



CIVILISATIONS DU PROCHE-ORIENT

HORS SERIE

VOLUME 3

MATERIALS
ON ARMENIAN
AND
URARTIAN HISTORY

by
ASHKHARBEK KALANTAR

With a contribution by Mirjo SALVINI

Recherches et Publications
Neuchâtel

2003

CIVILISATIONS DU PROCHE-ORIENT

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VOLUME 3

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NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF ARMENIA
INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY
Scientific Heritage

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PREFACE

The scientific heritage of archaeologist and historian Ashkharbek Kalantar represents an essential contribution to the study of Armenian history and culture. Sadly, the major part of the unpublished works of the eminent scholar had been lost, after his arrest by the Stalin regime in 1938. Recently, however, some of his works have been discovered by chance, and published in two volumes :

A. Kalantar (edited by G. Karakhanian), *Armenia : From the Stone Age to the Middle Ages*, (= *Civilisations du Proche-Orient*, Série 1, vol. 2, Neuchatel, Paris, 1994

and

A. Kalantar, *The Mediaeval Inscriptions of Vanstan, Armenia* (= *Civilisations du Proche-Orient*, Série 2, vol. 2), Neuchatel, Paris, 1999.

The present, third, volume of selected papers of Kalantar includes his previously unpublished work "The Kathoghike Church in Erevan". This remarkable study is the text of the talk delivered by Kalantar in 1937 in the Institute of History and Literature in Erevan. It survived in the archive of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography of the National Academy of Sciences of Armenia and is devoted to the Kathoghike basilica of Erevan, having exceptional importance for the history of mediaeval Erevan and of Armenian architecture. The church, along with the basilica of St. Poghos-Petros (St. Paul and Peter) was destroyed in 1930s by the ruling regime, despite the tremendous efforts of the author to safeguard these notable monuments. This paper written oven 60 years ago is striking by its freshness and the actuality of the formulated problems.

This volume also contains the essay "Aragatz in History" published in 1935, the article "Academy of Sciences and Armenology", the text of the talk delivered on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of Russian Academy of Sciences, and several brief contributions on the archeological notable finds.

The exceptional importance of these materials is that Kalantar was occasionally the only professional archeologist to describe monuments of which the overwhelming majority did not survive until the present.

Exceptionally important, from the point of view of the study of the history and the culture of the kingdom of Urartu, is the publication of the plates of the cuneiform inscriptions of Van region taken by Kalantar in 1917, while participating — together with Nicholas Adotz — in the Second Van Archaeological Expedition of the Russian Imperial Academy. These important materials are being published for the first time.

It is my pleasure to thank V. Gurzadyan for his help during the preparation of the present volume, as well as of the previous two volumes.

Aram Kalantarian



Ashkharbek Kalantar in 1926

BIOGRAPHY OF ASHKHARBEK KALANTAR

- 1884, February 11 Ashkharbek Loris-Melik Kalantar born in the village of Ardvin of Armenia, to the ancient *Melik* family of Lori.
- 1905 Finishes the Nersisian school in Tiflis.
- 1905-1906 Teaches in schools of Akhaltzka (Georgia).
- 1906 Finishes the Gymnasium in Tiflis.
- 1907 Enters both the Armenian-Georgian-Persian and the Historical-Linguistic Departments of the University of Saint Petersburg ; begins contacts with Academician N. Marr. First participation in the Ani Expedition under the directorship of N. Marr.
- 1911 Finishes the University with honors.
- 1912 Full member of the Archaeological Institute of Saint Petersburg.
- 1912 Sent by the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences to Imirzek in Armenia.
- 1912 Sent by the Academy to the Surmalu region (now in Turkey).
- 1913 Sent by the Academy to the Lori region in Armenia.
- 1914, March 15 Elected as a member of the Imperial Archaeological Society.
- 1914 By a resolution of the Russian Academy of Sciences, becomes keeper of the Asiatic Museum of Saint Petersburg.
- 1914 By a resolution of the Academy becomes the head of the XIIIth Ani Archaeological Excavation campaign.
- 1917 Participates in the second Van Archaeological Expedition with Prof. N. Adontz.
- 1918 Organizes the evacuation of about 6000 items from the Ani Museum to Armenia.
- 1918-1919 Lectures at the Transcaucasian University in Tiflis.
- 1919 Becomes one of the seven founding members of the newly established University of Erevan.
- 1919-1932 Permanent member and Scientific Secretary of the Commission of Ancient Monuments.
- 1920-1937 Member of the teaching staff at the Erevan State University ; founds the Chair of Oriental History and Archaeology (1922).
- 1922-1937 Organizes about 30 expeditions in different regions of Armenia.
- 1926-1930 Studies the Urartian inscriptions found in Armenia.
- 1928-1935 Studies rock-carved figures and ancient irrigation systems on Mt. Aragatz and in the Geghama range.
- 1929 Becomes professor at the Erevan State University.
- 1931 Head of the Excavations in Old Vagharshapat.
- 1932 Reports his discoveries at the Archaeological and Ethnographical Conference in Leningrad.
- 1935 Reports his discoveries at the IIIrd International Iranian Congress in Leningrad.
- 1938, March 19 Arrested at home and sentenced to death as an "enemy of the nation ;" later, the sentence was replaced by jail.
- 1941, January Last message received from prison.
- 1942, June Approximate date of death in prison in Russia.

ИМПЕРАТОРСКОЕ
РУССКОЕ
АРХЕОЛОГИЧЕСКОЕ
ОБЩЕСТВО.

УДОСТОВѢРЕНІЕ.

→←
22 Іюня 1917 г.

№ 22

ПЕТРОГРАДЪ,
Литойный проспектъ, 44.

Сіе выдано отъ Русскаго Археологическаго Общества члену сотруднику Общества, ученому хранителю Азіатскаго Музея Академіи Наукъ Ашхарь-беку Андреевичу Лорисъ-Меликъ-Калантару въ томъ, что онъ командируется въ Ванскій округъ и прилежація мѣстности, занятія русскими войсками, и въ Маку и его окрестности въ составъ снаряженной по распоряженію Временнаго Правительства экспедиціи Русскаго Археологическаго Общества, для научныхъ работъ: 1| собиранія матеріаловъ для организаціи систематическихъ раскопокъ халдскихъ древностей времени Ванскихъ царей: 2| съ указанной цѣлію, описанія, фотографированія, обмѣровъ, съемки плановъ |въ первую очередь Топрах-калы въ Ванѣ и Хайкаберде на горѣ Болдагъ|, развѣдочныхъ раскопокъ всякаго рода архитектурныхъ памятниковъ времени Ванскихъ царей, въ томъ числѣ заиковъ

Рр. X-XI. Certificate established by the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society, Petrograd (June 22, 1917), allowing Ashkharbek Loris-Melik Kalantar to perform an official trip to the district of Van and its vicinities occupied by the Russian army, and to Maku (north western Iran) in order to organize systematic excavations on Urartian sites.

и крѣпостей, особенно, если это будетъ признано возможнымъ. Ванской цитадели, а также пещеръ и подземныхъ помѣщеній, погребальныхъ сооружений и надписей на памятникахъ и скалахъ; 3| съ тою же цѣлю и тѣми же способами изслѣдованія памятниковъ позднѣйшихъ, христіанскихъ и мусульманскихъ, церковныхъ и гражданскихъ, и использованныхъ въ нихъ и въ новѣйшихъ постройкахъ халдскихъ древностей; 4| если окажется возможнымъ, систематическихъ археологическихъ раскопокъ Топрах-калкъ въ Ванѣ и Хайкберди на горѣ Болдагъ; 5| собранія всякаго рода памятниковъ древности, находящіяся безъ призора или въ угрожаемомъ положеніи, а въ случаѣ необходимости и выемки использованныхъ въ кладкѣ позднѣйшихъ зданій камней съ надписями или какими либо изображеніями, съ возмѣщеніемъ причиненнаго владельцамъ зданій ущерба; 6| собранія древнихъ книгъ и рукописей на всѣхъ восточныхъ языкахъ; 7| собранія для исторической географіи исчезающихъ названій мѣстностей и поселеній; 8| детальнаго фотографированія раскопанныхъ на Топрах-калкѣ древностей; 9| снятія фотографій съ надписи, открытой въ 1916 году, и съ Ихеровой двери; 10| раскопки надписи въ Харахуникѣ.

Русское Археологическое Общество проситъ учрежде-

нія и лицъ, къ которымъ Лорисъ-Меликъ-Калантаръ встрѣтитъ надобность обратиться, не отказать въ своемъ содѣйствіи къ исполненію возложеннаго на него порученія.

Удостовереніе выдано для представленія въ Канцелярію Ставки Главнокомандующаго Кавказской Арміей.

За Предсѣдателя Общества



Секретарь Общества

J. P. G. ...

THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND ARMENOLOGY *

During two weeks starting from 5 September 1926, the Russian Academy of Sciences was celebrating the 200th anniversary of its bright and heroic activity. During two centuries in this temple of science the pure scientific creativity was shaped and spread over the world. This is indeed a victory of science, and today we have its celebration.

In one of the phases of the development of the Russian society, as a bright indication of progress, the Academy of Sciences was founded. It has passed through numerous difficulties during its long life-time, yet has remained always stable in its primary line and dedicated to the main mission, to coordinate the scientific mind of all Russia.

The fruitful activity and scientific interests of Academy were, however, directed not only towards Russia, but also towards West and East, and even more towards the East, due to close links, both historical and cultural, with its ancient centers of civilization.

In its multi-direction and continuous efforts in the investigations of the East, the Academy quite soon got a primary position in the Western scientific world. Russian oriental studies produced several world famous names and works which became outstanding even within Western European oriental studies, while its numerous publications became important among the similar efforts in the West.

Today my aim is neither to cover the significant activity of the Academy in general, nor the scientifically impressive achievements on Russian oriental studies. That would be too comprehensive. I will only discuss the studies which concern our country, and which I find enough important to discuss at today's solemn ceremony.

In the oriental studies of the Academy, the Caucasus was considered as a cornerstone among ancient oriental cultures. Armenology and Georgeology largely, maybe I will not be mistaken to say exclusively, originated in the Academy at the time when both those cultures became territorially linked with Russia. The initiation of those studies coincides with the novel period of flourishing of the Academy in mid XIXth century, and which continues up to now.

The first steps on the study of the Caucasus in the Academy are closely associated with the name of Brosset. The French scientist M.F. Brosset was the founder of the Armenian-Georgian direction of studies in the Academy, and was among those western scientists who were forming the main membership of the Academy of that time.

Brosset was invited in 1836 and elected as Academician, and his first efforts in St. Petersburg were concentrated on the study of the numerous written sources. Ten years later he traveled to the Caucasus, to Georgia and Armenia, and became directly involved in the study of the data of the material culture, and made them the subject of his research.

The works of Brosset, 237 in total, mainly in French, are devoted to Georgian and Armenian literature, history, geography, some of those works are multi-volume comprehensive studies. He

* Talk given on October 18, 1925 at the jubilee meeting in the Armenian Institute of Science and Art dedicated to the 200th anniversary of Russian Academy of Sciences : Published in the *Bulletin of the Institute* 1, p. 3 (1926).

published manuscripts, historical documents, inscriptions, most for the first time, with detailed comments, catalogues with descriptions of numerous monuments, rich atlases, one particularly devoted to Ani, etc. In his fruitful research Brosset, based himself on views then traditional in the Armenian and Georgian scientific communities. He had found, as confirmed by the subsequent developments, the only correct correspondence of these two cultures in the context of Caucasology and problems of oriental studies in general.

After the death of Brosset in 1890, these investigations ceased in the Academy for a relatively long period, namely until 1909, when Nicolas Marr was elected an Academician.

In the meantime, Armenology had been developed in other centers, including those in Russia itself, particularly, in the Faculty of Oriental Languages in St. Petersburg University and in the Lazarian Gymnasium in Moscow. However, the most impressive period of the development of Armenological studies is related with the period, when Marr combined his studies in St. Petersburg University with his activity in the Academy.

His work was characterized by a fresh critical approach to all available data and the traditional views dominating in the Academy before. It is not possible to mention even briefly the fruitful and multi-direction research of Marr, who already entered the Academy with a prepared scientific program. Due to his work, Armenology and Georgeology became bases for novel insights into linguistics in general, linking various cultures and epochs, from prehistoric times up to the present.

If the first remarkable date for Armeno-Georgian studies in the two century history of the Academy was December 29, 1837, when Brosset gave his talk, the second analogous event happened 74 years later, on the same day of 1911, when Marr delivered his famous lecture "The Caucasus and the Monuments of its Spiritual Culture". That day was a real celebration for Armenology, since Marr sketched the key path of his studies: "We have to gather those unique documents of the past, which enable the reconstruction not of the episodic role of a given nation or group, but of an entire disappeared cultural world." He formulated his program and himself started the realization of that titanic work.

He started his research with a thorough investigation of the Armenian and Georgian languages, initially in philological, then in linguistic context. Here he was convinced that, the study of the structure of the two languages is possible only via comparison of other neighbor languages of Caucasus, e.g. those of Laz, Abkhaz, Mengrels, Svans. Parallel to this, he concentrated on the written ancient sources, and while looking for the ancestors of the Caucasian languages, he turned his view to the Urtian and Elamite languages, which led him to the ancient languages of the Middle East up to Sumerian. Moreover, his studies drove him outside the Caucasian world, to the Basques and Etruscans. Views on possible relations with those distant cultures had been expressed before, without, however, profound knowledge of the richness of Caucasian linguistics. Later Marr involved in his studies data from Eastern Russia, first studied by Anushin in 1890's, based on the monuments of material culture.

Perfectly understanding the importance of the data of the material culture for historical and linguistic studies, already in the early stage of his career, Marr initiated preliminary excavations in Armenia which were later transformed into systematic and comprehensive archaeological campaigns.

I will concentrate briefly on Marr's archaeological works. The study of the ancient monuments of Armenia which was started already in the XVIIIth century, before Marr, had been purely descriptive in nature.

Initially it was performed episodically by European, Armenian and Russian travelers and scientists, among them the mentioned Brosset, and only in the late XIXth century — due exclusively to Marr's scientific and organizational work — did the studies develop a systematic and strictly scientific character.

Marr chose Ani, one of the historical cultural centers of Armenia, for his systematic studies. It was natural, since Ani is the unique mediaeval city in Western Asia which had preserved its original state relatively purely, having been abandoned for some five centuries. Besides concentrating the Armenian political and cultural life of the epoch, Ani had also pan-oriental importance, which was fully revealed only during Marr's 15-year excavations.

From the point of view of the novelties of Oriental mediaeval material culture, the importance of Ani is absolutely exceptional. The mass of material data revealed during the excavations are of tremendous importance for the understanding of the political and especially the economic life, and can essentially influence our views on the medieval history of the East.

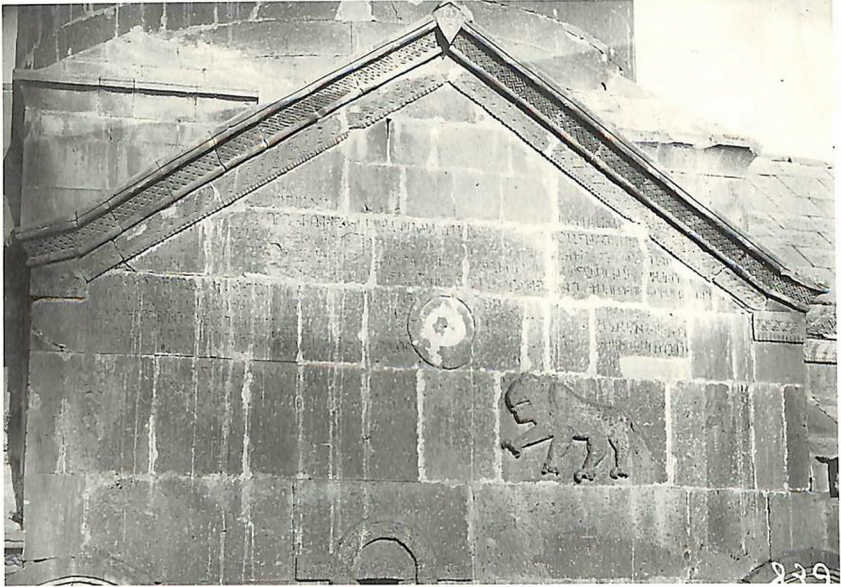
However not only the Middle Ages were enlightened in full depth in the works of Marr. Among his achievements was the establishment of the Armenian-Roman cultural relations via the excavations of the temple in Garni, and especially the complex study of various cultural epochs in Armenia starting from archaic periods. Namely, in 1909 Marr, together with Smirnov, discovered vishaps on the top of Geghama range in Armenia. In 1916, in the penultimate year of his archaeological studies in Armenia, Marr while studying the ancient Van, discovered the cuneiform inscription of the Urartian king Sarduri II. That inscription, which describes the constructional works of Sarduri II and his 23 wars, is a unique source for Urartian and ancient history of the Caucasus: it has about 300 lines and by its length exceeds, for example, the Behistun inscription and the Karnak chronicle of Thutmosis III, and enters into the list of the largest ancient inscriptions in the East.

The work on archaeology performed by the talented Marr in Armenia, included not only the excavations but also the initiation of gathering inscriptional data, and the registration and reconstruction of ancient monuments, aiming to cover the entire territory of Armenia. The Armenian archaeological school arose from the basis of that scientific complex approach to the study of the monuments and data in the context of the various cultures of the East.

Let me illustrate this with an example of the concept of "water", which was a subject of various studies by Marr and other authors. The concept of "water" is linked with numerous concepts, such as "hand", "wife", "mother", "birth", "creation", "construction", "horse", etc. I will cut short, mentioning, for example, the recent work by Farmakovski devoted to its connection with the "horse", via the "underground world", burial cults, etc. Water was the symbol both of birth and death.

Thus, we see the reflection of water in our monuments of material culture, i.e. via the vishaps, which revealed the existence of the cult of water in our country in archaic epochs. Those, up to 5-6 meter fish-like stone monsters are the indicators of that cult, of the gods of water, and were standing at the tops of the mountains as keepers of the water reserves and irrigation systems. Marr had established similar indications of the cult of water in other cultures, in Mongolia, for example.

Since then, Armenian archaeology has gained more such material data. By the efforts of the Commission of the Ancient Monuments two new vishaps have recently been discovered near the summit of Aragatz, along with caves with clear signs of the cult of water, as temples of that cult. During those surveys, thousands of megalith monuments have been discovered as well, clearly related to the classic type of megaliths known in Western Europe. Judging from the external view, our megaliths are of more ancient epoch. This conclusion was supported by the discovery of a skeleton



Ghoshavank, near Ani. Church of St. Grigor (985 AD): upper part of the southern gable wall.

of an ancient humanoid of the Upper Paleolithic, belonging to the European race, but more ancient than the exemplars discovered in Europe.

Thus, the studies of the monuments initiated by Marr lead us to the very ancient phases of the development of the civilizations. The Commission of the Ancient Monuments of Armenia is continuing its modest efforts in the mentioned directions of the research of the Academy of Sciences.

MOUNT ARAGATZ IN HISTORY *

1. Introduction

With its natural resources and historical role in the political, economic and cultural life of the ancient inhabitants of Armenia, as well as its present and future broad potential possibilities, Mt. Aragatz represents great scientific value and importance.

For this reason several expeditions were organized during the first years of Soviet Armenia. This multi-level investigation included archaeological (1922 and 1924), zoological-botanical (1924), hydrological-geological-mineralogical (1926-1930), meteorological (1927), and other facets. The role of Mt. Aragatz in our economy is already reflected by the exploitation of the lake Aygr, and Anipemsa, Artik-tuf (both are vulcanite stone mines ; Ed.), by the meteorological station near the Black Lake, numerous collective farms, as well as by the importance of the fundamental investigation of the mountain undertaken by the (Soviet) Academy of Sciences.

Mt. Aragatz is the highest mountain in Soviet Armenia and at the same time a very massive mountain, with broad and gradually rising slopes. With its wide plateaus and valleys and rich flora and water flows, it attracted humans since very ancient times, providing many and diverse possibilities for life and development. With its location, it represents a unique microworld surrounded on all sides by areas with dense population, which for centuries exploited the valuable resources and advantages from the base and slopes of the mountain.

From this point of view, Mt. Aragatz served as an extraordinary site for the inhabitants of Armenia, first, as a place of defense with unique political importance, and secondly, with its huge reserves of snow and water, as a source for the irrigation systems. Numerous large and small rivers originate from the reservoir and supply water to the lower valleys, passing through deep, rocky and cavernous canyons. From their very early days humans found here conditions meeting needs for life and defense. Therefore, they passed through all the stages of their development here, and left numerous remnants of material culture as witnesses. Their life found its reflection in numerous written sources, as well as in oral folklore and songs where Aragatz is admired as a great colossus.

The remains of material culture represent Aragatz in its full scale, revealing the sequence of entire epochs, starting from the archaic one which is still dark and mostly unknown to that of science, which now allows the earliest to be deciphered by means of the study of the remnants of material culture.

2. Urartian Inscriptions and Early Armenian Chronicles

Before turning to the newly discovered data let us briefly review how Aragatz was represented in the historical chronicles, which were the only data available to science up to recent times.

* First published as an illustrated book in Erevan (1935).

The history is attributed mainly to ‘Aragatzotn’, that is the populated region, which includes the bottom of Mt. Aragatz (‘Aragatzotn’ = Aragatz and ‘otn’ [feet]), its slopes and its vicinity from the south. In the administrative structure of Armenia, Aragatzotn entered as a district in Ayrarat state; the latter including the present Echmiadzin, Talin, Ashtarak and other regions. The boundaries of Aragatzotn pass via the Shirak-Leninakan (Gyumri, ed.) district to the west and the north-west, and Nig-Aparan and Kotayk districts to the north and the east. The name ‘Aragatz’ in ancient times was attributed to the mountain observed from the south, since its northern area was called ‘the back side’ of Aragatz:

Արամայիս... զորդի իւր զՇարայ... առաքէ... ի դաշտ մի մօտաւոր, արգաւանդ եւ բերրի... ի թիկունս հիւսիսոյ լեռինն, որ անուանեցաւ Արագած, յորոյ անուն եւ զգաւառն ասնն անուանեալ Շիրակ:

(M. Khorenatzi, *History* I, Chap. 12)

Գնացեալ ի վերայ Փիլիպպոս ի Նիգ գաւառի եւ պատեալ զթիկամբք լեռինն Արագածայ՝ երբեալ անցանէ ընդ Շիրակ:

(Sebeos, *History*, Chap. 24.)

This revealed that the center of activity lay to the south of the mountain; various historical processes originating later were developed here. From this point of view it is interesting that the back of Mt. Ararat was considered its southern side:

Եւանէ արքայ (Արշակ Բ) զթիկամբք Մասեաց անցել որսս յիւրում սիրեցեալ գաւառին ի Կոզոյովտի...

(M. Khorenatzi, *History* III, Chap. 23)

Hence, the center of life was the region between Ararat and Aragatz, while the areas north of Mt. Aragatz and south of Mt. Ararat were considered to be the rear. Aragatzotn has played a primary role throughout Armenian history. Its natural resources have been exploited comprehensively, and complemented by human activity. Diverse and huge constructions have been realized during centuries.

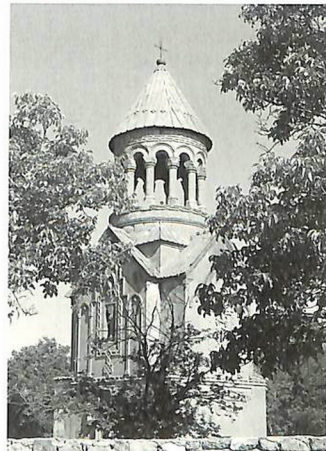
The oldest known written source about Aragatz are the cuneiform Chaldean inscriptions of the period of the invasions of Urartians in the VIIIth century BC. One of those inscriptions discovered in 1884, left by the Chaldean king Argishtu, son of Menua, is on the north-west slopes of Aragatz, on the river Karkachan which passes through the Mantash canyon. According to that inscription Argishtu conquered the Kuliaini country and the city Durubani.¹

According to the custom of the Chaldean conquerors of leaving inscriptions in the conquered countries, as reports to the god Khald, we have to assume that Argishtu had conquered the part of Aragatz called Kuliaini, in the region of present Ghulijan, while the remnants of the city Durubani have to be sought at the location of the inscription itself.²

¹ M.V. Nikolsky, 1896. Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Trans-Caucasus. *Materials on the Archaeology of the Caucasus* 5, p. 83.

² M.V. Nikolsky, *ib.*, p.71-73.

MOUNT ARAGATZ IN HISTORY



Summit of Mount Aragatz (4095 m).

The church of Eghvard.

Detail of a vishap found on the slope of Mount Aragatz.

MOUNT ARAGATZ IN HISTORY



The monastery of Tegher.

The ruins of the fortress of Amberd.

The direction of the Urartian invasion was from south to north, from Biaina-Van to Northern Armenia. After conquering and establishing themselves in the Arax valley (Dashburun, Armavir), their first goal was the conquest of the Aragatz region. Before passing to the rear of Aragatz, they had to secure its southern part, i.e. undoubtedly they had to capture it before moving to Kuliaini. The extension of the Urartians up to Ghulijan might have occurred via the eastern slope of Aragatz, the Aparan-Kasakh valley. This originates in the north of Aragatz, turning from the east and joining with river Arax. Thus Kasakh was the natural and most convenient communication route from the Arax valley to the rear of Mt. Aragatz. This is exactly the same direction as the presently existing road — Sardarapat (Armavir)-Vagharshapat-Ashtarak-Aparan-Leninakan (Gyumri) — confirming its ancient origin.

Another cuneiform inscription discovered in this area is the second inscription of Argishti, in Marmashen, which indicates that the Urartians — after completing the conquest of Aragatz region — had moved to the north and conquered the city of Irdanuini, “seizing it from the country Ishkigulu”. The whole conquered area they call “country of Eraq.”³

In view of the fact that the Marmashen inscription by its location alone indicates the place of the country mentioned : Eraq, situated between Aragatz and Marmashen, i.e. either the Shirak plateau or Shirak and Aragatzotn together,⁴ which were conquered by Urartians. The city Irdaniuni most probably corresponds to Marmashen, where the remnants of a fortress of Urartian epoch have survived up to the present day, near the river Akhurian.

The Ghulijan and Marmashen inscriptions help us to understand the military plans of the Urartians and the political and economical content of their actions. After the Arax valley the conquest of Aragatz was inevitable, and that of the citadel of the Northern Armenia, which can protect and secure the main stores, the Ararat valley. Then, after the conquest also of the Shirak valley, moving not only via Kasakh but also via Akhurian river, the Urartians would possess the most important strategic object, the citadel of Marmashen, the city of Irdaniuni.

The outstanding political and economical positions of Aragatz and Shirak, the “Eraq”, was obviously the reason that despite frequent revolts of the native population against the conquerors, the Urartians, especially at the time of Argishti, son of Sarduri, repeated their invasions several times to the country “Eraq”, destroying the whole region.⁵

The location of the country of Ishigulu can be determined, given the direction of the Chaldean invasions. It might be towards the north from Marmashen, which corresponds to present Aghbaba, Ghzlghochin.⁶

The next ancient written source in our historical chronicles is Movses Khorenatzi already quoted above concerning the names. Here the reference to Aragatz is connected with the extension of

³ M.V. Nikolsky, 1896. Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Trans-Caucasus, *Materials on the Archaeology of the Caucasus* 5, p. 89; I. Meshchaninov, 1926. *Chaldeology*, p. 206.

⁴ The names ‘Arag-atz’ and ‘Shirak’ may have originated from the name ‘Eraq’, as dialectic modifications, with a pre-Armenian origin.

⁵ See the inscription of Sarduri in Van in N. Marr, 1922. *Archaeological Expedition to Van*, Leningrad.

⁶ This assumption is confirmed by the indications in the present toponomics of the region, i.e. associations with the name « Ishki-gulu »; for example, Gulli-bulakh a little north of Marmashen, near Kaps, another Gulli-bulakh is in the north-east of Amasia, on the main road, Gulli is in the north of the Aghbaba region, to the north-east of the lake Arpa. In the same region, Gulli-ja is to the west of Gulli and to the north of Arpa. The mountain Gellar is in Zarishat, to the north-east of lake Chaldr, not far from the place where in the west, near Dashkerpi, where the inscription of Sarduri, the son of Argishti was found (N. Marr. The Inscription of Sarduri in Dashkerpi) and a pre-Urartian fortress is located. Another village, Gellaq, is located to the west of Zarishat, and to the south is the village Voghechi-Ishki.

Hayk and his sons, that is with the epic description by which Khorenatzi is starting the Armenian history :

Իսկ Արամանեկայ առեալ զամենայն բազմութիւնն՝ խղայ յարեւելս հիւսիսոյ, եւ երբեալ իջանէ ի խորին դաշտավայր մի (*Արարատոյան դաշտ*), ի բարձրագագարանց պարսպեալ լերանց... այլ հարաւայինն արեգակնանեմ լեռնոն, սպիտակափառ ունելով զագաթն (*Մասիս*)..... Յայսմ խորութեան դաշտի բնակեալ Արամանեկայ՝ շինէ զմասն ինչ հիւսիսոյ կողմանէ դաշտին, եւ գոտն լերինն ի նոյն կողմանէ, եւ զլեռնոն անուանէ յանկագոյն յիւր անուն Արագած, եւ զկալուածսն՝ ոտն Արագածոյ :

Եւ որդի նորա Արամայիս շինէ իւր տուն բնակութեան ի վերայ ոստոյ միոյ առ եզերք գետոյն, եւ անուանէ զնա յիւր անուն Արմաւիր... Եւ զորդի յիւր զՇարայ... առաքէ ամենայն աղխիվ իւրով ի դաշտ մի մօտաւոր, արգաւանդ եւ բերրի, յորում գնան ջուրք ոչ սակաւք, ի թիկունս հիւսիսոյ լերինն, որ անուանեցաւ Արագած. յորոյ անուն եւ զգաւառն անուանեալ Շիրակ :

(M. Khorenatzi, *History* I, Chap. 12, Chap. 14)

The movements and their sequence of Haykazians as described by Khorenatzi, correspond exactly to those of the Urartians concerning the Northern Armenia. Besides the identical direction, in both cases we see also the same sequence and the duration, 5-6 generations in one century, and obviously also the same goal, to capture basic vitally important stores, fortresses and other objects of strategic importance. Thus, as a first step, the Ararat valley was conquered, in the second, Aragatz with Kasakh valley and the Shirak, with the third, the Sevan basin and the Geghama-Gegharkunik mountain ranges.

Armavir had a particular role, in both sources as a primary political center, deeply linked with the previous cultural epochs.

The outstanding political and economical role of Aragatz can be traced also in the other phases of Armenian history.

3. Middle Ages and Inscriptions

In the first phase of the feudal epoch Aragatz became a royal property, the acropolis of the Arshakide kingdom. The sites of state activity, i.e. the fortresses, winter residences, refuges, are concentrated here. Ashnak was the winter residence of the Arshakide kings, Arutch was a winter residence, a military camp and a town with a free population. In Kosh lived the king Tiran and his grandson Gnel : Tiran was buried in Kosh (Khorenatzi, Ch. III-12). Aghtz was a fortress where the remains of the king Arshak II and of the previous Arshakide kings were buried : the Persians removed them from Ani fortress of Daranaghi, where the royal mausoleum was located, and were aiming to take them, with themselves, to Persia, as the historians P. Buzand and M. Khorenatzi describe :

...եւ զոսկերս բազաւորացն... բաղեցին յաւանին Աղցս որ յոտին Արագած կոչեցեալ լերինն...

(M. Khorenatzi, *History* I, Chap. 27)

The mausoleum in Aghtz is of a catacomb type and still exists, and stylistically corresponds perfectly to the end of the III century.

The same site of Aragatz is particularly rich in rock-cave (artificial) and underground fortresses, which are the developed version of caves. They have numerous divisions (rooms), stone doors, etc. serving defensive purposes and as refuges for families during times of danger, as well as for storing goods. According to surviving hints, these refuges were supplied with sufficient water and food.

Aragatz was used as a fortress, for which it offers diverse possibilities, as the historian Pavstos Buzand indicates :

Յամուր ի գիւղն, որ Աղձին անուանեն...կային ի խինձս, ի գոգս, ի ծոցս, յանձուկս, ի դժվարքս լեռինն մեծի, գոր Արագածն կոչեն...

(P. Buzand, *History* IV, Chap. 24)

Besides the exploitation of the natural possibilities, the large number of artificial forts and fortresses built in Aragatzotn and Mt. Aragatz explicitly reveals its crucial role during the various phases of history. The existence of the fortresses is indicated by their remains (occasionally well preserved) and ruins, as well as by the written sources. In the latter, Amberd and Talin are represented as fortified towns, Aghtz and the remnants — which have survived up to the present — is mentioned by Buzand as a fort. According to Elishe, Oshakan was initially a fortress, with ruins still existing near Kasakh canyon, to the south-east of the present village. Byurakan was also a rather notable fortress. Even today, Ashnak, Serkeli, Aparan, Parbi, Ashtarak, Kosh, Harij, Aghjaghala, etc. have preserved large constructions of their fortresses. Historical records record that Eghvard and Karbi were also surrounded by a defensive wall.

Thus absolutely all the dwellings of Aragatz were either citadels, or were situated near fortresses serving purely military aims without permanent population, or were cave constructions used for the same purposes. Finally, all the churches were protected by their own constructions which — when necessary — were used as forts.

After Arshakides, during the feudal nakharar epoch, the V-IXth centuries, we see several nakharar (princely or ruling) houses concentrated on the Aragatz. We find the remnants of their constructions, namely, Gnunis in Mastara region, Amatunis in Oshakan, Kamsarakans in Talin, Mamikonians in Arutch and Eghvard.

In the next, Bagratuni epoch, the IX-XIth centuries, though Aragatzotn is no longer at the center of political life and not directly linked with the political centers of the time — Shirakavan, Bagaran, Kars, Ani, — it nevertheless served as the basic and the reliable citadel of the kingdom, at least during the first Bagratunides, when Smbat I sat in Aragatz (Ujan) during the battles with Afshin. Here we see also the spiritual feudal, catholicos Hovhannes Draskhanakertzi, an historian, in his personal fortress in Byurakan. There he finds himself protected from the attacks of Jusuf and Nar, and in his *History* gives a lively description of the Arab encirclement of the fortress.

In the X-XIth centuries in the place of the earlier ruling dynasties we see only Pahlavunis in the fortress of Amberd. It had an advanced position among all fortresses on Aragatz. Indeed, the Aragatzotn the region is even named after Amberd, at the time when the fortress belonged to Vahram Pahlavuni (see the Amberd inscription).

In the XI-XIIIth centuries after the fall of the Bagratuni kingdom and the subsequent turbulent periods, the restoration of the kingdom by Zakare and Ivane started with Aragatz. The military

commander Zakare attributes Aragatz a primary role in the process of liberating Armenia. He initially conquered Amberd in 1196 and only freed Ani in 1199 as stated in Ivane's inscription in Haghartzin (the reading is mine from the original, A.K.):

ԿԱՄԱՒԻՆ ԱՄԵՆԱԿԱԼԻՆ ԱՅ ԱՅՍ ՄԵՐ ԳԻՐ ՀԻՇԱՏԱԿԻ Է ԵՒ ԱՐՁԱՆ ՄՇՏՆՁԵՆԱՒՈՐ ՈՐԳԵԱՑ ՄԵՇԻՆ ՍԱՐԳՍԻ ՅԱԶԳԷ ԲԱԳՐԱՏՈՒՆԵԱՆ ԻՎԱՆԷՒ ԵՒ ՋԱՔԱՐԷՒ ՅՈՐԺԱՄ ՆԱԽԱԽՆԱՄՈՒԹԻՒՆ ԱՅ ԵՀԱՍ ՅԱՐԱՐԱԾՍ ԵՒ ԵՏ ՏԻՐԵԼ ՍԵՓԱԿԱՆ ԺԱՌԱՆԳՈՒԹԵԱՆ ՆԱԽՆԵԱՑ ՄԵՐՈՑ ԵՒ ԵՏ Ի ՋԵՌՍ ՄԵՐ ՅԱՌԱՋ ՋԱՆԱՌԻԿ ԴՂԵԱԿՆ ՋԱՆԲԵՐԳ ԵՒ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐԱՆԻՍՏ ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ԱՆԻ, ԵՒ ԱՊԱ ՋԱՄՈՒՐՆ ԲՋՆԻ, ՋՄԱՐԱՆԳ ՄԻ(ՆՁ) ԵՒ ԳԱՒԱՋԱՆՔ ԵՒ ԹԱՒԲԵԺ, ՋԿԱՐՆՈՅ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՄԻՆՁԵՒ Ի ԽԼԱԹ, ՋՇԱՔԻ ԵՒ ՋՇՐՈՒԱՆ, ՋՊԱՐՏԱԻ ՄԻՆՁԵՒ Ի ԲԵԼՈՒԿԱՆ ԵՒ ՋԱՅԼ ԲԱԶՈՒՄՍ ԻՒՐԵԱՆՑ ՍԱՀՄԱՆԱԻՔ, ՎՈՐ ԱՎԵԼՈՐԴ ՀԱՄԱՐԵՑԱՔ ՅԻՇԱՏԱԿԵԼ, ԱՅԼ ԵՒ ԱՆԲԱԿԱՆԱԼԻՆ ԱՇ ՍԻՐԵՑ ՋՔԱԳ ՊԱՐԾԱՆԱՑ ԳԼԽՈ ԻՄՈ ՋՋԱՔԱՐԻԱ ԵՒ ԿՈՁԵՑ ԱՌ ԻՆՔՆ ՅՈՐՈ ՋԵՌՆ ԵՂԵՒ ԱՐԻՈՒԹԻՒՆՍ...

Since the conquest of Aragatz was considered of special importance for the successful liberation of the country, Zakare had erected a kind of “victory statue” in the form of a khachkar (stone-cross), at present in the village Inaklu (now Antarat, ed.) with the following inscription :⁷

Ի ՈՒԹ ԹՈՒԱԿԱՆՈՒԹԻՆՍ ԵՍ ՋԱՔԱՐԷ ԱՄԻՐ ՍՊԱՍԱԼԱՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ ԵՒ ՎՐԱՅ, ՈՐԴԻ ՄԵՇԻՆ ՍԱՐԳՍԻ, ԱՌԻ ՋԱՆԱՌԻԿ ԱՄՐՈՑՍ ՋԱՆԲԵՐԳՈՅ ՅԱՂԱԽՆԱԾԻՆ ՈՐԴՈՑՆ ՀԱՔԱՐՈՒ, ՈՐ... (Բարբ կոտորված է)...ՅԻ ԱՄԱ Ի ԿՈՐՈՒՍՏ ՔՐԻՍՏՈՆԷՅՑ ԵՒ ՅԱՒԵՐ ԵԿԵՂԵՑԵՑ ԵՒ ԵՏՈՒ ԱՌՆԵԼ ՋՆՇ(ԱՆՍ):

Aiming to make Aragatz less accessible, Zakare with his brother Ivane, built the fortress and the church of Harij on its north-west slope, which controlled the entrance to the Mantash canyon, where the bas-relief sculpture of the both brothers is presently situated.

After the conquest of Aragatzotn, Zakare appointed Vache as the administrative head of the district, as mentioned in the inscription by Vache in Hovhanavank.

...ԿՈՁԵՑԱ Ի ՎԵՐԱԿԱՑՈՒԹԻՒՆ ԳԱՒԱՌԻՍ...

as well as in the inscription of Mamakhatun on the wall of a temple in Tegher, constructed by herself and dedicated to her husband Vache (reading is mine, A.K.):

...ՈՐ ԷՐ ԿԱՐԳԵԼ ՀՐԱՄԱՆԱԻ ՋԱՔԱՐԷՒ ՎԵՐԱԿԱՑՈՒ ԳԱՒԱՌԻՍ...

Later, Aragatzotn was ruled by Vachutians for an entire century, being the property of Zakarians as mentioned in Sagmosavank inscription :⁸

...ՇԱՀՆՇԱՀ (Բ.) ՍԵՓԱԿԱՆ ՏԷՐ ԳԱՒԱՌԻՍ ԱՆԲԵՐԳՈՒ...

⁷ G. Hovsepien, *Khaghbakians and Proshians*, 1920, p. 8.

⁸ G. Alishan, 1890, *Ayrarat*, Venice, p. 168.

Besides Zakarians and Vachutians among the owners in Aragatzotn, in the XIII-XIVth centuries were prince Sahmatin and his successors in Oshakan, Azizbek and his family in Eghvard, according to the inscriptions in the buildings in those towns.

The politically remarkable events in the XIVth century completely changed the social conditions and led to the economic-cultural decline of Armenia, including the Aragatzotn among its other districts. Starting from the mid-XIVth century the Armenian ruling dynasties are no longer mentioned in the inscriptions as constructors, and apparently they no longer had any political role. In an inscription of 1358 one of the last representatives of the Zakare dynasty, atapek Zaza, found in Bjni, clearly describes the situation :

...ի ժԱՄԱՆԱԿՍ ԲՌՆԱԿԱԼՈՒԹԵԱՆ ՄԵԼԻՔ ԱՇՐԱՑԻՆ ՋՄԵՐ ՀԱՅՐԵՆԻՔՍ
ՋՔՋՆԻ ՔԱՂԱՔ ՅԻՍՆԷ ՀՈՒՄՔՈՎ ԽԼԵԼ ԷՐ, ՋԻՐ ՃՈՐՏԵՐՆ ԷՍԻՐ ԿԱՑՈՒՑԵՐ ՈՒ
ՀԱՃԻԲԵԿ ՆԻԱԶԵՑԱԻ ՈՒ ՔԱՂԱՔՍ Ի ՀԻՄԱՆՑ ԹԱԿԵՑ ԵՒ ՇԱՏ ՅԱՆՈՒԱՆԻ
ՄԱՐԳ Ի ՍՈՒՐ ՔԱՇԵՑ ՈՒ ՋԵԿԵՂԵՑԻՔՍ ՏԱՊԱԼԵՑ ՈՒ ՋԵՐԿԻՐՍ Ի ՋՈՐՍ ԳԻԱՑ
ԱՆԲՆԱԿ ԱՐԱՐ ՈՒ ԲՐԻՍՏՈՆԷՔ ԱՆԽՆԱՅ ԳՈՏՈՐԵԱՑ...

(K.Kostanyantz, 1913, *Vimakan Taregir (Inscription Chronicle)*, St. Petersburg.

In the XVIIth century the Persians seized Aragatzotn from the Osmanians and the sardar Amirdune appointed David Kanakertzi as a head of the Kotayk and Amberd districts.⁹

4. Fortresses and Basilicas

All the above mentioned epochs are richly represented with monuments. In feudal Armenia this was obviously due to the royal state construction activity at the time of Arshakide kings, later sponsored by the local feudal rulers, especially the intense construction efforts of the Bagratunides and Zakarians. In subsequent centuries, during the period of merchant capital, activity continued, but was weak, mainly due to Echmiadzin catholicoses, by religious leaders in general and by certain princes.

Concerning the monuments in Aragatzotn, one has to state that their serious study was initiated over a century ago by the comprehensive work “Ayrarat” by Ghevond Alishan, which includes a detailed survey of each of the districts of the state, including the toponymical, historical, and archaeological aspects since ancient times. The approach and depth of the study make it a rather important work for its time. Modern methodology and the abundant data presently available mean, however, that reviewing the study is of particular interest. One cannot go into detail, but it is important to recall that earlier researchers were based not on the multi-sided study of the historical monuments, but mainly relied on the written sources, historical chronicles-manuscripts and only occasionally included inscriptions on the monuments themselves. This also involves the dating of the monuments, without which it is not possible to recover the genesis and the further development of the events, and hence to construct a reliable basis for scientific study. From this point of view, the exclusive use of written sources, and indiscriminate inclusion of folkloric data — which might occasionally even contradict the data of the monument (for example, that a given church was built by Grigor the Illuminator) — is not only incomplete and ill-motivated, but can leave certain periods in

⁹ G. Alishan, 1890, *Ayrarat*, Venice, p. 168.

obscurity and hence create gaps in the continuity of the historical process. Here the main losses concern the pagan and pre-Christian periods, since having left no written records, they have remained without proper study and recognition. The Middle Ages, however, are not in a much better situation. I do not refer to the most ancient epochs of Aragatz, whose remnants of the material culture did not interest the researchers and hence remained unnoticed and unstudied.

The most ancient monuments of the medieval period, more precisely of the first centuries of our era, are obelisk-type statues often with bas-reliefs of humans and animal (dog or pig) heads and with pagan or mixed-Christian cult or social scenes. Such monuments are especially plentiful in Talin-Adiaman among other regions of Armenia, and they are typical for the art of pagan-Christian transition period. According to the historical records the Arshakides mausoleum in Aghtz was constructed at the end of the IVth century. Its catacomb type and two opposing (south and north walls) sarcophagi, with the mixed pagan-Christian motifs of the bas-reliefs on their covers in particular, and the entrance to the mausoleum all correspond exactly to the end of IVth century. This monument has a unique scientific value due to its style and artistic details.

To the same epoch belong several citadel-towns mentioned above. Armenian basilicas with Armenian architectural elements as major examples of temple constructions of early Christian art, were widely distributed in Aragatzotn district. In Parbi, Ashtarak (the church of "Tziranavor"), Kasakh-Aparan, Ushi, Ohanavank, Echmiadzin, Aghtz, Avan basilicas are preserved up to the present day. Most of them are three-nave, standing or half-ruined, and reveal the intense constructional activity in Aragatzotn and its general importance in the social life of Armenia in IVth, Vth and VIth centuries.

The next fruitful constructional period in Armenia is the VIIth century which left significant traces in Aragatzotn. Here we find the dominant forms of VIIIth century architecture, Hripsime church in Echmiadzin constructed by Komitas catholicos who himself was originated from Aghtz, Zvartnots, the Hajghara, Talin's major and minor monuments, those in Mastara, Adiaman, Arutch, Eghvard (built by Grigor Mamikonian), several interesting monuments near Antarut, etc.

Amberd town-fortress represents a construction of the IX-XIth centuries of Bagratuni period, this concerns the ruins which had survived up to now, though the origin of the fortress is obviously of more ancient period. It is located on the triangular junction of two deep and unreachable rocky canyons of Amberd and Arkhashan rivers, and hence only from one side has been strongly protected by walls and towers, where the main entrance was also located. Besides the walls, the princely palace was constructed as well, and hence we have an example of a mixed fortress and a civil town. The inner area was completely occupied by residential houses. They, as well as the Amberd temple located near the edge of the junction of the canyons, are typical exemplars of the Xth century constructions. To the same, early Xth century also belong the Byurakan fortress, the church of Kosh, its citadel and water-reservoir, the Kathoghike church in Ohanavank, the recently unearthed ruins of a big construction in Karbi, the caravan-serai near Arutch and others.

Starting from the XIVth century the rare constructions of this type erected in Aragatzotn, belong mainly to the XVIIth century and either are exclusive reparations or constructions of walls (Tegher, Ushi, Oshakan) and of a bridge (Oshakan). Karbi had a flourishing period at that time, since its merchants were connected with famous contemporary European trade centers: particularly, one of those merchants, "baron Ayvaz", built a church and a water canal from the village Vordkan.

The constructional activity of the country with its periods of flourishing and decline reveal us the political, economical and cultural level of those centuries. Thus, to understand the development

of the historical process the monuments are a basic source. The second main source associated with the constructions are wall inscriptions which are plenty on the walls of the monuments of Aragatzotn. Both these sources are visibly exhibiting the public life of the society, its technological and spiritual characteristics.

By their content the inscriptions can be divided as follows :

Decrees are inscriptions with no direct relationship to the particular monument on which they are written, except that they were public constructions. They appear mainly in the gaviths (pre-entrances) of civil buildings. Those decrees of the officials mainly concern regulations and the distribution of taxes, and contain rich and diverse data on all taxing systems used over the centuries.

Constructional inscriptions concern general constructional and especially water-constructional activities, performed usually by known historical figures.

The most numerous are the *benefactorial* inscriptions telling us about diverse gifts— with precise descriptions of the movable goods and real estate—passed to the monasteries by feudal princes for their “flourishing” and by merchants for “saving of their souls”. These inscriptions are a kind of contract between the benefactor and the religious officials on the exchange of the gifts with certain rituals and masses. Thus those records not only reflect numerous aspects of social life but also reveal the regulations and economic conditions of the monasteries, and hence enable the reconstruction of the basic elements of their economic development along with precise datings.

The decree and water-constructional inscriptions of Aragatzotn have a primary place among the corpus of Armenian inscriptions, representing an exceptional historical source without which it would be impossible to relate the history of social-economical relations in Armenia in the Middle Ages.

With their number and content, the inscriptions on water-constructional activities are a significant source of data. They describe “water transfer”, construction of water-channels, sources, reservoirs, etc, as well as reporting numerous reparations, diverse details on the irrigation of the fields which was the axis of the economy. All irrigation construction was considered as being of primary importance. For example, a commentary in one of the manuscripts contains a contemporary description clearly reflecting the enthusiasm associated with such constructions. It concerns a construction of the end of the XIIIth century in Eghvard performed by Azizbek and his wife Vakhakh, who managed the transfer of water from Kasakh river (near the village Asvatsunkal) to the fields of Eghvard from the west. Then, constructing another irrigating channel from the east, they supplied the whole surrounding fields with water:¹⁰

Գնացեալ ի սուրբ ուղտն Ածընկալ եւ տեսեալ զգնացս ջրիոյն Եղիվարդայ աւերեալս եւ խոպանացեալ, որպես զի դեռ եւս երեսէին նետմ նոցա, եւ աստուածային նախախնամութեամբն վտեալ սիրտ նոցա... արիացան՝ ոչ հաշվելով զծախսն որպես գուարդուն հրէղին տագնապէին՝ ոչ ունելով զհանգիստ եւ զքուն ի տուէ եւ ի գիշերի, եւ շրջապատեալ զլեռն Արարտեան (= Արայի) հասուցին զջուրն յորդառատ վտակաւ փոյրբնրաց յԵղիվարդ, եւ զղծվարութիւն սահմանացն եւ զգյովով աշխատութիւնս եւ գտուրս արվեստաւորացն եւ զամենայն ծախսն ո՞վ կարէ ընդ գրով արկանել, եւ զանհասանելի երկրաչափ զհեռաւորութիւն տեղւոյ... որ ի քաղաքէն Բջնոյ մինչեւ Կարրի ոչ գտանէին ջուր յարբումն մարդկան եւ պապակէին անցորդք նանապարհաց ի տապոյ յաւուրս ամարայնոյ...

¹⁰ H. Shahkhatuniantz. 1842. *Description of the Cathedral of Echmiadzin and the Five Regions of the State of Ayrarat* Vol. II. Moscow, p. 131.

In all epochs mentioned, the main manner of watering, was common to all, namely using the water of the big and small rivers and sources of Aragatz, i.e. securing a permanent water flow to the lower lands of the valleys. Both the inscriptional data and the surviving material, i.e. the water-channels, artificial reservoirs, etc., still in use or abandoned long ago, by their location and direction reveal a picture of an entire irrigation system covering the lands enabling their exploitation.

The intense agriculture and gardening gave rise to disputes and even battles which might occur over the right to use one or another water-channel. A lively example of such a situation is the inscription of 867 in Arutch (the reading is mine, A.K.):

...Եղեի Կոնվ Ընդ ՅԱՐՈՒՃ ԵՒ ԸՆԴ ԿՈՇ ԵՒ ԸՆԴ ԳԱՒԱՌՆ, ԵՀԱՐ ԱՐՈՒՃ ԶԿՈՇ ԵՒ ԶԳԱԻԱՌՆ...ԵՍ ԳՐԻԳՈՐ ՈՐԴԻ ՎԱՌԱՄԱ, ԾԱՌԱ ՍՄԲԱՏԱ ԲԱԳԱՐԱՏՈՒՆՈ, ԵԿԻ ՀՐԱՄԱՆԱԻ ՍՄԲԱՏԱՅ, ԵՒ ԵՍ ՀԱԻԱՍԱՐԵՑԻ ԶՋՈՒՐՆ ԸՆԴ ԿՈՇ ԵՒ ԸՆԴ ՅԱՐՈՒՃ ԶԻՆՉ ԻՒՐԵԱՆՑ ԲՆԻԿ ՌԱՍՄ ԷՐ ԼԵԼ Ա ԵՒ ԿԷՍ ԿՈՇԱ, ԵՒ Ա ԱՐՃՈ:

An example from another epoch is the inscription of 1571 on a tomb-stone in Jrvej (the reading is mine, A.K.):

ԱՅՍ ՏՈՒՆ ՍԳՈ, ՄԹԱՆ... ԽԱՉԱՏՐՈ Է, ՈՐ ՍՊԱՆԱԻ Ի ՎԵՐԱ ԶՐԻՍ ԶՐՎԻԺՈ. ԿԻՍԱԻՐԻ ԵԼԻ ԱՇԽԱՐՀԷ ԵՒ ԹՈՂԻ ԿՍԿԻԾ ԾՆՈՂԱՑ ԻՄՈՑ...

This tomb was an object of local admiration as that of a martyr for water.

The prevention of such events was one of the difficult administrative problems in medieval Armenia, presumably even the most important one, regulated by decrees inscribed on the walls of nearest public constructions or monuments. An interesting inscription of 1036 in Tekor is a fine example of a delicate attitude of the administrative bodies to this matter (the reading is mine in the place, A.K.):

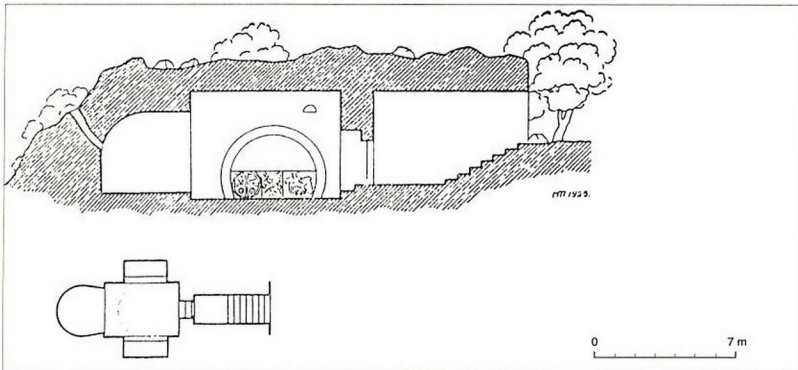
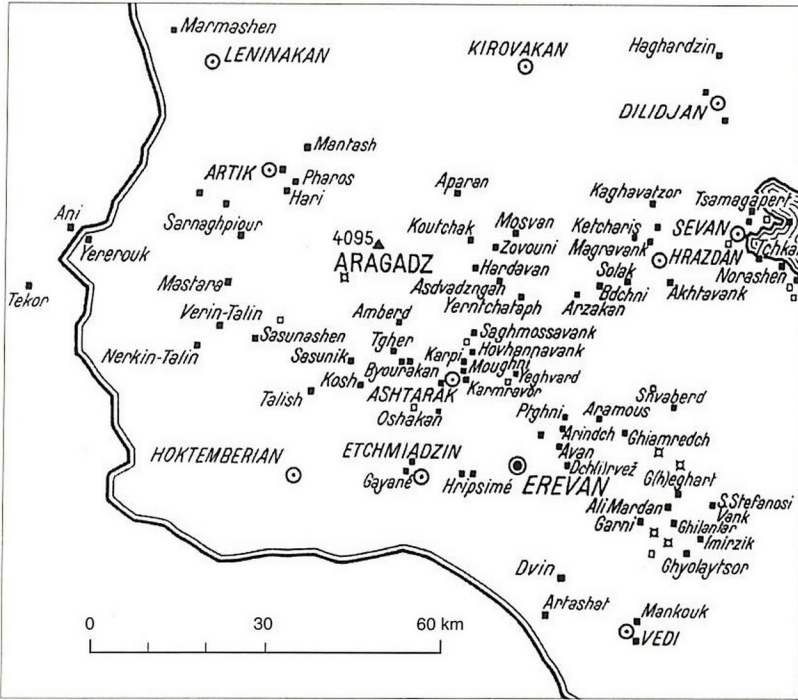
...ՏԵԿՈՐՈՑ ԶՐՈՅՍ ԵՒ ԱԳԱՐԱԿՈՒՑ ՈՒՂԵԼՈՑ (ՈՒՂՂԵԼՈՒ) ԶԻՆՉ ԱՌՁԻ ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐՈՒՑՆ ԼԷՂ Է: Դ: ԱՒՐՆ ԵՒ: Դ: ԳԻՇԵՐ ՏԵԿՈՐՈՑ Է: Գ: ԱՒՐ ԵՒ: Գ: ԳԻՇԵՐ ԱԳՐԿՈՒՑ. ՀԱՐՑԻ ԾԵՐՍ ԵՒ ԳԻՏՈՂՍ ՆՋՈՎՈՒՐ ԵՒ ԵՐԴՆԵԼՈՎ (ԵՐԴՈՒՄՈՎ), ԱՒՂՈՐԳՆ ԱՅՏ Է... Ի ԳԱՐՆՄԷՆ Ի ՎԵՐ ՄՆՉԵԻ ՅԱՇՈՒՆՆ ՀԱՆԱՊԱՋ ԶԱՅՐ ԶՈՒՐՆ ԼԷՐԻՆՆ ԱՆԽԱՓԱՆ

5. The Cult of Water and Ancient Irrigation Systems

The above mentioned sources, the written ones and especially the data of material culture, represent Aragatz up to the first centuries AD. The cuneiform inscriptions, providing unique illumination, enable a move back another millennium. This was how Aragatz was known to the science.

In 1924 the existence of megalith culture on Aragatz was revealed.¹¹ Some elements of that culture which had been noticed before, have now entered into a general picture, indicating that since prehistoric times Aragatz has been an important site for the population of the region. Later, by means

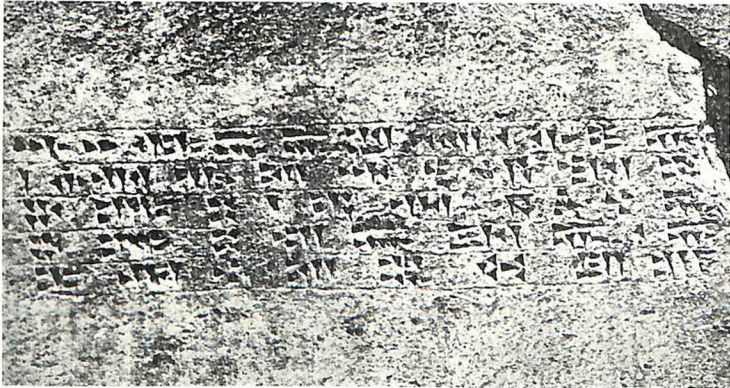
¹¹ A. Kalantar, 1925, Stone Age in Armenia, *Nork* 5-6.



Map with some sites mentioned in the text (H. Vahramian).

The mausoleum of Aghtz.





The Urartian inscription near Marmashen.

Detail of above.

of continuous investigations the existence of an entire culture on Aragatz and in some other areas of Armenia has been shown, represented by the rich data of material culture of its native inhabitants.¹²

The material data characterizing that culture include the main types of megalith monuments, dolmens, cromlechs and menhirs, and are represented here by many thousands of exemplars. Those monuments are now studied distinguishing the periods of their development, while locating numerous ritual sites, dwellings, necropoleis, the main types of their fortresses and towns. Finally, a dense irrigation system has been discovered which covered the whole Mt. Aragatz as well as the Aghmaghan (Geghama) range and which did not use the water flows but rather the rich reserves of snow on the summits of mountains.¹³

The major irrigation construction activity of the ancient inhabitants of Armenia was related to the cult of water, which had very deep roots and a significant place in life.¹⁴ This is represented by such an amazing objects as the vishaps, the fish-like stone monsters, outstanding exemplars of that cult in the form of a stone god of water, the existence of which was shown on Aragatz.¹⁵ Vishaps were first discovered by Nicolas Marr in 1909-1910 in Geghama range of Armenia.¹⁶ Another important phenomenon characterizing the ancient culture in Armenia is the existence of ancient inscriptions. We have succeeded in tracing that culture not only on Aragatz but also in various regions of Armenia, representing the different phases of the development of the writings, from their most ancient primitive rock carving forms up to a regulated system of hieroglyphs, which by their large number indicate the existence of a long development of writing activity in Armenia.¹⁷

All these represent well enough the social-political life of the inhabitants of the ancient Armenia, their social formations, economic structure, cults and the ideology before the first millennium BC; that society later ceased with the invasions of Urartians in the VIII-VIIIth centuries BC.

The data as summarized,¹⁸ provides hints about an ancient culture spread over the whole of Armenia, representing an important page for the study of the genesis and the roots of the historical process. Here the role and importance of Aragatz is exceptional, as of one of advanced historical centers of human activity of the region.

August, 1933

¹² A. Kalantar, 1927. Two Cuneiform Inscriptions, *Bulletin Comm. of Ancient Monuments* 3.

¹³ A. Kalantar, 1933, An Ancient Irrigation System in Armenia.

¹⁴ N.Y. Marr, 1924, A Book Legacy of the Foundation of Kiev and Kuara in Armenia, *GAIMK* III, Leningrad, p. 278.

¹⁵ A. Kalantar, 1930, in *Science and Research in Armenia in 1920-1930*, Erevan, p. 94.

¹⁶ N.Y. Marr, Y.I. Smirnov, 1930, *Vishaps*, Leningrad.

¹⁷ A. Kalantar, 1927, A Rare Find in Armenia, *Bulletin VOKS* 9-10, p. 19.

A. Kalantar, 1927, I geroglifici scoperti in Armenia, *Le Orfane Armeni* 5, Torino, P. 74-75.

A. Kalantar, 1929, Inscriptions d'Arménie en caractères inconnus, *Revue Archéologique*, p. 43-45.

¹⁸ A. Kalantar, Armenia in the Archaic Period of its History (unpublished).

THE CHURCH OF KATHOGHIKE IN EREVAN

I. The Monument

There was a significant moment during the process of the destruction of the Kathoghike church in Erevan in January 1937. After the external additions of the centuries subsequent to its construction had been removed, the monument reappeared in its original form. It became evident that we possess an entire set of historical documents, including two architectural monuments, rich sculptural material, frescos and epigraphic data of several dozens of inscriptions.

This discovery — along with its general scientific content — has an exceptional importance for the history of Erevan, of which we are only now getting indications of its ancient past. For this reason, a special decree of the government has been adopted to halt the destruction of the revealed historical treasures and to preserve them for detailed investigation.

Below I will concentrate mainly on one problem, namely, on the dating of the original construction of the monument.

The Kathoghike church is situated at the corner of the streets Abovian and Zohrabian. Initially, the first sight of its former external appearance did not give an impression of an artful construction. It had a simple roof, three small domes, with undecorated, though smoothly finished, walls. It was, however, striking for its antiquity.

A closer look at the diversity of the stone rows in the walls, notable difference in their datings, etc, emphasize the composite nature of the building. The architectural construction is mixed in both style and technique. This is determined by the numerous reparations of various periods which have distorted the building. In particular, the upper parts had lost the uniformity of the original architectural style.

Only the eastern dome by its diversity, by its umbrella type cover and just below it, by the pieces of the cornice of the old fronton of the eastern wall, reveal the hidden harmony peculiar to Armenian architecture of the X-XIth centuries.

Seen from inside, disregarding the plastered walls, by plan and constructional features the monument clearly reveals its type. It is a three-nave basilica with central axis and four pylons, which once supported a single dome.

The plan of the church as it stands now is remarkably clear. The position of the pylons, their symmetry both with respect to each other and to the other parts of the construction, the massive and cross-type shape of the pylons, the semi-circular arches standing over them, the peculiarities of the finishing of the wall stones and their adjustment in the rows. Together, all these form a unity characteristic of Armenian basilicas of the VIIth century, thus defining the dating of the origin of the monument.

All these, however, as mentioned above, are distorted by the reparations of various epochs, particularly those of the last centuries, evidently associated with the powerful earthquake of 1679, are artless constructions distorting the upper part of the building, with visible asymmetries and

mismatches of styles. The building had become particularly ugly, especially due to double-inclined simple roof replacing the dome which had to be the constructional continuation of the pylons.

Besides this, the asymmetry of the eastern part of the building is quite visible. The apse-table appears too narrow and elongated with respect to the chapels on the right and the left sides and the whole building. It differed distinctly from the original plan of the building.

This eastern apse carries the multi-faceted dome forming its uniform continuation. This part survived in its initial condition, without visible reparations and is the typical form of the first half of the XIth century.

While evaluating the archaeological value of the entire church, the data mentioned enable me to consider it of exceptional importance. This consists both in its multi-sided historical interest, but also includes technical point of view, introducing to us the peculiarities of all constructional epochs from the VIIth up to the XVII-XVIIIth centuries. It is essential that it be thoroughly investigated.

I stated this opinion in 1934 when the church was passed to the touristic organization and at the meeting of the Commission of the Ancient Monuments of January 9, 1934. Unfortunately the final resolutions appear to contradict my assessment.

The Erevan earthquake of 1679 is well known and it is customary to relate any destruction and reparation to that date. Correspondingly, the upper age limit of all — without exception — constructions of the city was considered to be two centuries. The conclusion with respect to the church was similar, i.e. it was built in the XVIIth century and hence “has no scientific interest whatsoever”. However, after the decision of the destruction, it was considered necessary to take, nevertheless, photos and measurements, and follow the process of the destruction in order to extract the valuable fragments.

The opposing opinions were tested by the monument itself, since its destruction was started immediately.

In the very first days of the destruction, the existence of not one but of two monuments became clear. There was a larger one, and a smaller one. From the architectural and technical point of view they form a single unity. There were, however, functional contrasts over the centuries, so that the correspondence was severed, sometimes quite drastically, albeit with a certain functional dependence.

The larger of these two monuments is a basilica as the primary construction, while the smaller one is the church which appeared later on its eastern side, during the process of reparation of the main monument.

The fact of the numerous reparations of the main monument, visible from without, was absolutely confirmed by the fragments which appeared during the destruction. Namely, by the difference of the mixtures used in the walls, the asymmetric and non-logical difference in the thickness of the walls, as measured by Taragos.

This confirmed the assumption that, the reparations were of various epochs, since in some parts they involved even the lower parts of the walls. This obviously was the cases when the walls had suffered major gaps, from top to bottom, especially at the corners; as in both sides of the northern wall, near the southern pilaster of the western wall down to the foundation. Hence they have to be associated with major earthquakes which occurred in the zone of Erevan. Let us mention several of them, since the major reparations of the church coincide amazingly with the dates of the major earthquakes.

THE CHURCH OF KATHOGHIKE IN EREVAN



*The church of Kathoghike in Yerevan :
The western facade.*

The northern wall.

THE CHURCH OF KATHOGHIKE IN EREVAN



*The church of Kathoghike in Erevan:
The eastern facade.
The southern wall.*

THE CHURCH OF KATHOGHIKE IN EREVAN



*The church of Kathoghike in Yerevan :
The southern entrance .*

Pulling down of the roof.

THE CHURCH OF KATHOGHIKE IN EREVAN



*The church of Kathoghike in Yerevan :
Views of the naves (1 to 3),*

Stones of the destroyed walls (5).

Part of the wall with a fresco of St. George (4).

Demolition of the substructure (6).

THE CHURCH OF KATHOGHIKE IN EREVAN



*The church of Kathoghike in Erevan :
Detail of the dome of the small church.*

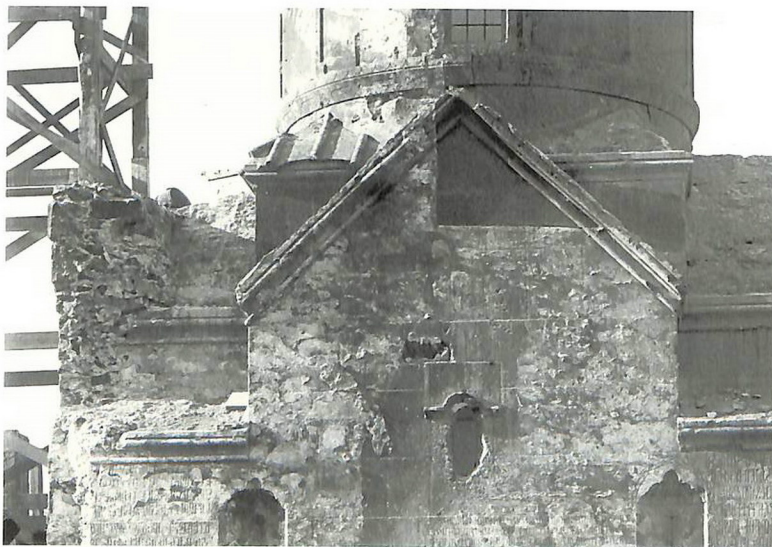
Remains of the small church after the demolition of the basilica.

THE CHURCH OF KATHOGHIKE IN EREVAN



*The church of Kathoghike in Erevan :
Demolition of the basilica around the small church.*

THE CHURCH OF KATHOGHIKE IN EREVAN



The church of Kathoghike in Erevan :

The wall with inscriptions in the small church.

We start from the recent ones, moving down to the earlier periods.

The last major reparation on the present monument is of the late XVIIth century and is associated with the earthquake of 1679, when Erevan was badly destroyed. Undoubtedly the building had suffered not less at the earthquake of 1692, since its reparation occurred just in the following year, in 1693 by the *catholicos* Nahapet, as mentioned in a written document.¹

ըզկրդկէ (զԿաթողիկէ).... հիմանէ կառոյց գեղեցիկ շինուածոք..

Chronologically before this, i.e. in the mid XVIIth century, another reparation is mentioned in a brief inscription on a cross-stone type sculpture situated in a wall :

ՅԻՇԵՑԷՔ ՈՒՍԱ, ԳՐԻԳՈՐԻՆ. ՇԻՆՈՂ ԵԿԵՂԵՑՈՅՍ. ԹՎ. ՌՂԱ. (1642)

This reparation can be linked with the earthquake of 1641.²

Earlier reparation coincide had the character of a major reconstruction, and can be attributed to the early XVIIth century, in 1609. It was performed by Grigor Tezagulentz, son of Margar, together with his wife Khatun. This is recorded in the inscription on the northern wall :

...ՇԻՆԵՑԱՔ ԺԱՄԱՏՈՒՆՍ Ի ՀԻՄԱՆՑ...

Obviously, the same reparation is mentioned in the *Յամաուրք* chronicle written in 1652 in Nork and mentioned by Shahaziz. It describes that Khoja Grigor, son of Arzumbek of Erevan made the construction :

...շինեաց զկաթողիկէ եկեղեցոյ ժամատունն ի հիմանց քազում ծախիւք...

This major reconstruction of 1609 will become natural, if one takes into account the damages of the powerful earthquake of 1584, directed from west to the east. At that time the destruction of the city of Erznka was recorded, with 15,000 victims. The relatively long period passing before the reconstruction was obviously determined by the turbulent times of the Turkish and Persian invasions.

Another written record which concerns the reconstruction of the Kathoghike, and especially its chapel, is of 1472. This reparation corresponds to the even more terrible earthquake of 1458, again directed from west to east. The number of victims in Erznka was recorded 32,000.

In the XIVth century a strong earthquake was recorded in 1319-1320, which included the Erevan zone. Its direction was from south to north. The St. Tadei church was destroyed in the south, Gegharkunik in the north and the city of Ani in the west. Erevan was within this triangle and hence hardly could remain unperturbed.

We are informed by the inscriptions that rich gifts passed to the Kathoghike. These correspond to the years before the date of the earthquakes (1301, 1315, 1318, etc.). However these ceased after that period, and that silence is maintained for over two and a half centuries, up to 1598.

¹ E. Shahaziz, 1931, *Old Erevan*, p. 202.

² K. Kostanian, 1902, *Chronicle of Earthquakes in Armenia*, "Luma".

This reflects the economical situation of Erevan which was essentially changed due to the earthquake.

An even earlier earthquake of 1261, which was also west-east directed, from Kilikia to Georgia, also included the zone of Erevan, and obviously was not without consequences for our monument. The monument was damaged in 1261, and apparently remained in that state until the time of Sahmadin, 1264. This will also explain why Sahmadin left his inscription on the wall of the small church and not on the basilica.

The first big destruction suffered by the basilica could possibly be associated with the earthquake of 893 — and this with the date when the small church was built in the place of its apse. This earthquake had completely destroyed the city of Dvin. However, the damage could also be associated with the strong earthquake of 1003-1004, when serious damage occurred in all of Armenia.

All these facts explain the existence of the many reparations of the basilica, as it had suffered significantly from the earthquakes. From this point of view, obviously, Kathoghike is not an exception among other large monuments. Some damaged monuments were reconstructed and survived up to our time, such as the large basilicas in Nork, Echmiadzin, as well as several monuments in Vayots Dzor: Yeghegis-Alayaz, Guni, St. Cross which were elder constructions but have been reconstructed in the XVII-XVIIIth centuries.³

Some other monuments, mainly those situated outside cities, such as Zvartnotz, Yereruyk, etc remain ruined, without having been restored.

Among various architectural types, those without pillars and those of smaller dimensions survived better, such as Hripsime in Echmiadzin, etc. This also applies to the small church of Kathoghike. One should not be confused by the mention of the word “constructions” in the inscriptions :

շինեցի ի հիմանց (Գրիգորի արձանագրությունը)

կառոյց ի հիմանց (Նահապետ կարողիկոսի արձանագրությունը)

շինող յեկեղեցոյ (ուստա Գրիգորի արձանագրությունը) :

They concern major reparations undergone by the monument, and these sometimes went as deep as the foundations. It is, however, not correct to interpret them in the sense of construction, as is done by some authors. New constructions are mentioned in other terms in our literature :

հիմն արկեցի. հիմն արկի. հիմնադրեցի. հիմն դրի. նոր կառուցի. հիմն ձգի.

or by clear information on the state of the new construction :

սակեցի, որ ի բնե չէր սակած...

The custom of calling the reconstructor the “constructor” is common in Armenian inscriptions, as in the case of the reparation by Abisoghom Vardapet of the royal church in Ani in the XIII-XIVth centuries, for example.⁴ The author called himself a “constructor” in two inscriptions. In the case of

³ See the studies by Taragos in V.M. Sisoiev, 1916, *Materials on the Archaeology of the Caucasus XIII*. Moscow.

⁴ N. Marr, 1916, *The Description of the Royal Church in Ani*, p. 36, St. Petersburg.

Kathoghike we have a similar example of the reconstruction of the same object and not constructions of new ones.

What has survived from the original building in situ after so many reconstructions ? The complete destruction of the main basilica including its lower parts and the preliminary excavation of the foundation, as well as the later widening of the area opened for the foundation of the school to be built in its place, revealed the foundations of the walls and of the pylons both from outside and inside. The opened foundations include those of the north-eastern and south-western pylons, the corners of the western and southern walls, both edges of the southern wall, the northern edge of the eastern wall (the north-eastern chapel). The depth of the foundation of the walls was 1.50-1.80 m, of the pylons, 1.80-2.00 m. The foundations both of the walls and the pylons were very wide and uniform in style, carrying the characteristics of the technique of Armenian architecture of the classic period, i.e. of Yereruyk, Vth century, Hripsime, VIIth century, etc., as checked by myself. Besides the foundations, fragments of the original parts were also found within the walls, especially in the inner rows of the northern and southern walls, reaching occasionally up to the fifth row. The reparations concerned the curve-lined gaps and reached up to the lower walls and their corners, especially in both sides of the northern wall and near the southern pilaster of the western wall.

The external parts of the lower row of the walls, as in Echmiadzin cathedral, as well as the lower parts of the pylons, were covered by smoothly finished stones, which reveals that they were made during one of the last reparations. However, an important conclusion was drawn from the study of the original parts. All the reconstructions had left the original concept and plan of the monument absolutely unchanged. Both completely in its lower parts and to a lesser degree in the upper parts, i.e. the semi-circular arches ; except for the roof which was built without the original dome and the crossed frontons.

2. The Dating of the Monument

The dating is a crucial problem in any historical research, since any error in the dating can decisively influence the interpretations and the conclusions. Similarly in our case, the main problem that interests us was the historical period to which the original construction of the building can be assigned. The solution of this problem in view of the dearth of written historical records, could be solved exceptionally by means of the data from the monuments. Therefore it was crucial, as became clear during the destruction of the monument, that the original style of the monument had been preserved during the numerous reparations, and hence this architecture could be the characteristic of the epoch of its origin.

The only modifications undergone by the basilica concerned its eastern side, the two chapels and the apse between them. A small church has been built in the place of the apse. On the bases of the two old chapels new chapels and stages were built, which were later modified as well. The small church projected further to the east than the apse of the basilica. It had obscured the semi-circle of the apse and the eastern wall. Here however, the ancient foundation uncovered during our preliminary excavations. This had fortunately maintained the original form, which aided us. The foundations had maintained the original forms of both the eastern wall of the basilica and the chapels. We have the north-south directed chapels, typical only for the IVth, Vth and VIth century basilicas. The foundations of the pilasters between the chapels and the apse (which were carrying the arch of the apse), have scales which are in absolute agreement with the proportions of the pylons and eastern

pilasters. While the distance between the new chapels built on the old ones does not correspond to that of the pylons, these were obviously distorted due to the construction of the small church.

Thus, the study of the exposed foundation enabled me to reconstruct the original view of the eastern wall which has a principal role for the typical basilicas.

The apse with a chapel on each side is quite typical for our basilicas, examples of which we have in Tekor, Yereruyk, Echmiadzin, etc. This, as mentioned above, was typical of the Vth century, extending from the IVth to the late VIth century — but not to the VIIIth century, when basic modifications were introduced in the design of basilicas. Therefore, these data enable me to date the construction of the monument to the V-VIth centuries. The most probable period seems to me to be the late VIth or at latest the early VIIIth century, but by no means later. This could be modified if a trace could be found of a portal near the basilica which was peculiar to the Vth century. On the other hand, the somewhat extended character of the massive pylons and the semi-circular arches which were more suitable for supporting a high and heavy, slightly egg-shaped dome were typical for early the VIIIth century churches, such as the Hripsime church in Echmiadzin.

The small monument was built in the place of the apse of the old basilica. Though larger than the former apse, as a separate building, it is actually small. It is visibly distinct from the basilica in that it had never undergone any reconstruction and had preserved not only its original architectural style, but also the inscriptions, frescos, etc. which were added over the centuries and which are absent on the larger monument because of multiple reconstructions. The only modifications that we see on the small church concern the western wall where the entrance is situated, as well as the three windows of the dome; the fourth remained untouched. This monument had survived all the earthquakes due to its design, i.e. without pillars and its diminutive size, as well as several peculiarities of construction which were deliberately intended for that purpose. The threat earthquake damage here was apparently limited merely by some gaps. These did not threaten the stability of the monument and can still be seen near the lower part of the northern wall-pillar, on the drum of the dome, etc.

Concerning the dating of the construction of the monument, our assumption was confirmed. This small church is a monument of exceptional architectural interest and is a typical building of the Xth century. The architecture of the Xth century, including the IX-XIth centuries, created numerous new forms, aiming for more advanced solutions of architectural problems, including certain elements of design, diversity of the motives and constructional technique. The plan of this small construction, quadrangular from outside, with one nave, without chapels with complex pilasters connected by light and arrow-like arches, is similar to that of the Ani Kathoghike, with multi-facet (12) large-stone dome with a drum, and umbrella-like cover, like the churches of Marmashen, Khtzkonk. The crossed frontons, cornices and all other curves of the construction are purely preserved and absolutely typical of the X-XIth centuries. One can also add the remarkable technical elements used to increase the stability of the construction, as revealed by Taragros, for example. Each row is shifted some 0.5 cm from outside and inside with respect to the previous one; also in each row, there are stones of larger sizes acting as binding links between the rows. Such tricks of strengthening of the walls were also typical for the mentioned epoch.

We see more architecture than decorative art in this monument. Decoration was typical of the following epoch of Armenian art, the XIIIth century. Therefore this building cannot be of the XII-XIIIth century, as was assumed in the literature. Certain decorative details of the monument, especially the external and internal stalactites, the cross-sculptures on the walls, the stars on the table, are addenda of the XIIth and the XIIIth centuries. Though these elements existed in Armenian

architecture of the XIth century, in this case, they are later additions to the main building. The practice of adding the decoration to the building, a shorter or longer period after its construction, was quite common, as for example we see in Kathoghike and Arakelotz, churches in Ani, the big temple of Tsakhkadzor, etc.

Besides the architectural aspect, appearance of a such a building is closely associated with a certain social class of the society. This small church is a family mausoleum, such as was built near large churches by feudal rulers. This ancient tradition was especially common in Ani in the Xth century, with charming churches, e.g. Khambushentz, Abughamrentz, etc, as unique architectural pieces.

In the mountainous parts of Armenia such family churches of the XIIIth, XIVth and even the XVIIth centuries also existed, indicating the long duration of those feudal houses, e.g. in Gegharkunik, Lori, Vayotz Dzor, Syunik. Those constructions carry the characteristics of their epoch and corresponding decorative elements. Concerning Erevan, up to now we had no indication for the existence of such a social class and of such constructions there, as in other valley regions of Armenia.

Very interesting is the mutual correspondence of the two churches during the XI-XIXth centuries. First, we see the existence of two immediately adjacent structures, but in fact independent churches, as indicated in the inscriptions of the Kathoghike itself, e.g. of the early XIVth century (1301, 1318) inscriptions in which the benefactors mention the churches in plural :

ԺԱՄԱՏԵՂԱՅՍ...

This situation apparently continued up to the XVth century, since already in the XVth century the basilica was transferred as a chapel for the small church, while the latter became the Table-Scene. Later, the basilica had undergone various reconstructions. There was a gradual widening of the eastern side, including the small church on its northern and southern sides. The entrance of the small church, in its turn, was widened, removing even some parts of the western wall. At the same period the table of the altar continued to approach the entrance and until ultimately covered the entire area of the church. Certain details show the 4-5 phases of those modifications, thus exhibiting the correspondence of the both monuments during the XV-XVIIIth centuries.

In general, here we see the tendency of increasing of the area of the churches, which is explained by the growth of the population of Erevan.

3. "Kathoghike": what it indicates ?

Another important aspect for the full understanding of the monument is its name. The name "Kathoghike" in Armenia of the IV-Vth centuries was associated with the architectural type of a building — a domed basilica — namely, a church with a high dome on four crossed pillars, having the general role of a cathedral. This type of domed basilica, as we have see in the monuments of that epoch completely corresponds to the precise description of an Armenian basilica by Agathangeghos in a "vision" of St. Grigor the Illuminator.⁵

Thus that "vision" is taken from life.

⁵ Agathangeghos, *History of Armenia*.

Agathangeghos, paragraph 736 :

Եւ տեսանէի ի մէջ քաղաքիս, մօտ յապարանսն արհունի, խարխսածն նախարակածն խարխսի ոսկի, մեծութեամբ իբրեւ զմեծ մի բլուր, եւ ի վերայ նորա սիւն մի հրեղէն բարձր մինչեւ յոյժ, եւ ի վերայ նորա բակաղաղ մի ամպեայ, եւ խաչն լուսոյ ի վերայ նորա :

Agathangeghos, paragraph 737 :

Եւ ի չորեցունց սեանց ի վերայ խաչիցն կամարք (սյունեքք խաչածն) զարմանատեմ միմեանս կապեցան. եւ ի վերայ այնորիկ տեսի զմրեքածն խորանարդ ամպեղէն շինուած աստուածակերտ զարմանալի :

Thus, the Kathoghikes had a very high (in the clouds) dome, supported by four crossed pillars (Agathangeghos, paragraph 751) :

Եւ զի ծագեաց լոյսն ի մէջ սեանցն չորեցունց, եւ բոլիսեցոյց զաղբիւրն յորդարուղի՝ զի ի Կաթողիկէ եկեղեցոյն շնորհք Հոգւոյն ի մէջ վկայեցոցն...

The historian also explains the function of Kathoghike (Agathangeghos, paragraph 744) :

...Եւ սիւնն հրեղէն՝ Կաթողիկէ եկեղեցի է. որ ժողովէ զամենայն ժողովուրդս ի մի միաբանութիւն հաւատոց ի ներքոյ քեանց իւրոց...

Agathangeghos, paragraph 748 :

...Իսկ զի բարձր է սիւնն առաջին՝ զի մեծ եւ բարձր է պատիւ Կաթողիկէ եկեղեցոյ քան զամենայն բարձրութիւն սրբոցն: Իսկ կամարքն որ ի սեանց անտի միմեանս կապէին այս ինքն է հավասարութիւն միաբանութեան Կաթողիկէ եկեղեցոյ :

The very name of the monuments confirms that Kathoghike cannot be understood as the smaller of the two churches only. The latter does not have four pillars and hence could not be called as Kathoghike. While the chapel with four pillars, without dome (a result of later modifications), also could not be the originator of that name.

Conclusion : the name Kathoghike had survived from the past. It is the name of the primary basilica with a large and tall dome ; a dome which has not survived the later reconstructions. Thus, though the monument has been modified, the name was preserved.

4. The Destruction of the Basilica

Thus the data enable us to reveal the date of the construction of the monuments and their further development over the centuries. The study of the monuments also provides us with numerous peculiarities of the constructional and reparation techniques of the various epochs, and at the same time supplies definite information on the processes of social life. The data are valuable even from the point of view of seismology, since as we saw, it enables us to trace certain powerful earthquakes, which is rather important for our seismologically active country, for our present and future constructional activities.

Unfortunately, we failed to convince the officials our opinion of the scientific importance of the monument and prevent it from destruction, which was performed without any detailed investigation of the monument. All the above mentioned conclusions were drawn by myself during the short period of the process of destruction. Certain officials were, however, visiting the monument during those works and promising to provide possibilities for the thorough study of the materials, and even to stop its destruction. Unfortunately, nothing happened.

The conclusion that “the monument is of the XVIIth century and has no scientific value” was adopted, which determined its fate. By fortunate circumstances during the destruction, the inscriptions of the small church were opened; it was declared a XIIIth century construction and was saved, though half of its frescos were destroyed, as well as one of the tables.

The major monument which had no inscriptions, was considered without value and was destroyed without serious investigation and hence, unfortunately, took with it all its secrets. Nobody even cared to remove the upper plaster from the stones of the destroyed church, which smoothly covered the inside walls.

Finally, how one could declare a monument without any scientific interest, even if it might belong to the XVIIth century? Do we have to erase the XVIIth century from our history? Anyone more or less acquainted with Armenian history would agree that we have to be extremely careful about any material of that epoch which is not rich in material sources. Even though the XVIIth century is known as a period of decline in the constructional activity in Armenia, history is made by the study not only of periods of flourishing but also of decline.

5. The Scientific Importance of Kathoghike : the Basilicas of Erevan

Let us discuss how our conclusions correspond to historical and other known data.

Kathoghike provides a possibility to sketch certain facets of the unknown history of Erevan. Why it is not surprising to find such a classic basilica in Erevan and what does the latter represent in those epochs?

The oldest public constructions existing in Erevan are cult buildings : churches and mosques. Old Erevan had numerous churches, as mentioned in the chronicles. They were more than ten in the XVIIth century. The oldest among them were considered the Erkeresni, Kathoghike and Poghos-Petros (St. Paul and Peter). The first two were mentioned as existing “since the epoch of Armenian kings” by Chardin who visited Erevan in 1673.

Erkeresni church existed until the XVIIIth century, since after the great earthquake, along with the Kathoghike, Poghos-Petros, Zoravor and other churches it had been reconstructed in 1693. However, Erkeresni was later destroyed and today even its location is unknown. Toramanian had proposed that it might be located in the place of the church of St. Grigor the Illuminator; however, available data indicate that it was located in old Erevan, while the Illuminator church was outside those areas.

An important piece of evidence about this monument, namely its architectural style, will be found in the chronicle of Daranaghetzi. This contemporary author, while describing the events of the attacks and burning by the Turks of the Eghvard church, mentioned its similarity with the Erkeresni church of Erevan :

յԵղիվարդոյ գեղջէն չուեալ գնացին, բայց գեղիվարդի վանքն ալրեցին, որ գարմանալի շէնք ունէր, որ Երեւանու Երկերեսին կու նմանէր...

THE CHURCH OF KATHOGHIKE IN EREVAN

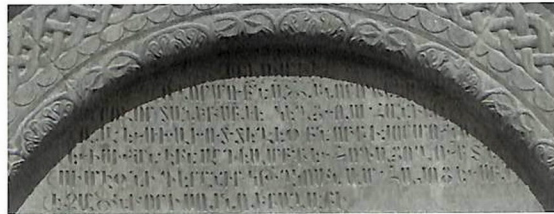
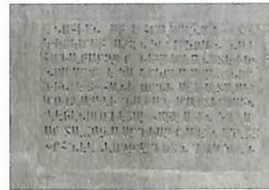


The church of St. Pghos-Petros (St. Paul and Peter) :

*General view of the site
and of the lower level.*

Demolition of the campanile.

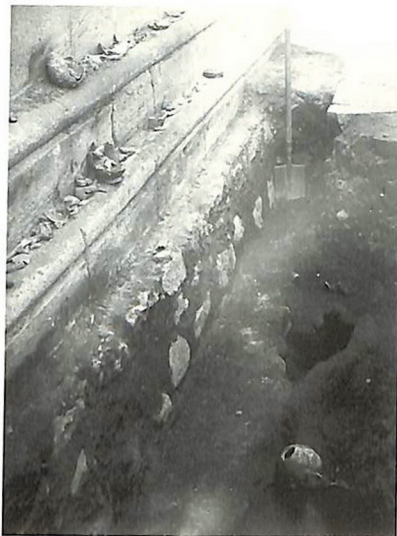
THE CHURCH OF KATHOGHIKE IN EREVAN



The church of St. Pghos-Petros (St. Paul and Peter):

The southern entrance and 3 details of the inscriptions.

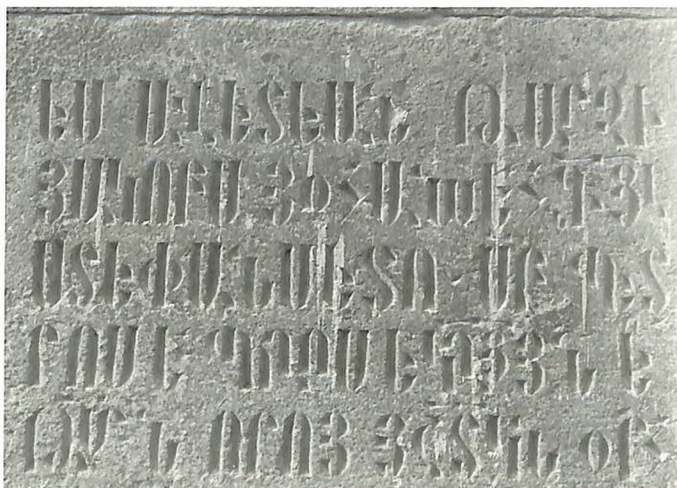
THE CHURCH OF KATHOGHIKE IN EREVAN



The church of St. Poghos-Petros (St. Paul and Peter):

*Substructure and foundation.
Pillar of the western entrance.*

*Two roman capitals from Garni near a pillar of the church.
Wall paintings.*



The church of St. Poghos-Petros (St. Paul and Peter):

The first five lines of the inscription on the southern wall.

Inscription on one of the pillars of the church.

Khatchkar (cross-stone).

Erkeresni did not survive up to our days, however the ruins of the Eghvard church do exist. The latter is one of our biggest three-nave basilicas and is of the Vth century.

Thus, we indirectly became aware that, the Erkeresni church in Erevan was a three-nave basilica of large dimensions.

The next oldest church is Poghos-Petros, which was mentioned by Lynch as the biggest church in the city, though less attractive than the others. This monument is relatively rarely mentioned in the written sources but we know it as a large three-nave basilica of the V-VIth century, which was preserved untouched in its lower parts. It had survived numerous earthquakes, though with ugly reparations of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries.

After the destruction of this church it became evident that its foundation lay upon the walls of a pre-Christian temple, also of large dimensions.

Numerous burials of pagan epoch, in clay-vessels (*karases*) were unearthed in its surroundings. Similar burials were discovered during the constructional works in various parts of the center of the city, especially near Gnuni and Allahverdian streets, between the river Getar to Kozern. This fact is rather important and gives an indication of the location of the ancient Erevan.⁶

There is a potentially significant and mysterious discrepancy between the three churches mentioned and the existing data. We have three names in the literature — Erkeresni, Poghos-Petros and Kathoghike — but only two monuments — Poghos-Petros and Kathoghike.

It is striking that, in all written sources mentioning those monuments, it never happens that all three names appear simultaneously. Excepting the Kathoghike, the two other names are mentioned only by one in a single source, i.e. either one (Erkeresni) or the other (Poghos-Petros). It is, therefore, natural to ask whether we are not dealing with the same monument under the two names, one after the saints, the other, by its location in Erevan, which corresponds to the place of Poghos-Petros.

Thus, if we consider that, the church of Poghos-Petros and Erkeresni are the same monument, then the information by Daranaghetzi is also in agreement with the large size of the basilica, as was correctly noticed by S. Lisitzian.

6. Kathoghike and Erevan in History

Kathoghike and Poghos-Petros, as well as Erkeresni (irrespective of whether they are the same monument or not) are situated in the old part of the city, in so-called “Old Erevan” (“Shnar” of the Persian period), as distinct from the “New Erevan” (the fortified part).

All these three buildings are of the same epoch, Vth-VIIth century, all are three-nave basilicas, the type which dominated in early Christian Armenia. If so, then, it is interesting, what was representing Erevan in that epoch, having two or three big temples, one of which (Erkeresni = Poghos-Petros) was the residence of a bishop, while the Kathoghike had the functions of a cathedral; comparable with the Cathedral-Kathoghike in Ani and Arakelotz in Ani as a bishop’s residence.

This problem is partly illuminated by the manuscript known as « գիրք բղթոց » indicating the primary role of Erevan in that epoch. Either in the late VIth or the early VIIth century (594 or 607), the *catholicos* Abraham of Armenia had organized a religious congress in Dvin, to discuss the

⁶ A. Kalantar, 1933, *Soviet Armenia*.

ideological-religious-political problems then actual in Byzantine and in the Middle East. The bishops participating represented all the regions of Armenia then included in Byzantine Empire. By their signatures, the participants demonstrated their support and protection for the Armenian Apostolic Church. Among the participants of that congress, we find the names of David and Jojik from Erevan; the first one presumably, as an official delegate, the second, as a simple participant. Other regions, including Echmiadzin were represented only by one person.

The surviving official report of the congress provides a detailed list of the monasteries and their spiritual hierarchs, the participants. Among the 19 names mentioned, 15 had basilicas in the V-VIth centuries, which have survived up to now; the types of the temples of the remaining 4 names are unknown to me.

Hence the basilica was the dominant style of that epoch and its existence in Erevan would not be considered surprising. The existence of two or three basilicas would indicate at least the non-secondary importance of Erevan in that epoch.

Besides Erevan, also its vicinities are rich with basilicas — Garni, Eghvard, Parbi, Ashtarak, Ohanavank, Mughni, Karbi, Oshakan, Echmiadzin, Noragavit, etc. — indicating that the V-VIth centuries were flourishing period for constructional activity. Along with basilicas, many of those towns possessed also beautiful constructions of the next VIIth century — Hripsime, Zvartnotz, Ptghni, Dzag, Avan, Ashtarak, etc.

In the V-VIIIth centuries Erevan was in the center of the political and cultural life then flourishing in Armenia. The political events were largely determined by Greek-Persian political plans, and in 591 Armenia was divided between them, while the border, according to some sources, passed via Erevan.

Numerous noted cultural and political figures were related with this environment, i.e. Mesrop Mashtotz (creator of Armenian alphabet) buried in Oshakan, Ghazar Parbetzi, Movses Eghvardetzi (the renovator of Armenian calendar), Hovhan Avanetzi, Komitas Aghtznetzi (constructor of Hripsime), David Aramustzi, Hakob Garnetzi, Gevorg Oshakantzi, Hovsep Parbetzi, Zakaria Dzagetzi, Gevorg Garnetzi, Mashtotz Eghvardetzi, Hovhannes Draskhanakertzi and many, many others.

The environment of Erevan in that epoch — the VI-VIIIth centuries — was within the arena of strong ideological struggles. The two priorities of the social-political life of Armenian society were concentrated in the controversy between the Chalcedonian and anti-Chalcedonian orientations, which was closely linked with the Greek and Persian influences. We are not aware whether there existed any territorial border between those streams, we only know that Avan, where Johan, the leader of Chalcedonianism supporters was setting, and is very near to Erevan, was against Echmiadzin.

On which side was Erevan? The existence of frescos in Poghos-Petros, an indication of Chalcedonianism, presumably seems to favor its influence in Erevan. If so, Erevan was a rival of Echmiadzin. This tradition might have continued in later centuries, e.g. in 1620, when two *catholicoses* had their residence in Erevan, just in Kathoghike church.

Maybe this is the solution of the mystery why Erevan is not well represented in the literature of the time: it was merely neglected by the authors supporting anti-Chalcedonian ideas, the center of which was Echmiadzin.⁷

⁷ Let me recall a similar example from the history of neighboring Georgia and its Mtkheta patriarchate. Georgian available written sources do not contain any record about famous cultural activity of Christian Georgians in the Holy Land, in Palestine, while a detailed information about them contain numerous foreign sources. The reason presumably

The participation of two persons in the congress of Abraham might also indicate the aim of the organizers : to ensure the representation from areas with unstable orientation but having political importance.

Thus, we see that in the V-VIIIth centuries, in a period of intense political and cultural struggles, Erevan and its environment were not of secondary importance, and their study must be added to the topics of particular attention, along with the whole complex of documentary sources. The Kathoghike church of Erevan is among them, and can throw light on the life of the epoch, which was full of dramatic events for Armenian history.

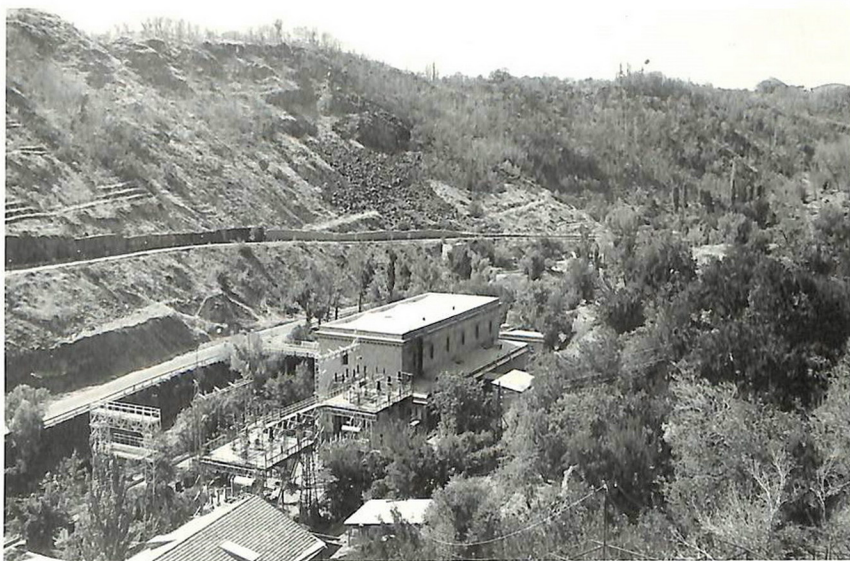
Erevan, 1937

was in their ideological differences (see N. Marr, 1917, The Synode of the Cross-Church, *Bibliotheca Armeno-Georgica* VI).

NOTES

PREHISTORIC FINDS IN EREVAN *

The location was the place of the new hydro-electrical plant in Erevan, to the west-north of the city, in the Zangu (the modern Hrazdan) canyon. This was about 3 months ago, during the work on the construction of the plant, when the path of the river was shifted. Suddenly an ancient tomb was unearthed, and obviously was immediately destroyed. The only surviving good was a clay vessel 7.5-8 cm height, with a curved inner surface, slightly smoothed at bottom, and with a wide mouth. It is primitively made, badly fired, which, along with the investigation of the place of its discovery, enables me to conclude the following. The unearthed tomb was situated in a flat-stone layer, 7 or 8 m below the present ground level. Judging by its form, it can be considered an ancestor of a



The hydro-electric plant in the Hrazdan canyon. The Upper Palaeolithic remains were found during the construction of the plant.

* First published in *Soviet Armenia* 51, 1925.

dolmen, made of unworked stones. Near the clay vessel 4 or 5 stone tools were found. Aside from these, which were made exclusively of obsidian, nothing else was found. Of the human bones, only a small part of a jaw with only one tooth had survived.

About 15 m from that tomb, below the bottom of the river, but in the former bed of the river, which was then being excavated for the construction of the plant, some stone rows were found. The stones were simple flat pieces, of the same stone type as the big stone. The row of stones, though not resembling artificial masonry, nevertheless meant that their position was by no means accidental. Presumably, they formed a rectangular room, with the length of each wall about 11-12 m. Later, another tomb was unearthed near the first one, where another clay vessel was found, smaller than the first, but of the same type; Likewise three obsidian tools and one jaw, which is apparently of a mule.

These finds are definitely related to the prehistoric finds in Tzitzernakaberd, which hung over the canyon just above this site. These remnants are extremely important, since they can be attributed to the last phase of the Upper Palaeolithic. The dating of the clay vessels can be made by means of the stone tools, all being made of obsidian, which was a typical material for the Palaeolithic.

EREVAN AS AN ANCIENT CITY *

Erevan is mentioned as a city in Urartian cuneiform inscriptions of the VIIIth century BC found in Armenia. However, the location of a city of that name is unknown to us. We do not know whether the city that existed three thousand years ago was situated in the same area as the present city. In its suburbs, certainly, there are abundant remnants of material culture which could support various assumptions.

The solution to this problem has a large historical and cultural importance not only from the point of view of the history of Erevan, but also for the history of Armenia in the Chaldean and especially pre-Chaldean epochs. This can specify more precisely the direction of the movement of the Urartians from the Ararat valley towards Sevan, when the Sarduri, the son of Argishti, had conquered the city of Erevan (Iruyani-Urayani) and had reconstructed its old palace. The present Erevan has not preserved such an exhibit of material culture which can directly indicate that ancient epoch, and had kept busy the scholars with the problem of the location of a more ancient city. We now have a possibility to approach more definitely to that problem and to speak more argued about the identity of present Erevan and the city of that name (in the sense of their location), given the enough solid facts obtained during the constructional works of recent years.

During those works remnants of material culture have been discovered by chance, particularly, tombs (clay-sarcophagus), which were located at the area of present streets Gnuni, Allahverdyan, Nalbandian, in direction of the Getar river, as well as at the place of the construction of the present government house. This is indicating that, in those ancient times the population was mainly occupying the area near Getar and approximately the central part of the present city.

These data presently have been enriched by important remnants which were unearthed in the place of Poghos-Petros (Paul and Peter) church and which are linking the areas of the government house and river Getar, and thus are not only completing the data and proving the existence of the city

* First published in *Soviet Armenia* 232, 1933.

in that area but are making more definite its topography. In the place of the church of Poghos-Petros a cinema is presently being constructed, and during the unearthing of the basement of the church, in 2-4 m depth, parts of walls in various directions have been revealed.

It became clear that the basement of the Poghos-Petros church has been erected on walls of a more ancient and larger building. Those walls have been constructed from big, well processed and properly adjusted stones of red vulcanite tuf, had high basement and were erected by using of a mixture. In view of the direction of the main walls, north-east and south-west, and the fact that in the same layer there are clay-sarcophagi tombs, it is out of doubt that this building belongs to a pre-Christian period. To this assumption does not contradict the high processing technique of the building, which carries elements even more ancient than the oldest monuments of Christian period. By the style it gives an impression of a classic construction of its period of flourishing (I-IIInd centuries AD). This is not all. To the north from the mentioned classic building (closer to Abovian street) and more deeper, in about 4.50-6.00 m depth, a part of another wall has been unearthed, made of large, processed pieces of basalt, without mixture ; a stone floor has been unearthed near that wall. These features of the construction technique are directly related with the Urartian period (VIII-VIIIth centuries BC).

These conclusions were drawn based on the broken fragments spread over the site, the condition in which we had the possibility to see them during our chance visit to the construction of the cinema. At the same time, we became the witness of behavior of the workers with absence of any respect to those cultural remnants. Irrespective to republican and all-Union regulations the church of Poghos-Petros has been destroyed without any archaeological control and numerous values, inscriptions, sculptures, important architectural elements, either were destroyed or lost. Their fragments are now covering the site or have been used as a material at the construction of the newly built baths. Now when the archaeological survey of the site has been decided by the officials, it is very important to organize the excavations of the survived parts of the walls, to reveal and thoroughly study the remnants which have a unique historical value.

DISCOVERY OF A PRE-URARTIAN DWELLING NEAR LENINAKAN *

Excavations performed by the archaeological expedition of the Institute of the History of the Culture of Armenia (Prof. A. Kalantar — supervisor, E. Bayburatian, S. Barkhudarian) in the south-east of Leninakan (now Gyumri, Ed.), in an area of a meat-factory under construction, have led to a rather important scientific result.

The prospecting of the site — particularly over 1 km along the trench for a pipeline — revealed the existence of a large area of ruins under a thick layer of soil. These were traces of ancient dwellings consisting of separate houses, and a necropolis situated on an adjacent hill. The houses are rectangular, half-underground, with simple large-stone masonry. Their roofs were wooden, supported by wooden pillars, as one can deduce from the surviving primitive stone bases. The tombs are of two types — of soil, and box-like made with capstones. The skeletons everywhere are in a contracted

* First published in *Problems of the History of Pre-Capitalist Society*, State Academy for History of Material Culture (GAJMK) 9-10, Leningrad, 1934.

position, oriented from north-east to south-west. The tombs are for both single individuals and groups. Stone tools (Neolithic), a wide range of pottery and ceramics (with rich ornamentation), bone-tools as well as bronze objects were discovered in the tombs and in the houses. The workers reported that they had found an iron sword-hilt like tool ; unfortunately we failed to locate it. The tools both in the tombs and the houses are homogeneous in material, type and manufacturing technique.

This information and the two clearly noticeable layers in the construction of houses indicate the long duration of the dwellings. In accordance with the material data, it can be attributed to the early first millennium BC. One of the discoveries in the dwellings, the first one up to now in Armenia, has particular importance for the characterization of the trade of that society and presumably in ancient Armenia in general. It represents a fragment of a bivalve stone-mould for the casting of bronze axes (one half was found). This was complemented by the discovery of a smelting workshop. A furnace with a thick ash layer is located in its center, and there is a heap of slag nearby. A pottery vessel of a conical internal shape, probably a tool for casting or burning, was found in the same place.

The fact of the discovery of a workshop and a stone-mould is doubtless an argument in favor of the local processing of copper and bronze by the natives of Armenia. It particularly supports the local origin of the bronze axes ; the latter conclusion being drawn for the first time. The origin of the axes discovered previously in Armenia has been attributed to other countries, "centers of bronze cultures" of Minor Asia.

The presence of a thick layer of ashes and coal over the entire site of the dwelling enables us to conclude that it was destroyed by a fire. We can presumably connect its fall with the invasion of the Urartians into northern Armenia in VIIIth century BC. One can find direct indications in the Urartian cuneiform inscriptions supporting this assumption. The dwelling is located in the center between Marmashen-Ganlija (Shirak region) and Gulijan (Aragatz), where the invasional inscriptions of Argishti are preserved. The Urartian cuneiform chronicle on the rock in Van describing the invasions of Argishti and Sarduri, mentions the country of Eriahji numerous times. This corresponds to the Shirak-Aragatz area and gives the detailed list of invasions (7-8) organized by these conquerors to Eriahji and having completely destroyed the latter.¹

In conclusion I should like to stress the extreme importance of this discovery for the ancient history of Armenia and the necessity of its thorough study.

AN IMPORTANT ARCHAEOLOGICAL FIND *

The efforts of the Commission of the Ancient Monuments have been marked with a unique find. The head of a stone sculpture delivered from Dvin last Sunday is of a great historical importance.

It is definitely a head of a sculpture of a king, broken from the neck and missing a part of the face up to the mouth. Very few similar examples representing oriental kings have reached us. Both the technique and form of the newly found head have an archaic style, revealing several features which make it a unique among the known similar exhibits.

¹ N.Y. Marr, 1916, The Inscription of Sarduri on the Van Rock, *Archaeological Expedition to Van*, Leningrad, p. 45.

* First published in *Soviet Armenia* 25, 1925.

Judging by the stylistic features, this monument has to be attributed to one of the kings of the most ancient Armenian dynasties. The Commission was informed of this important monument about a month ago by S. Ter-Hakobian, the head of Echmiadzin museum. Having heard about the head 7-8 years ago, S. Ter-Hakobian tried to find its location. The Commission had considered the importance of the news and had asked S. Ter-Hakopian to continue the searches in the Dvin site. However this had not led to any results, until the active support by the deputy premier minister Mravian and the local administration. This resulted in the finding of the head on January 25, 1925.

The head was discovered by chance about 25-30 years ago in the Dvin area. Maragulov, a teacher, was interested and kept it. Unfortunately, later the head was lost out of neglect. The Commission intends to perform excavations at the site to find the missing parts of the sculpture.

The height of the part discovered is 39 cm. It is clear that the sculpture was life-size. The crown on the head has the form of a crossed cone. Jewelry adorns both sides of the crown, descending along the ears. Empty pits (6 cm) are all that remains of the eyes, which presumably will have been made of inlays using precious stones. Still, it is difficult to say anything definite about the origin of the sculpture, its period and especially to whom it should be attributed. What we can claim already now, is that there should be no doubt about the attribution of the sculpture to an Armenian king. The type of the crown is of that of the Tigranides, with small modifications of elements.

That type obviously was preserved by the Arshakides, and the sculpture has been attributed to one of the last of those kings. This suggestion takes account of the crosses covering the rings in the ear-jewelry. Typologically, the crosses are of IV-Vth century date, unless it is contended that they are an ornament of an even earlier epoch. My assumption about the date is supported by the soft type of stone, the head being made of vulcanite lava.

This epoch of Armenian history has to be considered as of particular importance for us, since there are no material remnants of the Arshakuni Christian kings. This had led to certain exaggerated claims in the literature, especially concerning Armenian-Sasanian cultural relations. Until now the only known discovery of an Armenian king's painting-sculpture made in Armenia was that of the king Gagik Bagratuni (X-XIth cent.), found by Marr in Ani in 1906.

URARTIAN INSCRIPTIONS OF VAN

Unpublished Photographs of the Second Van Archaeological Expedition (1917)

Photographed by Ashkharbek Kalantar

With a comment by Mirjo Salvini

Foreword by Aram Kalantarian

In July-September 1917 the Russian Imperial Archaeological Society had organized the second Van expedition, with the participation of Nicholas Adontz and Ashkharbek Kalantar, to continue the studies of the first Van expedition of 1916 (Marr and Orbeli). The extensive program of the expedition included 10 directives, among them the study of Urartian cuneiform inscriptions dealt with by A. Kalantar. According to Kalantar's reports, the expedition was very successful: the materials of the expedition included photos and squeezes of about 50 cuneiform inscriptions, among them over 10 new discoveries.

The following is the telegram sent by Kalantar to his teacher Nicholas Marr upon his arrival in Tbilisi:

August 30, 1917

Dear Nikolay Yakovlevich,

I'm in a hurry to inform you with telegraphic brevity that our expedition has successfully completed its task and yesterday, on August 29, arrived in Tbilisi. We accomplished the goals of the program as far as this was possible. We visited and investigated in detail the regions of Van (city and vicinity), Archak, Timar, Berkri and Bajaset. We have collected a large amount of material, including more than 250 negatives. Nikolay Georgievich (Adontz, [Ed.]) is leaving in two or three days and will reach Petrograd after a stop on his way. It is now forbidden to leave for Petrograd, yet we will leave at the first possibility.

Askharbek

Tbilisi, Sudebnaya Str. 42

The roads to St. Petersburg (then Petrograd) remained closed, however, for a far longer period than they might have expected due to the start of turbulent times in Russia. Kalantar initially had to

stay in Tbilisi, teaching at the newly established Transcaucasian University (1918-1919), and then in Erevan, where he became one of the founding members of Erevan University (1919).

Only in the early 1920s did Kalantar have the possibility of returning to the materials of the Van Expedition. He prepared them for publication under the editorship of Marr. Unfortunately, the finished galley proofs were damaged in the printing house of the Academy of Sciences during the flood of 1924 in St. Petersburg.

Although Kalantar's collection of glass negatives of the Urartian inscriptions was known among scholars, and although certain items among the recorded inscriptions were quoted by Lehmann-Haupt, Goetze, Reinach, Marr, Meshchaninov, and Melikishvili, the collection remained unpublished. In the late 1920s Kalantar again turned his attention to the Urartian inscriptions and published three papers on the inscriptions found in the Republic of Armenia, among them the first reading of two newly discovered inscriptions — Janfida and Nor Bajaset (see A. Kalantar, 1994, *From the Stone Age to the Middle Ages*, Neuchatel, Paris).

On the next pages we present pieces of Kalantar's collection from the material of the 1917 Expedition that survived in the archives. In September 2000 astrophysicist V. Gurzadyan, grandson of Kalantar, visited Van and took images of the Van fortress, and especially of the inscription on the slope of the fortress hill. The latter is reproduced below.



Present situation of the niche where was the inscription of Sarduri II. Compare with Fig. 29 on p. 66. V. Gurzadyan, September 2000.

LES INSCRIPTIONS URARTENNES PHOTOGRAPHIEES
PAR ASHKHARBEBEK KALANTAR EN 1917

identifiées et commentées par Mirjo Salvini

Vues de Van Kalesi

- 1 - Van Kalesi (Shamiramakert) en 1917. Versant sud, partie centrale. Au sommet, les ruines des bâtiments ottomans, aujourd'hui disparus.
- 2 - Van Kalesi. La partie centrale du versant nord en 1917.
- 3 - Van Kalesi en 1917. Le versant sud, partie occidentale, avec les grottes de Khorkhor où se trouvent les annales et les chambres rupestres d'Argišti I (ca. 785-755 av. J.-C.).

Pour les inscriptions ¹, on mentionnera — s'ils sont connus — le lieu de trouvaille, le lieu de conservation et la publication dans les *corpora* *CICH*, *Hchl*, *KUKN*, **UCT*, *UKN*. Elles sont présentées selon un ordre plus ou moins chronologique, avec l'indication du roi et avec un bref commentaire du contenu.

CICH = C.F. Lehmann-Haupt, 1928-35, *Corpus Inscriptionum Chaldicarum*, Berlin, Leipzig.

Hchl = F.W. König, 1955-57, *Handbuch der chaldischen Inschriften* (= *Afo Beih.* 8, Graz.

KUKN = N.V. Arutjunjan, 2001, *Korpus urartskich klinoobraznykh nadpisej*, Erevan.

**UCT* = M. Salvini, *Urartian Cuneiform Texts* (en préparation).

UKN = G.A. Melikišvili, 1960, *Urartskie klinoobraznye nadpisi*, Moskva.

UKN II = G.A. Melikišvili, *Urartskie klinoobraznye nadpisi II. Otkritija i publikacii 1954-1970 gg.*, *VDI* 1971/3, 229-255 ; 4, 267-293.

SARDURI I (ca. 840-825 av. J.-C.)

- 4 - Mur ouest de la *Sardursburg* où se trouvent trois des six duplicata de l'inscription de fondation en langue assyrienne de Sarduri I.
- 5 - Sarduri I. Un des duplicata de l'inscription de fondation du "mur" (= quai) de la *Sardursburg*, au pied de Van Kalesi, à l'extrémité ouest (*CICH* 1 = *Hchl* 1a = *KUKN* 1 = *UKN* 1).
- 6 - Sarduri I. Détail de 5 (*CICH* 1 = *Hchl* 1a = *KUKN* 1 (détail) = *UKN* 1).

¹ Les négatifs de ces images ont beaucoup soufferts depuis leurs développements, il y a maintenant plus de quatre-vingts ans : nous les reproduisons tout de même ici, car dans bien des cas ces monuments sont aujourd'hui détruits, s'ils n'ont pas totalement disparus.

7 - Sarduri I. *Idem* n° 5, mais il s'agit ici du second duplicata (*CIch* 2 = *Hchl* 1b = *KUKN* 2 = *UKN* 2).

8 - Sarduri I. Détail de 7 (*CIch* 2 = *UKN* 2 = *Hchl* 1b = *KUKN* 2).

IŠPUINI et MINUA (co-régence, ca. 815-805 av. J.-C.)

9 - Išpuini et Minua. Inscription dans la niche rupestre de Meher Kapisi, près de Van (*CIch* 10 = *Hchl* 10 = *KUKN* 38 = *UKN* 27). Liste de sacrifices d'animaux pour tout le panthéon urartéen.

10 - Išpuini et Minua. Stèle de Charakonis (Karagündüz, sur le lac Erçek), découverte en 1898 par C.F. Lehmann-Haupt dans l'église arménienne de ce village où elle était réutilisée comme pierre de seuil. La photo montre le coin gauche de la stèle en train de se détacher. Cette partie du texte est aujourd'hui perdue. La stèle se trouve au Musée de Van (*CIch* 15 [Pl. 43, 44] = *Hchl* 7 = *KUKN* 35 = *UKN* 24). Le texte commémore l'expédition contre la ville de Mešta (= Hasanlu Tépé) et le pays de Paršua, une des pâlus anciennes mentions des Perses.

11 - Išpuini et Minua. Stèle trouvée dans l'église de Surb Pogos (détruite) située dans la vieille ville de Van (*Hchl* 6 = *KUKN* 33 = *UKN* 22). Musée de Van.

MINUA, fils d'IŠPUINI (ca. 805-785 av. J.-C.)

Inscriptions rupestres :

12 - Minua. Inscription rupestre du canal de Minua (*in situ*)², à Artemid (Edremit), au sud de Van (*CIch* 35 = *Hchl* 29b = *KUKN* 61 = *UKN* 44).

13 - Minua. Inscr. rupestre du canal de Minua (*in situ*), à Katepants (*CIch* 34 [Pl. 17] = *Hchl* 29a = *KUKN* 60 = *UKN* 43).

14 - Minua. Détail de 13.

15 - Minua. Inscription rupestre du canal de Minua (*in situ*) à Aşağı Micingir, au sud de Van (*CIch* 36 = *Hchl* 29c = *KUKN* 62 = *UKN* 45).

16 - Minua. Inscription rupestre sur le canal de Minua (*in situ*) à Katepants (*CIch* 45A [Pl. 52] = *Hchl* 30h = *KUKN* 72 = *UKN* 55).

17 - Minua. Détail de 17.

18 - Inscription rupestre de Katepants, près du canal de Minua. Commémore la fondation du vignoble de Tariria, épouse de Minua (*CIch* 57 [Pl. 22] = *Hchl* 40 = *KUKN* 137 = *UKN* 111).

Inscriptions sur des stèles ou sur des matériaux de construction :

19 - Minua. Partie inférieure d'une stèle (recto) provenant d'un "sanctuaire aux stèles"³ de Berkri (Muradiye), situé sur le littoral nord-est du Lac Van (*CIch* 29 = *Hchl* 74 = *KUKN* 41 = *UKN* 99). Le fragment est jointif avec Karahan 5 (M. Dinçol, E. Kavaklı, 1978 : *Die neuen urartäischen Inschriften aus der Umgebung von Van* (= *Jahrbuch für Kleinasiatische Forschungen*, Beihh. 1), Istanbul). Musée archéologique d'Istanbul. Les deux fragments deviennent *UCT A5-28.

² Connu comme le Canal de Sémiramis.

³ Cf. M. Salvini, Reflections about the Urartian Shrines of the Stelae, *Studies in Honor of Nimet Özgüç*, Ankara 1993, 543-548 (Pl. 93).

- 20 - Minua. *Idem* n° 19, verso (*CICH* 29 = *Hchl* 74 = *KUKN* 41 = *UKN* 99).
- 21 - Stèle de Minua de provenance inconnue, publiée d'abord par M. Israelian d'après un estampage conservé au Musée Historique d'Erévan (*UKN* II 382). L'estampage reproduit ici ne porte qu'une partie du texte inscrit au verso de la stèle, dont la formule de malédiction. La stèle dont le recto est également connu appartient à la série de duplicata de Minua qui ont révélé l'existence d'un "sanctuaire de stèles" situé sur le littoral nord-est du Lac Van (voir aussi les n° 19 et 20).
- 22 - Minua. Inscription trouvée au monastère de Kohbants, à l'est de Van (*CICH* 66 [Pl. 60] = *Hchl* 42 = *KUKN* 91 = *UKN* 73). Commémore la fondation d'un temple-tour (susé en ur.). Musée de Van.
- 23 - Minua. Inscription provenant de Berkri (Muradiye) (*CICH* 47 (Pl. 54) = *Hchl* 32 = *KUKN* 74 = *UKN* 57). Localisation actuelle inconnue.
- 24 - Minua. Inscription trouvée à Ererin, près de Van. Actuellement au Musée de Van (*CICH* 88 (Pl. 58) = *Hchl* 62a = *KUKN* 125 = *UKN* 100). Le contenu de ce texte est obscur.
- 25 - Inscription probablement de Minua (*UKN* II 382a = Salvini ZA 61, 1971, 250 sqq. = *KUKN* 478 = **UCT* A 5-71). Trouvé vraisemblablement dans la région de Van. Localisation actuelle inconnue.
- 26 - Minua. Stèle trouvée à Gusak (= Köşk) commémorant la fondation d'une "porte de Haldi" et d'une forteresse ainsi que la création d'un vignoble et d'un verger (*CICH* 56 [Pl. 19] = *Hchl* 41 = *KUKN* 82 = *UKN* 65). Localisation actuelle inconnue.
- 27 - Minua. Inscription de 3 lignes sur une base de colonne (?), trouvée à Oskebak, près de Van. *CICH* 74 (Pl. 42) = *Hchl* 53a = *KUKN* 107 = *UKN* 82.
- 28 - Minua. Inscription incomplète relatant la construction d'un édifice. Musée de Van. Inédite.

SARDURI II, fils d'ARGIŠTI II (755- ca. 730 av. J.-C.)

- 29 - Annales de Sarduri II (*CICH* 132, Pl. 33 = *Hchl* 103 = *KUKN* 241 = *UKN* 155), dans la niche de droite de Hazine Kapisi, sur le côté nord de Van Kalesi. Situation à l'époque des fouilles de la mission Marr-Orbeli en 1916-17 ; voir : N. Marr et I. Orbeli, *Archeologičeskaja ekspedicija 1916 goda v Van. Raskopki dvuch niš na Vanskoj Skale i nadpisi Sardura vtorogo iz raskopok zapadnoj niši*, Peterburg 1922.

Les morceaux de la stèle se trouvent aujourd'hui au Musée de Van, mais ceux de la base sont toujours dans la niche (voir la fig. à la p. 50).

- 30 - Annales de Sarduri II (*CICH* 132, Pl. 34-35 = *Hchl* 103 § 13-14, § 3-9, = *KUKN* 241 B-E = *UKN* 155 B-E). Détail de la stèle lors de sa découverte.
- 31 - Annales de Sarduri II. Détail du socle de la stèle (*CICH* 132 = *Hchl* 103 § 15 = *KUKN* 241F = *UKN* 155 F). Réduit en pièces, les fragments se trouvent toujours dans la niche d'origine.

DIVERS

- 32 - Inscriptin non identifiable (Minua ?).
- 33 - Inscription non identifiée, sur une base de colonne incomplète. Vue de la base *in situ* et détail de l'inscription ; seule une partie de la titulature royale est visible : "roi puissant, seigneur de la ville de Tushpa".



1 - Van Kalesi (Shamiramakert) en 1917. Versant sud, partie centrale.

Page de droite :

2 - Van Kalesi. Le versant nord en 1917.

3 - Van Kalesi en 1917. Le versant sud, partie occidentale, avec les grottes de Khorkhor.

LES INSCRIPTIONS URARTÉNNES...





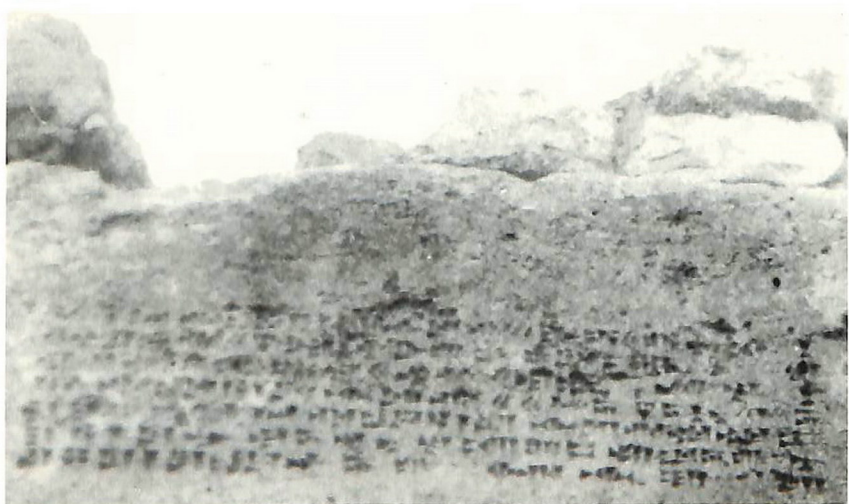
4 - Mur ouest de la Sardursburg où se trouvent trois des six duplicata de l'inscription de fondation de Sarduri I.

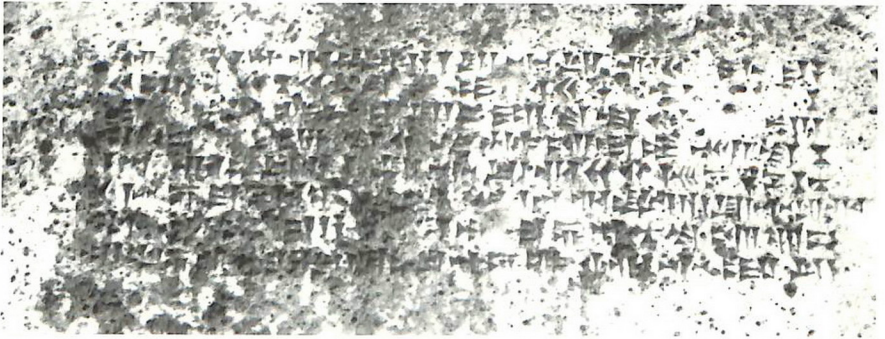
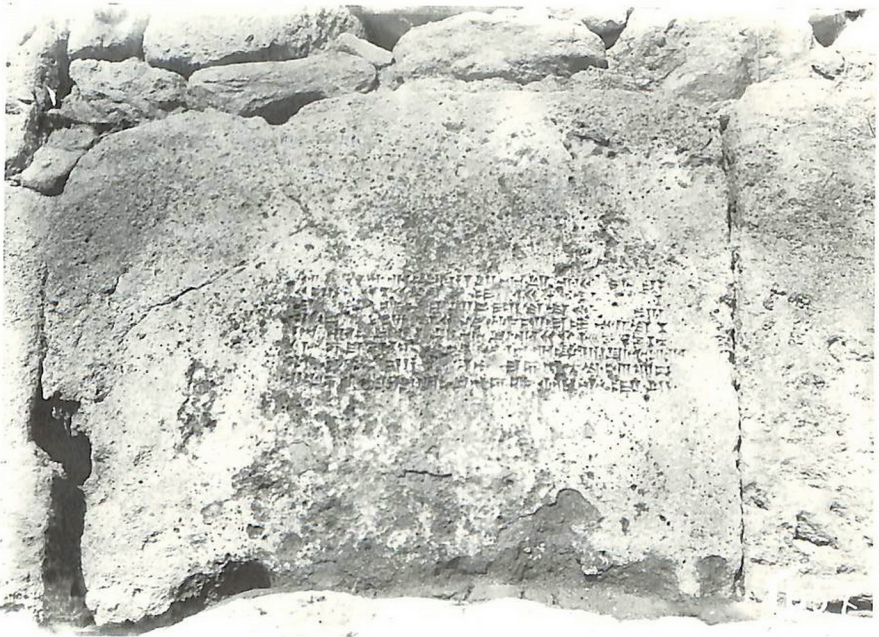
Page de droite :

5 - Sarduri I. Un des duplicata de l'inscription de fondation assyrienne du "mur"
(= quai) de la Sardursburg, au pied de Van Kalesi, à l'extrémité ouest.

6 - Sarduri I. Détail de 5.

LES INSCRIPTIONS URARTÉENNES...



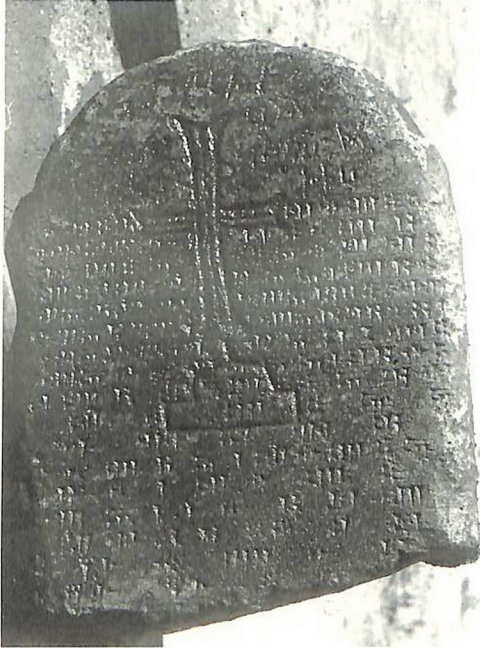


7 - Sarduri I. Idem n° 5, mais il s'agit ici du second duplicata.

8 - Sarduri I. Détail de 7.



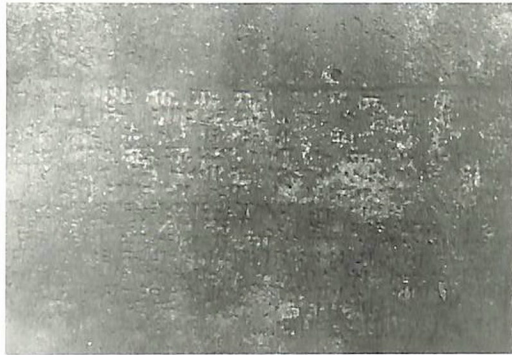
9 - *Ispuini et Minua. Inscription dans la niche rupestre de Meher Kapisi, près de Van.*



10 - Išpuini et Minua. Stèle de Charakonis (Karagündüz, sur le lac Erçek).

11 - Išpuini et Minua. Stèle trouvée dans l'église de Surb Pogos (détruite) située dans la vieille ville de Van.

LES INSCRIPTIONS URARTÉENNES...



12 - Minua. Inscription rupestre du canal de Minua (in situ), à Artemid (Edremit), au sud de Van.

13 - Minua. Inscr. rupestre du canal de Minua (in situ), à Katepants.

14 - En bas, détail de 13.



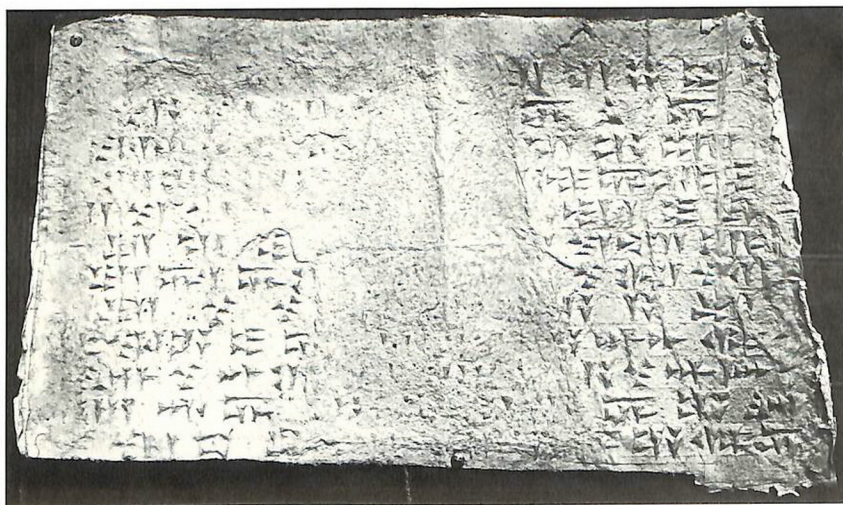
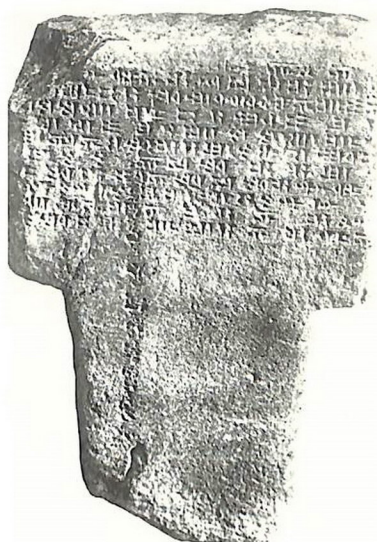
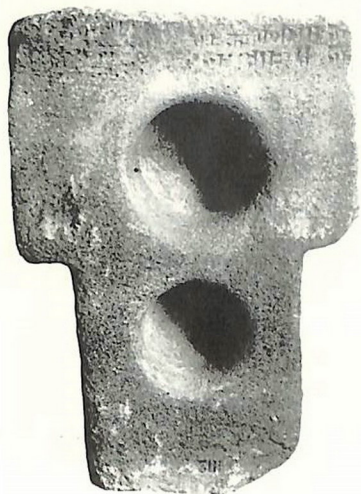
15 - Minua. Inscription rupestre du canal de Minua (in situ) à Aşağı Micingir, au sud de Van.

16 - Minua. Inscription rupestre sur le canal de Minua (in situ) à Katepants.

17 - En bas, détail de 16.

18 - Inscription rupestre de la reine Tariria à Katepants, près du canal de Minua.

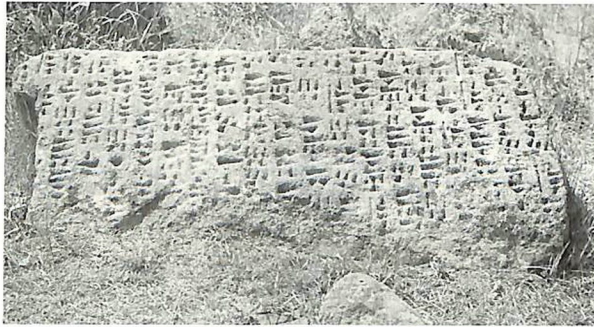
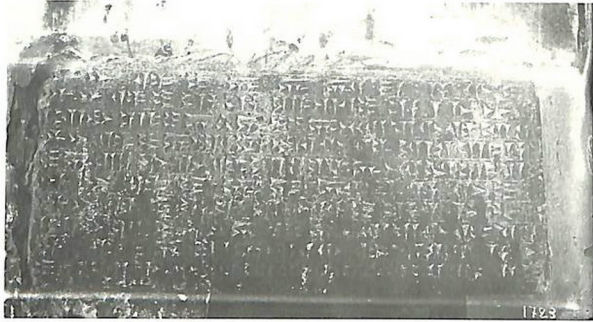
LES INSCRIPTIONS URARTÉNNES...



19 - Minua. Sanctuaire des stèles, recto.

20 - Minua. Idem n° 19, verso.

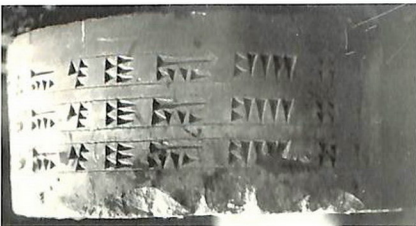
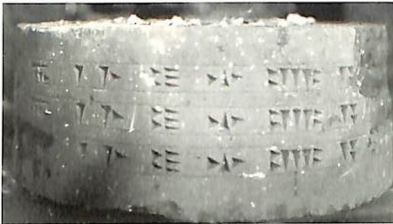
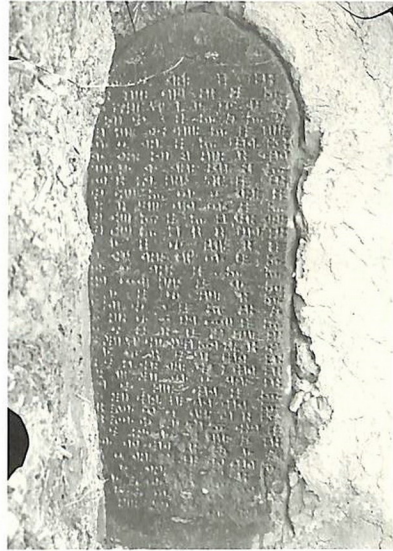
21 - Minua. Estampage d'une partie du texte d'une stèle de provenance inconnue.



22 - Minua. Inscription trouvée au monastère de Kohbants, à l'est de Van.

23 - Minua. Inscription provenant de Berkri (Muradiye).

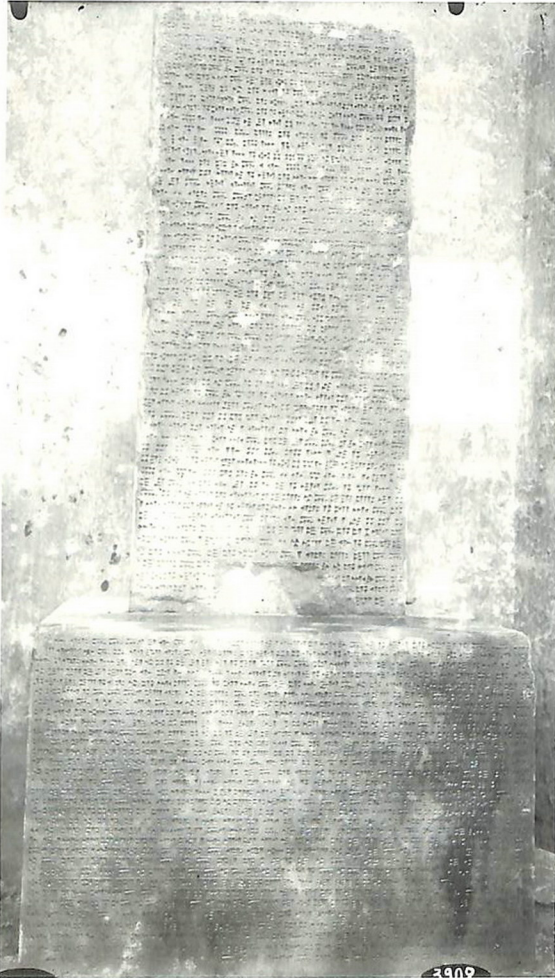
24 - Minua. Inscription trouvée à Ererin, près de Van.



- 25 - Inscription probablement de Minua. 26 - Minua. Stèle trouvée à Gusak (= Köşk) commémorant la fondation d'une "porte de Haldi" et d'une forteresse ainsi que la création d'un vignoble et d'un verger.
- 27 - Minua. 4 vues d'une inscription de 3 lignes sur une base de colonne (?), trouvée à Oskebak, près de Van.



28 - Minua. Inscription incomplète relatant la construction d'un édifice.



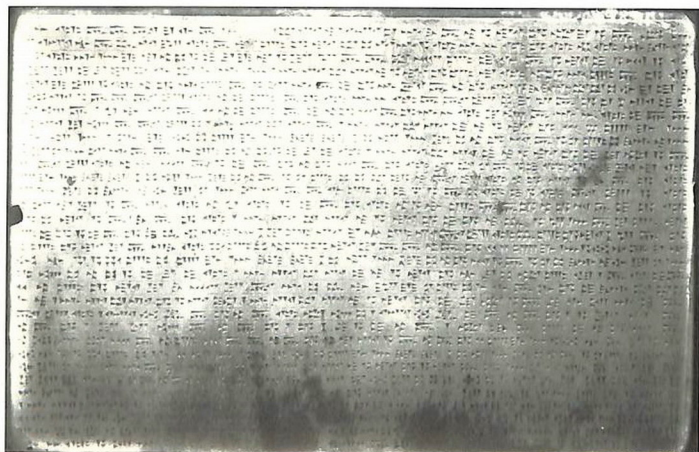
29 - Annales de Sarduri II (CICH 132, Pl. 33 = HchI 103 = KUKN 241 = UKN 155), dans la niche de droite de Hazine Kapisi, sur le côté nord de Van Kalesi.

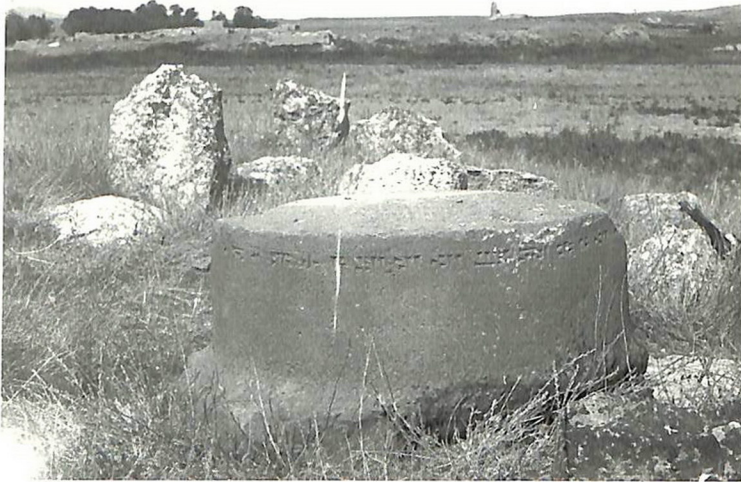
Page de droite :

30 - Annales de Sarduri II (CICH 132, Pl. 34-35 = HchI 103 § 13-14, § 3-9, = KUKN 241 B-E = UKN 155 B-E). Détail de la stèle lors de sa découverte.

31 - Annales de Sarduri II. Détail du socle de la stèle. CICH 132, Pl. 36 = Pour la situation actuelle, voir la fig. à la p. 50.

LES INSCRIPTIONS URARTÉNNES...





32 - Non identifiable (Minua ?).

33 - Inscription non identifiée, sur une base de colonne incomplète. Vue de la base in situ et détail de l'inscription.

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