples, thus referring to the eight main temples in the country – in the **West**, in the **South** and in the **East**. They seem to be temples of renowned antiquity, erected in different epochs: five of them were attributed to ancient Hayasa and its descendants on the Euphrates River;⁵ two were situated within the confines of the ancient Armenian capital, Artashat, and the last temple in the south exercised control over the old Armenian borders with Syria and Mesopotamia. In this manner, three different groups of temples formed both visual markers and cultural borders with the neighbours of Armenia.

The symbol of “eight” was well known in the Near East and in Armenia. The Hittite empire, to the West of Armenia, had eight main temples on the different borders of the state. Every year the Hittite king and his queen made a round of the country to declare the state’s power over its people (Ardzinba 1982: 17-25, 35, 40-47, 131-132, 139). As we saw, a similar situation occurred in Armenia. The counter-clockwise circular motion of Gregory from one temple to another symbolised the declaration of religious domination, and of both political and ideological succession, over the main shrines.

There is an important basis to understand events connected with the adoption of Christianity in Armenia. As Agathangelos reported, the first Armenian king made a declaration:

⁵ In the 14th century BC, the sanctuary towns of Hayasa are attested as dedicated to the following Gods: 1) God ^dU-GUR of town [=country] *Hayasa* – God of the Underworld, 2) Goddess ^dšhtar of the town *atteu* – 3) [God]... ^da-nu-uš of the town *Laʾirjila*, 4) God ^dZag-ga of the town *Qadmaša/Qadk* uša, 5) God ^dU(=Tešup) of thunder and lightning of the town *Arniia/Arniya*, 6) God ^dTa-a-ru-mu-uš of the town *Kam?/Kamu|a?*, 7) God ^dU(=Tešup) of thunder and lightning of the town *Pa|uteya*, 8) God ^dTe-ri-id-ti-tu-u-ni-i(š) of the town *Tamatta*, 9) God ^dU-na-ga-aš-ta-aš of the town *Gazû*, 10) God ^dU(Gagša-an-na-aš) of the town *Ar|ita*, 11) God ^dBa-al-ta-ik of the town *Duggamma*, 12) God ^dUnagašt-aš of the town *Barraia*, 13) God ^d...|u-uš of the town *Gašmiya|a*, 14) God ^dSi-il-li.... See Forrer 1931: 6, Kapantsyan 1947: 18, 88-99, Adontz 1972: 46, KUB XXVI.39. Most of the sites recorded above must be located at Hayasa, the upper reaches of the Euphrates (see Kosyan 2004). The first two divinities – ^dU-GUR of country *Hayasa* – the God of the Underworld and the Goddess ^dšhtar of the town *atteu* – are supreme Gods of Hayasa pantheon and Aramazd and Anahit are their successors under semi-Iranian-Armenian names. As for the others, they are mainly secondary gods.

Isk t'agavorn Trdatios... hraman het i žolov koč'el miaban^{ut'yamb} amenayn zorac' yuroc'... Yev kutec'an arhasarak zork'n amenayn, yev mecameck', yev kusakalk', gavarakalk' patvavork', patvakank', zoravark', petk' yev išxank', naxarark' yev azatk', datavork' yev zoragluxe', yev hasyal kayin araji t'agavorin

Then king Tiridates... ordered his entire army to be summoned... The whole army came together, and the magnates and prefects, provincial governors, dignitaries and notables, leaders and nobles, princes and freemen, judges and officers, and they mustered before the king (Agathangelos 791).

Although there was no mention of the priests, beyond any doubt they had to be present in the palace. They were in league with the Armenian king. It was inconvenient to convert the former pagan priests into the patriarchs of a newly established church, although this possibility was considered by the author of the Greek version of Agathangelos (Ag Greek 172). It would have been more practical to substitute the pagan priests with their descendants.

Yev zomans hordvoc' k'rmac'n aryal yur, zarařavasuns jernasuns arner... Vor astičan^{yepi}skoposut'yan linēin aržani kalo, aryal jernadrut'yun i nmanē:... Aysk', vor hordvoc' k'rmac'n əntrec'an linel yepiskoposk' kolmanc'.

And he took some of the priests' sons to consecrate them...

Whoever of them deserved bishopric he made them persons in attendance... these were the sons of the priests destined to be bishops of the provinces (Agathangelos 845).

It was natural enough that the pagan priests adopted Christianity later, when people all over the country were converted to the new faith. In addition, the Holy Bible had by then become accessible to the children of the pagan priests (Ag Greek 169).

In this context, it is hard to credit as true Agathangelos'

accounts regarding the brutal repression of the old pagan temples. The violent attack on the Apollo temple, the retreat of the priests to the temple of Anahit, the siege of the temple (see Agathangelos 778 above), can only be viewed as legends that were composed at a later date. In the case of Gregory, he took the Lord's cross and

approached the gates of the temple: “Then the whole edifice of the temple shook from its foundations and collapsed” (... *yev amenayn šinvac'k' mehenin i himanc' dirdyal tapalec'an*, Agathangelos 779).

Devils, who took human form, disappeared when confronted by the sign of the cross (Ag Greek 104). In another temple, at Yerevan, dedicated to Anahit, “the fortified walls of the temple collapsed without assistance” (Ag Greek 111). In South Armenia, at Ashtishat, the peasants “could not recover the hidden gates of Aphrodite’s temple, nor were they able to destroy the walls” (Ag Greek 156).

Suddenly, all the temple priests, its stones and wooden beams, its roof, utensils, also temple servants, began flying and fell down into a distant gorge (Ag Greek 157).

According to Gregory the Illuminator, God commanded that everything made of wood, stone, gold and silver was to serve the people (Agathangelos 59):

*Yev, p' oxanak Astuco, ħoro i barisd vavelek'; paštēk
əzp' aytelensd yev əzk' arelensd yev zōsketensd yev
zərcač' elensd, zor Astuco kargyal e i spas yev i pets yev i
p' aravorut yun mardkan* (Agathangelos 59).

Reading this passage more closely, one can say that the description of the eradication of the Armenian temples is very similar to the lines of the Old Testament that describe the fall of Jericho.

On the 7th day, you and your soldiers are to march around the city seven times, while the priests blow the trumpets. Then they are to sound one loud note. As soon as you hear it, all the men are to give a loud shout, and the city walls will collapse. Then the whole army will go straight into the city (Old Testament, *Joshua* 6.4-5).

Following this vein of thought, the subsequent sentence from Agathangelos becomes extremely clear; the main temples of pagan Armenia agreed to convert to Christianity. Gregory “then took counsel with the king and the nobles ... concerning a common peace: *they agreed to overthrow, destroy and extirpate the scandals*”

(A' nuyr aynuhetev xorhurd havanut 'yan ynd t 'agavorin yev ynd isxansn ... vasn xalahut 'yan hasarakač', k'akel, korcanel, barnal az gayt 'aklut'junsn i mijo, Agathangelos 777).

As for the artefacts of idolatry that had to be broken (Ag Greek 103, 108), the Armenian king ordered his men to gather them up for the royal treasury (Ag Greek 105), while items of worship taken from Thordan were preserved for the new Christian temples (Ag Greek 108). In fact, the primary ritual for the adoption of a pagan temple appears to be the erection of large wooden crosses (Agathangelos 782; Ag Greek 110). The reason for their adoption was to "illuminate ... and renew" (*usavoresc'e... yev norogesc'e*) the country (Agathangelos 792).

Some additional material that might help us reconstruct ancient times, after the new faith had been adopted, is provided by Armenian medieval folklore, especially the composition entitled "The ar of the agan riests". In this source, the temple servants of the ancient Armenian divinities Demetr and Gisane, assisted by the priests of the Ashtishat temple, began a desperate struggle against Gregory and Tiridates. The supreme priest, Ardzan, and his son, Demetr, led the pagans' revolt, supported by the Dragon town and the nearby settlements.

Classical Armenologists have a different attitude to these events, as well as to the historical and cultural background of Armenia in the 3rd and 4th centuries AD. Neither Nicolas Adontz (1948: 223-293), nor Jakobos Tashian (1891) and Manuk Abeghian (1899) support this course of historical events. They declare it impossible that the people fought against their own culture – the pagan culture. They claim that the character of Gregory the Illuminator is so deeply buried in legend due to Agathangelos'

History of the Armenians that the separation of fact from legend is very difficult, if not impossible.

When the Classical Greek and Arabic (Marr 1905) versions of Agathangelos were uncovered, translated into these languages from an older lost Armenian original, a different reality arose. As one can imagine, all the evidence concerning Armenian Christianity and the epoch preceding Gregory the Illuminator underwent extensive revision, and subsequent new editions of Agathangelos' *History of the Armenians* took a fresh look at the past.

⁶ See a detailed analysis by P. Ananean (1979: 4) of the Venice Armenian congregation.

Traditional history emphasized the role of Gregory and the value of his Christian campaigns to a large extent. The new interpretation, which owed a lot to the sources gleaned from the Armenian original, gave some credit to the original apostles who preached all over Armenia. The sermon of Thaddaeus and Bartholomew was attended by the first Armenian Christians, as well as by the first Armenian saint, Athenogenes, and the martyrs.

It is clear that Christianity began to spread in historical Armenia during the first centuries of our era. The new ideology and belief penetrated Armenia from the west to Armenia Minor. It came from the Roman legionaries' camps located along the Euphrates that gave rise to Christian ideas, and to the early Armenian Christian communities, as well as from Syria and Mesopotamia in the south. Since the 1st century AD, the Abgarid royal dynasty of Osroene – a small kingdom in the north-west of Mesopotamia, bordering Armenia Major, whose capital is Edessa – adopted the Christian (“Judaic”) confession. It is noteworthy that the significant part of Osroene’s population was Armenian.

The ways in which Christianity penetrated and developed throughout Armenia varies:

- 1) Similar processes occurred in Armenia as in the large expanse of territories that stretched from Iran to Cappadocia, Syria and Palestine. These were the original parts of the political and cultural “melting pot” of the ancient Near East;
- 2) The adoption and settlement (naturalization) of Christianity in Armenia must have shared common traits with other countries and nations on a wider geographical scale, from Egypt to the British Isles, including Ireland. One must also take into account the ancient Germanic and Celtic worlds, where pagan beliefs are known to have existed alongside Christianity and to have blended with local Christian doctrine. Some parallels can be seen between the Armenians and the Irish: two strongholds of the Christian faith in the Near East and in Western Europe;

- 3) Armenia, as an important historical and cultural bridge between the East and the West, must have had its own unique factors and features during its conversion to Christianity.

According to an early medieval Armenian historian, Faustos Buzand, the majority of the Armenian population kept the pagan traditions of their ancestors even after the Christian conversion. Agathangelos' *History of the Armenians* reveals various details from which the pre-Christian culture of the ancient Near East can be reconstructed.

In its turn, the archaeological data provides a similar picture. According to it, there were three major developments for pagan religious centres in the early 4th century AD:

- a) Transformation into Christian centres, with slight modifications in architecture.
- b) Closure of some pagan temples, with stone blocks erected in front of the entrances to prevent them being used for religious or public gatherings.
- c) Destruction: the troops of the Persian warlord-king Shapur II (309-379 AD) destroyed many pagan shrines, together with the first Christian chapels. In 363-364 AD, the majority of Armenian cities within the royal domain of Eastern Armenia collapsed.

The contrast that exists between medieval Armenian historiography and the historical (archaeological) reality is a result of the important role that Armenia played in the Christian world and in the political and cultural developments that occurred between the 5th and 13th centuries AD.

The Christian flag was hoisted in the struggle against such invaders as Zoroastrian Iran, Central Asian pagan tribes and the Muslims. This situation made Christian ideology one of the characteristic elements of the Armenian mentality. That is why the Armenians fighting against these pagan invaders kept rethinking and reinventing their attitude to their own Armenian past, finally believing that yet another struggle had occurred in their history: fought against a different rival – the Armenian pagans.

Abbreviation:

KUB = *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköy*

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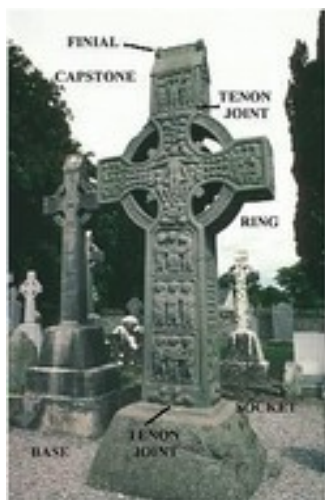
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SIMILARITIES BETWEEN THE EARLY CHRISTIAN ARMENIAN MONUMENTS AND IRISH HIGH CROSSES IN THE LIGHT OF NEW DISCOVERIES

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Introduction

Since the publication of F. Henry's milestone work on the Irish high crosses (*Croix Sculptées Irlandaises*), scholarly attention has been paid to the search for similarities between the Armenian khachkars and the Irish high crosses (Henry 1964: 14-5).¹ The latter, dating back mainly to the 9th-12th centuries and being the most famous Irish Christian monuments (illus. 1), as a rule consist



Illus. 1

of several parts: a massive base, a column that ends with a ringed cross, a finial, which sometimes looks like a dome, or sometimes is fashioned as a small house with a gabled roof. These parts are connected to each other with a mortise and tenon system. The most interesting feature of these monuments is the ringed cross, the wings of which often extend beyond the circle. The circle has a dual explanation: certain researchers think that it is a technical detail and is used as a foundation for the two horizontal wings or branches of the cross. Others think that the circle is a symbol of victory that originates in Roman or early Christian art. Among other important features of these monuments are the figurative carvings that are

¹ Richardson & Scarry 1990: 21-22, with references to Armenian and Georgian monuments; also Richardson 1994: 177-186.

located on the burrow, on the cross, and in some cases on the base. The columns as a rule are covered with scenes on four sides, the compositions are grouped into squares. The main themes are taken from the Old and the New Testaments, as well as the apocryphal gospels, and usually portray the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, the entrance to Jerusalem, scenes of Jesus with his disciples, etc. and are revealed in a certain order (Harbison 1994: 11-14).

1. Early Armenian monuments (4th-7th cc. A.D.)

Despite previous attempts to compare these monuments to the Armenian khachkars, it is not difficult to see that khachkars with their architectural composition – a high base, a flat stone, a vegetative and geometrical composition placed on the western side – are not completely similar to these monuments.



Illus. 2

Instead, closer similarities may be found if the comparison is made to the early Christian Armenian monuments from the

fourth to the seventh centuries AD. The latter monuments as a rule consist of a base, a column, a capital, and a cross with free standing wings; they are more extended than the khachkars, and often contain iconographical motifs derived from the Old and the New Testaments.

However, early Armenian stelae that were previously discovered omit one of the most important details – a cross encircled in a ring. Dr. Hillary Richardson who previously compared the high crosses with the khachkars, discussed the so-called ‘winged khachkars’ as the closest parallel



Illus. 3

to the high crosses. Specifically, she looked at the famous khachkar of the Harants monastery that dates back to 1639 where the cross of this khachkar is encircled on its eastern side (illus. 2).

Archaeological research and excavations carried out in recent years have uncovered new similarities between Irish high crosses and the early Christian Armenian monuments.

Several years ago, I stressed the importance of the so-called ‘crosses on poles’ (processional crosses) of the fifth-seventh centuries engraved on the stelae and church walls as objects for further comparison with Irish high crosses (Petrosyan 2008: 52). These consist of a base or a foundation, a vertical column or pole and an encircled or a semi-encircled cross.

Looking at various examples, these crosses can be divided into static and mobile types. In the first case, they have a massive foundation, a short pole, sometimes a capital under the cross, and in some cases the circle in the bottom of the cross is set on two columns, for example, the crosses on a pole in Lernakert, Yereruyk and Tsitserna-vank. In some cases, the pole – instead of the cross – is decorated with details characteristic of flags and standards.



Illus. 4

These characteristics include square patterns (Talin, Vank Kharaba) ribbons, leaves of acanthus and palmetto, wings, birds (Akori, Yereruyq, Tsitsernavank, Moughni, Odzun; e.g. illus. 3). In Kasakh, two figures are carved on the two sides of a cross on a pole, one of them is haloed and the other one is carrying a long sword. The left figure is touching the border of the circle. Possibly, this represents a scene of worship (illus. 4). According to Babken Araqelyan (1949: 43), it is possible that Gregory the Illuminator and King Trdat are depicted here. It is intriguing that in the Byzantine tradition, Constantine the Great and his mother St Helena were also depicted as worshipping on the two sides of a cross (Araqelyan 1949: 43).

The numerous instances of carvings of ringed crosses on poles provide us with evidence to suppose that these kinds of crosses may have also been used. However, it is only three years ago that we discovered the first examples of these kinds of crosses,

and it is important that all of them were discovered in the Tigranakert of Artsakh and its surroundings.²

It is significant to note that an early Christian cave sanctuary located not far from Tigranakert contains a lot of carvings of encircled crosses (illus. 5, 6, 7). Carved into the rock, the cross compositions accompany the pilgrims along the road, as if symbolizing *via crucis*.³ These crosses are also depicted on the walls of the sanctuary church, the narthex and the graveyard. The walls of the canal that is cut through the foot of the hill also reveal some carved crosses. The location of these cross compositions provides convincing evidence concerning the “crossification” of the area, which takes on a certain form of landscape “sacralisation”.

This can be seen in different areas of Armenia, specifically in the Hrazdan, Azat and Akhuryan river valleys, organized by means of the khachkars (Petrosyan 2006: 251-260, 290-292). Some encircled or semi-circled crosses in Tigranakert’s cave sanctuary have Greek and Armenian inscriptions, and instances of flower and bird design. During the excavations of Tigranakert, some interesting examples of the encircled cross were revealed in an early Christian basilica excavated there. In the first instance, we have a stone disc where the cross was depicted with lilies (illus. 8). In the second instance, a clay disc was excavated (discussed below), and in the third instance, we discovered the capitals on either side of the portal that were presented as if enclosing a vineyard (illus. 9) or among some celestial beings.

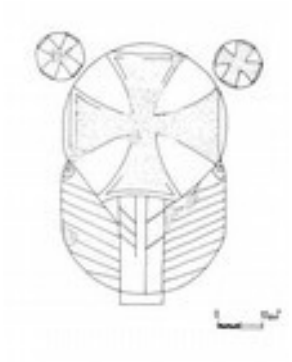
2. The encircled stone crosses: recent discoveries

To turn to the encircled stone crosses: the first example was discovered two years ago in the village of Kolatak in the valley of the river Khachen (illus. 10).⁴ Most probably, it originates from the St. Hakob Metsaranits monastery, which is one of the most famous

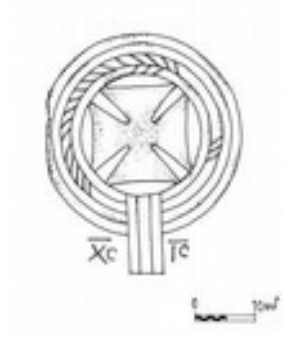
² The excavations were carried out between 2006-2011 by the Artsakh archaeological expedition of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of Armenia. For more detail, see Petrosyan 2007 and 2010: 105-109.

³ *Via crucis* is identified with the “exact” path that Jesus crossed, metaphorically meaning to represent the road to salvation that each Christian believer should experience.

⁴ The Khachen river is the second largest river in Artsakh on the upper branch of which the Gandzasar monastery is situated and on the lower channel – the Tigranakert of Artsakh (see Appendix 1 for the map of the area).



Illus. 5



Illus. 6



Illus. 7



Illus. 8



Illus. 10



Illus. 9

early monastery complexes in Artsakh.⁵ It is worth mentioning that it is unique to Armenian culture, as the crosses discovered earlier belong to the Latin type and have free standing wings, while this one displays an equal winged cross and is encircled. As we have seen, the encircled crosses are the most widespread among the types of the early cross compositions. Moreover, certain features of these compositions show that the primary prototypes of these crosses were the encircled crosses on poles. The cross is carved on both sides and one side is carved in a more elaborate manner (usually the western part). The widening sections of the wings and the crossing points each are underlined by a plaque. The circle in its turn was based on a volumetric-engraved palmette, which was possibly based on a special construction for a cross supported by the bottom tenon.

The excavations of Tigranakert have yielded at least four fragments of encircled crosses. The frames of two are decorated with triangular sections. One of the examples discovered during the excavations of the basilica is a fragment of a circle, which preserved parts of the component that supported the wings of the cross (illus. 11). At a later stage, a hole had been made in this fragment. A tentative explanation for this is that the fragment was hung from a wall. The second fragment which is smaller in size was found with a part of the cross itself (illus. 12). A third fragment of the circle, as well as a fragment of the cross were also found (illus. 13). The fourth fragment was found during the excavations of Tigranakert's Citadel and the fact that this particular cross was encircled is only a hypothesis (illus. 14). Carvings of palmettes were found with the latter fragment. Another fragment was found in Gyavurkala, located four kilometers from Tigranakert (Vahidov 1965: Table, fig. 6). The cross and the triangular carvings make it almost identical to the second fragment found in the basilica. If we take into consideration that Tigranakert is located on a massive limestone mountain, then we should not exclude the possibility that it was due to the close proximity of sizeable stone quarries that Tigranakert (and its surroundings) became one of the main production centers of such monuments.

⁵ The cross fragment was discovered by accident when the expedition was carrying out some research on the khachkars of Kolatak and the surrounding areas. It is currently kept at the Museum of History of Artsakh in Stepanakert.



Illus. 11



Illus. 12

Illus. 13



Illus. 14

Thus, the latest discoveries testify that in the early Middle Ages these monuments with encircled crosses were fairly wide-spread in Armenia. The Armenian examples that are known to us are much smaller than the famous Irish high crosses, but we hope that larger examples will be found eventually.

As far as the figurative carvings of the early Armenian monuments with ringed crosses are concerned, we can only refer to several examples of such fragments that come from Lori and Tavush. In the first instance, it is an image of a saint on a winged cross (illus. 15), in the second, it is a disc inserted into



Illus. 15

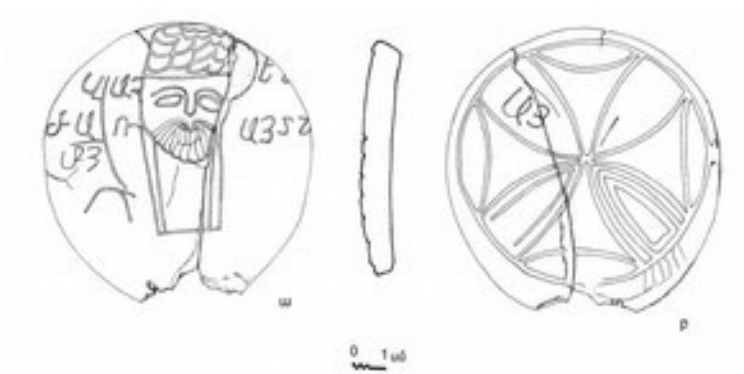
the crossing point of the wings with the scene of the Resurrection (illus. 16). The clay disc (illus. 17) that was found in Tigranakert is similar to this in terms of technique. On the front, it has an image of a face of a man with a fur hat and an inscription in Armenian, on the back, there is an encircled cross and another inscription in Armenian (Petrosyan & Zhamkochyan 2009). This discovery allows us to conclude that the carving of figurative reliefs on early Armenian crosses, independent of the material they were made of, was widespread to a certain degree.



Illus. 16

Later on, starting from the ninth century when the khachkars became extensively widespread, the creation of early Christian column-like stelae gradually declined. We can only mention two examples that perhaps have some connection to the encircled crosses.

The first example comes from a famous column in Tatev. It is possible that the framed cross on the column originates from an earlier prototype. Although the column was erected in the tenth century, the cross with its braided design and almond-shaped wings cannot be dated earlier than the eighteenth century (illus. 18). An iconographically similar khachkar comes from Oshakan (illus. 19).



Illus. 17



Illus. 18



Illus. 19



Illus. 20

The upper part of this cross is a carved circle in the form of an arch that incorporates the upper wing of the central cross, and the crossing point is underlined with double holes. The fragments of this monument kept in Echmiadzin were published earlier by J. Strzygowski (1918: 257) who dated it to the seventh-eighth centuries. I propose the eleventh century, a date that can be seen in the carving of a horizontal palmette under the cross, as well as the triple ends of the wings of the cross and the skilful presentation of geometrical and floral carvings. As far as the later winged crosses, the earliest example of which can be dated to the twelfth century (illus. 20), one can venture a hypothesis that they originated from the earlier cross bearing monuments. It may well be that one of them, the already mentioned khachkar of Harants monastery, possibly had an encircled winged cross as its prototype.

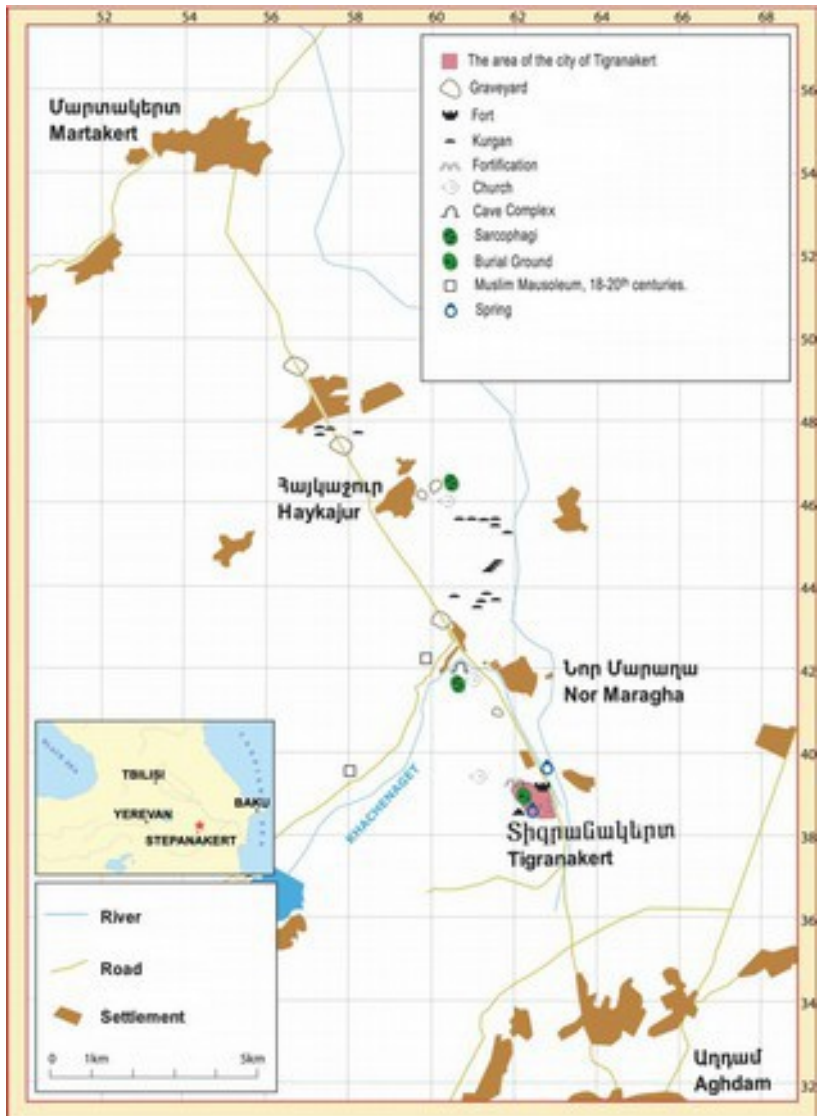
3. Conclusion

The present examination makes it quite possible to consider that at least from the fifth century onwards monuments with encircled crosses existed in Armenia, some examples of which were covered with figurative reliefs. The similarities of these monuments to the Irish high crosses are obvious. However, it remains yet to be determined whether these monuments played any role as a prototype for the Irish high crosses, and if they did, to what degree. We hope that it would be possible to pursue this task in the light of new discoveries and a comprehensive examination and analysis of both traditions.

On the contrary, the total absence of intact examples of such monuments in Armenia as opposed to the Irish high crosses has a very credible explanation. It is the intolerance of the Arab invaders towards the cross in plain view that is widely attested in various written sources (Petrosyan 2008: 88-9). Following this, it is not accidental that the khachkar tradition that was formed in parallel to the weakening of Arab domination not only stepped back from the portrayal of winged crosses, but also did not revisit the use of figurative reliefs – widely spread before the Arab invasions – for almost two centuries.

Appendix 1

Map of Tigranakert and surrounding sites



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THE BYZANTINE AND ARMENIAN CULTURAL INTERFACE: A SKETCH

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1. Uneasy neighbours

Byzantium – East Rome – and the Kingdom (or Kingdoms) of Armenia had each other in clear view during the whole of the existence of the Byzantine imperium – from the 4th to the 15th centuries, that is. The Persian (Sassanid) Empire would be an important, influential, and possibly a menacing neighbor for the Armenian polity until Persia (as a political power) disappeared, brought down by successive blows dealt by East Rome and then by the armies of an expansive Islam, in the 8th century CE. Islam – a Moslem empire and its agencies – would always be a threat to “Armenia,” to be met either by diplomatic maneuvering or armed resistance. Byzantium was another matter, and the relationship between the two Eastern Christian states always had a peculiar tension built into it: we could even speak of a love-hate (or attraction-repulsion) dynamic.

The major differences between the two polities (and cultures) will be obvious. East Rome, inheritor of the Romano-Hellenistic system of imperial super-states, concentrated much of its immense political, social, and symbolic power in one city, or The City of Constantinople where, in the Middle Byzantine period (when, as a matter of ironic fact, Armenian influence – in terms of our knowledge of individuals of Armenian descent – on the highest levels of the Empire was strongest) the *basileus kai autokrator*, the emperor, ruled over a vast and complex bureaucracy and, beyond the City’s walls, a multinational and multilingual polity (even if Greek was the chief administrative and cultural language). Armenia, significantly smaller in size and population, had its princes and, occasionally, a sort of titular High King (*archon tōn archontōn* or “prince of princes” in the Byzantine usage) but in its

essential character it was a feudal or near-feudal society (“para-feudal” in Garsoian’s phrasing (1999a: 82)), and the real holders of political power there – most of the time – were the princes and the *nakharars*, the feudal overlords who operated from cantons of various sizes, as dynasts and military commanders who fought each other and, sometimes, Armenia’s enemies. Language and religion, in simple terms, held the mass of Armenians together, and language and religion separated them from their imperial, Byzantine neighbors.

Armenia was not specifically part of what Obolensky calls “The Byzantine Commonwealth” (Obolensky 1971); this ‘commonwealth,’ in the main a creation of the Middle Byzantine period, was mostly an Eastern European phenomenon, though Armenians (as settler-soldiers or mercenaries) might be involved in many of the maneuvers the Byzantine emperors undertook to secure their hegemony or at least their influence in the newly Christianised areas in the Balkans and in Eurasia north of the Black Sea. Armenia was, however, part of the posited ‘Family of Princes,’ a device or concept by which foreign states were, in nearly literal terms, taken to be ‘related’ to the Byzantine emperor; so the Armenian king was termed a “younger brother” to the emperor – a fairly high position in this ‘family’ (see Ostrogorsky 1956). In the Byzantine view, at least, Armenia would be part of its *oecumene*, that is, its “organized world,” a world made up of what Obolensky calls “a hierarchy of subordinate states revolving in obedient concord round the throne of the supreme autocrat in Constantinople, whose authority, in its rhythm and order, reproduced the harmonious movement given to the universe by its Creator” (Obolensky 1971: 353).

Just how “harmonious” the Armenians might be inclined to be in terms of their relationship to their larger and more powerful neighbour could be, as we shall see, problematic. The *numbers* of Armenians who fled or migrated into the Empire were, especially in the Middle Byzantine period, very large. This ethnicity, over time, introduced more immigrants into the Empire than any other (Garsoian 1999b: 53) while Kazhdan (1975: 167) says that in the 10th-12th centuries CE 10-15% of the “governing class” were Armenian. Eventually, the elevation of individuals of Armenian identity (or ancestry) to the highest positions in Byzantium – including the imperial office itself – has to be noted and emphasized.

It has been suggested, in fact, that in the 10th and 11th centuries CE the Empire was a combinatory, Græco-Armenian construct (Charanis 1963: 57). This is certainly an impressive claim, but the impact (including the cultural impact) of Armenians in the Empire was, I think, more important on the borders of the imperial state and in rural areas, especially but not entirely in Anatolia, where the (mainly, but not invariably, defensively organized) military power of Byzantium was, in the 7th to 9th centuries CE, built up and concentrated.

The details of that Armenian cultural impact are still to be enumerated and analyzed, but I might first set out, as a distinct contrast, another influence on East Rome, and that is the Perso-Iranian – the ‘other’ imperial super-state just mentioned. If my thinking is approximately correct, the military defeat of Sassanid Persia under the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius (who, ironically, may have been of Armenian ancestry) left Byzantium as the sole oecumenical empire left standing in this part of the world; it had inherited its position from Rome, and had defeated Rome’s arch rival. Thereafter, specific borrowings from Persian usage were in fact nugatory (some titles and bureaucratic forms, perhaps) but in their totality the “imperial attitudes” (cultural, social, political) taken and adapted from the Persian example are striking.

One of the problems here is that it is precisely during the time when Byzantium was (a) attempting to stabilize and defend itself in the face of the very serious Islamic assault, and (b) constructing a truly autocratic system of its own, differing in essence from the old Romano-Hellenistic model, that our Greek historical sources are so sparse and unsatisfactory – and our (modern) historians also have been diverted by the drama of the Byzantine war for survival against an aggressive Islam (see Miller 1999: 117-119). The point is that by the 9th century CE Byzantium had built up and perfected an absolutist imperial structure, with a central figure – the “Christ-loving” (and “Christ-imitating”) emperor – with what has to be called semi-divine status, a rich symbolic armory deployed for and supporting him (including astral and, especially, solar signs), and an unquestioned command of the Center of the World (see Miller 1999). This was not a supreme “sovereignty” as this concept is ordinarily understood (that is, as a position held at the top of a “chain of command”) but a kind of total, divinely-supported supremacy – “over all.” In brief:

...the effect of the Persian defeat on East Rome was reactive or “triggering,” not continuing or connective: that with the elimination of the rival Persian power and, more importantly, the rival imperial theology, every strand and type of authority could now effectively be drawn into the hands of the remaining, sole, now truly and fully oecumenical ruler: the single (Roman) emperor (Miller 1999: 125).

The deep, rich, and varied (but enigmatic?) Armenian presence in the Byzantine dominions played out against this overarching, even overwhelming ideological claim and position – and, as we shall see, in important ways it, the Armenian *ethnos*, did *not* fit comfortably within the bounds of this imperial idea. The Iranian influence on Armenia – and especially on its nobility and its aristocratic culture – is another matter entirely; it seems to have been strongest in terms of the “style” adopted by the Armenian nobility, their devotion to hunting and banqueting (socialising with equals, we presume) as ideal foci of an aristocratic life, and most especially the *rural* (emphatically non-urban) setting that they preferred to operate in (see Garsoian 1999a: 76ff).

2. On ‘culture’

As for ‘the nature of culture,’ we could assemble a vast bibliography expanding the fund of data and resonating to various sociological and anthropological schools and theories, perhaps beginning with Lévi-Strauss’s system of binary opposition: human (man-made) culture set against nature – the natural world and its shapes and forces or potencies. In simpler (or less global or cosmic and more prosaic) terms: culture is taken as a complex product or construction of a group’s sense of self or identity, not just what “We” make or say or do, but what “We” are, in our essential being.

Cultural identity also, often, presupposes difference – difference from “Them” – whoever “They” are. The culture of a specific group is carried, chiefly, in language (and all its products, oral or written, in prose or poetry or drama, fable, song, folk-saying and so on and so on). Religion may be and often is another and an important cultural identifier; so is custom (and costume, and recreation or ‘play’) and something indefinable called “tradition.”

Political system (and practice) and social structure are subsumed in it, in a society’s culture – but so is cuisine, that is, food and drink

and the habits or ceremonies attached to meals, either publicly or privately (did Armenians appreciate *garum*, the famous Byzantine fish-sauce condiment?). Culture may be labeled high or low – that is, high-end (elite) or popular, but often these categories are confused and the differentiating labels not even applicable. Culture is, in fact, a vast realm, dedicated – again – to stating that “our” group is not to be confused with (or worse, dominated by) some other group and its culture, whatever overarching authority that other culture may claim to possess.

To uncover or discover all of the elements enclosed within the cultural realm is not easy – certainly it isn’t easy when we are examining sources written a millennium or more ago, and sources that rarely, if at all, are specifically dedicated to (or even include) any of the minutiae of cultural constructions, or “life.” To draw anything like a complete picture of the cultural interface between the Armenians (as state, as society or people) and Byzantium and its constituent elements we will have to make certain assumptions, often based upon or deduced from other patterns, seen elsewhere and as late as the present era, of (for example) the shapes and textures of immigration, assimilation (or its lack), absorption, and the complex nature of “minority” status in a given society. It would be grand to have this information in detail for, as an example, the population of the Empire, urban or rural, in the 10th century CE, but we don’t – and yet we know that the fragmentary nature or the lack of basic, usable “cultural” data will inevitably affect our view of how two cultures might have impinged upon each other. In other words, historiography of the “pluridimensional” type designed, built up and preferred by the French *Annales* School may not be possible (see Stoianovich 1976) – but we shall have to do our best.

3. Settlement and its problems

The influx of Armenians into parts of the Byzantine Empire – or their transfer from one part to another – involved both force and attraction, that is, we can find instances of mass migration caused by extreme perturbations within Armenia itself (that is, Persian or, later, Moslem-Arabic attacks or the threat of attacks) or a simple, almost osmotic infiltration by Armenians into previously uninhabited (or, more often, devastated) East Roman rural “outlands” or borderlands. The recruitment of Armenian troops (often with their families) is another, probably a more important means by which Armenians came, invited, into the Empire.

On the other hand, the forced displacement or removal of Armenian families from areas claimed by East Rome, and their resettlement – resettlement often far from their homeland – was not uncommon, whatever the rationale for these removals. Whether a resettlement is voluntary or involuntary of course can affect the morale of the settlers, and their attitude toward the political and cultural pretensions of the dominant power. So: will we have accommodation and acculturation – or obdurate resistance? Or a little of each?

The numbers of “settled” Armenians in the Empire, over the centuries, obviously cannot be firmly established, but some figures, if taken as approximate or suggested, are revelatory. Some thousands of Armenians were settled in the sixth and early seventh centuries CE in Cyprus, many in Thrace, some as far afield as Calabria (Charanis 1963: 12-16; Garsoian 1999b). From the time of Justinian, however, it was as soldiers – mainly but not exclusively as cavalry – that the Armenian ethnicity came into and was settled in the Empire, and in quite large numbers. Charanis cites the Armenian historian Sebeos, who says that: the Emperor Maurice “ordered gathered together all the Armenian cavalry and all the noble Nakharars skilled in war and adroit in wielding the lance in combat.” (Charanis 1963: 17-8, citing Sebeos 1904: 35. This lance, the *nizak*, was the iconic sign and weapon of the Armenian “chivalric” hero, according to Garsoian 1999c: 389). In 602 CE, the same emperor called for the recruitment of thirty thousand Armenian cavalry on the occasion of another threat in the Balkans – to be transplanted to Thrace “with their families” (a significant statement). Grants of arable or otherwise usable land in return for military service – the heart of the so-called “military theme system” as it was developed in Byzantium – eventually meant that the most vital eastern themes (especially the *Armeniakon*, and note the name) contributed at least some tens of thousands of individual fighters of identifiable or very likely Armenian ethnicity to the armies of the Empire, and this pattern continued up through the time of the Crusades.

Of course there were Armenians in Constantinople, “the City,” where some sources state what is quite likely but is not specifically confirmed; that they had their own quarter (its location is not known), a church where the doctrine and rites adhered to, their own Eastern Christian rite and canons (these city “quarters”

were usually identified and segregated by religious persuasion, not what we would call ethnicity), and a “corporation of merchants” as well (Miller 1969 [2001]: 20, fn. 37, where Michael the Syrian is cited). In fact Armenian merchants were to be seen in other civic centers in the Empire, as in Ravenna (when Ravenna was counted as a Byzantine outpost and dependency; der Nersessian 1945: 24-25). I have suggested (Miller 1969 [2001]: 123) that it was Armenians of the lower social classes who would more likely be attracted to and assimilated into city life; the Armenian aristocracy in the Empire (mainly descended from the *nakharar* class in Greater Armenia, the Caucasian homeland) had, and might exercise, their levers of power in the city, or might be attracted to it, but it was in the countryside where their essentially feudal attitudes and pretensions (and actual power) were strongest, as we shall see.

In the posited Armenian quarter of the City we can assume that the usual processes by which immigrants were and are always introduced to city life (that is, become “acculturated”) went on. In an Armenian *barrio*, then, a newcomer would find familiar faces and voices, cook-shops and other emporia, tradesmen and artisans occupied in trades easily recognized, probably (in fact certainly) relatives who had arrived earlier, and as the generations succeeded one another the children of immigration were taken up into, or at least made aware of, the wider life of the city – economic, political (and ceremonial, always important), and cultural. How many of these immigrants eventually returned to Armenia cannot be known; did Armenian “retirees” appear in their old villages, having made their (relative) fortunes in the capital or some other city? It seems likely – and see below for more on this subject, and on successful or unsuccessful imperial “acculturation”. But since, once again, we don’t know many of the details of the cultural/civic lives of the “powerful” – Armenian or not – in the city (the “newsworthy” ones), our assumptions about the life of the huddled masses, if masses there were, must be just that: assumptions.

4. The question of religious identity

We are told that: “le dévouement absolu et l’amour exclusif qu’en d’autres temps et en d’autres pays on réserve à la patrie, les Arméniens les donnaient à leur religion” (Mahé 1997: 59, citing Laurent 1980: 177). Like some other opinions or *dicta* of Laurent, this may seem to be a somewhat extreme position.

We must, however, certainly advert to the vexed question of confessional religion when dealing with the interactions of Armenians and Byzantines – where, in fact, what we in our *aeon* would regard as minor, even trifling theological differences in the Christian community still had a vital, even final and fatal, impact.

A Christological controversy lies at the base or heart of the split between Greek and Armenian Orthodoxies, and this is an astonishingly difficult area to attempt to understand and explain – while we nowadays can only guess at what was known and accepted then: that the result of a wrongful, heterodox, or heretical opinion was dire, for individual salvation itself depended on a correct interpretation of the human and the divine natures of Christ as ultimate Redeemer, and how they might be understood, separated, or combined. The position taken at the Councils of Ephesus (431 CE) and especially at Chalcedon (451 CE), according to the Greek church (and, most importantly, according to the emperor) finally established rules or canons (and a surely established Creed) describing these two natures as they were united in one being in Christ, but in fact nothing seems to have been settled and, as Jaroslav Pelikan states, “the time of troubles after Ephesus and Chalcedon lasted for fifteen centuries” (1974: 37).

Pelikan should be consulted for about as clear an explanation of these superheated theological controversies as one could hope for, but our focus here is on Armenia and *its* reading of the narrative (see esp. Pelikan 1974: 37-75). Some decades ago Sirarpie der Nersessian, one of the *grandes dames* of Armenian scholarship, after mildly advising us that only a trained theologian could hope to completely penetrate the mystery, then produced a brief and elegant dissection and summation of the problem: for the Greeks, the Armenian church was essentially Monophysite (and so anti-Chalcedonian and heterodox, if not heretical), for the Armenians the *diktat* of the Chalcedonian doctrine went far toward “confusing” the Two Natures, which was not permissible (der Nersessian 1945: 37-39).

It would be too simple to say that because the bishops from Armenia did not attend the Chalcedonian debates – they couldn’t, because Armenia was rent by war at the time – the Armenian church disdained Chalcedon, in a fit of pique (in fact there *were* Armenian bishops at Chalcedon: see especially Garsoian 1999). But this Council and its resultant Creed was the veritable sticking

point between Greek and Armenian. Obviously these opposing viewpoints were subject to amendment, variation and re-definition; as Mahé makes clear, the head of the Armenian church, the *Catholikos*, might accept as legitimate (and orthodox, as “right doctrine”) the canons of Chalcedon, or take a less stringent, a “broad church” approach to the puzzle, and some did so (Mahé 1997: 59). Certain Armenian bishops might also defy or throw off the authority of a *Catholikos* whose opinions they found theologically suspect – this was a fractious church, and aristocratic pride and self-sufficiency often was transferred from the secular world to the various holders of the Armenian episcopate, who frequently belonged to noble families. A most important matter to recognize here is that in this era it was impossible – even unthinkable – to separate Church and State. The Persian Sassanid power and then the Islamic caliphate and its officers presumed that an Armenian church that was in any sort of communion with the Greek imperial “center” also accepted the authority of the East

Roman emperor who ruled from there, and so had, so to speak, joined the enemy (Mahé 1997: 61, 64). The Byzantines took the same position: communion of Christian faith, at least in the East, was definitely, indissolubly connected to the acceptance of imperial authority and suzerainty. When Byzantine political overlordship was established in the Kingdom of Greater Armenia, in the late 10th and early 11th centuries, the doctrinal separation of the two churches was effectively terminated – which, in the long run, was *not* accepted by the Armenians, and this naturally added to the increasing estrangement between the two political and cultural entities, as, for example, in regard to the newly-established (Armenian) Kingdom of Cilicia (see Boase 1978: 3).

It should also be noted, though, that it was the clergy of both parties who were the most strident in denouncing as heretical the doctrines of the other confession; Garsoian tells us that the imperial authority made no attempt to convert (re-baptize or “Chalcedonize”) “Armenian contingents in the army, or the refugee Armenian nobility” (Garsoian 1999b: 66 ff., 86). *Raison d’etat*, or common political sense, might trump some notion of doctrinal purity. Also, careful scholars have noted the fact that some Armenians in the Armenian homeland (often called “Iberians,” and so confusing them with Georgians) accepted the Chalcedonian Creed, and that this was also true of a number of Armenians

scattered through the empire and called, in derogation, “*tzatoi*” (in Greek, *cayt*’ in Armenian, see Garsoian 1999b: 107ff.).

One other aspect of religion involving Armenia and the Armenians needs to be addressed, and that is the vexed case of the Paulicians. This heresy (and to the Greeks it definitely was a dualist or Manichaean heresy) was, without a doubt, Armenian in origin and the larger part of its membership was Armenian (though Greeks seem to have moved onto dominant positions in the sect by the time it was defeated militarily, and its adherents dispersed and resettled). It is perhaps too simple to assume that the root of its dualist beliefs were in Persian Mazdaism, as transmitted to Armenian converts. In its political dimension the sect occupied a key sector of the eastern Anatolian borderland and had its capital at Tephrike; its fighters often allied themselves with the Arab emirates, and raided deep into Anatolia. Goaded, the armies of the Emperor Basil I took Tephrike in 872 CE and dispersed some of the sect (his successor followed suit with the rest). One important theory is that the resettlement of the Paulicians in Thrace or Macedonia eventually gave rise to the Bogomil heresy in this part of the Balkans, with a subsequent extension of these beliefs into Italy and finally, making a last efflorescence and a last stand with the Cathari and their followers, in southern France. That particular dark narrative would end only with the blood and horror of the Albigensian Crusade, in the early 13th century CE.

But in contradistinction to the evidence of Greek sources bearing on this sect, the Armenian sources tell a different story; *their* Paulicians were not Manichaean, but rather a primitive and extremely iconoclastic sect – “Old Believer” is the term sometimes used for their stance and doctrines – with Christ, in their view, taken as a divine being uncontaminated by the flesh, and with a few other essentially heretical beliefs mixed in with their Christology as well. There certainly is a dualist germ here, but this is not Manichaeism *pur et dur* (see Garsoian 1967: 186-230, esp. 202-5, but also Coulianu 1992: 189-97, on “Paulicianism or Popular Marcionism”). Troubled waters, indeed. Accusations of “Manichaeism,” a big theological hammer, certainly were used by the Greeks (the Orthodox) to bash, label and libel various merely heterodox sects, but the question remains: How did true dualism, an unmistakable heresy, make its way into Europe? There is an Armenian ‘shadow’^or trace here.

5. A case history

In cap. 43 of the document we identify as authored (or more properly, collected and collated) by the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (*De administrando imperio*, Moravcsik & Jenkins 1949: 189-99) is a fairly sizeable narrative segment illustrating one case among those illustrating the complicated dealings between Byzantium and the Armenians – written, to be sure, from the imperial point of view and, mainly, involving the policies and acts of two emperors, Leo VI (886-912 CE) and Romanus Lecapenus (919-944 CE), – both of whom, and this Romanus in particular, who can be positively identified as of Armenian descent. “On the country of Taron” deals with a large and strategically located canton in western Greater Armenia, where (especially during the reign of Leo VI) the empire made a successful effort to pull Taron and its Armenian dynasts firmly within the imperial orbit and hegemony and away from any cooperation with the caliphate (the word “Armenian” is not used in this text, except to identify “the Armenian interpreter,” one Theodore: Moravcsik & Jenkins 1949:

190-1, §125). The devices by which the emperor bound the Taronites to him were grants of title and office within the Byzantine system (patrician, magister, protospathar), gifts of value (almost certainly “forbidden” goods, the *kekoleumata*, products of the imperial workshops connected to the treasury), generous annual stipends of gold and silver, residences granted in or near the capital, and, in two cases, marriages arranged with women whose kin were close to the center of power (see e.g. Moravcsik & Jenkins 1949: 196-7, §130) – that is, marriage into the City’s “bureaucratic aristocracy” (see Miller 1969 [2001]: 165-90).

This “story of the country of Taron” (closely examined and analyzed in great detail in Adontz 1965: 197-263) gives us some fascinating insights into and information on those relationships, cultural and otherwise, between the two polities.¹ Beginning with an excursus on the slippery and suspect character of Krikorik, the ruler of Taron, and his attempts to strike a sly balance between (and so evade) the direct control of both the Byzantine emperor and the “commander of the faithful,” the caliph, we find Krikorik eventually brought into the East Roman orbit and rewarded for it, but we also see that when the ruler of Taron was brought to

¹ Adontz (1965) also submits that “the Taronite” – *ho tarōnitēs* – mentioned in the emperor Constantine’s *De ceremoniis*, cap. 24, was this very Krikorik.

Constantinople to be honored he was not “escorted”: the verb used is “taken” (*analabesthai*). There is no hint that hostages, crude word, were demanded from the Taronite dynasts or nobility, however; important individuals went from the Armenian lands to the capital, and then freely returned to their homes (or so Constantine writes, but the taking of hostages by the empire, to assure the good behavior of certain rulers or *ethnoi*, was a common imperial practice). We read that Krikorik made submission to the emperor and was confirmed in his office as prince in Taron, and also that the subventions he received caused jealousy among other Armenian dynasts, who had to be pacified with more gifts. Armed conflict (*en polemō*), even among close relatives (between Krikorik and his brother, for example) is mentioned, and there is an unseemly family brawl over the house in Constantinople that had been unofficially (because no chrysobull regarding it had been issued by the emperor) handed over for Krikorik’s use. We note that the estate (again, informally) granted to Krikorik and then to his son Tornik, had originally belonged to another individual of Armenian descent, one Tzatzatos, who evidently had backed the wrong horse in Bardas Boilas’s revolt against Romanus Lecapenus in 921 CE (Adontz 1965: 217).

Krikorik asked for this country estate because, he said, the “town house” he had been given was simply too costly to run (but it also seems possible that this removal could be explained by the Armenian nobility’s well-known penchant for rural, or at least suburban, living, as opposed to urban life). Finally, that expensive, town house had a name: it was called “the House of the Barbarian” (*ho tou Barbarou*). “Barbarian” was commonly applied to Armenians or to anyone else who didn’t use Greek as a first language; Krikorik’s reaction to this term or name is not recorded) and the gifts that Krikorik had sent from Taron to the emperor are characterized as “such as appear valuable to the barbarians of those parts” (*haper tois ekheise barbarois dokhei timia*, Moravcsik & Jenkins 1949: 188-9, §183). The sense of sniffish cultural superiority is not to be missed here, but what else would one expect from the author/collator, Constantine, a Byzantine emperor born-in-the-purple, even if he was a bookish, reclusive one who was essentially surplus to requirements?

Adontz’s identification of Krikorik as “the Taronite” who appears in cap. 24 of the *De ceremoniis* stimulates some additional

questions. This capital is entitled “What was celebrated in January, the first month, in honor of St. Basil.” “The Taronite” is mentioned here along with “the Bulgarian friends” (*tous filous Boulgarous*). The Emperor is present in the ceremonial, and the Logothete of the Drome as well (which we would expect). Beneath the ceremonial pomp and verbiage is a subtext which we may or may not be able to extract and decode: why this particular saint? And does the fact that the guests – Krikorik (if it is he) and the “Bulgarian friends” represent two vital border areas for the Empire (in Thrace and in Armenia) have any significance? We can suspect that it does, but it would be valuable to know for sure. The *De ceremoniis* is a text that calls for some inspired investigation.

6. Arts, artifacts, architecture and more

The sorts of cultural contacts and constructions falling into this area are difficult to deal with, and almost always call up a good deal of interpretation, supposition and conjecture – though at least we sometimes have some solid “evidence,” to call upon. Der Nersessian (1945: 116-7, 136) points in a rather gingerly fashion to the “Orientalism” that took hold in Byzantine art in the 9th-11th centuries CE, by this evidently meaning that a fad for decoration, a sort of *horror vacui*, could be seen in the intricate detailing of some public and religious building and possibly in manuscript painting. Were these traces a sign of eastern = Armenian influence? Der Nersessian also brings up the theories of the Austrian art-historian Joseph Strzygowski (1923) who claimed that early Armenian experiments in domical ecclesiastical architecture powerfully influenced Christian sacred architecture as far afield as Hagia Sophia in Constantinople and San Marco in Venice. This is not at all a completely accepted argument (see E. Baldwin Smith 1950, esp. chapter III, for example, who sees northern Syria as the birthplace of domical churches, not Armenia) but it is possible that, for example, the sculptured bas-reliefs that appear on the exterior walls of smaller Byzantine churches (such as the ones that survive in Athens, Thessaloniki and elsewhere) could well have had an Armenian origin (though these churches were built later, in Palaeologan times). We also must pay attention to the fact that when the dome of Hagia Sophia collapsed, after the earthquake of 989 CE, it was Trdat, the Armenian master-builder of the cathedral at Ani, who was called from Armenia to repair the “people’s church” in the Byzantine capital city’s symbolic heart

(Der Nersessian 1945: 79). The scale of the two sacred structures may have been quite different, but it clearly was assumed by the Byzantines that Trdat, the Armenian, knew his way around a monumental dome.

If some monumental themes and architectural ideas may have come into the empire from Armenia, certain artistic tendencies and influences seem to have flowed the other way, and this can be seen in illustrated manuscripts (Gospels in particular) either imported into Armenia or done by artists heavily influenced by Byzantine originals, and in some cases (we know) were trained in the empire. Doctrinal purity does not seem to obtain here. The counter-influence in painting would be Iranian (Sassanian) and this would be expected in a land placed and disputed between two large and powerful polities, and this influence appears to continue to be seen – as a variation on “Oriental” iconography and, especially, decorative themes (see der Nersessian 1978; Matthews & Sanjian 1990). But iconographic influences make up a notoriously difficult area to parse.

We might, finally, take notice of one kind of artifact (or work of art) that obviously came into the empire from Armenia. When the doomed army of the emperor Nicephorus I was ambushed and defeated (and he was killed) in 811 CE by the Bulgars under their crafty and dangerous khan, Krum, the booty as listed included “carpets from Armenia” (Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 490). These elaborately patterned fabrics were regarded as *objets de luxe* worth identifying as valuable booty, so we are not talking about saddle-cloths or pieces of casual embroidery here.

7. Language and literature: the power of the word

Here cultural exchange, in the simplest reading, involves (a) knowledge of another language, and (b) borrowings from one linguistic identity as seen, adapted or adopted, in another. As for (a), we know that the Byzantines had to deal with a bewildering number of languages and ethnicities, both beyond the borders and within the ambit of the Empire. We know that there was a Corps of Interpreters attached to the “foreign ministry,” that is, under the authority of the Logothete of the Drome (Miller 1967: 449-461), the great bureaucrat who, essentially, dealt with foreigners in all their guises, at home and abroad (an Armenian interpreter, as noted above, was involved in the affair of the Taronite visitors).

Multilingualism would seem to have been a necessity, but in fact (as Dagron properly informs us) the Empire “reconciled pluralinguism in fact with monolingualism in law” (Dagron 1994: 220). And even the “fact” of pluralinguism carried a suspect taint: *diglossia* or “speaking two languages” could, in Byzantium, be read as “two-faced” or “speaking with a forked tongue,” in our modern parlance.

Religion and the definition of true orthodoxy, as so often was the case, complicated the situation. The “three sacred tongues” (Hebrew, Latin, Greek) certainly carried the received truth, the doctrinal absolute (and also were blessed as a sort of a linguistic trinity, as well). A variation, the use of another language, for one thing, or a translation, might distort or spoil the purity of the original: the Truth. In the Empire, Greek literally spoke for Orthodoxy; heresy was multilingual (as the Gothic tongue was infected with an Arian taint), and Armenian carried a strong hint of Monophysite heresy (Dagron 1994: 227-230) – and so was not just a barbaric (non-Greek), but a heretical (non-Orthodox) tongue. The Armenians, and in particular their clergy, responded to this slur in kind, with a spirited *tu quoque* directed at the “Chalcedonian might” – mighty, that is, and even imperial, but at least heterodox and probably heretical.

Linguistic exchange obviously still had to occur. From the earliest contacts between the two Christian religious communities, Greek texts were translated into Armenian, and Greek was retained (if modified by Armenian linguistic forms and specificities) as part of the Armenian sacred and liturgical vocabulary. Dagron devotes a major part of his excursus on “pluralisme linguistique” in the

Empire to the area of ecclesiastical contact, and specifically to missionary efforts directed from the Greek side (Dagron 1994: 223-230); we are also told that in the 11th century CE Greek texts were still being translated into Armenian “for purposes of proselytism” (Garsoian 1999b: 92, and fn. 141). We seem to see no evidence of the reverse, but we might speculate that Greek-speakers living in rural or border areas controlled or dominated by Armenian military settlers and dynasts might re-think their Chalcedonian adherence, and drift toward the Armenian interpretation of the creed.

The area where the Armenian tongue had a distinct influence on Greek was, not unexpectedly, the military. The Byzantine army was always “mixed” in composition, from the earliest years, and

from at least the time of the wars of Justinian the Armenian element was significant in it (Charanis 1963: 12-15). This pattern simply became more pronounced in later centuries, peaking with the ascension of “Greco-Armenian” emperors while, at the same time, Armenians who attained high military command were seen from the 6th century CE onward – until a shift in the nature and structure of the imperial military became apparent in the 10th and 11th centuries. Leo VI ordered that *mandatores* (“translators of orders”) be attached to every military formation of a certain size (250-300 men: Dagron 1994: 230), and evidence for Armenian linguistic usages extends from the lowest command level – what we would call a section of squad of ten men was identified with an Armenian noun (Dagron 1994: 231), and higher rank might carry an Armenian name as well (Dagron tells us that “the army thus appears as a particularly active linguistic milieu”) (*ibid.*), though on the Anatolian borders Arabic also appeared as an influence in military usages.

The mention of the Byzantine-Arab borders brings us inevitably to *the* Byzantine epic, the *Digenid*, and the whole question of ‘akritic’ or border narratives – epic narratives. In his long search to identify the historicity of Digenes Akritis, “Two-born the Borderer,” Grégoire turned up a fair number of Armenian citations during “the Byzantine heroic age,” and specifically a mysterious Armenian, Khatchatour or Asator, faithful and heroic follower of the Emperor Romanus II (Grégoire 1975a: 459-63) (The Belgian scholar also tells us that N. Adontz had discovered some Armenian akritic themes in songs that made up a “neglected literature”: Grégoire & Goossens 1975: 435). The “two races” combined in the hero Digenes were, of course, Arab and Greek, and the only major Armenian character who appears in the *Digenid* is one Melemendias (or Melimentzes), who duels with and is defeated by Digenes; this personage is identified without too much difficulty as an Armenian, the historical Mleh the Great, a one-time border-bandit or chieftain who entered imperial service and ended up as *strategos* and a renowned builder of fortresses in the key border area of Charsianon (Grégoire 1975: 64-66; Charanis 1963: 30). This outsized character is not the “historical” Digenes Grégoire long sought, but this scholar sees Mleh-Melias-Melimentzes as, possibly, an Armenian “prototype” of Digenes (Grégoire 1975b: 240-241).

Rather more important here than the individual players (however epic and heroic) in this epic-heroic creation is the whole emphasis on the *borderland* and the peculiar, agonic way of life and mentality associated with it. In the imaginable creations of this borderland – from *El Cid* in Spain to the *Digenes Akrites*, from the ballads of the Scottish-English border to the Serbo-Croat heroic songs sung in our own era, the akritic type lives, acts and fights in a topos where his so-called opponents are judged as near-kin (and may in fact *be* related). The foe or other player in these border “games” may be across the demarcated border, but the real anti-type or essential enemy is in the Center (or the City). The borderers speak each others languages – Dagron says that the akritic type is innately bi-lingual (and in fact on the Anatolian or oriental borderlands trilingualism – capability in Greek, Arabic, and Armenian – was not uncommon (Dagron 1994: 233-4). And these borderers or akritic fighters are loyal not to a centralizing ideology (imperial, national or whatever); they are loyal to family or clan, to a way of life (and death) they share with those they understand, those across the border; they are agonic but not “political” (see Miller 2000: 147-50). And the Armenian borderers – and their culture – exemplify and show forth these traits very clearly.

8. “The feudal outlook in a non feudal state”

This phrase is Gilbert Dagron’s (1999: 234) and we should take the time to consider the phrase carefully. Kazhdan and Epstein (1985: 56-68) briefly consider the question of “Byzantine feudalism” in the 10th-12th centuries CE, and note that some elements of this arrangement certainly existed: large landed estates, a self-contained estate economy, a dependent peasantry, and so on. (We need not consider the vexing question of the *pronoia*, at base a tax-farming system and probably de-stabilizing, here). Yet there was an imperial authority looming (or at least present) in the offing; granted estates could be seized or sequestered, taxes were demanded and even collected. The “powerful” (*dynatoi*) did not invariably have things their own way.

Perhaps it would be more productive to look at the Armenian element in the Empire in terms of what we could call a feudal *culture*, one already hinted at. Greater Armenia had few urban centers of the Hellenistic type (of course, some had been destroyed by the Sassanids). Among the elites, a non-urban or even anti-urban sensibility extended even to the Armenian episcopate,

which established its sacred centers (cathedra, basilicas) not in population centers; the bishops “associated themselves with the great noble houses of which they were usually members and did not reside in cities” (Garsoian 1999a: 79).

This was true even of Ani, the supposed capital of Greater Armenia. The members of the *nakharar* class who migrated into the Empire or were invited (recruited) to provide military service in return for grants of land or estates brought with them a pronounced rural or “country” sense of place – the pleasures or pastimes they most appreciated were adopted from the Iranian nobility, and these included hunting and, of course, war-making and, we can assume, they also brought a set of essentially feudal attitudes, and if they were not attracted to Constantinople or to service in some other of the cities of the Empire, these attitudes remained intact. And we know that a feudal culture (and its related psychological set) implies and in fact privileges such attitudes or psychological icons as: personal and familial loyalty and fealty, personal honor and sense of worth, physical bravery, and status granted because of birth and family but also by way of individual skills and talents, especially displayed in war or at least in combat.

We can even assume that a type of ‘chivalric’ behavior displayed by the Armenian *nakharar* nobility (taking this more as a cavalryman or horseman’s set of superior and prideful self-images, and having nothing to do (so far as we know) with any attitude toward women), was translated – along with their retinue (or their “men”) and their servants – *en masse* into the Empire. There were corps of Armenian foot-soldiers (see Charanis 1963: 32, citing the Syrian source, Bar Hebraeus), but it was their cavalry whose service was most desirable in the Byzantine army and who were most to the fore, and in quite large numbers (which we cannot, of course, precisely quantify), and these came, in the main, from the displaced princes, the *nakharar* immigrants and their retainers. We can even guess that the Armenian archers who are occasionally mentioned in our texts were drawn from the professional huntsmen who had been occupied as assistants in the favorite pastime of the Armenian nobility – much as the Brigade of Rifles in the British army was originally recruited from the huntsmen attached to the courts of German princelings, in the 18th century.

We read in the Byzantine treatise on “light” warfare by Nicephorus Phocas that a serious problem with the Armenian

soldiery was that “they could not be relied on to keep their posts; they often deserted, and they did not always obey orders” (Charanis 1963: 34, citing Nicephorus Phocas [Reiskii 1828: 88]). But these traits, however anathema to the diligent and “professional” military commander, are exactly what we might expect from fighting men who did not regard themselves as “soldiers” held under military discipline, but as warriors who fought because they had been born and raised to fight, or because to fight demonstrated their fealty to another, who were, like the English and Scots borderers or the Cumbrians in more recent times, “a martial kind of men.” Their loyalty, once again, was held to be personal, not extended to an abstraction. This, I believe, was a large part of the Armenian contribution to what Henri Grégoire called “l’âge héroïque de Byzance.” But as Dagron points out, localism, feudal loyalties, and contempt for the Center or the City, strongest in the akritic zones, could turn into active disloyalty to the Empire precisely in that zone, and at that time where and when a firm and trusted defence was usually needed (Dagron 1994: 233-234).

The disaster at Manzikert in 1071 CE that opened Anatolia up to the Seljuq Turks (and terminated Byzantine sovereignty over Greater Armenia) did not occur because of some specific act of treachery against the emperor Romanus II by Armenian troops; that canard has been discarded. Imperial overreaching – including the incorporation of Greater Armenia directly into the Empire – can be pointed to as a serious error (and Der Nersessian made a point of this fact). The rapidity with which Anatolia, the Byzantine core and heartland, was lost, however, can perhaps be partially assigned to the unwillingness to defend it of the “feudalized” and disaffected Armenian magnates who were so numerous there, especially in the borderlands.

Armenian antagonism to the Empire can certainly be seen in the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia and its rulers, who managed to maintain themselves in a Second Armenia, free of Byzantine interference or influence of any kind – including, it appears, the cultural. The Empire had become the “They” I mentioned earlier.

9. A modest conclusion

Adontz (1965, esp. 197-264) and Charanis (1963) did major work in describing the many identifiably Armenian clans and individuals who served the Empire in both civil and military capacities; Kazhdan (1975) has expanded and refined this work, and has even provided a figure (of 10-15%) for an “Armenian-Byzantine aristocracy” within the ranks of this “governing class”— a term of Marxist resonance that now seems slightly outworn, but we know to whom this brilliant historian referred.

There can be no doubt as to the major contribution that Armenians made to the survival and governance of this “multinational” imperium. Especially in the two hundred years (10th to 12th centuries) that saw the Byzantine Empire show a new vitality and expansive urge, in which “The Byzantine Commonwealth” was bruited (and organized) abroad, the Balkans secured, and Islam’s advance halted and pushed back in Anatolia, individuals of Armenian name and ancestry were very frequently seen at the center and focus (or spearhead) of the Empire’s renewed force and ambition. Still, how far did the absorption into the Byzantine society and polity of this large (probably largest) minority in the Empire go? Peter Charanis (who, I should admit, was my own mentor in Byzantine studies) declares that “the Armenians... were thoroughly integrated into its political and military life...” and that they (the Armenians) “became Byzantines” as others of other ethnicities had done (Charanis 1963: 57). Nina Garsoian says, on the contrary, that the empire “failed to absorb the Armenians, with the small exception of the aristocratic families of the tenth to twelfth centuries” (Garsoian 1999b: 124).² Dagron adds that in terms of urban life the capital, the City “both accepted and isolated the stranger” (1994: 238) and this is likely to be accurate for various reasons. We could, I suppose, fudge our response and say that of the Armenians who came into the Empire, some became “Byzantine” and some did not. This is a response that, to say the least, needs refining. My own impression is that by the end of the twelfth century CE the fire and energy the Armenian immigrants had brought into the Empire now, and increasingly, served to warm and inspirit the solutions to their own ethnic (national?) problems

² Certainly, though, we can point to Armenians like the Emperor Romanus Lecapenus, reportedly of peasant origin, and if true this would be one of the great Byzantine success stories.

and perils – survival under the Seljuq and, eventually, the Osmanli Turks not the least of these.

How the “cultural interface” can be detected in this situation unfortunately again exposes the paucity of information we have; out-of-the-way sources have to be mined for such nuggets as the fact that in Armenian “city” households the servants probably wore traditional Armenian dress; the masters – “Hellenised” costume (Garsoian 1999b: 102-3). Kazhdan and Epstein produce evidence that tells us that between the 10th and 12th centuries (an important epoch for the problem we are investigating) the Empire, or at least the city-dwellers, show a growth in disposable income, as displayed in dress, diet and other areas of expenditure (Kazhdan and Epstein 1975: 74-83). How was this prosperity reflected in the Armenian urban community – if it was? In this community who was tempted, for whatever reason, to drop his Armenian and speak (or read) only Greek? Who “converted” to the Greek (Byzantine) version of Orthodoxy and accepted Chalcedon? (We can probably assume that conversion to Armenian practices and the reading of the creed did occur, under certain circumstances.) Our prosopographical investigations give us names, but rarely the details that would reveal important cultural facts and artifacts. Still, we ought to use what we have, perhaps in new ways (while abjuring academic fads).

Clearly, there is much that is not clear at all, and I could leave this “sketch” of the Armenian –Byzantine cultural interface with the anodyne conclusion that more research, more analysis needs to be done. Which is perfectly true. If, in the course of that continuing research, the various suppositions and assumptions I have scattered through this brief study are revealed either to be accurate, or, on the contrary, completely off the mark, I would be delighted to learn of the new evidence and these new interpretations. I wish these intrepid scholars, more skilled than I could ever hope to be, all the luck in the world.

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RE-INTRODUCTION OF LITHIC DISCOURSE TO BRITAIN AND IRELAND: ARMENIAN-BYZANTINE INFLUENCE¹

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0. Introduction

The present study will deal with the nexus of discourses, meanings and semiotic signs on the basis of data collected by historians of art and culture and by archaeologists concerning a comparison of stone artefacts in Ireland, Armenia and Anglo-Saxon Britain defined as 'lithic discourse'. Furthermore, I shall seek to define other points of contact and the influence of the traditions in the fields of linguistic contact, church doctrine and monastic learning upon each other as well as common sources that had their impact on the formation of both traditions.

In Irish scholarship, previous attempts to deal with the subject include a number of studies carried out by H. Richardson (e.g. 1988, 1990, 2005). Other scholars, such as J. Ghazarian (2006), F. Henry (1964), S. der Nersessian (1978) and H. Petrosian (2010), also dealt with the phenomenon of the synchronic co-existence of stone artefacts (*khachkars*) in Armenia and of the Irish high crosses.

We shall seek to define whether we are dealing with the crossing of parallel lines of development or with the appearance of a new discourse within the context of Irish and British traditions.

Through time, the developments of the lithic discourse of Ireland and Armenia showed characteristic features distinguishing one tradition from the other to a great extent, and yet both kept the

¹ I am grateful to the editors of the volume for their invitation to publish the paper which was originally delivered within the confines of the cultural event organized by Tumanyan State Museum and supported by the Irish Embassy in Armenia. In this regard, I am especially grateful to His Excellency Geoffrey Keating, the Irish Ambassador to Armenia and Professor Alvard Jivanyan. I am also grateful to Professor Dean Miller for his help and advice in the matters of style, language and argumentation. They are however not to be held responsible for the views expressed in this paper; all remaining errors and omissions remain my sole responsibility. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

original unity in relation to the biblical motifs invoked on both the Irish high crosses and the Armenian stelae, friezes and *khaçkars*. Such motifs included Old and New Testament scenes: Isaac's sacrifice, Daniel in the lion's den, Three youths in the fiery furnace, The twelve apostles, The Last Judgment etc. Richardson, although not always ignoring possible Armenian influences – or at least parallels,² – was not inclined to explain such congruences by the direct influence of one tradition upon the other: “both regions drew on the same reserves of early Christian culture as source for their art” (Richardson 1988: 575). She maintained that similar stone artefacts “had been prevalent over a wide area in the early centuries of Christianity” (Richardson 1988: 578). Furthermore, she claimed that “we have no demonstrable proof of any actual meeting of Armenians with Irishmen” (Richardson 1988: 575).

Responding to Richardson, in my study I shall seek to compare the origin and development of the lithic discourse of Armenia and that of the adjacent regions where the migrating representatives of the Armenian tradition of stonework and masonry were absorbed with the origin and development of lithic discourse in Anglo-Saxon Britain, and will attempt to argue in favour of the *a priori* character of the Armenian discourse and its impact on the Northumbrian and, subsequently, on the Irish traditions of stonework.

1. The Armenian tradition of stonework and masonry

In Armenian studies, the 7th century is called the golden century of Armenian stonework (der Nersessian 1978, Kazaryan 2007), and the period between the 5th and the 12th cc. is identified as the golden age of Armenian culture in general.

² For a more detailed treatment of the subject, see section 4 of the article.

³ The territory of Armenia in the period under discussion extended from the Caucasus to the Mediterranean Sea and included, besides the kingdom of the Greater Armenia, the Kingdom of Lesser Armenia and of Cilicia situated in the territory of contemporary Turkey. Between the fifth and the eighth centuries the following outstanding examples of the Armenian stonework tradition were constructed as the churches of Etchmiadzin (480 CE), Dsiravor in Ashtarak (548-57 CE), Ereruc (4th-5th cc.), Dvin (470, 553-7, 608-15 CE), Ciceravank (4th-5th cc.), Karnut (5th c. CE), Egvard (5th c.; 7th c. CE), Garni (4th c. CE), T'alin (5th c.; 7th c. CE), Tanaat (491 CE), Jarjaris (4th-5th cc. CE), Lernakert (4th-5th cc. CE) were built as well as the domed halls in Ptghni (6th-7th cc. CE), in Aruchavank (Arutj) or T'alish (661-6 CE), and domed basilicas in Tekor Basilica (478-90 CE), Odzun

According to A. Yu. Kazaryan, scholars discovered and studied about 85 stone constructions that belong to the 17 architectural types of the seventh century Classical Armenian tradition: “ Up to the very end of the seventh century basilicas and single nef halls had been built, simple cruciform churches, simple trefoils and quatrefoils with three-quarter circle angle niches, cylindrical drum and dome, quatrefoils of Mastara type, domed halls; four-column domed cross-in-square, and octagonal churches” (my trans., original in Kazaryan 2007).

One should note as well that by the seventh century there were approximately 70 Armenian churches and other religious buildings in the Holy Land.⁴



Fig. 1. Zvartnots – The Temple of Celestial Powers (Heavenly Angels) built by the Catholicos Nerses III Taetsi the Builder (c. 641-61 CE)

(6th c. CE). One should also note the Cathedral of Mren (613-40 CE), Church of Saint Gayane at Vagharshapat (630 CE), of Bagavan (631-9 CE), Karmravot in Ashtarak (7th c. CE), the church of Saint Hrips'ime (618 CE), Garnahovit (6th-7th cc. CE), Targmanchats (7th c. CE), Sisavan (7th c. CE), Artsvaberd (7th c. CE), Mastara (5th-6th c. CE), Artik (5th c. CE; 7th c. CE), Voskepar (6th-7th cc. CE), Bagaran church of St. Theodore (624-31 CE), and, finally, the famous 49 metre high church in Zvartnots (643-52 CE; Fig. 1) should be noted (der Nersessian 1978, *passim*). The Byzantine Emperor Constantine III was reported to have visited Armenia in 652 CE to celebrate its consecration.

⁴ Anastas Vardapet, in a letter addressed to Prince Hamazasp Kamsarakan Bahlavouni, on request from the latter before his travel to Palestine wrote that “there are many monasteries in Jerusalem...” (cit. from *The Armenian review*, Volume 16, Hairenik Association, 1963: 32, referring to the work by G. Alishan (1896)).



Fig. 2 Garni Temple

From the fourth century BCE on, Armenian craftsmen obtained extensive experience in stonework when the so-called ‘Armenian Hellenistic’ architectural style came to the fore, which was embodied in the construction of the pagan temples (only the Temple of Garni (fig. 2) survived till the present day, originally built in 76 CE by the Armenian king Trdat the First, other temples were demolished with the coming of Christianity), amphitheatres, and baths containing mosaics and Greek inscriptions. “To judge from the inscriptions found on the walls of the churches, there were enough stone masons in the thirties of the

seventh century in order to support the process of simultaneous construction in different parts of the Armenian region. The study of such inscriptions reveals the absence of stable teams of stone masons. Many craftsmen used to be employed in order to construct dozens of complexes of different size, type and style. The unified circle of masters working in the regions of Central and Northern Armenia and in Central Iberia between the 30-40-s of the seventh century was the environment that promulgated the spread of the identical constructive techniques and similar artistic forms” (Kazaryan 2007).

2. The Irish situation

What can be counterposed to such a developed stonework tradition in Ireland and Anglo-Saxon Britain? Only the wooden constructions can be discovered. Original lithic discourse was totally absent. If one were to draw any linkages between the Megalithic stone tradition represented by the dolmens, menhirs, stone passages and perforated stones, it has to be stressed that the interaction of the Irish and British population of the early medieval period with such older stone artefacts can be characterised as the

utilisation of a ready-made product rather than the artistic re-working and/or re-production and refinement.⁵

It was timber that dominated the early medieval architectural tradition of the British Isles between the fifth and the seventh centuries. Further afield, in the neighbouring Franchish Kingdom, anything that was built by Childeric and his immediate successors, was due to the activity of the bishops, who, in many instances, were originally from the Orient.

X.24. In the sixteenth year of King Childebert's reign (591 CE) and the thirtieth year of King Guntram's, a Bishop called Simon travelled to Tours from foreign parts. He gave us news of the overthrow of Antioch and described how he himself had been led away captive from Armenia into Persia... One of his fellow-prelates came to hear of how Bishop Simon had been led into captivity, and he sent his men with ransom-money to the King of the Persians. The King accepted the ransom, unchained Simon and released him from slavery. The Bishop then left that region and travelled to Gaul, where he sought help from the faithful.

X.26. Ragnemod, Bishop of Paris, died. His brother Faramod, who was a priest, put his name forward for the bishopric. Eusebius, who was a merchant and a Syrian by race, was, however, elected in Ragnemod's place, but only as the result of bribery. Once he had been enthroned as Bishop, Eusebius dismissed the entire household of his predecessor and replaced them by a number of other Syrians (Thorpe 1974: 582, 586).

The Franks and the Anglo-Saxons sometimes re-used the remains of the Roman constructions, which were disassembled and the stones taken from such constructions were put together to construct awkward stone buildings. The timber arch was the rule even for the smallest stone buildings. It was only in the seventh-eighth centuries when a few crypts covered with stone arches appeared.

The relatively large crypt of St Laurant (St. Laurentius) in Grenoble was originally covered by a barrel arch, which is

⁵ Natural stone formations (e.g. petroglyphs) not exposed to any treatment played an important part in the Irish secular regal ritual as well as in the magic and popular medical practices (for more detail, see Abelian 2010).

supposed to be one of the first constructions of its kind to survive to the north of the Alps after the collapse of the Roman Empire.

When we look carefully at the accounts of the construction of the churches contained in medieval sources, it is evident that stone masons and stone carvers were imported by the bishops from the Eastern provinces of the old Roman Empire serving in Anglo-Saxon dioceses:

At Hexham in 678 St. Wilfrid's Church was finished; not the first attempt in the north at stone architecture but the most striking and successful up to that time. Before that period there had been no masonry in the sense of stonework cut ornamentally, since the Roman government deserted Northumbria. If there had been craftsmen skilled in that trade, Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop would not have needed to import their artificers (Collingwood 1927: 27).

Bede, in the 7th century, noted the lack of any skill in stone working when speaking of the seventh century Irishmen and the Welshmen of the time of the Roman conquest, referring to the story of the Welshmen who were asked to build a wall by the Romans:

When the Romans had freed them from their dire distress, they urged the Britons to build a wall across the island from sea to sea, as a protection against their foes. And so the legion returned home in great triumph. The islanders built the wall, as they had been bidden to do, but they made it, not of stone, since they had no skill in work of this kind, but of turves, so that it was useless (Colgrave & Mynors 1969: 43).

The lives of the Irish saints contain plenty of information describing the construction of the churches in the period, as in an example showing how St. Finian built the church at Lindisfarne according to an Irish custom – using oak and thatch:

Meanwhile, after Bishop Aidan's death, Finian succeeded him as bishop, having been consecrated and sent over by the Irish. He constructed a church on the island of Lindisfarne, suitable for the episcopal see, building it after the Irish method, not of stone, but of hewn oak, thatching it with reeds; later on the most reverend Archbishop Theodore consecrated it in honour of the blessed apostle Peter (Colgrave & Mynors 1969: 295).

The topic of the inability of the Irishmen between the 5th-7th centuries to build anything using stone has been studied in detail by T. Ó Carragáin (2010). The author alludes to the hagiographical sources telling of the construction of churches either from light timber (so that such constructions could have been carried from one place to another, but could have been blown down by a strong wind), or from sticks and branches that were added to the sacred structure by the church founder or by various animal helpers of the saints (the swine, the heron, the fox etc.).⁶ He also refers to the results of recent archaeological excavations that prove the absence of stone buildings on the territories adjacent to the British Isles – in Franchish kingdom and Scandinavia of the period. He maintains:

A dichotomy between Ireland on the one hand and mainland Europe on the other... is no longer sustainable, on two counts. First, it is now widely recognized that in eighth-century Northumbria the choice of building materials had become emblematic of the wider dispute between ‘Irish’ and ‘Roman’ factions, and that later writers such as Bernard who used Bede’s phraseology did so because it suited their own particular agendas. Second, the great number of excavations that were carried out in post-war Europe has transformed our understanding of early church architecture. They have shown that wooden churches were far more common than had been suspected, and this impression is now supported by thoroughgoing analyses of the documentary evidence (Ó Carragáin 2010: 15).

⁶ According to Ó Carragáin (2010: 17), “documentary references to post-and-wattle churches are somewhat more common, both in Irish and Continental sources”. This thesis is illustrated by various accounts of church foundations contained in the lives of Mochuda (Plummer 1922: I.293, II.284), Ciarán of Saighir (Plummer 1922: II.109), St Kevin (who “constructed for himself a little oratory from rods (*ex virgibus*) so as to pray to God daily”, Plummer 1910: I.243). Other texts invoked include *The Martyrology of Donegal* (Todd & Reeves 1864: 177; Hamlin 1984: 118) and the *Life of St. Malachy* (Meyer 1978: 54). There is also place-name evidence: for example, the St Mo-Chóif foundation in Killybeg, Co. Down, was named for its wattle church (McErléan & Crothers 2007: 305)” (Ó Carragáin 2010: 17). He concludes: “With the usual caveats that we must enter when using hagiography for the purposes of archaeology, both episodes suggest familiarity with well-jointed churches without earthfast posts. Also suggestive is a ninth-century reference to churches being ‘blown from their sites’ by a great windstorm (Annals of Ulster, 892) (cit. MacDonald 1981: 305-6)” (Ó Carragáin 2010: 22).

Finally, he confirms that there can be no evolutionary link established “between dry stone buildings and mortared stone ones” (Ó Carragáin 2010: 4).⁷

On the basis of the above, it is legitimate to maintain that lithic discourse re-appeared in Britain in the seventh century. Furthermore, the skills of stone construction were not the characteristic feature of the adjacent Frankish and Scandinavian traditions of the time. Therefore, I have to infer that in the absence of other evidence it is reasonable to conclude that such discourse came from a tradition exterior to the one under discussion and it was not the characteristic feature of either the Celtic or the Anglo-Saxon tradition. One has to conclude that in this case we are not dealing with the intermingling of the evolutionary steps of the two stone discourses developing in parallel (of the insular one crossing from the continental), on the contrary, we have to acknowledge the post-Roman re-introduction of this lithic discourse, foreign to the British isles, and we define the specific timeframe of such re-introduction as the seventh century – the century when the first stone stelae appeared in Northumbria (e.g. the Bewcastle Cross and the Ruthwell Cross), and the first stone churches appeared (St Wilfrid Church at Hexham in 678 CE, St Peter’s Church at Monkwearmouth and Church of Saint Paul in Jarrow founded in 674 by Benedict Biscop) coterminous with the appointment of Theodore of Cilicia as the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Let us now look at the historical realities of the time and see whether the newly introduced stone discourse was accompanied by other events referred to in the works by other scholars, early and modern. Certain facts from the historical period under discussion with their accompanying innovative character will strengthen our thesis regarding the presence of a strong cultural influence that had absorbed in itself various aspects of Christian tradition, and which was not merely limited to a handful of syntagmatic elements of the stone crosses as outlined above.

⁷ In this regard, compare H. Richardson’s (2005: 706) opinion: “in turning to carvings of this period, the influence of metalwork can still be seen. There was no native tradition of building in cut stone, so that when the high crosses appear in the eighth century, they represent an entirely new aspect of Irish art”.

3. Theodore of Cilicia: philosopher and archbishop of Canterbury

The aim of this section will be to demonstrate the fact that Theodore of Canterbury's cultural background was not only based on the Greek and Syriac traditions, but on the Armenian one as well. We shall look at such issues as Theodore's origin, learned background, linguistic training, and the historical context of Armenia in the 5th-6th centuries period. The concluding part of the section will be devoted to the influence he had upon the Anglo-Saxon and Irish learned tradition and culture.

It has been shown by various scholars that Theodore was fluent in Latin, as well as in Greek, and had some familiarity with the Syriac (Bischoff & Lapidge 1994: 233, 237), and this is taken either as evidence of his Greek origin (Cavallo 1995: 54) or (at least to some extent) Syriac background (Brock 1995: 49-51). I have come across evidence which indicates either that his roots go back to the Armenian tradition or that at least his education was completed within Armenian learned circles.

3.1. Theodore: his origins and patrimony

It is well attested that Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, was originally a Greek-speaking monk from a Cilician city of Tarsus. The majority of the population of Cilicia up to a certain point were Greeks and Syriac-speakers, but probably Armenians first settled in Cilicia in the reign of Tigran II (95-55 BCE).

One can suppose that the emigration of the Armenians to Syria and Cilicia started with the fall of the Arshakid dynasty, i.e. as soon as Armenia lost its independence as a state. One can refer to John Chrysostom who reports at the start of the 5th century in his letter written from the eastern Cilicia that he is residing in an Armenian village and that the chief administrator of the district was Armenian (Soukiasyan 1969).

Korion in his *Life of Mesrop Mashtots* speaks of the foundation of two schools for studying Syriac and Greek and for translating the religious texts into Armenian in the cities of Edessa and Samosata.⁸

⁸ "And, to help his students Vardapet (Mashtots), having divided the youths who went with him into two groups, settled the first one (to study) Syriac writing (in the

One can judge the extent of the importance of the Armenian tradition in seventh-eighth century Syria by looking at the following evidence from the work “Against the Armenians” by

Dionysius Barsalibi:

It is now four hundred and forty years since the Armenians came into the regions of Syria and took possession of our countries, monasteries and villages. We had the Patriarch Mar Athanasius, who in the year one thousand and thirty-seven of the Greeks [=726 CE] effected his union with Yovhannēs, their Kat’olikos in Manazkert of the interior...

And our Patriarch handed over to Yovhannes a monastery situated on the frontiers (of Syria and Armenia), and he placed therein Syrian and Armenian boys, who learnt both the Syriac and Armenian languages and translated the words of the Fathers from Syriac into Armenian. After the death of our Patriarch and of their Kat’olikos Yovhannes, they broke their engagements and committed injustices against our people. Even the language they use in Armenia does not resemble the one they speak here, because the latter resembles Syriac. After this, little by little they seized our churches and the monasteries situated in the Black Mountain, and after the help that we extended to them they became our adversaries (Mathews 1998: 55).

In the light of this it is evident that the question of Theodore’s origin gives him an equal chance of being a Greek, as well as a Syriac speaker and/or a Chalcedonian Armenian, and by the seventh century there were plenty of those on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea.

3.2 Theodore at the *Aquae Salviae* monastery: historical context

The monk Theodore was called by Pope Vitalian (657-72 CE), one of the most Eastern-oriented popes, a skilful diplomat who had initiated a reconciliation with the Byzantine emperor after a long dispute over Monothelism and borrowed from the Byzantine ritual for papal masses (Lambert 2010: 236).

city of Edessa), and the second one he sent from there to the city of Samosata (to study) Greek writing” (Smbatyan & Melick-Ogadjanian 1962, my trans.).

Vitalian sent Theodore to Britain from the St. Anastasius monastery (*Sancti Anastasii ad Aquas Salvias*) near Rome. This was a Greek-Armenian monastery,⁹ according to some versions, founded by general Narses,¹⁰ as the mediaeval chronicler Benedict of Soracte (c.1000 A.D .) reports: ‘Truly, the noble Nerses erected the church with the monastery of the blessed Apostle Paul, which is called at *Aquae, Salviae*, in which the installed relics of the blessed martyr Anastasius are venerated’ (*Chronicon* 9, 139.15).¹¹

During the seventh century, the Byzantine emperor Heraclius¹² donated the holy relic of the head of St Anastasius the Persian to the monastery.¹³ Later in the same century, the cult of St

⁹ Greeks and the Chalcedonian Armenians belonged to the same Orthodox Christian denomination. The fact that a fraction of the Armenian Christians split from the main Armenian church is described in the *History of the Aluank Country* written by Movses Kalankatuats¹: ‘But when [at the time of Movses] the Armenian Catholicos split in two, a fierce struggle erupted between Movses and Theodoros – the Bishop of Karina (Theodosiopolis), who was also known as the head of philosophers... Mouses brought together all the vardapets who were on his side and told them: ‘do not have any communications with the [members of the] Roman faction who submitted to the treacherous Council of Chalcedon, and, in so far as their deeds are false, do not accept any books, or icons, or any unleavened bread from them’. After this, Theodoros ordered the convening in the city of Karin such Armenian bishops who were under his sway [i.e. all those who were under the power of Byzantium] and told them: ‘We should elect the Catholicos [for ourselves]. And they have proposed a certain John Stylites, ordained him accordingly [as the Catholicos] and accepted the Chalcedonian creed’ (my trans., orig. in Smbatyan 1984).

¹⁰ Narses was a 6th century Byzantine general of Armenian origin. He was appointed by the Byzantine emperor Justinian I between 538-567 CE to govern Rome, and restored and erected a number of Christian religious centres during his time there.

¹¹ *Narsus vero patricius fecit ecclesia cum monasterium Beati Pauli Apostoli, qui dicitur ad Aquas Salvias, reliquiae Beati Anastasii martyris adductae venerantur* (Zucchetti 1920). Note, however, that there is an alternative version contained in MS. bibliot. Vittorio Emanuele, MS. n. 3, which reports that the monastery was founded before Narses came to Italy (Zucchetti 1903: 1.122).

¹² The Emperor Heraclius (ruling between 610-41 CE) was a Hellenised Cappadocian Armenian, a son of a general Heraclius, an exarch of Africa. The Emperor Heraclius became famous after he recovered the Life-Giving Cross – one of Christianity’s major relics, that had been seized by the Persian king Chosroes. Once regained, The Cross was installed by Heraclius at Jerusalem, but shortly afterwards was transferred to Constantinople, to keep it away from the advancing Arabs.

¹³ The donation of the relic of the head of St. Anastasius is treated differently by scholars. Bischoff & Lapidge (1994: 183) do not indicate the donor, whereas Armellini (1891: 941) maintains that the relic was donated by the emperor

Anastasius was brought to Anglo-Saxon Britain by Theodore and Bede referred to the translation of the Greek Life of St Anastasius in his work.¹⁴

Theodore's attachment to the Aquae Salviae monastery leaves us with two possibilities of his origin – either the Greek or the Chalcedonian Armenian. But which one should we choose?

3.3. Theodore and his pronunciation of Greek

P. Moran in his study of “approximately 190 Greek words” (2011:

29) attested in the early medieval Irish glossaries postulated that the pronunciation of Greek employed by the seventh-eighth century Irish monks was not devoid of Armenian-Byzantine characteristics¹⁵ and such words came to them from one single source, and the source was the teaching of Theodore:

I am not aware of any description or tabulation of mediaeval Greek pronunciation in any written sources of the period. So, how else could its knowledge have been disseminated?

Heraclius to the monastery. Under the date of the ninth of July, the *Roman Martyrology* records: “At Bethsaloen in Assyria, St. Anastasius, a Persian monk ... Chosroes, king of Persia ... caused him to be beheaded. ... His head was brought to Rome, at Aquae Salviae, together with his revered image.” (O’Connell 1962).

¹⁴ “A book on the life and passion of St. Anastasius which was badly translated

from Greek by some ignorant person, which I have corrected as best I could”

(Colgrave & Mynors 1969: 568-9).

¹⁵ He states that “the analyses so far indicate that the spelling of Greek in Irish glossaries reflects the pronunciation of Greek as it was in the late antique period” (Moran 2011: 55). But what kind of pronunciation was that? Moran goes on to say that “the form of Greek words in Irish glossaries exhibited features of Medieval

Greek pronunciation. For example, *e* is normally written for *ai*, and *i* for both *ei* and *u*, all features of Byzantine pronunciation” (Moran 2011: 32). Commenting

upon the intricate features of this Byzantine pronunciation, he notes one characteristic that hints at its Armenian slant: “The long vowels represented by *h* and *v* are written *e* and *o* without indicators of length such as apices or doubling...

These sounds were not subject to change into the medieval period, with one important exception. The letter *h* originally stood for open-mid /e:/... Nonetheless, in places the more open realization survived longer, and this older value is reflected in the new alphabets based on Greek devised for Gothic (fourth century), Old Armenian (405) and Old Georgian (fifth century)... It is clear that the older pronunciation is reflected in Irish glossaries...” (Moran 2011: 50). Let us reiterate, that of all the three alphabets based on Greek, i.e. Gothic, Old Armenian and Old Georgian, emanating from the systems of pronunciation exhibiting the more open realization, only the Armenian can be taken forward as being fully exposed to a prolonged Byzantine influence. Hence one can probably be safe in postulating that Theodore pronounced Greek with a Byzantine-Armenian accent.

Ultimately, of course, any such knowledge must have derived from contact with native speakers. However, Greeks appear to have been very few and far between in the early medieval West. Bearing in mind the prestige Greek language and culture enjoyed, it seems remarkable that our sources do not record even the name of the ‘certain learned Greek’ who is said to have taught Moissin. A rare example of a native Greek speaker active in the west and whose historical identity is beyond doubt is Theodore of Tarsus, abbot of Canterbury from 669 (Moran 2011: 34).

Let us surmise that Theodore the Philosopher, originally from Cilicia, arrived to Anglo-Saxon Britain from Aquae Salviae monastery near Rome, from which he imported the cult of an eastern saint – of Anastasius the Persian. The monastery belonged to a Chalcedonian Armenian-Greek denomination. The chroniclers called Theodore “the Greek” because he spoke Greek fluently. We know nothing of his ability to read and translate into Armenian, but linguistic evidence suggests that the variant of Greek that he used was the one current in the territories inhabited by the Byzantinized – Chalcedonian – Armenians.

3.4. Theodore and his treatment of the Resurrection in his Biblical Commentaries

Let us now look at an example of Theodore’s writings which, to my mind, strongly suggests his Armenian background. The following citation comes from the work entitled *Biblical Commentaries* (XVII.32.115) where a lot of attention is given to the legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus.

They cite the example of the seven brothers who fled the persecution of the Emperor Decius and came to a certain cave which was forty miles’ distance from the city of Ephesus and, being tired in the evening, they gave themselves over to sleep and their dog with them. And after two hundred years they woke up in the time of the Emperor Theodosius the Younger, sat up and discussed among themselves about going into town to buy food for themselves. They thought they had slept for one night. And two of them set out for the city, taking the dog with them, and they showed their coins; and the men of that city said,

‘Look: these men have found a treasure and dug up these coins’ – because a portrait of Decius appeared on the coins. But they denied it, and told them everything in order. When the men of the city did not believe them, they took some of the city men back with them as witness. And when they arrived back at the cave and entered it, suddenly all seven brothers fell down dead. The city men who witnessed these events went straight to the Emperor Theodosius and reported to him what had happened in proper order. He came and saw that it had happened thus, and immediately he covered them with his purple cloak, and henceforth he did not doubt the resurrection, and he devoutly built a church over them (Bischoff & Lapidge 1994: 419).

Despite the fact that the story of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus was most popular in medieval times both in Europe and in the Near East, however, some motifs mentioned by Theodore can neither be found in Greek nor in Syriac versions of the legend.¹⁶

Scholars have failed to explain why the seven brothers were accompanied by a dog in the legend. If, however, we look at the Armenian sources, we can find the frequent association of dogs with funerary rites and human burial. This can be seen in the use of the artificial dog-heads during the funeral processions in early Armenia (Goyan 1952: I.330-1, fig. 77, I.347, fig. 82, discussed pp. 320-1, 324-6, esp. Table 1-4). Such practices go back to an Armenian belief in the spirits of resurrection (Arm. *aralez*) that take the form of a dog or bear dog heads. Belief in *aralez* is already attested early on in the Armenian epic of Ara the Beautiful and the queen Semiramis, recorded by the fifth century historian Movses Khorenatsi (Moses of Khoren 1865). Its important presence during the Christian period is documented by other Armenian historians of the fifth century.¹⁷

¹⁶ “Now there are various details in the present gloss which require explanation: the statement that the cave was forty miles’ distance from Ephesus; that they slept for two hundred years; that on awakening two of them went to Ephesus accompanied by the dog; and that Theodosius covered the bodies with his robe and built a church on the site. No version in any language contains all these details” (Bischoff and Lapidge 1994: 529-530).

¹⁷ Faustus Buzand (or Faustus the Byzantine) relates a story of the murder of Mushegh Mamigonian, the commander of the Armenian king’s forces in the following passage: “His family could not believe in his death... others expected him to rise; so they sewed the head upon the body and they placed him upon a tower,

In this regard, I believe that Theodore's employment of a symbol of a dog in the legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus points at an Armenian background of the resurrection motif that was invoked in the legend, and Theodore's awareness of it.

3.5. 'Theodore the Greek': What does such an appellation mean?

In the medieval historical sources of the sixth-eighth century period, the word "Greek" implied belonging to the Eastern (Byzantine) tradition. In this regard, persons called "Greeks" included representatives from various Eastern traditions, including those from the Chalcedonian Armenian tradition.¹⁸

Greek language was the medium of communication and education for learned men and monks, and before the introduction of the Armenian alphabet in 406, one of the primary languages of religious ritual. The Armenian intellectual tradition was exposed to the influence of Hellenic culture (and also infused with 'philhellenism')¹⁹ since the first centuries of our era and this influence was reinforced through the activity of the Armenian philosopher David Anakht in the 6th century.

Synthesis of the Greek and vernacular traditions promoted the formation of a unique culture of Hellenistic type. Such academic disciplines as poetics, history and philosophy became very popular in Armenia. Education was carried out in Greek. Further studies for Armenian youth were available in such Hellenic centres of education as Antioch, Perham, Athens and Alexandria.

saying, 'Because he was a brave man, the Aralez will descend and raise him'" (Faustos Buzand 1953: Book 5; orig. in Gevorgyan 1869; also cf. Langlois 1857-9). *Aralez* are mentioned by Yeznik of Kōb (Koghbatsi) who, struggling against the pagan superstitions of his compatriots, records the beliefs in *aralez*: "The imaginary dog-shaped creatures called *haralez* which are supposed to be able to cure wounds by licking them, do not exist either. These are all fairy tales" (cit. from Goyan 1952: 231, see also Chaloyan 1968, Yezov 1858).

¹⁸ Lapidge (1995: 178) citing Sansterre (1988: 12-3) referred to various Greek settlements around Rome which included some Armenian monasteries (e.g. 'Monasterium Renati' on the Esquiline), and in this regard, the distinction made between Greeks and Armenians in the Western world remained extremely vague.

¹⁹ Already in his *History of Armenia*, Moses of Khoren (Movşes Khorenatsi, writing between 481- 2 CE), calls "all Greece the mother and the nurse of the sciences" and is hoping that the Armenians will follow the example of the Greeks in promoting sciences and arts (*History* I 2, cit. Topchyan 2006: 3); "he praises the Greek kings [I 2], who, took care to transmit 'to the Greeks... accounts of their empires and... the results of learned studies' and to have 'the books... of all nations translated into Greek'" (*ibid.*, n. 7).

In the period between the 5th-7th centuries, a wide range of works were translated from Greek, including: Euclid's *Elements of Geometry* (transl. from Greek in the 7th c. CE), Olympian's *Fables* (transl. from Greek in the 5th c. CE), Philo of Alexandria's *Analysis of the Pentateuch* (transl. from Greek in the 5th c. CE), Aristotle's *The Categories* (transl. from Greek in the 6th c. CE), Eusebius of Caesarea's *Chronicle* (transl. from Greek in the 5th c. CE), Dionysius Thrax's *The Art of Grammar* (transl. from Greek in the 5th c. CE), Basil of Caesarea's *Hexameron* (transl. from Greek in the 5th c. CE) and many more.

3.6. Theodore the Philosopher: learned background

Theodore had the sobriquet "The Philosopher". It may be that such a sobriquet was characteristic of the highly learned members of the Chalcedonian Armenian clergy. It could have been a translation of the Armenian title of *vardapet* ("teacher"), which was equal to the rank of an archimandrite in the Armenian Church or the rank of a monk with the learned degree of a doctor. For instance, a different Theodore²⁰ – the bishop of the Chalcedonian Armenian Church in Theodosiopolis in the sixth century – had the title "Philosopher of Philosophers", which could probably implied the title of 'Professor'.²¹

The education that Theodore received corresponded to the classical education of an Armenian *vardapet*-intellectual from a rich family. Cavallo (1995: 54) maintains that it is extremely difficult to recover anything concerning when and where he acquired his learning in Greek. There is not enough evidence to find out where

²⁰ The name Theodore was very popular in the seventh century with the Armenian clergy and nobility. St. Theodore Stratilatus was the patron of the Christian warriors. In the seventh century Armenia, a number of churches were erected and dedicated to St Theodore.

²¹ Theodosiopolis (Arm. Karin, Erzerum in present day Turkey) was situated in the Greek part of Armenia in the extensive region of Karin in the province of Greater Armenia. After the split of the Armenian Church from the Byzantine, for a number of centuries this city was one of the centres of the Orthodox (Chalcedonian) Armenians. At the end of the sixth century, it played its key part in the foundation of the Armenian patriarchy in the Greek (Byzantine) part of Armenia (as opposed to the monophysite Armenian patriarchy in Dvin) initiated by the Byzantine emperor Mauritius (582-602). On the split in the Armenian Church between the Monophysites and the Chalcedonians see note 9 above.

(Athens, Constantinople or elsewhere) and what he studied.²² Despite the collapse of centres of learning in Constantinople and Athens owing to the anti-pagan activities of Justinian (527-65 CE), in the eastern provinces of Byzantium, and in spite of Persian and Arab invasions, certain schools transmitting Greek learning were active. "In other words, there was a continuity of Greek culture in those centres and provinces even after they had been lost to the (Roman/Byzantine) empire" (Cavallo 1995: 57). Among such centres, Lapidge mentions Tarsus and Edessa connected with Antioch, "since Tarsus was part of the patriarchate of Antioch, it is a reasonable assumption — though it cannot be proved outright — that the young Theodore will have gone to Antioch in pursuit of his scholarly career" (Lapidge 1995: 3).

3.7. Theodore and the school of Christian learning in Canterbury

One cannot underestimate the importance of the centre of Christian learning founded by Theodore and Adrian in Canterbury. According to M. Lapidge, the presence of the two learned men was "one of the most brilliant moments in European scholarship between the fall of Rome and the rise of the universities" (Bischoff & Lapidge 2004: 4).

The elite of the infant Church, whom they trained in the Canterbury classroom, were thus exposed to teachers of calibre who commented on the Bible in the light of knowledge of places and libraries wholly outside their range... Theodore and Hadrian evidently brought with them or subsequently acquired a substantial library of Greek and Latin Fathers, the Septuagint and Greek New Testament and works of classical learning ancillary to biblical learning. With these and with their memories of their own studies, they created an unusual milieu dominated by the Antiochene school of biblical exegesis, hardly known in the West (Lambert 2010: 270).

²² "On the evidence of the Canterbury biblical commentaries, then, there can be no doubt that Archbishop Theodore was thoroughly trained in Antiochene exegesis. It is not possible to affirm that such training could have been received at Antioch and nowhere else, for the writing of the great Antiochene exegetes were known throughout the Greek world; furthermore, many of these writings were available in Syriac" (Lapidge 1995: 6).

Theodore was sought after by pupils for judgements on ethical matters and for decisions on penance.²³ He became an authority transcending national boundaries, influencing penitential practice in Ireland, Brittany and Francia, an honoured figure in an important, fluid and informal development of a form of canonical authority in such matters. A contribution by Theodore to the development of penance and private confession originating in a Hiberno-British tradition and popularized by Irish monks is a surprising development, given his lack of sympathy for the Irish tradition in general and his occasional hostile remarks on the Irish (Lambert 2010: 273).

Theodore obtained an extraordinary range of learning in Greek and Latin patristic literature,²⁴ as well as much expertise in Roman civil law, medicine, rhetoric and metrology; he was an authority on penitential, martyrological, and historiographic literature. As Bede reports:

He was the first of the archbishops whom the whole English church consented to obey. They gave their hearers instruction not only in the books of Holy Scripture but also in the art of metre, astronomy, and ecclesiastical computation. From that time also the knowledge of sacred music, which had hitherto been known only in Kent, began to be taught in all the English churches (Colgrave & Mynors 1969: 333-335).

Theodore ordered and imported thousands of books (Lapidge 1995: 107), and these were not only on the subjects just referred to above,

²³ Theodore was an important source for the Bigotian Penitential (e.g. Bieler 1979: 215-229).

²⁴ Among the Latin Church fathers cited by name in the *Canterbury Biblical Commentaries* are Augustine and Jerome; the list of Greek authors is more extensive: Basil of Caesaria, Clement of Alexandria, Cosmas Indicopleustes, Epiphanius of Salamis, John Chrysostom and Flavius Josephus. "In addition,

Ephrem the Syrian is quoted by name at a point where the reference is certainly to a Greek translation rather than to the Syriac original (Bischoff & Lapidge 2004: 206). Greek authors used but not cited by name include Origen, Cyril of Alexandria, Gregory of Nyssa, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Severian of Gabala, Theodoret of Cyrillus, Maximus the Confessor, John Moschus, Procopius of Gaza.

but also a range of books detailing church ritual. Theodore's school developed a body of canon law-texts governing its own actions.

In this respect, Theodore established the foundations for the growth and development of cultural, religious, artistic, literary and historical discourses. Many aspects of his activity can be treated in juxtaposition to the activity of the early Armenian Church and its missionaries, who were also philosophers, experts in law and historians, founders of the monasteries as learned centres throughout the whole of Armenia (see section 3.5 above). All the components of "Theodore's revolution" can be seen as having their analogues in the Armenian tradition, being fundamental to Armenian culture in the 5th - 12th c. CE period.

4. Armenian influence on Northumbrian stelae: a case study of a vinescroll ornament

In the introductory section of our contribution, we dealt with Richardson's treatment of repetitive semantics of the biblical motifs on the Irish high crosses corresponding to the similar semantics of the Armenian khachkars and stelae. She also drew special attention to the syntactic structure of a unique vinescroll ornament, linking stone artefacts of the 6th - 7th centuries on the Armenian territory (e.g. the Great stela at Brdadzor, the Lory school, the Odzun stela, the Zvartnots and Dvin ornamental carvings, the frieze at Aghtamar, the Dsegh stela) with the Bewcastle Cross and the Ruthwell Cross of the Northumbrian tradition, the 7th - 8th century Eyam Cross (Derbyshire), and the 8th century St Martin's Cross (Iona) in the Irish tradition:

The vinescroll was frequently used in Christian art for its symbolic meaning. It is common throughout the Mediterranean region... The vinescroll is found on three Irish crosses, where animals and birds perch in its branches. On the other hand, it is the favourite device on Northumbrian crosses where designs are often close to Armenian work. In both the Armenian and northern carvings there is a transformation of the plant forms from classical naturalism towards pure ornament (Richardson 1988: 580).



Fig. 3 Examples of Northumbrian stonework: Bewcastle Cross and Acca Cross
(after Collingwood 1927: 31-2)

In her further work discussing Northumbrian tradition, Richardson noted Mediterranean influence on its formation and listed a number of strains that moulded Northumbrian art, yet failed to acknowledge an Armenian strain among them:

Further Mediterranean influences followed with the arrival of Theodore of Tarsus and his retinue at Canterbury...

Foreign craftsmen, brought from the Continent, were employed in the construction of the famous monasteries, while pilgrimages to Rome and the Holy Land introduced fresh trends from abroad. All these strains went into the making of Northumbrian art. Anglo-Saxon, Celtic, Pictish, Mediterranean, and Byzantine elements mingled (Richardson 2005: 698).

To extend Richardson's argument, I would like to draw reader's attention to Armenian trends in Northumbrian art which for some time had been neglected. I have listed a number of examples that will facilitate our treatment of the subject, including the Crucifixion, imported by Bishop Acca (fig. 4), dated to the early 8th c. CE

juxtaposed with a fragment of the vinescroll ornament found near the cathedral of Zvartnots in Armenia of the mid-7th c. CE (fig. 5).



Fig. 4. Acca Crucifixion (early 8th c. CE) (after Cunningham 1927: 29)



Fig. 5. Vinescroll ornament, fragments, Zvartnots (mid-7th c. CE)



Fig. 6. Dadivank (13th c.; right), Dvin (5th c.; left)



Fig. 7. Akhmatar (10th c.)



Fig. 8. St. Polyuktos Cathedral, Palmira, Syria (524-527 CE)

What is the origin of the vinescroll ornament in Anglo-Saxon Britain in the seventh century? There are a number of sources which can provide us with an answer to this question. The first one is the evidence of the eighth century historian, the Venerable Bede. He reports that in the sixth century, Gregory the Great sent from Rome a number of missionaries to assist Augustine of Canterbury,

and he sent with them all such things as were necessary for the worship and ministry of the Church, such as sacred vessels, altar clothes and **church ornaments** (my emphasis, N.A.), vestments for priests and clerks, relics of the holy apostles and martyrs, and very many manuscripts (Colgrave & Mynors 1969: 105).

In this case, the stone carvers of the Northumbrian stelae used as models the ornaments sent and approved by Rome. Such ornaments could have already arrived to the island in the sixth century. There is, however, evidence, that some stelae were imported.

One can compare a vinescroll from a bay in St. Polyuktos Cathedral in Palmyra, Syria (524-527 CE; fig. 8; cf. fig. 7) which is characterised by masses of foliage and a wall ornament with previous examples of the Acca stelae and Armenian examples of a vinescroll motif. It is important to point out the circumstances which led to the erection of the cathedral. According to the eighteenth book of the *Chronographia* by John Malalas, the emperor Justinian in the sixth century appointed “an Armenian from Oriental Antiochia called Patricius, and gave him a lot of money in order to re-build anew the Phoenician city of Palmira situated on the border of the empire, its churches and its public buildings”.²⁵ It may well be that the builders who erected St. Polyuktos Cathedral in the time of Patricius mentioned above, used Armenian ornaments as its embellishments which belonged to the Armenian style of stonework.

I would like to draw attention to the very idea of an Armenian style. If one were to take into consideration examples used by Richardson in her works as the specimens of early Christian Armenian art, those are located in the territory of modern Armenia. I do not think such an approach can be taken as an appropriate one. Armenian craftsmen developed a unique style and their activity extended from the Caspian and the Black seas down to the Mediterranean. The problem of the Armenian style is also a problem of Armenian identity.

It is most likely that the craftsmen who obtained enough training in Armenian style of stone masonry used to create artefacts on the borderline with other traditions and as a consequence, many intermediary steps of development can thus be reconstructed joining authentic Armenian art and universal Christian art.

According to W. G. Collingwood, the Hexam Crucifixion (early 8th c. CE) which was erected by bishop Acca, was “brought

²⁵ In Dindorf's translation from original Greek: “ Idem Imperator (*Justinianus*) mense Octobri, Indict. vi, Comitem Orientis Antiochia designavit, Patricium Armenium nomine: traditaque ei pecuniarum vi magna, mandavit uti profectus ipse urbem Phoeniciae, Palmyram vocatam, ad Imperii fines sitam, et collapsas inibi ecclesias et aedificia publica de novo excitaret” (Dindorf 1831: 425-6).

overseas” (Collingwood 1927: 29) from either Francia or Italy. Collingwood notes that the crucifixion and the stelae imported by Acca are covered by an ornamental – vinescroll – style which was not typical for the cultures he was familiar with. He notes that the ornament is neither Celtic, nor Roman, nor Syriac. He finds it difficult to identify the nature of the ornament and explains as an ethnic element of the individual genius of an unknown craftsman. He points out that a unique feature of the ornament is the predominance of the fruit of the vinescroll over the foliage, which would have been to the contrary if the stela was crafted by Italian stone masons (Collingwood 1927: 31).

Since the stone stelae crop up quite soon after the start of Theodore’s mission in his role as bishop of Canterbury in 669, one may postulate that the design templates of the ornament and the craftsmen themselves could have arrived in “the train of Theodore”.²⁶ Such stone masons from Rome (alluded to by Collingwood) were most likely Christian refugees from various Mediterranean countries: Cilicia, Cappadocia, Armenia, Syria, who took refuge in St Anastasius’ monastery near Rome and who followed Theodore on his mission.

We see the commonality of some ornamental motifs that are found on the Northumbrian stelae and the Armenian artefacts of different dating, starting with the earliest fifth century ones from Dvin and finishing off with the architectural embellishments on the church of Ani of the tenth-thirteenth centuries. The vinescroll motif is not to be found in lithic discourse of the British islands after the eighth century, yet, in Armenia, it is widely present in terms of its extent and demand (see figs. 6 and 7). Such common syntactic design elements of Northumbrian and Armenian art characteristic of the decoration of the majority of Armenian monasteries can be recalled as the sun-dial, birds-and-lions, plaiting and draped Biblical figures (see examples from the Bewcastle Cross, fig. 9 below).

²⁶ “Theodore’s Train” is a concept developed in a number of works edited by Lapidge (1995) that explains a source of any innovation that happened in Anglo-Saxon Britain in the time around the year 669.



Fig. 9. The Bewcastle Cross

It is only the last two elements that are widespread on the stelae of the British islands. The sundial is rarely exhibited which can be explained by the climate conditions. Many art historians take the birds-and-lions element to be typical for Anglo-Saxon art, however, this point of view was reconsidered by recent studies of Wamers (2009) and Laing (2010) who considered them to be evidence of Byzantine influence.

The plaiting element is considered to be Celtic by default. However, one can observe Celtic ornaments (known to us from pre-Christian artefacts, fig. 10) reproduced only partly, and these co-exist with the ones that are borrowed from Syriac, Byzantine, Armenian Christian traditions (fig. 11). Different types of plaiting had been widely represented on the Armenian *khachkars*, temple friezes, in manuscripts and different kinds of jewellery.



Fig. 10. Celtic ornaments and plaiting inherited from an indigenous pre-Christian Irish tradition



Fig. 11. Oriental ornaments borrowed by the Christianised culture of the British islands: Armenian and Syriac plaiting

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, I would like to emphasise that the Armenian component of the early mediaeval Christian culture is still underestimated. This tradition does not only concern Theodore's contribution to the growth of the entire British Christian tradition in the seventh century, but also involves the impact of Armenian art and culture on the development of the Christian tradition, both

Eastern and Western. Such a contribution is yet to be acknowledged by Anglo-Saxon and Celtic scholars, art and church historians alike.²⁷

I believe that I was able to argue for the Armenian component inherent to the activity of Theodore of Tarsus, who was not only connected to the Byzantine province of Cilicia, speaking Greek with a Byzantine-Armenian pronunciation and knowledgeable as far as Armenian beliefs regarding the Resurrection were concerned, but also educated in a learned centre of eastern provenance that had connections with Antioch. Theodore, after having moved to the Greek-Armenian monastery of St. Anastasius near Rome (where he gained his knowledge of Roman secular and canon law system), was called on duty to re-introduce Christianity to Anglo-Saxon Britain and in doing so, adapted the framework of the Armenian learned tradition.

He infused his teaching with its primary features, such as the elements of the Alexandrian school of learning (philosophy, astronomy, geometry) as well as with elements of the Antiochene methodology of biblical exegesis and his intricate knowledge of patristic writings, but also may have influenced a development of a tradition of translation of biblical, patristic and philosophical sources from a classical to a vernacular language, following the paradigm already established in fifth century Armenia by Mesrop Mashtots.

I also believe that I was able to demonstrate the commonality of ornamental techniques and motifs employed by the stone carvers of the classical Armenian and the Northumbrian

²⁷ It is to be hoped that when looking at the writings of Oriental authors, modern scholars will acquaint themselves with the realities existing in the Eastern Mediterranean. For instance, commenting upon Theodore's observation that "cucumeres and pepones are the same thing, but cucumeres are called pepones, when they grow large, and often one pepon will weigh thirty pounds."

(*cucumeres et pepones unum sunt, sed tamen cucumeres dicuntur pepones cum magi fiunt; ac saepe in uno pepone fiunt .xxx. librae.* (Pent I 413)), the editors of the *Biblical Commentaries* translate the phrase *cucumere et pepones unum sunt cucumbers and melons* are the same thing" (Bischoff & Lapidge 2004: 374-5), taking Lat. *cucumeres* to be "large cucumbers" (*ibid.*). It is most likely that Theodore's *cucumeres* were derived from the classical Latin epithet *cucumis* for snake, or vegetable, melon. As for the appropriate lexeme to denote cucumbers, "in nearly all manuscripts of Italian provenance, the cucumber image is labelled with the Latin caption *citruli*, or similar, plural diminutive of *citrus* (citron, *Citrus medica*)" (Paris, Janick & Daunay 2011: 471).

traditions, as well as to argue for the influences of Mediterranean traditions such as Syriac and Byzantine, on the formation of the stone work (lithic) art canon of the British Isles in the 7th century.

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PART 4.

NARRATIVE, HISTORICAL POETICS AND FOLKLORE

ON SOME RITUAL MYTHOLOGICAL FEATURES OF THE ARMENIAN EPIC DAREDEVILS OF SASSOUN

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The Armenian national epic is known by two titles, *Daredevils of Sassoun* (*Sasna Çr'er*) and *David of Sassoun* (*Sassounç' i Davit'*).

This long poem, celebrating legendary Armenian heroes, was passed from generation to generation solely by word of mouth. It was discovered and recorded for posterity in Western Armenia in the last quarter of the 19th century, up until the 1970s. No authentic retellings are being recorded today, but around 160 versions exist. *Daredevils of Sassoun* was created and recited in Western Armenia in the dialects of Mush, Mokq, Van and Sassoun.

The epic poem spread throughout Eastern Armenia in the 18th and 19th centuries. In historical and geographical terms, *Daredevils of Sassoun* presents allegorical accounts of events that occurred in Mesopotamia and Southern Armenia, and in Egypt and Southern Armenia. The poem consists of four cycles, or parts, each relating to a successive generation of warrior hero:

- (i) *Sanasar and Baldasar*;
- (ii) *Old Mher (Mec Mher)*;
- (iii) *Davit*, and
- (iv) *Young Mher (Pok r Mher)*.

The first cycle of the poem goes back to the time of Sennacherib, the King of Assyria, whose sons killed him before taking refuge in the land of Ararat, i.e. Armenia (7th century BC). The epic also recounts events that happened 1,000 years later, in the town of Baghdad, which had risen from the ashes of ancient Nineveh; episodes from the times of the caliphate; and of relations between the Muslim Ayyubid rulers of the 12th and 13th centuries and Armenian Christians.

Taken as a whole, *Daredevils of Sassoun* reveals the free spirit of the nation and its aspirations for independence. Due to its stylistic and dialectal properties, the poem is divided into three typological groups: Moush, Mokq and Sassoun variants. The Mokq accounts have distinctive poetic characteristics and begin with a unique prologue called *zolormi* (*Lord, grant mercy upon...*), a narrative part that is almost completely missing from the Moush and Sassoun versions:

Daṛnank' zolormin tə tank' Sanasarin.

Zəmen.

Oṭormin tə tank' Baldasarin.

Daṛnank' zolormin tə tank' ēn Mecn Mherin.

Zəmen.

Oṭormin tə tank' Jenov Hovanin.

Daṛnank' zolormin tə tank' T'ərlan Davt'in.

Zəmen.

Oṭormin tə tank' Pəztik Mherin.

Zəmen.

Daṛnank' zolormin tə tank' K'ar'sun Čol Deļjun Camin.

Zəmen.

Oṭormin tə tank' Xandut' Xat'unin.

Daṛnank' zolormin tə tank' Čarpaxar K'amin.

Zəmen.

Oṭormin tə tank' Bat'mana Bulin.

Daṛnank' zolormin tə tank' Š'irin Anaxun Guhari'n. Zəmen.

We shall pray for mercy on Sanasar.

Amen.

Mercy on Bałdasar,

We shall pray for mercy on Metsn Mher.

Amen.

Mercy on Dsenov Hovan,

We shall pray for mercy on Sturdy Davit.

Amen

Mercy on Poqr Mher,

We shall pray for mercy on Forty Golden Braids.

Amen.

Mercy on Khandout Khatun,

We shall pray for mercy on the Sultry Wind.

Amen.

Mercy on Batmana Bouł^a,
 We shall pray for the mercy on Shirin Anakhun Gouhar.
 Amen.¹

(*Daredevils of Sassoun* 1935: vol. I, Telling 6).

In the *volormi* prologue, divine mercy is sought for all the heroes of the epic – for the senior and junior members of the *House of Sassoun*, as well as for the repose of the souls of the listeners' late parents. In two versions, the tradition of *volormi* prologue is not given to the enemy of the heroes (*č'atam olormi*, 'I ask no mercy for'). From the very start, the heroes of the epic are viewed as real Armenian ancestors who once lived and breathed, and the narrative is viewed as the story of their lives.

Armenian mourning songs are structured in a similar way: they begin with the characteristic traditional formula (*imal enim, inc'x enim*, 'What shall I do?') and end identically, braiding brief, hyperbolized recollections from the lives of the deceased. The *volormi* prologues have many affinities with mourning prayers, the difference being that the latter are dedicated to the newly dead, while *volormi* prologues included in the epic narrative venerate the memory of people who departed this life in the distant past.

Thus, *volormi* prologues serve as a kind of introduction to the ancestor veneration ritual (*hišatak merel oc*), followed by the recitation of their heroic deeds. In both cases, they deal with the rituals of ancestor worship: in the first instance, with the lamentation of their death; in the second, with the belief in their continued existence. In this new ritual meaning, the national epic becomes an arena for sacred ancestors' lives, heroic deeds, and the inner conflict of their feelings and passions. This is manifested through the singular elevated style of the epic.

¹ *Volormi* prologues are found in the following tellings (hereafter T.) of the *Daredevils of Sassoun*: 1) *Daredevils of Sassoun* (hereafter DS, the brackets contain the names of the tellers): 1935, volume I, T. 1 (Uncle Nakho); 2) DS, vol. I, T. 2 (Khapoyents Zatik); 3) DS, vol. I, T. 4 (a teller from Mokq); 4) DS, vol. I, T. 5 (Hovan of Mokq); 5) DS, vol. I, T. 6 (Hovakiments Łazar); 6) DS, vol. I, T. 8 (Vardan of Mokq); 7) DS, vol. I, T. 10 (Vardan Moukshi Bazikyan of Mokq); 8) DS vol. I, T. 12 (Vardan Moukhsi Bazikian); 9) DS vol. I, T. 13 (Mkertich Haroutyunyan from Shatak); 10) DS, vol. I, T. 15 (Grigor from Shatak); 11) DS, vol. I, T. 21 (Margarit Sargsyan from Gavash); 12) DS, vol. I, T. 24 (Kavarian Taro from Hayots Dzor); 13) DS, vol. II p. 1, T. 3 (Avetis Martirosyan from Datik of Mokq); 14) DS, vol. II, p. 2, T. 12 (Mourad Hovsepyan from Ayrarat); 15) DS, vol. II, p. 2, T. 16 (a teller from Van).

As was stated above, in two of the 14 *volormi* texts the teller does not ask mercy for the Melik of Mser, the enemy of Sassoun (*olormi č ə 'tank' Məsra Melik'in*, 'we shall not ask for mercy on Msra Melik') as in the versions recorded by Mourad Hovsepian (DS: 1951, vol. II, p. 2, T.13), and Artashes Abeghyan (DS: 1936, vol. I, T.6). Whereas in Mkrtych Haroutyunyan's telling (DS: 1936, vol. I, T.14), mercy is asked for both Young Melik and Old Melik of Mser (*olormi tank' Msra Melik'i tla Melik'in* 'We shall give mercy to Melik, the son of the Melik of Mser'). This could be motivated by the fact that Young Melik of Mser was a relative of Old Mher, and Davit's step-brother.

The sacred nature of the *volormi* part is expressed in the following opening lines: *ōrhnyal barerar Astvac, xnamk' šat ēr mec t'ag avorun*, 'Blessed art thou loving God, immense was the care of the great King' (DS: 1936, vol. I, T. 14,) or *ōrhnyal ē Astvac, k'u xnamk'n ē šat* 'Blessed is God, Your loving care is immense' (DS: 1951, vol. II, p. 2, T. 14).

Ax, kutam zolormin, kutam zolormin,
Ax Davit' t'agavorin, ax Davit' t'agavorin,
Ax kutam zolormin ēn Məsra Melik'in, ax Msra Melik'in

I pray for mercy, pray for mercy,
 Mercy on King Davit, ah, King Davit,
 I pray for mercy on Msrah Melik, ah, Msrah Melik.
 (DS: 1951, vol. II, part 2, T. 3).

Vardan Moukhsi Bazikyan claims that *volormi* was recited at the opening of every cycle (DS: 1936, vol. I, T. 10). Hence, the opening formula of the Mokq tellers: *Ekank' čyute čyut, hasank' vər Davt'i kam Mheri čyutin*, 'Thus, from branch to branch, we reached Davit's and Mher's branch' (DS: 1936, vol. I, TT. 10, 12). The version recorded by Artashes Abeghyan finishes with *zəmen* 'amen', confirming the presence of a Christian prayer finale (DS: 1939, vol. I, T. 6).

The overwhelming majority of Mokq tellings structurally remind one of traditional mourning songs. It is true that they do not have the specific lyric intonation of the mourning songs, but they possess marked solemnity instead.²

² One of the reciters, Manouk Haroutyunyan, claims it was Mets Mher's demand that the first lines of this ritual prologue should be introduced into the epic

The Mokq group of the epic *Daredevils of Sassoun* is unique not only in its singular poetic features, but also in the richness of mythological motifs. In the recital, irrespective of the presence of the *volormi* prologue, the teller presents the heroic deeds of the hero by leaning heavily on three primeval myths: the myth of the sacred twins, the myth of Thunder God (or Demi-god), and the Mihr or Mitra myth. In the epic, the plots of the aforementioned myths are combined through thematic commonality, epic narration and the fusion of historical traditions.

The primeval worship of water has been ascribed a significant role in the transformation of the mythological themes. The epic narrative opens with the myth of the twin brothers: their mother is *Tsovinar* (*Covial* or *Covian xatun*, compounded from Armenian *cov* ‘sea’ and *xat un*, a noble title, denoting a female person of aristocratic standing), a goddess personifying the water element of the universe. In folklore, Tsovinar is a thunder spirit, a rider who roams across the clouds on her fiery horse and brings about thunder and lightning, casting rain or hail down to Earth. This divine person has been changed into an epic character, and then turned into an “historical” figure, the daughter of the Armenian king. Drinking two handfuls of water from the “life-giving spring” she conceives from the water and gives birth to twin heroes.

Water becomes an important legacy condition for generations of the epic’s heroes. Sanasar, one of the twin brothers, gets his supernatural strength, his Fiery Horse and the Lightning Sword from the bottom of the sea after he has drunk from *Kat’nalbyur*/*Gatnov albyur* (Milk Fountain), flowing from under the sea floor. The twin brothers build their home near the magic stream of water and have powerful offspring. Before starting his contest, Sanasar’s son, Old Mher, bathes in the waters of the Milk Fountain. Davit behaves in a similar way and even meets his death while swimming in the fountain.

Among the oldest beliefs reflected in the epic are predicting the future by star-gazing (observing changes in the lives of the

narrative: *Tavt’i xer Mec Məher Sanasari tlen i / Tavt’i xer Mec Mher ə sum i/ Ov mer patmut’ en asi, mi olormi ta* ‘Mets Mher, Davit’s father and the son of Sanasar says: “Whoever tells our story, may he ask for mercy upon us”’ (DS: 1936, vol. I,

T. 12). Thus the eulogy prologue of the epic is being performed according to the wish of the epic hero. This emphasis es the sacred nature of the hero’s will, and the necessity of passing this narrative tradition to generations of epic reciters.

heroes, Davit is referred to as *Sasna astl Davit* 'The Star of Sassoun'; Melik is seen as *Msra astl Melik* 'The Star of Mser') and spiritualism (Mher goes to his parents' graves and a heartbreaking dialogue occurs between them), Elements of primeval rituals such as human sacrifice, or Davit's ritual bath in the blood of 40 heifers, are also found in the epic.

A significant place in the poem belongs to a set of Christian and folk-Christian ritual traditions and beliefs, related to different time periods. The reconciliation of a set of pagan elements with these beliefs has shaped a distinct ethical and religious system. To mention just a few: holding a mass in the memory of the deceased kinsfolk, followed by a ritual dinner service; the observation and the end of the mourning period; the salvation of the souls of the departed (the mourning of the people of Sassoun over Old Mher); heroes living a hermitic life; religious and ethnic discrimination against strangers and non-Christians, tracing back to Middle Ages (Armenian - Arab, Christian - idolater); breaking an oath and the punishment that follows it (Davit's death).

In Armenian studies, ever since Asatur Mnatsakanian, the epic's twin brothers, Sanasar and Baldasar, have been compared to the ancient Christianised folk saints *Tux manukner* 'Dark Youths'. Women, in particular, viewed *Tux manuks* as ancestors who had once lived, and prayers were recited for the repose of their souls (the Greeks, too, believed the twin brothers had been their pagan ancestors and prayed for their souls): *Tank' olormi mer naxnyac' hogun* 'Let's pray for the mercy on our ancestors' (Mnatsakanyan 1976: 192).

In this respect, the common elements between the *volormi* prayers in the opening part of the epic and the prayers that women recited for the salvation of *Tux manuks* are obvious.

Three mythological layers lie at the base of the epic. In the first, Sanasar and Baldasar's cycle is based on the sacred twins' primeval myth, with a number of contiguous epic episodes added. It is the account of the foundation of the heroic House of Sassoun by the twins. This is a classic opening characteristic of many epic narratives.

The second mythological component involves the thunder fight themes, which are very typical of Indo-European mythologies, manifested mainly in the third (Davit) cycle and to some extent present in the dragon fight episodes. Davit acts as a Thunder God,

or Demi-god, who defeats and kills his step-brother, the atrocious Melik of Mser, and liberates the world from his vicious threats (Harutyunyan 2000; Harutyunyan 1981: 195).

The Mithra-Mher myth episodes make the last mythological layer of the epic and are revealed in the second (*Mec Mher*) and fourth (*Pok r Mher*) cycles, particularly in the scenes relating to *Mec Mher* killing a lion and a black ox; of negotiations with Melik of Mser; and Pok r Mher getting shut in Van rocks.

The above-mentioned myths shape the basis of the mythological scheme of the Armenian epic. In merging, they become a complex structural unity. The twin brothers become heroic ancestors, and the epic characters in three successive generations (Mher, Davit and Pok r Mher) are seen as their direct descendants: Mec and Pok r Mher replace Mihr-Mithra, while Davit personifies the Thunder God.

In the process of further development, new religious and ritual layers gradually fit into the initial ritual and mythological frame of the epic and make it richer.

To sum up, the epic *Daredevils of Sassoun*, with its four cycles, has been perceived by generations of tellers and listeners as a real account of ethnic ancestors. Therefore, tellers treated the epic narrative with a degree of awe and believed it a sin to change it (DS: 1979, vol. III). It is owing to this attitude of reverence that the Mokq versions have been sanctified, ritualised and presented as sacred recitals.

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METAMORPHOSIS AS A MAJOR FAIRY TROPE IN IRISH AND ARMENIAN TALES

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0. Introduction

In their landmark work *A General Rhetoric*, the Belgian theorists of style (Dubois *et al.* 1986: 236) claim that what is renounced by logic is of interest for rhetoric. Within such an approach the fairy tale text with its remarkable disregard for mundane logic and the creation of an alternative one should be a most appropriate subject for rhetorical study.

Thematic commonalities between tales of different nations are widely known and accepted. In the *Interpretation of Fairy Tales*, Bengt Holbek writes that fairy tales:

do not respect regional or national borders... If tales from several nations are translated into a language foreign to them all, only name and superficial details will remain to indicate their origin. The truly national characteristics are found on the level of language and style (Holbek 1987: 28).

The aim of the present paper is to demonstrate that various parallels can be found on the level of style and, in particular, on the level of the fairy tale rhetoric. As verbal expressions essentially based on logical operations, major fairy tale tropes (simile, metonymy, hyperbole and metamorphosis) reveal remarkable affinities.

With regard to Irish and Armenian fairy tales, one of the unique tropes in rhetoric, namely metamorphosis, will be considered in the present contribution. The preference of this trope is mainly conditioned by the fact that metamorphosis is more typical of fairy tale texts, while other tropes are equally common in non-fantastic genres.

1. The status of metamorphosis

Metamorphosis as a trope is a somewhat challenging notion in rhetoric. In the first place, two basic questions are to be answered:

(1) whether metamorphosis is a trope or not, i.e. whether it is a rhetorical device specially designed to illustrate the supernatural potential of the fairy tale narrative or whether it is a plot element;

(2) whether metamorphosis is a *sovereign* trope, discrete from structurally identical or similar tropes.

To answer the first question, it is necessary to acknowledge that the rhetoric of the fairy tale is distinct from the rhetoric of other text types, and this makes the study of fairy tale rhetoric worthwhile. The major tropes in fairy tales can be characterised as action tropes rather than mere verbal devices. While tropes in other text types tend to slow down the pace of the narrative, tropes in fairy tales accelerate it, pushing the narrative forward. Fairy tale tropes belong to the story as much as to the rhetoric of the tale text. Metamorphosis, too, can be defined as a unique fairy tale trope, which belongs to the plot and the rhetoric of the tale equally. For this very reason it can serve as a convenient subject to demonstrate how closely plot and rhetoric are intertwined in fairy tales.

Metamorphosis shapes various types of folklore motifs. Stith Thompson's *Motif Index* presents an extensive list of thematic types of transformation, for example, animal to person D300-D399, man to animal D100-D199, man to object D200-D299 etc. (Thompson 1975).

Metamorphosis, however, is multivalent, and its roles cannot be limited to the boundaries of plot and motif only. On the level of characters, it serves as a means of creating a special class of supernatural personnel, metamorphic personages, found both within the fairy tale setting and beyond. Shape-shifting for them is a permanent, intrinsic property: such are the Irish werewolf and the Armenian *mardagayl* (from *mard* 'man' and *gayl* 'wolf'), the Irish swan-maidens and the Armenian *atunik-atjik* ('dove-maidens'), the Irish selkies, who are seals by day, men and women by night, and the Armenian *covu atjik* ('sea maidens' or 'turtle maidens') etc.

Metamorphosis is also a unique poetic device as it possesses a genre defining quality: it figures in the genre of the fantastic and

most frequently in the fairy tale. One of the oldest collections of the fairy tales, Lucius Apuleius' work is entitled *Metamorphoses or the Golden Ass*.

The location of metamorphosis in the space of the fairy tale text may also help to identify the status of metamorphosis as a specific poetic technique. In those rare cases where metamorphosis opens the tale narrative, it can hardly be seen as a plot element; it is rather a poetic device, an opening formula. Analogous openings are typical of Australian folk tales: „*this happened in the times when many animals were still people*”, „*in the remote times of dreams when animals and trees were people...*” (Pozdnyakov & Putilov 1990: 373, 377; 381, my trans.).

Metamorphosis is a rhetorical device, a trope, for it fits perfectly into the system of structural hierarchy of tropes constituting its last step: simile → metaphor → metamorphosis.

The rhetorical status of metamorphosis as a trope becomes more obvious when it is read in terms of such interpretative strategies as Freudian and Jungian analyses, which assume fairy tales should not be interpreted literally and ascribe symbolic, allegorical sense to whole texts (Bettelheim 1991; von Franz 2002; Estes 1996). It is obvious that the figurative understanding of language lies at the very essence of a trope. Analyzing frog metamorphosis in Grimms' *The Frog Prince*, Bettelheim suggests an alternative, a figurative reading of the frog metamorphosis, which is usually understood literally: “... it must be conveyed to children that sex may seem disgustingly animal-like at first, but that once the right way is found to approach it, beauty will emerge from behind this repulsive appearance” (1991: 291).

Jungian readings of fairy tales, too, are suggestive of figurative interpretation of metamorphosis. Clarissa Pinkola Estes thinks shape-shifting in tales and dreams is related to the condition of a woman's “instinctive psyche” and “her relationship to the wild nature” (1996: 273-276).

The second question, whether metamorphosis can be considered as a *sovereign* trope or not, has often drawn the attention of students of rhetoric, who have expressed different views about this problem. Many scholars, among them Tzvetan Todorov (1975) and Teresa Dobrzyńska (1990), do not accept that metamorphosis can have an autonomous tropological status. Tzvetan Todorov considers metamorphosis as the propensity of the

fairy tale text to get rid of tropes, a tendency to neutralise or to literalise tropes at the expense of the intentional enlivening of their worn, hackneyed semantics (1975: 77, 79). Dobrzyńska defines metamorphosis as a metaphor-like phrase (1990: 481).

Pierre Brunel argues that “metamorphosis is, after all, only a metaphor: feigning to describe something else while also describing the sameness of the changed self – a kind of comparison between various states or beings – metamorphosis thus suggests an event that leads to something not wholly different from that which was before” (Brunel 1974, cit. in Mikkonen 1996: 3).

From a radically different perspective metamorphosis is viewed as a sovereign trope. Shape-shifting, for instance, is seen as a special device of the fairy tale by such students of rhetoric as K. Mikkonen (1996) and folklore scholars T. V. Zueva and B. P. Kirdan (2003: 150). The main argument is that if personification, which is an inanimate to animate transformation, is traditionally held as a trope, there is no reason why metamorphosis should not be seen as such too.

We consider metamorphosis to be a sovereign trope. It differs markedly from a metaphor and should be differentiated from it as a distinct rhetorical technique in spite of the affinity these two share. While metaphors are mostly based on the affinity of two objects, in metamorphosis resemblance is suggested only in separate examples.

The distinction between metaphor and metamorphosis becomes more obvious when these tropes are viewed in terms of their genre-relatedness. While metamorphosis is a dominant trope in fairy tales, metaphors, for some reason or other, do not fit into the rhetorical system of fairy tales. Max Lüthi was the first to observe the scarcity of metaphors in fairy tales (1975: 127). Later Bengt Holbek, commenting on Lüthi's view, wrote that “the process of decoding, of looking behind to ferret out the real meaning, is foreign to the attitude with which one receives a fairy tale. The decoding process is reflective whereas fairy tales are experienced more spontaneously” (Holbek 1987: 206).

It is permissible to claim that the fairy tale banishes metaphors. The emergence of metaphors in the tale text is blocked by “the fairy tale possible world”. In a milieu, where the impossible is “legalised”, there is no place for metaphor. To borrow a few terms from the biological theory of evolution, metaphors have a

lower “fitness” for the fairy tale “environment”: they are adapted to this environment, and animated into metamorphoses. Such are the laws of the rhetoric of the marvelous.

2. Generic specifics of fairy tale metamorphosis

A fundamental generic property of fairy tale metamorphosis is that it is reversible. Structurally, fairy tale metamorphosis consists of two distinct stages, each developing at different points of the narrative: transformation and back-transformation. It is tempting to suggest that in a certain sense one of the major qualities of a text, its linearity, is challenged.

Below we quote from ‘The Twelve Wild Geese’ (AT 450) of the Isaac Yeats’ collection *Irish Fairy and Folk Tales*. At the unwise wish of the Queen, her twelve sons change into wild geese and fly away:

When she expected her delivery, she had her children all in a large room of the palace with guards all round it, but the very hour her daughter came into the world, *the guards inside and outside heard a great whirling and whistling, and the twelve princes were seen flying one after another out through the open window, and away like so many arrows over the woods* (Yeats n.d.: 301).

At the finale of the story back-transformation happens and the princes successfully gain back their human shape:

...there was a rushing of wings, and in a moment the twelve wild geese were standing around the pile. *Before you could count twelve, she flung a shirt over each bird, and there in the twinkling of an eye were twelve of the finest young men that could be collected out of a thousand* (Yeats n.d.: 306).

A comparable example of two-staged metamorphosis is found in the Armenian tale *Garnik Alper* (‘Brother Lamb’) (AT 451). It was recorded by Tigran Navasardyan between 1876-1882 in the village of Valarshapat, Province of Yerevan. In 1905 the tale was made into a beautiful verse narrative by Hovhannes Toumanian, the most outstanding Armenian fairy tale writer.

At the end of the story the brother of the heroine who had changed into a lamb, transforms back to a handsome youth:

*A¹avot^ə vor klisana, t'agavorə khramayi, vor ira yerkrum ə
 inc'k'am t'orč'i ka, havak'ven covi tralə t'or' k'c'en.
 Inc'k'am t'orč'i kayin, havak'vum en, covə t'or' k'c'um:
 k'c'um en k'c'um, dus a gali mi Siptak juk. Jkan p'orə člil a
 tali, tenum inc' - irq knik ə jkan p'orumə. Ga¹rə k'vorə vor
 tenum a t'e č'ē, ēn shat ə čananč'um a: vāzum a p'at't'vum
 čtovə. P'at't'velu baštan Garə ēl yed isan a dar num (H^ZH
 II.1959: 264).*

In the morning the King summoned all the fishermen of the kingdom and told them to cast their fishing nets. The fishermen gathered and cast their nets, they cast once and they cast another time and caught a White Fish. The king told them to open the belly of the fish and what they found in the belly was his dear wife!

The moment the lamb saw her he recognized his sister and ran and clung to her. As soon as he did so, he regained his human shape.¹

Thus the successful outcome of the fairy tale plot makes back-transformation inevitable. What is more, in numerous stories it is the back-transformation which is highlighted whereas the transformation proper is not explicitly shown.

Analogous cases are frequent in animal groom tales. Here is a notable example found in the Irish tale 'The Three Daughters of King O'Hara' (AT 425C). The tale was collected by Jeremiah Curtin and published in *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland* in 1890. From the very start of the story the enchanted hero appears already metamorphosed, his once human shape being merely implied: the husband of King O'Hara's youngest daughter was a white dog in the daytime and "so the white dog was a dog in the daytime, but the most beautiful of men at night." As the story develops, the protagonist first loses his dog skin and at the end of the tale gets disenchanted thanks to his faithful wife's efforts (Curtin 2010: 1).

An analogous episode is found in the Armenian folk tale *Sadafya Xanum* (Lady Mother of Pearl) (AT 425A, 425N). It was recorded by Gevorg Sherents and first published in his beautiful collection of Van (historical Armenia) folk tales (1899). The teller is unknown. A powerful king has a snake as a son who

¹ The translations of Armenian tales are by the author unless otherwise stated.

feeds on young maidens. A peasant woman, wishing to get rid of her stepdaughter, gives her to the King's men. On the advice of her late mother the maiden asks for a hedgehog skin. She wraps herself in it and sets off for the King's palace in this strange outfit. The

Snake Prince cannot eat the girl because the hedgehog skin pricks and hurts him. So he persuades her:

*“Aljik, aljik, sirun aljik, jan maral aljik, vor k'yo astuac
ksires, xan eta k'yo voznelen šapiyk”.*

*“Daš tu xan k'yo ōjelen šapiyk, vor yes el xanem im
voznelen šapiyk.”*

*Ōjə vor kxani ur kaput u sivtak šapiykn, inč' ... kdar na mey
xət aral- maral pat ktrič tlem. Knsti ēodi ort'alal, č'utes,
č' xmes, ha ha inor iresn iriškes, inor kt'la ač'kerac', taplak
irisnerin (HŽH XIV.1999: 514).*

“A fair maid, a maid like a fawn, for the love of your God,
take off the hedgehog skin,” said the snake.

To this the girl answers, “If you shed your snake skin, I will
take off my hedgehog skin.”

The snake cast off his blue and white skin, and in its place
there stood the handsomest prince.

You would neither eat nor drink but look at his beautiful
face, his round cheeks and his big eyes.

The removal of the back-shifting stage of metamorphosis in this tale would radically alter the story line and cause generic changes. The narrative would acquire properties more characteristic of a legend or a saga rather than a fairy tale.

The following is a fragment from the Irish saga ‘The Children of Lir’ found in Eileen O’Faolain’s 1986 collection of Irish sagas and tales. Eva, the beautiful but wicked stepmother of her own sister’s royal children turns them into snow-white swans.

Her curse causes not a short-term change of shape, but a transformation, which lasts almost until their death:

...and Eva, seeing them in water, struck them one by one with a druid’s wand and changed them into four beautiful, snow-white swans. Then in the hearing of the servants, she spoke their doom: three hundred years you will spend on Lake Derravaragh, three hundred on the Sea of Moyle, between Erin and Alban, three hundred on Irish Glora,

on the Western sea. And you will keep the shape of swans until a prince from the North will take in marriage a princess from the South, and till you hear the voice of the Christian bell, bringing the light of the new faith over the land (O'Faolain 1986: 31).

At the finale of the tale, the children of Lir regain their human shape only to die shortly afterwards. In this case, back-transformation takes place, however, as the transformation to their original shape is so short-lived, it cannot be considered a happy finale.

Irreversible metamorphoses are found in similar Armenian legends. Here is a relevant story from Aram Ghanalanian's collection (Ghanalanian 1969). A heartless woman orders her stepchildren to find their lost ox and forbids them to return without the animal. After a long search, tired and desperate, the children ask God to give them wings. Hearing their request God turns them into little owls. It is said the wretched birds are still looking for the lost ox (Ghanalanian 1969: 130).

As was mentioned, fairy tale metamorphoses are predominantly reversible. In spite of the structural and poetic conservatism, however, the fairy tale occasionally features genre tolerance and allows elements more typical of other folklore genres. In some cases the fairy tale metamorphosis lacks the second phase, the back-transformation. The lack of back-transformation has an adverse effect on the storyline and makes the narrative incomplete as a wonder tale.

There exists a unique telling of the Armenian tale 'Seven Brothers', where no back-shift into human shape takes place, the transformation *from man to beast* remains irremediable, and there is no happy wedding for the protagonist, which is generally regular in tales of this type. While most stories of this type are "exemplary" wonder tales with happy endings, this version is unexpected in its weird finale: the enchanted brothers are killed; the sister, helpless in her fish hide, perishes trying to rescue them. The storyteller concludes the narrative with the heartbroken speech: "*Yelin dranc' tani, inč' anbaxt ēlan, anbaxt ēl verč'ac'an ēs əšxaric'ə*" ("Sorrow upon them, as they had lived miserably, so they left this world") (HŽH VIII.1977: 347). It is not surprising that the tale lacks the traditional closing formula of Armenian tales suggestive of longevity and happiness: "three apples fell from Heaven".

The violation of genre poetics probably has an implicit aim to preserve the remaining versions and tellings intact; deviant versions verify the norm.

3. The rhetorical basis of the metamorphoses

Many metamorphoses are structured with the help of particular rhetorical operations. A large group of metamorphoses can be characterised as *morphing by affinity*: such a transformation is based on the affinity of two objects, on the commonality between the shape-shifter and the chosen new shape. It can be said that analogous metamorphoses emerge at the expense of the extension of similes. Furthermore, to make the structural proximity of these tropes more manifest, similes and metamorphoses with almost identical or very close wording, are chosen.

Below a typical example of simile is quoted. It is taken from the Irish tale 'The Story of Deirdre' (AT 720) included in Joseph Jacob's collection of *Celtic Fairy Tales*:

“Why, the aspect and form of the men when seen are these,” said the hunter: “they have the colour of the raven on their hair, *their skin like swan* on the wave in whiteness, and their cheeks as the blood of the brindled red calf, and their speed and their leap are those of the salmon of the torrent and the deer of the grey mountain side” (Jacobs 1997: 69).

The metamorphosis in 'The Twelve Wild Geese', in which the twelve princes change into geese/swans, can be seen as a rhetorical extension of the simile comparing men to swans in 'The Story of Deirdre':

...The guards inside and outside heard a great whirling and whistling, and the twelve princes were seen flying one after another out through the open window, and away like so many arrows over the woods (Yeats n.d.: 301).

An analogous relationship can be observed in the following stretch of narrative taken from the Armenian folk tale *Sadafia Xanum* ('Lady Mother of Pearl'). The quoted fragment includes both a simile and a metamorphosis: the latter can be understood as the structural extension of the preceding simile:

Covn inkayc aljikə astcu xramanq' yov ver kt' r' ni ēn p' os telic' . Covun dndolə inor ktani, ktani, kxani mey c' amak' tel. Den kiriška, des kiriška, antak covuc' , anxlis daštic' i zat šen šenlik' , mard, anasun čereva. Gyah -gyah ērknuč' xavk' eyr kugyan kt' ar' en, ēlm šot šot kt' r' nen k' ērt' an...

Covuc' durs ēkac aljikn ēl ənčanyk' kmna ēn tel kula, kalavəli. Ur ač' ič' arc' yuk' kijni gyulgyul kt' ap' i ur č' ors bolor margrti xateri pes. Isonyk' t' ol əskun mnan irenc' tel... ētə xavqə i kini deš den , kt' rni kērt' a tanəšnerac' veren, vor tel lvac k' en are, hāmen tanəšic, hāmen bakic' mey. mey ktor šor kberi, kxagyuc' i aljkan, ačk' eric' t' ap' ac arc' unk' n' ē l or ē l er ēr margrit kzołvi klc' i mej bani mə , kdni ver ur t' evk' eyrac' , karni ktani urenc' tun (HŽH XIV.1999: 515-16).

By lord's command the maiden jumped out of the sea hollow. The sea waves took her and brought her to a piece of land. She looked around and saw nothing except the bottomless sea and the vast fields. Neither men nor beasts could be seen. Sometimes birds would come down from the sky and then fly back again. The maiden cried, and cried and *the tears from her eyes flew down and fell around her like beads of pearl*. So much for the maiden ...

The bird flew to houses which had laundry hanging on the lines and took away some clothes to cover the girl's body. He gathered *her tears, which had turned into pearls and put them into a box*. Then he took the maiden on his wings and flew her to his house.

A smaller group of metamorphoses can be defined as *morping by contiguity*, which is expressed at the expense of metonymic extension. So far we have found only an Armenian example to illustrate this case. Below is a fragment from the Armenian tale *Hazaran Bilbul* ('Hazaran Bird') (Aarne-Thompson 550). The tale was recorded and first published by Sargis Haykuni in the fourth volume of the *Eminian Ethnographic Collection* from the words of Arsen Ghrimian:

Asec' , "Ēsdranč gluxə inč balbalek' ēkel a, k' ezanov ē kel a, pa' rav".
Asec' , "Xi ənjanov ēkel a, ənjanov lavut' yun a hase".

Asec'. "Vor t'olam, šat kxosas du, əlles mi c'rot c'axavel,
ənknes əstel.... Ēlav mi c'rot c'axavel".

(HŽH III.1962: 34)

"Now, old crone," said the maiden, "All their misfortunes
are because of you."

"Why me?" said the witch, "I have done so many favours for
them."

"You will talk much if I let you," said the maiden, "Now
turn into a filthy broom!" And the crone changed into a
filthy broom.

In the passage the fairy girl transforms the witch into a broom, a metonymic attribute of a witch in many cultures. It is true in the Armenian setting this relation is almost undetectable. Armenian witches do not travel on brooms, which are mostly too short-handled here to serve as a *vehicle for flying*. Instead they preferred travelling by sea, comfortably seated on a churn, and holding a snake in one hand as a whip. It is possible, however, that this unique text preserves on the tropological level traces of a lost witch belief relating brooms to witchcraft, a belief which can be restored intertextually with the help of similar beliefs belonging to other cultures. Evidently, tropes, too, have a "distinctive memory", which can serve as a valuable source for reconstructing lost cultural and folkloric forms.

The general view of the trope system in fairy tales will change considerably if we look upon the fairy tale not merely as a text but as performance, as a narrative endowed with a certain degree of theatricality observed on different levels. Characters frequently tend to mask themselves so that fairy tale personages become similar to stage characters. Many tale characters relish in disguising themselves: women as men, men as women, monarchs as mendicant dervishes etc. Ugly brides hide their faces behind thick and heavy veils. Beauties make themselves ugly renouncing name and descent.

Through the expression of this inbuilt generic quality one more trope, masking, appears in the fairy tale. Hence metamorphosis can sometimes be seen as an extension of masking rather than simile, or metonymy, especially if we consider reversibility as the dominant feature of fairy tale metamorphosis.

Metamorphosis as extended masking is seen more visibly when transformation is realized with the help of an attribute of clothing. In both Irish and Armenian material clothing (caps, gowns etc) may become an implement of shape shifting. ‘Gilla of the Enchantments’ from the Irish tale included into William Larminie’s collection of *West Irish Folk-Tales and Romances* “had a magic coat that her mother left her when she died” (Larminie 2005: 179).

Transforming caps are found in ‘The Nine-Legged Steed’, a fairy tale from the same collection. The tale is remarkable for its unique, almost “telegraphic” narrative manner and “the energy of style” as Larminie himself characterises it. In it swans shift into maidens with the help of magic caps. Larminie notes that “the words translated ‘transforming caps’ are ‘qahal’ (*cochal*), which also means a cloak” (2005: 258). Accordingly, transforming cloaks can probably be identified with caps:

They saw three swans coming towards the height. They rested on the lake. They swam in under the place where they were sitting. They came on the shore. They threw off them the transforming caps. They arose the three maidens. One woman of them was very comely (Larminie 2005: 219).

The heroes of Armenian folk tales turn themselves invisible with the help of the *xipilki qoloz*, the cap of a night spirit named *xipilik*. The following is from a Mush tale told by Hakob Hadloyan in 1908 and recorded by Bensé (Sahak Movssissian):

“Bari *ōtarakan*,” *kāse ēn mek*, “yes u im *pztik axper kə dapštink’ hət yirar č’ānk’ kər na hun yelna, ...mer papu tolac m’āž m’āzi havāsar bažni. Yes kāsīm ēs imn ē, ēn kāse č’ē, imn ē...* “Heč’, *janəm*,” *kāse ēn mekel*, “mek *xipilki k’oloz, mek’ hat le čokan. K’oloz dānis, č’es ereva, čokan zarkis k’āzi yur āsis ktane. Ida ē mer žarāngut’en.*” “*Axpərtink’*,” *kāse tlen*, “yes *jəzi k’ə barišč’um. Kə verc’um zk’olozn u čokan, ēl jer mež na xosk’, na xorota, na kriv kēlni*” (H^žH X.1967: 23).

“Kind stranger, I and my younger brother fight because we cannot share what our father has left us”. The boy asks “And what has he left you?” “Nothing much, a cap that makes you invisible and a cane which can take you any place you want. This is our inheritance.” “Brothers,” says the boy, “let me

reconcile you: I will take the cap and the cane so that you will have no reason to fight and quarrel.”

It is essential that the breaking of the spell of metamorphosis often takes place with the help of clothing too:

Before you could count twelve, she flung a shirt over each bird, and there in the twinkling of an eye were twelve of the finest young men that could be collected out of a thousand (Yeats n.d.: 306).

The interpretation of metamorphosis as an extension of either simile or masking makes it possible to introduce the notion of *conversion of tropes* on the one hand (simile or masking can be extended/converted into metamorphosis and then converted back into simile and masking), and *hierarchy of tropes* on the other:

simile → *metamorphosis*
metonymy → *metamorphosis*
masking → *metamorphosis*

The trope system of a fairy tale text can therefore be seen as a cleverly woven net revealing the rhetorical logic of the fantastic.

4. The choice of the wording in metamorphoses

The choice of the wording is another major aspect of the study of metamorphosis. And although wording varies with almost each case, it is possible to observe a number of dominant regular features. In the majority of instances, the choice of wording is *thematically motivated* or is *plot dependent*: the elements of metamorphosis are chosen on the basis of the requirements of the plot. Depending on the example, the motivation can be expressed more or less explicitly.

The following is a fragment from the Irish tale ‘The Birth of Bran’. Jealous of her former lover Uct Dealv, the Lady of Faery changes his young wife Tuiren into a hound:

Tuiren then walked from the house with the messenger but when they had gone a short distance Uct Dealv drew a hazel rod from beneath her cloak and struck it on the queen’s shoulder, and on the instant Tuiren’s figure trembled and quivered, and it began to whirl inwards and downwards, and she changed into the appearance of a hound (IFT 99).

The choice of the hound shape is well motivated in the tale narrative. Uct Dealv knew Fergus Fionnliath, a gentleman, who hated dogs so much that “when he saw one he used to go black in the face, and he threw rocks at it until it got out of sight” (IFT 93). It was to his stronghold that she had decided to take Tuiren to. Then her thirst for vengeance would have been quenched.

In a number of cases the choice of the wording is *semantically motivated*: in bird metamorphoses, for example, the choice of the bird is often motivated by the fact that in many cultures birds may symbolically stand for the soul of the dead. Analogous transformations are read as masked descriptions of death.

The choice of the bird may also be conditioned by the inability of birds and animals to speak. Of interest, in Armenian, the dichotomy between a man and a beast, human and non-human, is expressed through the semantics of speech. *Anasoun*, one of the words for beast in Armenian, literally means “unable to speak”. In numerous instances the transformed creature cannot speak (unlike fantasy animals and birds in fairy tales which can talk).

It is worthwhile to pay due attention to the significant role ascribed to silence in shape shifting episodes. To save the enchanted person the protagonist has to keep silent. In the Irish tale ‘Gilla of the Enchantments’ (AT 450) mentioned above, the sister has “...to make three shirts of the ivy -leaves in a day and a year, *without uttering a word of speech* or shedding a single tear for if you weep we shall lose one member of our members” (Larminie 2005: 185).

In ‘The Enchantment of Gearoidh Iarla’, the transformed Earl cannot regain his human shape because his wife gave a shriek while he was in the shape of a bird: “*The wife gave one loud scream*... She turned her eyes from the quivering body to where she saw the goldfinch an instant before, but neither goldfinch nor Earl Gerald did she ever lay eyes on again” (Yeats n.d.: 316).

Eventually there is a whole body of examples of metamorphosis where no motivation, either logical, or functional, can be found for the choice of wording. For present purposes, they may be characterised as having been randomly structured. In the Irish tale ‘Morraha’, one of the protagonists undergoes a number of transformations; no obvious motivation, either thematic or semantic, can be found for the choice of wording:

...She struck a second blow on me, and made of me a black raven; ... and she struck me with the rod and made of me an old white horse; ... And she did change me, and made a fox of me... She came to me and made me a wolf (Larminie 2005: 19-20).

Many comparable instances are found in the folk-tales of AT 325, *The Magician and His Pupil*. The number of transformations is so large that it seems unlikely one can find any motivation for the choice of the components. The focus is on the *ability or power to morph* rather than *what shape to transform into*. In the Armenian tale 'Okhesh', the hero, who has been the pupil of a dervish, shifts into a horse, a fox, a flower, etc. The choice of the shape he chooses has no explicit grounding in the story (see H^ZH XIII.1985: 126-7).

5. The semantics of metamorphosis

Despite the multilayered nature of the semantics of metamorphosis there is nevertheless a pervasive consistency among cultures the tales belong to. Shape-shifting is largely an ambivalent notion. On the one hand, it is an immortality symbol (the fairy tale can be generally defined as a *no-to-death* narrative) as in many tales transformation serves as a means of escaping death. In other cases shape shifting can be interpreted as a euphemistic way of speaking of death. Max Lüthi writes:

Originally, enchantment into a strange form was probably a veiled reference to death, as was the act of falling asleep. Frequently, animals are dead people who have changed form. But in the folktale, any such transformation is reported in a matter-of-fact manner, if at all, and it is never made to seem ghastly (Lüthi 1986: 69).

That metamorphosis can be suggestive of death is often confirmed in the very text of the tale. At some point of the narrative the death of the transformed personage is stated openly. An interesting example is found in the 'Gilla of the Enchantments': "She asked them if there was anything at all in the world that would make them *alive again*; and they said there was one thing only and that hard it was to do" (Larminie 1893: 184).

In the Armenian tale ‘*Tanjuman Xatun*’ (‘Queen Tanjuman’) (AT 480), a peasant’s imprudent wish comes true and his wife turns into a cow. Further in the narrative the heroine refers to her cow-mother as “my late mother” (Arm. *im olormac mer*):

...xazaranəmuš karič, papuk, t'yst'an-peoleoč', poč'ov
oč'əlner meč' pa'rvu camerač' ke'rkčan. Axč'ikn i, kasi, “Ax,
inč' sirsup' i k'yo gyəlox, knəmani im olormac mor gyəlox”
(HŽH XIV.1999: 195).

The old woman’s hair swarmed with thousands of scorpions, bugs, and lice. “Oh, Granny!” the girl said, “What clean hair bugs have! It is just like my late mother’s hair.”

Additionally, not unlike animal/plant hides or clothing, shape shifting may point to the status of the disowned or renounced character. Transformations into animals or plants are a kind of silent reproach, a challenge addressed to the cruel or unwise parent.

6. Duration of metamorphosis

One of the major dimensions of metamorphosis is the pace of transformation. Typically, fairy tale transformation is rapid and abrupt. Descriptions of gradual change are very uncommon in folk tales and, as a rule, speak of mediation on the part of the recorder or editor. In some examples the abruptness of transformation is highlighted by additional means. In the passage from the Yeats’s ‘*Twelve Wild Geese*’, the abruptness of man to bird metamorphosis is emphasised by a parallel trope, a simile: “... and the twelve princes were seen flying one after another out through the open window, and away like so many arrows over the woods” (Yeats n.d.: 300). Abruptness of shape-shifting can be observed in Armenian examples too:

Kert'an, kert'an, tlen gařan pčeli tel ĵur ktesna, ē lk'roj
imac č'i ta, kə gabi vren, kə xme, xmelun kdərna gar'.

They walked and walked, and the brother saw the hoof print of a sheep filled with water. He bowed and drank of it. Hardly had he drunk when he turned into a lamb.

(HŽH X.1967: 55)

The rapidity of shifting is emphasised in the stage of back-transformation too when the royal children of ‘The Twelve Wild Geese’ regain their human shape: “ *before you could count twelve, she flung a shirt over each bird, and there in the twinkling of an eye were twelve of the finest young men that could be collected out of a thousand*” (Yeats n.d.: 306).

Speed is a basic feature of legend metamorphoses as well. ‘The Enchantment of Gearoidh Iarla’ reads:

...He turned his face away from her and muttered some words, *and while you’d wink he was clever and clean out of sight*, and a lovely goldfinch was flying about the room (Yeats n.d.: 315).

Nikolay Osipov, in his psychoanalytical study of Dostoyevsky’s and Gogol’s work, comments on the techniques

used to produce a horror effect on the reader. In one of the examples taken from Nikolai Gogol’s short story ‘Viy’, a young and beautiful woman changes suddenly into an ugly old crone. The main reason, according to the analyst, why such a change should be frightening, is the speed, whereas gradual transformation would not be scary; what is more, gradual and slow transformation from a young and handsome person into an ugly and aged one shows the natural course of life. “Gogol’s transformations of the beauty into an old crone are a natural phenomenon. They, however, provoke fright because the speed of these transformations is disastrous, the issue of time is cut off, laws of nature are violated ...” (Osipov 2002: 253).

7. Conclusion

In this essay we have presented general characteristics of metamorphosis as a major fairy tale trope. As a unique narrative and poetic device, metamorphosis reveals the intricate interrelation of plot and poetics and shows how the rhetoric of the supernatural works. On the basis of Irish and Armenian fairy tales we have tried to illustrate such properties of metamorphosis as choice of wording, rhetorical basis, reversibility and duration.

Abbreviations:

ՀՀ = Nazinyan, A., Ghaziyan *et al.*, eds., 1959-2009, *Hay Zolovrdakan He k'iatner* (*Armenian Folk Tales /In Armenian/*), Vols. 1-16, Yerevan: Hayastani GA Hratarak'utyun.
IFT = *Irish Fairy Tales*, 1995, Wordsworth Editions.

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