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## ARMENO-IRANICA

I. Av. *raēva-*, *raēvant-*; Arm. *Bagrewand*, Gk. \**PHOYHNA*.

Av. *raēva-* 'rich, splendid, opulent' is an adjective formed from the base *ray-* 'wealth' (Gāthic *rāy-*, YAv. *rayay-*) with the suffix *-ya-*<sup>1</sup>. An analogous adjective *raēvant-* 'possessing wealth' is formed with the suffix *-vant-*. The concept of wealth is of particular significance in Zoroastrian theology. In the *Gāthās*, Zarathuštra asks of Ahura Mazdā *rāyō ašiš vanhēuš gaēm mananhō* 'the rewards of wealth and a life of good thinking' (Ysn. 43.1); according to S. Insler, these specify the attainments of the material and spiritual worlds which are sought from Ahura Mazdā<sup>2</sup>. The measured enjoyment of the good things of life, specifically of material wealth, is enjoined as a positive virtue in Zoroastrianism, which rejects otherworldly asceticism as a denial of the good creation of Ahura Mazdā. It is believed that the world was created, not as a place of testing or as a thing inferior to the spiritual world, but as a natural augmentation of the latter. The pollution of the material world by the onslaught of Angra Mainyu is regarded as a state to be fought, not a necessary concomitant of earthly life that must lead man to reject this world as a place of sorrows. The importance of the concept of wealth in Zoroastrianism is thus a moral attitude indivisible from the spiritual values of the religion, not a form of philosophical materialism separate from them, and accordingly the association of Phl. *xwarrah* (Av. *x<sup>v</sup>arənah-* 'glory') with *rāyōmandih*, the possession of riches, is frequent in the Phl. books, and in Skt. translations MP. *rāyōmand* 'possessing riches', rendering Av. *raēvant-* and *raēva-*, is translated by both *ṛddhimant-* 'rich' and *tejasvin-* 'majestic, splendid'<sup>3</sup>. Various *yazatas* are invoked by a formula in which their wealth and

<sup>1</sup> C. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch (AirWb.)*, Strassburg, 1904, cols. 1484, 1511, 1525; *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, hrsg. von W. Geiger, E. Kuhn, I, para. 200.

<sup>2</sup> S. Insler, tr., *The Gāthās of Zarathustra (Acta Iranica 8)*, Leiden, 1975, 231.

<sup>3</sup> H. W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian problems in the ninth-century books*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1971, 43-4.

glory are coupled (*ahē raya x<sup>v</sup>arənahhasča təm yazāi surunvata yasna* 'by the wealth and glory of this one shall I worship him with audible worship', Ysn. 57.3, etc.), and Ahura Mazdā is customarily called *raēvant-* and *x<sup>v</sup>arənavant-* (Ysn. 4.3), and is invoked in Phl. by the formula *pad nām ī dādār Ohrmazd ī rāyōmand ī xwarrahōmand* 'In the name of the Creator Ohrmazd, the rich, the glorious'. The chronicler of the conversion of the Armenians to Christianity by St. Gregory reproduces with scorn the prayer of Tiridates III for *liut' iwn parartut' ean yaroyn Aramazday* 'fullness of abundance from manly Aramazd' (Agathangelos, para. 127). Arm. *parart* 'fat, rich', apparently a Mlr. loanword<sup>4</sup>, conveys the same meaning as the Avestan and Pahlavi terms discussed above. Since other boons are asked of other *yazatas* in the prayer of Tiridates, it must be assumed that richness was regarded as a particular attribute of the Creator Himself by Armenian Zoroastrians.

The Mlr. form *rēw*, from Av. *raēva-*, is attested alone in the Georgian proper name  $\text{რევი}$  *Rev* (*რელ* *Rēw* in Arm. translation): according to the 8th century historian Leonti Mroveli, *Rev* was a 2nd century prince, son of one Vologases, and the grandfather of Bakur (Pacorus)<sup>5</sup>. These are both good Parthian Arsacid names, so it is reasonable to assume that *Rev*, too, is an Iranian name. In compounds, the element *rēw-* is found in Gk. transcription in the theophoric name *Rhēomithrēs*, mentioned by Arrian and Diodorus Siculus, a Persian whose son was appointed by Alexander of Macedon the satrap of Persis<sup>6</sup>. The name is found in Phl. in the patronymic form *lywmtr'n \*Rēw-Mihrān* in an inscription at Persepolis<sup>7</sup>. *Rēw-Ardašīr* 'Rich is Ardašīr', a city in Pārs, became a metropolis of the Church of Persia under the Sasanians between 415 and 420<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> A. Meillet, 'De quelques mots parthes en arménien,' *Revue des Études Arméniennes* II, 1922, 2, on Sgd. *pršt*.

<sup>5</sup> Leonti Mroveli, *C'xovreba k'art uel'ta mep'et'a*, ed. by S. Qubaneišvili, *Jveli k'art'uli literaturis k'restomat'ia*, I, Tiflis, 1946, 57-8, cit. by C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History*, Georgetown University Press, 1963, 83 n. 105; H. Ačātean, *Hayoc' anjanunneri bačaran*, repr. Beirut, 1972, IV, 317.

<sup>6</sup> Arrian, III, 18, 11; *PW* s.v. Rheomithres; F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg, 1895, 260.

<sup>7</sup> ŠPs I.7: see R. N. Frye, 'The Persepolis Middle Persian inscriptions', *Acta Orientalia* XXX, 1966, 84-5 and M. Back, *Die sassanidischen Staatsinschriften*, (*Acta Iranica* 18), Leiden, 1978, 255-6.

<sup>8</sup> A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 2nd ed., Copenhagen, 1944, 96; V. G. Lukonin, *Kul'tura sasanidskogo Irana*, Moscow, 1969, 72, 69; J. M. Fiey, *Communcutés syriaques en Iran et Irak des origines à 1552*, London, 1979, I, 281 *et passim*. The ruins of the city, now called Rīšahr, lie 10 km. S. of Būšahr (Razmārā, *Farhang-i joghrafiyā'ī-yi Irān*, VIII, Tehrān, 1330 Š., 120).

But the most important name connected with the epithet 'rich' in Iranian, particularly during the reign of the Arsacids, is that of Mount Rēwand, Av. Raēvant, where, according to Zoroastrian tradition, was enthroned Ādur Burzēn Mihr, a Zoroastrian sacred fire of the highest grade (Phl. *Ātaxš i Wahrām*). This fire seems to have been the most exalted in Parthian Iran, an object of devotion and pilgrimage. Burzēn Mihr, a personal name meaning 'Exalted is Mihr', is presumed to be the name of the founder of the fire; Burzēn is a Pth. form. In the Sasanian period, Ādur Burzēn Mihr was downgraded with respect to the two great western Iranian fires, Ādur Farnbag and Ādur Gušnasp; the latter were held to represent the classes of the priesthood and the warriors, while the guardianship of the lowly third estate of Iranian society, that of the herdsmen and farmers, was relegated to the Parthian fire. The precise location of Mt. Rēwand is not known, but the site is most likely to be identified with a spur of the Nīšāpūr mountains in Xorāsān, in a district once known as Rēwand<sup>9</sup>. The 5th cent. Arm. historian Łazar P'arpec'i calls Rēwand by the name Rēwan, *geawln moguc* 'the village of the Magi' (Ch. 57), and locates it 'six parasangs from Nīšāpūr, or perhaps still more, according to the measurements of the Persians' (Ch. 55).

The word 'rich' is itself an important religious epithet in Zoroastrianism, and, wherever the temple may have been, it is at least evident that because of its fame the mountain on which it stood gave its name, Rēwand, to the surrounding district, and it is suggested that a nearby village, Borzīnān, may likewise preserve an element of the name of the sacred fire itself<sup>10</sup>. In the 10th cent. there is mentioned in the Persian geography *Hudūd al-'ālam* a town named Rāvīnī, whose name V. Minorsky associated with Rēwand<sup>11</sup>. The alternation of -ē- and -ā- in NP. is attested locally in the *nisba* Rāvandī 'from Rāvand (i.e., Rēwand)' (12th cent.)<sup>12</sup>. The original name of the village was probably \*Rēw-ēn, with the adjectival suffix -ēn (cf. Pth. Burzēn, NP. Borzīn-ān),

<sup>9</sup> M. Boyce, 'Ādur Burzēn Mihr,' *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, I, (in press) and *Zoroastrians, their religious beliefs and practices*, London, 1979, 87-90, 123; K. Schippmann, *Die iranischen Feuerheiligtümer*, Berlin, 1971, 23-30. L. Vanden Berghe suggested that a *čahār tāq* in the Mihr Zamin plain 5 km. S. of the valley of Burzu, SW. of Tehrān and remote from Nīšāpūr, was the site of Ādur Burzēn Mihr (cit. by S. A. Matheson, *Persia: an archaeological guide*, Park Ridge, New Jersey, 1973, 187, 197).

<sup>10</sup> Boyce, 'Ādur Burzēn Mihr', op. cit.

<sup>11</sup> V. Minorsky, *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, 2nd ed., London, 1970, 326.

<sup>12</sup> R. W. Bulliet, *The patricians of Nishapur: a study in mediaeval Islamic social history*, Harvard Middle Eastern Studies 16, Cambridge, Mass., 1972, 76.

and it was most likely named after Mt. Rēwand, where the sacred fire was enthroned.

Since it will be suggested presently that two Armenian toponyms are borrowings of the Parthian Arsacid period and are connected to the cult of the fire of Burzēn Mihr, it is appropriate here briefly to note a similar case, for it is a common enough phenomenon in the history of the great religions for toponyms connected with important events or sacred precincts of a faith to be used in founding new settlements and places, or in renaming—and thus consecrating—old ones. According to Yt. V. 108, *taṃ yazata bərəzaidiš kava wištāspō pašne apəm frazdānaom* 'Kavi Vištāspa of lofty insight worshipped her (i.e., Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā) in sight of the water of Frazdānu'. In the Phl. *Šahristānīhā ī Ērān*, this legend is repeated: štr'st'n ZY bst bstwl (ZY) zlyl'n krt PWN ZK g's AMT wšt'spš'h dyn' yštn' PWN prcd'n YHWWNt W bwnk ZY wšt'sp W 'p'ryk w'spwhlk'n BYN YTYBWN'st. *Šahristān ī Bast Bastwar (i) Zarērān kard pad ān gāh ka Wištāspšāh dēn yaštan pad Frazdān būd ud bunag ī Wištāsp ud abāriḡ wāspuhragān andar nišāst*. 'The provincial capital Bast was built by Bastwar the son of Zarēr at the time that king Wištāsp was at Frazdān to worship the Religion, and the abode<sup>13</sup> of Wištāsp and the other courtiers was founded<sup>14</sup> there'<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Phl. *bunag* 'baggage; abode, camp' (D. N. MacKenzie, *A concise Pahlavi dictionary*, London, 1971, 20); the Arm. loan-word *bnak* 'dwelling' is found also with the ending *-ut'iwn*, with the same meaning. The latter form is used interchangeably in some Arm. texts with the abstract noun *bn-ut'iwn* 'nature', formed from the base *bun* 'stem, base, origin', also a Mīr. loan-word, from which are formed the adjectives *bnik*, *bnak* 'native' (see H. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1897, 121, 123). The words *bnakut'iwn* 'abode' and *bnut'iwn* 'nature, origin' are of similar appearance, and the alternation of the two in MSS. must be due in some cases to scribal error. But they are associated also in meaning, for one's home can be also the place of one's origin. In Arsacid Armenia, as in Iranian society, the legitimacy of a ruler rested on his hereditary claims to a domain—real or invented—and not upon mere possession, and the Arsacids are frequently impressed upon the reader of Classical Arm. texts as the *bnik* or *bnak* lords of Armenia, even when their deeds are condemned. Yet Parthia is still maintained as their *bnut'iwn* or *bnakut'iwn*. (On the use of the term *bnik tēr* 'native lord', see N.G. Garsoian, 'The Epic Histories Attributed to P'awstos Buzand', intro. to *P'awstos Buzand*, Classical Arm. Text Reprint Series, ed. J. Greppin (in publication) and 'Prolegomena to a Study of the Iranian Aspects in Arsacid Armenia', *Handēs Amsōreay* 90, Vienna, 1976, 180 and notes, on Arsacid legitimacy.) The 'home' and 'origin' of the Arsacids of Armenia were regarded, then, as one and the same thing, even if this led to logical inconsistencies—how could one be native to both Parthia and Armenia? The only apparent resolution would have been to include Armenia within Ērānšahr. In the pre-Christian centuries this was probably done; the daughter of the Armenian Artaxiad king Tigran II (95-56 B.C.) was named *Ariazatē* (attested only in Gk. transcription), i.e., 'daughter of an *arya*-' (see N.C. Debevoise, *A political history of Parthia*, Chicago, 1938, 47). The Parthian Arsacids of the 1st cent. A.D., according to Tacitus (*Annales*, XII, 52) regarded Armenia as an ancestral appanage.

The Phl. epic *Ayādgār i Zarērān* is apparently part of a larger epic cycle (of which only this fragment survives in its original verse form) acquired by the Persians from the Parthian minstrels of the northeast<sup>16</sup>, and the lake of Frazdān is located by the *Bundahišn* in Seistan; in Zoroastrian apocalyptic literature the seed of Zarathuštra is said to be preserved in the lake, and the three Saviors will arise from there<sup>17</sup>. The various strands of Kayanian legend concerning the lake of Frazdān and its association with the Zoroastrian faith were brought together by the Arsacid period (if not, indeed, earlier), when Iranian cultural and religious influence in Armenia was strongest, and the name Hrazdan, a NW Mİr. form, was given to the tributary of the Araxes which flows through the modern Armenian capital, Erevan. The name is first attested as *getn Hurazdan* 'the river Hurazdan'<sup>18</sup> in the *History of Sebēos* (7th cent.), while Movsēs Xorenac'i uses the apparently older form *Hrazdan*<sup>19</sup>. The Armenian Arsacid kings knew Parthia itself and regarded it as their homeland. King Tiridates III declares in a speech on his own prowess in various matters: *Zi zYunac' ašxarhn ew zHořomoc' k'aj gitem, ew zmer Part'ewac' kolmansn, vasn zi bnut'iwn isk ē mer, ew zAsorestan ew zTačkastan ew zAtrpatakan*. 'For I know the country of the Greeks and that of the Romans very well, and our regions of

The terms *bnut'iwn* and *bnakut'iwn* are relevantly attested in Agathangelos, para. 26: in return for the murder of the Arm. king Xosrov, the Sasanian king promises to an Arm. Arsacid nobleman of the Suren Pahlaw house named Anak (Pth., 'evil', more likely an epithet applied later to the regicide than his personal name) *zbnut'iwnn* (var. *zbnakut'iwnn*) *part'ewakan, zjer sep'akan Palhawn* 'the Parthian \*nature (abode), your own Parthia' (G. Tēr-Mkrč'ean, S. Kanayecanc', ed., *Agat'angelay Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, Tiflis, 1909, p. 20 lines 11-12).

<sup>14</sup> With the verb *nišāstan* 'to found, establish', causative of *nišastan* 'to sit' (see J. H. Kramers, 'The military colonisation of the Caucasus and Armenia under the Sassanids', *BSOS* VIII, 1935-7, 618, who cites also the Phl. form *nišāstag* 'settled'), it seems to be implied that Wištāsp founded his abode at Frazdān rather than merely pitching camp there; the more sedentary meaning of Arm. *bnak-ut'iwn* is discussed in the preceding fn. An appreciation of the greater prestige of Frazdān according to this distinction may be gained by comparing in American history the proverbially numerous notices 'George Washington slept here' to Mount Vernon.

<sup>15</sup> J. Markwart, ed. G. Messina, 'A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr', *Analecta Orientalia* III, 1931, p. 17 line 36.

<sup>16</sup> See M. Boyce, 'Middle Persian Literature', *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, hrsg. von B. Spuler, 1.4.2.1, Leiden, 1968, 56.

<sup>17</sup> Markwart-Messina, *op. cit.*, 86-7.

<sup>18</sup> The -u- must be anaptyctic rather than a false etymology from Mİr. *hu-* 'good', which in Arm. is represented in loan-words by *h-*: *hnar*, cf. Mİr. *hunar*.

<sup>19</sup> G. V. Abgaryan, ed., *Patmut'iwn Sebēosi*, Erevan, 1979, 84 and n. 26, where a MS. var. *Hrazdan* noted by an earlier editor is cited; although Xorenac'i may be a later author, *Hrazdan* must be the original form in Arm. (see Hübschmann, *Atm. Gr.*, 48).

Parthia — for it is even our home — as well as Asorestan<sup>20</sup>, Arabia and Atropatene' (Agathangelos, para. 203). Ctesiphon had replaced Nisa centuries earlier as the administrative capital of the Parthian empire, so the main reason for any trip by an Armenian Arsacid monarch of the pre-Christian period to Parthia would have been religious pilgrimage. There were a number of holy places in the area he may have visited, some of them well known to foreign writers of the period such as Isidore of Charax: the *pyr athanaton* 'immortal fire' at Asaak, where Arsaces I was crowned<sup>21</sup>; or the *basilikai taphai* 'royal tombs' of his own ancestors at Parthaunisa<sup>22</sup> and the holy fire of Burzēn Mihr itself, with the nearby cypress of Kišmar<sup>23</sup>.

The sacred city of the Armenian Arsacids, Bagawan, with its sacred fires, statues of the *yazatas*, and shrines of the royal ancestors, was in the province of Bagrewand. The name of the province in the latter form is found in numerous Armenian sources from the 5th century on, and in the Parthian period it is given by Ptolemy in Greek as *Bagrauandēnē*<sup>24</sup>. Al-Balādhurī has the name *بغروند* \**Bayrewand*<sup>25</sup>. Markwart suggested that the name be derived from OIr. \**bāya.raivanta-* 'rhubarb garden'<sup>26</sup> but later proposed another etymology, from \**baga- raēvanta-* 'of the rich Provider (Mithra)'<sup>27</sup>. The first etymology must be rejected, for although OIr. *bāga-* 'allotment, garden' is to be preferred to *baga-* 'god, provider' in the month of the Old Persian calendar Bāgayādi<sup>28</sup>, since a number of the names in that calendar apparently concern seasonal activities of sowing and harvesting, there are a number of toponyms from Iranian in Armenian with *baga-* 'god': Bagawan, Bagaran, Bagayarič, etc. The common pre-Christian name for an altar or shrine was Arm. *bagin*, a MIr. form with the base *bag-* 'god'. Although MP. *bay*

<sup>20</sup> Asorestan is to be identified as Sasanian Mesopotamia; see R. W. Thomson, tr., *Agathangelos, history of the Armenians*, Albany, N.Y., 1976, 455 n. 19.6.

<sup>21</sup> Isidore of Charax, *Mansiones Parthicae*, XI (see most recently Gk. text with Arm. tr. and commentary by Ė. L. Danielyan, *Patma-banasirakan Handes*, Erevan, 4, 1971, 171-81).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, XII.

<sup>23</sup> See A. V. W. Jackson, *Zoroaster, the prophet of ancient Iran*, New York, 1899, repr. 1965, 80; V. Minorsky, 'Vis ū Rāmin', *BSOAS*, XI, 1943-46, 759-60.

<sup>24</sup> Ptolemy, *Geog.*, V.12.9; Łazar P'arpec'i, ch. 76, *Bagawan i nahangin Bagrewanday* 'Bagawan in the province of Bagrewand'.

<sup>25</sup> H. Hübschmann, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen, Indogermanische Forschungen* XVI, 1904 (*AON*), repr. Amsterdam, 1969, 363.

<sup>26</sup> V. Minorsky, 'L'ouvrage de J. Markwart sur l'Arménie Méridionale', *REArm* N.S. II, 1965, 149.

<sup>27</sup> J. Markwart, *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen*, Vienna, 1930, \*11.

<sup>28</sup> W. B. Henning, 'The murder of the Magi', *JRAS*, 1944, 134 and n. 3, 4.

from *bag* was used by the Sasanians mainly as a honorific, as in the phrase **LZNH bg im bay** 'his Majesty', the title of the *Bayān yašt* preserves the older meaning of 'god', and nowhere is the word limited to the *yazata* Mithra. Rather, it is seen that *raēvant-* is an epithet of Ahura Mazda *par excellence*, to whom belong all the riches of Creation (cf. for instance Y. 12.1, in which all good things are attributed to Him). Bagrewand would then be translated 'of the bounteous God (Ahura Mazda)', an epithet fully in keeping with orthodox Zoroastrianism and doubly consecrated by the association of Mīr. *rēwand* with Rēwand in Parthia.

Another form of the epithet 'rich' in Mīr., from \**rēw-ēn* (v. above) or *rēwand*, may be attested in Armenia, a word in Greek read \***PHOYHNA rhēouēna** inscribed on the base of a broken terracotta statuette found in the southeastern graveyard of the Armenian Artaxiad and Arsacid capital, Artašat (Gk. Artaxata). The inscription, apparently preserved in full, is in two lines of Greek, read by the archaeologist Ž. D. Xač'atryan as **PHOYHNA / IA** and tentatively explained as the name of the owner of the statuette, followed by the number eleven, perhaps a date<sup>29</sup>. The Greek diphthong *ou* between vowels

<sup>29</sup> Ž. D. Xač'atryan, *Artašat II: Antik dambaranadašter (1971-77 t't'. pelumnerə)*, Hnagitakan pelumnerə Hayastanum 17, Erevan, 1981, p. 169 and pl. XXVII.3. We have the pleasure here gratefully to acknowledge the generous assistance of the Committee for Cultural Relations with Armenians Abroad of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, which promptly supplied at our request the above volume. The production of terracotta votive figurines was widespread in Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Parthia and Sogdia in the Arsacid period: a large number of figurines found in Armenia and Parthian Mesopotamia show a rider in relief, probably Mithra (see Ž. Xač'atryan, 'Irana-haykakan dic'abanakan alersneri harc'i šurj', *Lraber hasarakakan gitut'yunneri*, Erevan, 2, 1981, 54-72, pls. 1, 2). Depictions of rider gods are common in Palmyrene art (M. Colledge, *The art of Palmyra*, Boulder, Co., 1976, 43-5, fig. 26 and Pl. 43) and in Mithraic iconography (as in the Mithraeum at Dura, see J. R. Hinnells (ed.), *Mithraic Studies*, Manchester, II, 24); in the Sasanian relief at Naqš-i Rostam of the investiture of Ardašīr I, Ohrmazd is shown on horseback. The second most common type found in Armenia shows a frontally seated woman in robes and tiara, with one or more naked male infants (see B. N. Aṙak'elyan, *Aknarkner hin Hayastani arvesti patmut'yan*, Erevan, 1976, Pls. 84-86): the scene belongs to the ancient Asianic cult of Cybele and Attis, and in a developed version of the myth of the divine pair from Roman times, the Great Mother Cybele is replaced by Nana, daughter of the river Sangaris. This is most likely an explanatory legend of the fusion of the Asianic cult with that of the Sumero-Akkadian goddess Nana, whose worship spread from Armenia and Western Iran to Sogdia, where Attis was equated with the Iranian hero Siyāvaxš (see Henning, *BSOAS*, 1948, 602-3 and *BSOAS*, 1964, 252 and n. 68 on texts reflecting the myth; on the iconography of the cult, see G. Azarpay, 'Nanā, the Sumero-Akkadian Goddess of Transoxiana', *JAOS* XCVI, 1976 and V. A. Meshkeris, *Koroplastika Sogda*, Dushanbe, 1977, 23 and n. 34, fig. 2.1). In Parthia, reference is made to a temple-estate of Nana in the same texts where Zoroastrian proper names and month names are extensively used, so it is likely that some Zoroastrians at least worshipped

normally renders *v* or *w* in foreign words, such as *Artaouasdēs*, the name of the Arm. Artaxiad king Artawazd, who reigned at Artašat<sup>30</sup> or *Rhaouenna* (var. *Rhabenna*), the city of Ravenna in Italy. The suffixes *-ēna* and *-ana* are found in Gk. transcriptions and versions of foreign toponyms, including Iranian forms in Armenian, e.g. *Artaka-ēna*, *Zarou-ana* and *Naxou-ana*, the latter being the name of the Arm. province of Naxijewan, Naxčawan<sup>31</sup>. It is therefore possible that \**Rhēouēna* is a toponym, Arm. *Rew-ēn* or *Řew-an*. In the latter case one may compare Arm. *Řewan* in Sebēos for Rēwand, and the form *Bagrewan* for Bagrewand in the long version of the Arm. *Ašxarhac'oyc'* 'Geography'<sup>32</sup>. Although there is no town called Řewan in Armenia at present, Erevan, named after the ancient Urartean fortress of Erebuni, is called in NP *رېوان* and in Kurdish *Řewan*<sup>33</sup>. The Arm. *Երևան* *Erewan* is first mentioned in the 7th century A.D. *Girk' T'i'oc'* 'Book of Letters'<sup>34</sup> and in the Persian of Šafavid times and later the name of the city is found also as *ایروان*<sup>35</sup>, undoubtedly a rendering of the Armenian, which must have been used continuously from ancient times. It is possible that in ancient times Erevan was known also as Řewan by certain of its inhabitants, who engraved a Greek form of this name on the base of the votive statuette found at nearby Artašat. Final *-ē* or *-a* would seem to be a conventional way of Hellenizing the name, for in a Greek inscription of the Armenian Arsacid Tiridates (perhaps Tiridates I, who reigned in the latter half of the 1st cent. A.D. and had a Greek inscription made at Gārnī) found at Aparan, the name of the

Nana (see I. M. D'yakonov, V. A. Livshits, *Dokumenty iz Nisy I v. do n.e.*, Moscow, 1960, 111). Of the statuette with our inscription, only the pedestal and two human feet remain, but it is evident from the stance of the latter that the object was a frontal statue of a young soldier in Parthian leggings and cape, like another found at the site (Xač'atryan, pl. XXVII.5), perhaps representing Mithra or Verethraghna. None of the other terracotta objects found in Armenia bears any inscription. Inhumation was widely practiced in Arsacid Iran, e.g., at Šahr-i Qumis (Hecatompylos), and the use of images in Zoroastrian worship was forbidden only in the Sasanian period; neither the Arm. statuette nor the circumstances of its discovery—a burial—need necessarily disprove that its owner was a Zoroastrian.

<sup>30</sup> See Movsēs Xorenac'i, *Patmut'iwñ Hayoc'*, II, 22.

<sup>31</sup> See AON, 455 and F. Dornseiff, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigenamen*, Berlin, 1957, 32-4.

<sup>32</sup> Text cit. in N. Adontz and N. G. Garsoian, *Armenia in the Period of Justinian*, Louvain, 1970, 121\*.

<sup>33</sup> T. X. Hakobyan, *Erevani patmut'yunə*, Erevan, 1969, 98; M. B. Rudenko, *Kurdskaya obryadovaya poeziya*, Moscow, 1982, 71.

<sup>34</sup> *Girk' T'i'oc'*, Tiflis, 1901, 151.

<sup>35</sup> A. D. P'ap'azyān, ed., *Matenadarani parskeren hrovartaknerə*, I, Erevan, 1959, 492.



Arm. district of Nig is rendered as Gk. *Nigē(n)* (acc. sg. f.)<sup>36</sup>. If our supposition is correct, the inscription from Artašat is the earliest mention of Erevan, albeit the name would be a pious folk-etymology based on the name of the place of Ādur Burzēn Mihr in Parthia. The number IA (= 11), if indeed it is a number, remains even more hypothetical. Numerous monuments of the Greco-Roman world have engraved lists of the members of cultic societies, with numbers of members or the amounts of their contributions reckoned with Greek letters or Roman numerals. The average Mithraic *spelaeum* seats ten to twenty worshippers comfortably, not more; and it is recalled that in Jewish synagogue worship, which evolved in the same period, ten men constitute a quorum. Eleven is an appropriate number for the members of a small religious society in the Hellenistic period, but in the Greek inscription at Garni IA (= 11) represents a date<sup>37</sup>, so Xaç'atryan's suggestion is also possible.

## II. Arm. *Masis*

The use of generic terms as toponyms is a common phenomenon in many languages: in Armenia there are several towns called T'il, from Semitic *tel* 'hill', and the name of Duin also means 'hill', but comes instead from Mİr.<sup>38</sup>, and may be compared to the name of Mount Damāvand in northern Iran, which means 'possessing slopes'<sup>39</sup>. Another Mİr. generic name for a hill or mountain found as an Arm. toponym is Čakat-k' in Ayrara<sup>40</sup>, with *pluralis tantum*, cf. Phl. čk't' čagād 'peak, summit' (MacKenzie). Mountains may be named for their slopes, their summits, or their size. In a Khotanese text, sin is mentioned *sumirā garā mase* 'as large as Mount Sumeru'<sup>41</sup>. YAv. *mas-* 'long, great', comp. *masyah-*, subst. *masan-* 'greatness, size', is cognate to Gk. *makros*. The comp. grade of the adj. is found in Buddhist Sgd. *msy-'tr* 'greater', where *-'tr* is the comp. suffix; the same word is a

<sup>36</sup> See M. Rostovtsev, 'Aparanskaya grecheskaya nadpis' tsarya Tiridata', *Aniiskaya Seriya* 6, St. Petersburg, 1911, 6.

<sup>37</sup> See A. G. Abrahamyan, *Hay gri ev grē'ut'yan patmut'yun*, Erevan, 1959, 30; K. V. Trever, *Nadpis' o postroenii armyanskoi kreposti Garni*, Leningrad, 1949.

<sup>38</sup> See Markwart, *Südarm.*, 177-83 n. 1, on T'il; and V. Minorsky, 'Sur le nom de Dvin', *Iranica*, Tehrān, 1964, 1.

<sup>39</sup> M. Back, *Die Sassanidischen Staatsinschriften* (Acta Iranica 18) Leiden, etc., 1978, 207 and 211.

<sup>40</sup> *AON*, 364.

<sup>41</sup> H. W. Bailey, *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, Cambridge, 1979, 326.

laudatory title in a Sgd. letter<sup>42</sup>. A second word for 'great, large' is GAv. *maz-*, subst. *mazan-*, comp. adj. *mazyah-*, cognate to Gk. *meγas*. In MMP *mazan* is used to translate Gk. *gigas* 'giant', cf. Phl. *māzan(-ig)*, Sgd. *Mzny'n dyw*, rendering the Av. adj. *mazainya-* 'giant' applied to *daēvas*<sup>43</sup>. The adj. *māzandar*, in the comp. grade, means 'gigantic', cf. the name of the region of Māzandarān. In Persian literature, Māzandarān is the abode of *dīvs* with its high mountains; and it may be that the province is named for its *māzandar* 'greater' peaks, the loftiest of which is Damāvand, the snow-capped crown of the Elburz chain, where Aži Dahāka is said to be imprisoned.

In Armenia there are three mountain groups bearing the name *Masis*, the acc. case of a pl. *tantum* form \**Masi-k'* (cf. Čakat-k' above): (i) *Azat* 'Noble, Free' *Masis* and *P'ok'r* 'Little' *Masis*, named anhistorically by Arm. Christians Greater and Lesser Ararat, Tk. Ağrı dağı; (ii) *Nex Masis*, north of Lake Van Gk. *Baris*, Tk. Sübhān dağı, this form an arabicised homonym from the older Arm. Sip'an or Cip'an; and (iii) a branch of the Taurus above Nisibis called by Strabo (*Geog.* XI.xii.4) to *Masion oros*, Arabic Jabal Jūdī<sup>44</sup>. In the first two cases the mountains called Masis are strikingly larger than those nearby, and Jabal Jūdī in Gordyene was associated with the Biblical legend of the Ark in early Christian times, so that it, too, was considered to have been the highest of mountains, at least in the days of the Flood<sup>45</sup>. The base of the name seems to be \**masi-*, suffixed with the nom. sg. neut. adj. ending *-on* in Gk. and various endings in Arm., as in *Maseac'-otn* 'the foot of Masis', cf. *Aragac'-otn*, *otn Aragacoy* 'the foot of Aragac'<sup>46</sup>. In the Syriac version of the Alexander Romance the acc. pl. Arm. form *Māsīs* is used as nom., as in Armenian<sup>47</sup>. The Tk. name of Greater Ararat, Ağrı, seems to be related to Tk. *ağır*, 'heavy', and one may see in Gk. *Baris* a form related to *baros* 'weight', *barys* 'heavy', etc.: these

<sup>42</sup> *AirWb.*, col. 1154; I. Gershevitch, *A grammar of Manichaean Sogdian*, Oxford, 1961, para. 1292; A. N. Ragoza, *Sogdiiskie fragmenty tsentral'no-aziatskogo sobraniya Instituta Vostokovedeniya*, Moscow, 1980, frag. 44.2.

<sup>43</sup> W. B. Henning, 'The book of the giants', *BSOAS*, 1943, 54 and n. 3.

<sup>44</sup> On Greater Ararat, see J. R. Russell, 'Urartu-Ararat-Masis', *The Armenian Church*, New York, Winter 1980; on *Nex Masis*, see Markwart, *Südarm.*, 15, and Garsoian/Adontz, 461 n. 59; on Jabal Jūdī, Minorsky in *REArm*, op. cit., 145-6 and *Hudūd al-'ālam*, 203.

<sup>45</sup> See for instance P'awstos Buzand, III, 10, where the mountain is called *Sararad* (*sar* 'peak' with modern scribal error \**Ararad*, joined by haplology): St. Jacob of Nisibis is granted a piece of the Ark from there.

<sup>46</sup> *AON*, 364.

<sup>47</sup> Markwart, *Südarm.*, 11.

would be translations of \*masi-, explained as a Mlr. form of OIr. *masyah-*, cf. the interpretation of the name Māzandarān above. *Masis*, then, appears to be an Iranian loan in Armenian meaning 'greater/gigantic (mountain)'; the Arm. cognate of Gk. *megas* is *mecn* 'great', whilst an Arm. cognate of *makros* would have to preserve PIE \*-r-<sup>48</sup>. An Arm. folk etymology cited by Movsēs Xorenac'i and quoted by Yovhannēs Kat'olikos Draxanakertc'i derives the name of Azat Masis from the personal name Amasia- probably a folk etymology from the name of the city of Amasia (Tk. Amasya) in Asia Minor<sup>49</sup>. The 11th cent. Arm. writer Grigor Magistros calls Greater Ararat by a Persian name, *Masik'oh*, i.e. *Masi* + NP *kōh* 'mountain'<sup>50</sup>, in comparing the Arm. legend of the imprisonment of King Artawazd in Ararat to Iranian traditions about Mt. Sabalān in nearby Atropatene. The form is apparently genuine, preserving the Mlr. base \*masi-.

It was noted above that Gk. and Tk. names of mountains called Masis in Armenian seem to be translations. Greater Ararat is called Azat Masis, and the familiar loan-word *azat* from Persian is translated as Ar. *al-Ahrār* 'the Free' by al-Balādhūrī as the name of the river Azat, in the same district as Azat Masis<sup>51</sup>. The epithet *Nex* of Sip'an, *Nex Masis*, is not satisfactorily explained by the Arm. noun *nex* 'rot, stench'; it may be a dialectal form of an Ir. base \**naxva-* 'first', with Arm. loan-words *nax*, *nax-arar*, *nah-atak*, etc.<sup>52</sup> Arm. sources mention the Armeno-Iranian border region of Nihorakan<sup>53</sup>, and *khazar* P'arpec'i gives the name of a 5th century Sasanian envoy, Nixor Všnaspdat<sup>54</sup> (i.e., Gušnaspdād 'given by Gušnasp', the latter being the name of the sacred fire of Media in the Sasanian period). The alternation of -x- and -h- is seen in the examples given for *nax-*, and Nixor, with his surname honoring the Atropatenian fire, must have been a member of the noble \*Nixor-agān family after whom Nihorakan, SE. of

<sup>48</sup> See R. Godel, *An introduction to the study of classical Armenian*, Wiesbaden, 1975, para. 4.341.

<sup>49</sup> Movsēs Xorenac'i, *Patmut'wn Hayoc'*, I, 12; Yovhannēs Catholicos Draxanakertec'i, *Patmut'wn Hayoc'*, Tiflis, 1912, 16-17.

<sup>50</sup> K. Kostaneanc', ed., *Grigor Magistrosi t'it'era*, Alexandropol, 1910, 91.

<sup>51</sup> Cit. by A. N. Ter-Gevondyan, *Armeniya i Arabskii Khalifat*, Erevan, 1977, 42.

<sup>52</sup> Bailey, *Dict. Khot. Saka*, 190; Bartholomae, *Zum AirWb.*, 48.

<sup>53</sup> Garsoian/Adontz, 177-8; P'awstos Biwzand, IV, 50.

<sup>54</sup> *khazar* P'arpec'i, ch. 88. Justi and others read Arm. Nixor as Mlr. \*Nixwār (cf. Phl. *xwardig*, Arm. loan-word *xortik* 'food'). The name may thus be derived from Ir. *ni-* 'downwards' and \**xwār* 'down, low' (on the latter meaning see Mackenzie in *Cambridge History of Iran*, III (2), 1244), hence, 'one from the lowlands'.

Urmia, was named. In Arm., \**nex* 'primus' would regularly become \**nix-*, \**nih-* in compounds, and the form should come precisely from the region of Atropatene, as most of the Mir. loan-words in Arm. preserve features of the ancient dialect of that area.