

## THE HAYKAZUNS AND THE KINGDOM OF VAN (ARARAT-URARTU)

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### A. The Mentioning of Patriarch Skayordi Haykazun in a Cuneiform Inscription

The number of cuneiform inscriptions of the Kingdom of Van is estimated at around 900<sup>1</sup>, most of which are so-called monumental inscriptions written on the stones, steles, column bases and rocks which served as a basis for cuneiform deciphering. Comparatively much less (around two dozen) is the number of documents and letters written on clay tablets. They differ from the monumental inscriptions by their content, graphics, style and lexicon. For that reason, their exact deciphering is connected with certain difficulties and most of them get considerably different interpretations by scholars or remain non-translated<sup>2</sup>. A century ago in the territory (Western Armenia) of the ancient city of *<sup>m</sup>Rusa=hj=ne=le <sup>šADU</sup>Qi/elbani=kai* (at present archaeological site of Toprakkale) a similar inscription (document) was discovered and published by Lehmann-Haupt<sup>3</sup> which should be probably dated by the reign period of Rusa II (around 685-645 BCE), son of Argište II. By its content, this inscription consists of two parts, a header and the main text. The main text of the inscription is just a sole economic document where different people of various professions and social classes are numbered in a group order (probably servants of royal court). And here, the header is a means of dating where the date is fixed according to the most significant event(s) of the year<sup>4</sup>. With no aim of touching upon the whole inscription, we should focus on its first part (header) which is on the tablet's facial side and occupies the first six lines.

**Linguistic analysis and translation of inscription.** Since the first publishing by Lehmann-Haupt, the very inscription has had a series of other publications as well where full or partial interpretations and translations have been suggested by the publishers. Omitting much earlier attempts we present the segment under discussion according to the interpretations of I. Dyakonov (И.Дьяконов, 1967), H. Karagyozyan (Հ.Կարաղյոզյան, 1984), N. Harutyunyan (Н.Арутюнян, 2000) and M. Salvini (1988, 2007) together with their appropriate translations<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> For their full publications see M. Salvini, 2008, 2012 (hereafter: СТУ); Н. Арутюнян, 2000 (hereafter: КУКН).

<sup>2</sup> About that see И. Дьяконов, 1963 (hereafter: UPD):17-31.

<sup>3</sup> С. Lehmann, 1907:105-106 etc.

<sup>4</sup> This method of dating is especially characteristic for Sumerian and Early-Babylonian texts.

<sup>5</sup> In this issue G. Melikishvili (Г.Меликишвили, 1971:231-232) mainly follows the transliteration and translation of I. Dyakonov. Similarly, P. Zimanski (1985: 79,122 n. 23 ), with some changes and mistakes generally follows I. Dyakonov, too.



a. By I. Dyakonov [И.Дьяконов, 1963:38-39, 80-83, insc., XII].

- |                                                                         |                                                                            |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. a-ku-ke MU <sup>m</sup> Ru-sa-a URU <sup>m</sup> Ar-giš-t[e-ḫ]i-n[é] | In the year in which from the city of Rusa <sup>6</sup> , son of Argishti, |
| 2. <sup>m</sup> Ša-ga DUMU tar-a LUGÁL Iš-qu-gu-ul-ḫi-e                 | Shaga, the elder son of the Ishkigul-ian king                              |
| 3. ú-la-b[é] <sup>KUR</sup> Ma-na-i-di <sup>m</sup> A-ka-`a-a           | came to the land of Mana, to the place of Aka                              |
| 4. e-si-i a-še LUGAL-né <sup>d</sup> ḫal-di-né a-šú-me                  | when king Khaldi was inhabit(ed) (or: left) with/at our (place)            |
| 5. <sup>m</sup> Ru-sa-a-ḫi-na <sup>KUR</sup> Qi-il-ba-ni-ka             | at Rusakhinili,                                                            |
| 6. É.BÁR-ni-i-né ...                                                    | from the sanctuary (located) next to Qilibani....                          |



b. By H. Karagozian [Հ. Կարազյան, 1984:72-82]<sup>7</sup>.

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|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. a-ku-ke MU <sup>m</sup> Ru-sa-a-ka <sup>m</sup> Ar-giš-t[e-ḫ]i-n[é] | In the very same year (that) in front of Rusa, son of Argishti, |
| 2. <sup>m</sup> Ša-ga-DUMU tar-a LUGÁL Iš-qu-gu-ul-ḫe-e                | powerful son of Shaga, the king of Ishqugu-ulkhe (tribe),       |
| 3. ú-la-b[é] <sup>KUR</sup> Ma-na-i-de <sup>m</sup> A-ka-`a-a          | went to Mana, Akaya (Akava)                                     |
| 4. e-se-ie <sub>4</sub> a-še ...                                       | in his place (and) when ...                                     |



c. By N. Harutyunyan [Н. Арутюнян, 2001:330-331, insc. 412].

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|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. a-ku-ke MU <sup>m</sup> Ru-sa-a URU <sup>m</sup> Ar-giš-t[e-ḫ]i-n[i] | In the year, (when) from the city of Rusa, son of Argishti, |
| 2. <sup>m</sup> Ša-ga DUMU tar-a <sup>(KUR)</sup> Iš-qu-gu-ul-ḫi-e      | Shaga the elder son of (the land) Ishqugulkhi               |
| 3. ú-la-b[i] <sup>KUR</sup> Ma-na-i-di <sup>m</sup> A-ka-`a-a           | came to (the land of) Mana, onto the place of Akava         |
| 4. e-si-i a-še LUGAL-ni <sup>d</sup> ḫal-di-né a-šú-me                  | when Khaldi set me down (as) king...                        |
| 5. <sup>m</sup> Ru-sa-a-ḫi-na <sup>KUR</sup> Qi-il-ba-ni-ka             | In Rusakhinili, from the sanctuary (of the land of)         |
| 6. É.BÁR-ni-i-ni ...                                                    | Qilibani ....                                               |



d. By M. Salvini [1988:134].

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|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. a-ku-ke MU <sup>m</sup> Ru-sa-a-i? <sup>m</sup> Ar-giš-t[e-ḫ]i-n[i-i?] | »Jenes Jahr, des? Rusa Argištehi,                            |
| 2. <sup>m</sup> Ša-ga-tur-tar-a <sup>KUR</sup> Iš-qu-gu-ul-ḫi-e           | (als) Úgaturtara, der Isquguläer                             |
| 3. ú-la-b[i] <sup>KUR</sup> Ma-na-i-di <sup>m</sup> A-ka-`a-ni            | nach Mana auf den Platz (=Thron?) des Aka' kam,              |
| 4. e-si-i a-še LUGAL-ni <sup>d</sup> ḫal-di-ni a-šú-me                    | (und) als mich König Haldi [oder »als mich Haldi als König«] |
| 5. <sup>m</sup> Ru-sa-a-ḫi-na <sup>KUR</sup> Qi-il-ba-ni-ka               | in RusaÆinili, (das) gegenüber dem Berg Qilba(ni) (liegt)    |
| 6. É.BÁRA-ni(-?)i-ni ...                                                  | einsetzte, (nämlich) in diesem Palast«                       |

Later M. Salvini changed his approach and for the interpretation of this segment mainly followed I. Dyakonov [M. Salvini, 2007:37-50; CTU CT TK-1 Ro<sub>1-6</sub>]

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|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. a-ku-ke MU <sup>m</sup> Ru-sa-a URU <sup>m</sup> Ar-giš-t[e-ḫ]i-n[i]                                              | Jenes Jahr der Stadt Rusas, des Sohnes des Argšhti,                                   |
| 2. <sup>m</sup> Ša-ga-bu <sub>x</sub> /pu <sub>x</sub> (TUR) <sup>8</sup> -tar-a LUGÁL <sup>9</sup> Iš-qu-gu-ul-ḫi-e | als Šagaputara <sup>10</sup> , König von Išqugulu (wörtlich: "Išquguluäischer König") |

<sup>6</sup> The pronunciations of special names mentioned in the translations of the above-cited segments are presented according to the respective publications.

<sup>7</sup> See Հ. Կարազյան, 1998:274.

<sup>8</sup> Here M. Salvini offers to read the ideogram of TUR/DUMU "little"/"son" with the phonetic value of bu<sub>x</sub>/pu<sub>x</sub>, see about this M. Salvini, 2001:262.

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|-----------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| 3. ú-la-b[í] <sup>KUR</sup> Ma-na-i-di <sup>m</sup> A-ka-`a-a   | nach dem Land Mana auf den Platz des Aka'a ging,  |
| 4. e-si-i a-še LUGAL-ni <sup>d</sup> ḫal-di-ni a-šú-me          | (und) als Haldi mich als König in,                |
| 5. <sup>m</sup> Ru-sa-a-ḫi-na <sup>KUR</sup> Qi-il-ba-ni-ka-<i> | Rusahinili gegenüber dem Berg Qilbani' einsetzte, |
| 6. É.BÁRA-ni i-ni ...                                           | (und zwar) im (?) BÁRA-Heiligtum. ...             |

As we can see in the case of the interpretations of this segment there are considerable disagreements among the researchers both in the issues of transliteration and translation. The reason for these discords is undoubtedly the above-mentioned difficulties for the interpretation of the Urartian (=Biaynian, hereafter: Ur.) letters and documents. It should be noted there are grammatical interpretations in the presented transliterations and translations which are not corresponding with the rules (patterns) verified on the basis of the other Van inscriptions. Therefore, we should scrupulously revert to the above-mentioned segment trying to give its exact and comprehensive analysis and translation.

In the 1<sup>st</sup> line we read. *a-ku-ki/e-mu* <sup>m</sup>Ru-sa-a-ka ? (or: <sup>m</sup>Ru-sa-a(-)URU<sup>11</sup>?) <sup>m</sup>Ar-giš-t[e-ḫ]i-n[é ?]. The most credible analysis of the first four signs is probably the variant of *a-ku*(or: šú<sup>12</sup>)-*ki/e* MU “*ak/šuke* year” as it is presented almost in all of the publications until now. What concerns the questionable word-form of *akuke* (or: *ašuke*) it is not recorded in other inscriptions. This word should be probably referred as a pronoun tying it with well-known pronouns of *ik/šukane* “this same, very”, *inukane*, *inuke* “that same, same”<sup>13</sup>. In the continuation, the royal name of <sup>m</sup>Rusa (<sup>m</sup>Ru-sa-a) may be clearly read but its following sign (see Picture 1a) has undergone divergent readings and interpretations. The line ends with patronymic of Rusa II by the form of <sup>m</sup>Ar-giš-t[e-ḫ]i-n[é ]? (<sup>m</sup>Argiš-t[e-ḫ]i-n[e]?) “(the/from ?) Argište-ian”. Here the reading of the additional sign *ni/é* at the end of the patronymic gives cause for disagreements. In this occasion, I. Dyakonov notes that the first segment of the broken sign *ni/é* is clearly visible at the end of the line. N. Harutyunyan, while referring to this issue justly mentions there is no room for the sign *ni/é* on the facial side of the tablet and if it had not been written on the side part then the patronymic of Rusa here should be read as <sup>m</sup>Ar-giš-t[e-ḫ]i<sup>14</sup>. What concerns the sign having occasioned for variant readings and followed by royal name <sup>m</sup>Rusa, I. Dyakonov considers more probable the latter's reading as URU “city”, comparing it with the expression of <sup>m</sup>Rusa URU.TUR “small town of Rusa” well-

<sup>9</sup> M. Salvini, probably following I. Dyakonov, mistakenly transliterates as LUGAL whereas in the original text it is clearly read as LUGÁL.

<sup>10</sup> M. Salvini does not exclude that in his own interpretation of this personal name it may have an Iranian origin pointing out the component of “putara” within the word. He compares the latter with the Iran. root of \*puθra- “son” (see in the same place).

<sup>11</sup> Here F. König (1955-57, *Insch.*, 131) offers to read *ni*, which, nevertheless, judging by the photo of the inscription is less probable.

<sup>12</sup> For the probable interpretation of the sign *ku* as *šú* see S. Ayvazyan, 2011:180-4.

<sup>13</sup> See И.Дьяконов, 1963:80; S. Ayvazyan, 2011:182 etc.

<sup>14</sup> See KUKN, *insc.* 412, 331 n. 3.

known from other texts and mentioning that the supposed *<sup>m</sup>Rusa URU* probably is the very small town of Rusa near “Bastam village of Maku region”<sup>15</sup>. N. Harutyunyan and M. Salvini follow I. Dyakonov in this issue. H. Karagyozyan considers *ka* interpretation of the sign more probable insisting on that it is utmostly similar with the sign *ka* recorded in the 3<sup>rd</sup> (see Pic. 1a) and the 12<sup>th</sup> lines of the facial side and the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 7<sup>th</sup> lines of the reverse side of the same inscription. Besides, he finds the linguistic rules of Ur. incoherent with the expression of *<sup>m</sup>Rusa URU <sup>m</sup>Argišt[eh]jin[e]* whereas the



**Picture 1.** Tablet inscriptions: a) CTU CT Tk-1 (Toprakkale), a face side, rows 1-6. b) CTU CB Ba-6 (Bastam), rows 5-7.

reading of *<sup>m</sup>Rusaka <sup>m</sup>Argišt[eh]jin[e]* “before Rusa, son of Argishti”, as he notes himself may be seen in the expressions of *tequale <sup>md</sup>Sardurika(i) <sup>m</sup>Argišteḫin(i)e*, *tequale <sup>m</sup>Argištikai <sup>m</sup>Minuahin(i)e* frequently attested in the Van texts<sup>16</sup>. Because of the

<sup>15</sup> И.Дьяконов, 1963:80. Here the archaeological site of Bastam is obviously meant which was excavated later and referred as “the small town of Rusa” in the Urartian texts.

<sup>16</sup> See Հ.Շարագյոյնյան, 1984:77-8.

similarities of cursive signs of *ka* and URU (Pic. 1a, b)<sup>17</sup> it is impossible to insist unambiguously which variant is preferable here. In any case, it is either about Rusa II, son of Argište II, or one of the towns built by him<sup>18</sup> or maybe even the very town of *<sup>m</sup>Rusa=ḡi=ne=le* <sup>ŠADŪ</sup>*Qi/elbani=ka(i)*<sup>19</sup> where this inscription is discovered and about which it is spoken in the 5<sup>th</sup> line (see below). Accordingly, the more probable readings of this segment are the variants of *<sup>m</sup>Rusa-URU* *<sup>m</sup>Argišt[e=ḡ]i=n[e]?* “(from?) city of Rusa, son of Argište” or *<sup>m</sup>Rusa=ka* *<sup>m</sup>Argišt[e=ḡ]i=n[e]?* “near/from Rusa son of Argište”. And it is possible to read the segment wholly *ak/šu=ke* MU *<sup>m</sup>Rusa=ka* (or: *<sup>m</sup>Rusa(-)URU*) *<sup>m</sup>Argišt[e=ḡ]i=n[e]?* “in the year(s) of ak/šuke near/from the Rusa, son of Argište (or: (from) the city of Rusa)”. Ur. postposition *-ka(i)* */-kay/* originates from the verb of *ka-* “to be, to be situated, to stand” and corresponds to *-kay* component of Old Armenian (hereafter: OArm.) characteristic for a series of compound words. The latter, in its turn, derives from the OArm. verb *ka-m* “to be, to be situated, to stand” which is the same above-mentioned Ur. verb of *ka*<sup>20</sup>. However, in OArm. *-ղայ(-kay-)* not only indicates the place but the time as well, for instance, *ներ-ղայ* (*ner-kay*) meaning “present, current”, *առ-ղայ* (*arev-kay*) “light/sunny day, daytime” (compare the latter with the identical Ur. form <sup>d</sup>UTU-*ni-kai*) etc. Therefore, it is not excluded that here the Ur. *-ka(i)* may also bear time-pointing meaning. In that case, it will be possible to translate the line wholly as “in the year(s) of ak/šuke of the being/existence of Rusa, son of Argište”, that is “in the year(s) of the reign of Rusa”.

In the 2<sup>nd</sup> line we read; *<sup>m</sup>Ša-ga-tur(=DUMU/TUR/pu<sub>x</sub>)-tar(=tar, t/tir)-a-LUGÁL (=MAN)-iš-qu-gu-ul-ḡi/e-e*. There are no problems with the identification of the signs and all of them are clearly read. However, there is a problem of their interpretation conditioned with polyvalency of the cuneiform signs. First of all, it concerns the alternative readings of the sign of *tur* and the interpretations conditioned with that. As a key for the exact interpretation of this segment may serve *ul=a=be* “he left for, went” intransitive verb found at the beginning of the next line. As H. Karagyozyan mentions the subject of the intransitive verbs in Ur. regularly acquires the ending *-ne*<sup>21</sup> and in the given episode undoubtedly the subject is *<sup>m</sup>Ša-ga(...)* which, according to the mentioned rule must unexceptionably have the ending *-ne* (see Appendix). The only reading which can satisfy the above-mentioned grammatical rule is the reading variant of *<sup>m</sup>Ša-ga-DUMU/TUR* as the ideogram may include any ending and, in that case, the reflection of

<sup>17</sup> Cf. И.Дьяконов, 1963:103, signs № 11 and № 14.

<sup>18</sup> Rusa II founded at least two towns bearing his name: *<sup>m</sup>Rusa=ḡi=ne=le* <sup>ŠADŪ</sup>*Eiduru=kai* [Ayanis] and *<sup>m</sup>Rusa=i* URU.TUR [Bastam].

<sup>19</sup> The above-mentioned *<sup>m</sup>Rusa=ḡi=ne=le* <sup>ŠADŪ</sup>*Qi/elbani=kai* [at present Toprakkale] city is built either by Rusa III (Rusa, son of Erimena) or Rusa II (Rusa, son of Argište). Among scholars, there is no conformity of opinions related to this issue.

<sup>20</sup> About this see in details S.Ayvazyan, 2011:227–9 and the references mentioned there.

<sup>21</sup> About this see Հ.Չարազյան, 1984:77; S.Ayvazyan, 2011:139–44; Ա.Այվազյան, 2013:39, 59 etc.

the ending of the ideographic (or ending with an ideogram) word in writing is not obligatory<sup>22</sup>. Compare, for instance, *turinini* <sup>d</sup>Haldi=še <sup>d</sup>IM=še <sup>d</sup>UTU=še ...[CTU A 5-3<sub>33-34</sub>, 5-5<sub>25-26</sub>] and *turinini* <sup>d</sup>Haldi=še <sup>d</sup>IM <sup>d</sup>UTU ... [CTU A 5-68<sub>13</sub>] identical expressions. Thus, the variant of <sup>m</sup>Ša-ga-DUMU/TUR *tar-a* (=tir-a)<sup>23</sup> LUGÁL *iš-qu-gu-ul-ḫi/e-e* is grammatically the sole exact reading of the second line. It may be translated as “<sup>m</sup>Šaga-“son/little” powerful king *išqugu(=)ulḫe* (probably: of *išqugu*)”. Many of the researchers consider *išqugu(=)ulḫe* as a toponym and identify it with the land of <sup>KUR</sup>*išqugu* located in northern Armenia<sup>24</sup>. Not excluding such a possibility, nevertheless, it should be noted that despite these toponyms are similar by their form, however, they differ from each other, besides *išqugu(=)ulḫe* is stripped of the mandatory geographical determinative. What concerns the suggestion of N. Harutyunyan to read KUR instead of the LUGÁL (MAN) followed by *išqugu(=)ulḫe* then it is less probable as in the photograph of the original text LUGÁL is clearly visible and differs from the sign of KUR attested in the following line (Pic. 1a). And the argument that usage of two different ideograms with the meaning of “king” (the issue concerns the above-mentioned LUGÁL (MAN) and LUGAL attested in the 4<sup>th</sup> line) is less probable in the same inscription<sup>25</sup> does not seem to be convincing. In reality, both ideograms are used in Van inscriptions. Here, it is worth of notice that for all of the kings of Van kingdom only LUGÁL is used. N. Harutyunyan brings an argument for his point of view also mentioning that only LUGAL is applied in Ur. letters<sup>26</sup> while on the fragment of a letter found at the archaeological site of Ayanis later it clearly read ... LUGÁL *ba-ú-še* “...the king order...”<sup>27</sup>. Accordingly, it is also disputable whether *išqugu(=)ulḫe* is a toponym (if it is not suggested that determinative KUR “country, land” is omitted here). On the other hand, the endings (suffixes) *-ulḫe* (also: *-alḫe*) in Van inscriptions showing appurtenance, as a rule, are added only to the toponyms, for instance: <sup>m</sup>*Baltu=ulḫe* <sup>URU</sup>*Haldiri=ulḫe*, <sup>KUR</sup>*Puluadi=ulḫe* etc<sup>28</sup>.

At the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> lines we read; *ú-la-b[é]* <sup>KUR</sup>*Ma-na-i-di/e* <sup>m</sup>*A-ka-`a(=wV<sup>29</sup>)(-x ?) e-si-i*. The only disputable place in this part of the inscription is related to the sign following the personal name of <sup>m</sup>*AkawV* located at the end of the third line. I. Dyakonov here reads *a*<sup>30</sup>. In the photograph, no sign is visible at the end of the third line of the facial side of the tablet. Probably it may be assumed that it is written on the side part of the tablet. In any case, the second Absolute singular (Accusative singular) of

<sup>22</sup> Հ. Կարապետյան, 1984:77.

<sup>23</sup> Ur. word *t/tar(=t/tir)-a* “powerful; many; great” corresponds to the OArm. word *tir(տիր)* “mighty”, “many, the most”, “last, edge” (крайний), “firm, severe”, see S. Ayvazyan, 2011:86.

<sup>24</sup> И. Дьяконов, 1963:81,95; Н. Арутюнян, 2001: 330-1 н. 6 (insc. № 412) etc.

<sup>25</sup> Н. Арутюнян, 2001: 331 н. 6 (insc. № 412).

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> See M. Salvini, 2001:315 (CT Ay-2).

<sup>28</sup> About this suffix see in details S. Ayvazyan, 2011:113 and the references mentioned there.

<sup>29</sup> Sign “A” is read as “w + any vowel” in the Urartian writings. About this see G. Wilhelm, 2004:120 etc.

<sup>30</sup> И. Дьяконов, 1963:39, 81, cf. KUKN:331-2 н. 7a (insc. № 412).

the noun of *esi* requires either Genitive Case or *-he* suffix of appurtenance for its modifier. Therefore, if we see any personal or tribe name in singular form in *<sup>m</sup>AkawV* then it should be either in Genitive (in that case at the end of the line *i* should be read instead of *a*) or it should end (formed with) *-he* suffix of appurtenance, otherwise the collocation of *<sup>m</sup>AkawV(-x) esi* is unintelligible in terms of grammar. On the other hand if we assume that there is no sign following *<sup>m</sup>AkawV* at the end of the third line as it is clearly visible in the photograph of the tablet's facial side, then the latter, may be analyzed by *<sup>m</sup>Ak(a) =a=we* (*<sup>m</sup>A-ka-we<sub>x</sub>*) as a tribe (dynasty) name ("Ak(a)") in Genitive/Dative plural or by *<sup>m</sup>Akaw=i* (*<sup>m</sup>A-ka-wi<sub>x</sub>*) as a personal name ("Akav") in Genitive singular<sup>31</sup>.

In the continuation of the 4<sup>th</sup> line we read; *a-še LUGAL-ni/é <sup>d</sup>Ḫal-di-ni/é a-šú-me*. Here all of the words are comprehensible but there arise grammatical difficulties while composing coherent expressions. The point is that in this episode the only verb of the sentence presents the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular transitive verb of *aš=u-* "(he) brought/bring in" which ends with the first-person singular dative suffix *-me*. However, as a rule, the transitive verb in Ur. requires a subject of the sentence in Ergative whereas there is no such a case either in the 4<sup>th</sup> or in the 5-6<sup>th</sup> lines<sup>32</sup>. Probably a verb of the passive form with the approximate meaning of "was brought/reached to me" may be assumed in the verb of *aš=u=me*. In that case the expression would be possible to translate wholly as "when LUGAL-ne (=LUGAL-tuḫine "leadership/kingship"?) was reached to me/us from Ḫaldi" or "when LUGAL-ne Ḫaldi-ne (Second Absolutive + *-ne /-n/* definite article) was reached to me/us". In any case translation of this segment remains under discussion.

In the 5-6<sup>th</sup> lines we read; *<sup>m</sup>Ru-sa-a-ḫi-na <sup>šADÚ</sup>Qi/e-i/el-ba-ni-ka É.BÁRA-ni(-)i-ni*, where the city of *Rusa=ḫi=ne=le* (literally "the Rusa-ian-s") located in front of/near mount Qilba<sup>33</sup> (or: Qelba) is mentioned. Probably it is in the plural form of the Ablative<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> A. Dumikyan denoted that an interpretation of the Biainian cuneiforms' masculine person determinative *m* as the determinative indicating ethnos has not been substantiated, because it is not a determinative indicating ethnonyms [Ա. Դումիկյան, 2014: 74,75,177].

<sup>32</sup> M. Salvini while referring to this issue brings a similar evidence of the segment of "a[š]e LUGÁL<sup>MEŠ</sup>-i KASKAL zadule I GUD I UDU <sup>d</sup>šebitue ..." [CTU A 10-62-3] where he considers LUGÁL<sup>MEŠ</sup>-i as the subject, which, in his opinion, is in Absolutive plural (*\*ereli=li*) instead of Ergative plural and in *i* complement of the LUGÁL<sup>MEŠ</sup> he sees *i* vowel of the ending of the Absolutive plural. Still, the marker of the Absolutive plural in the Urartian is *-le* and not *-li*. In writing it is often presented as *-li/e-e* but never *\*-li/e-i*. Therefore, the *-i* complement at the end of LUGÁL<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*i* cannot belong to the ending of the Absolutive plural. What refers to the verb *zad=u=le* (syllabically: "zadu-le") then it is obviously a verb of the Optative Mood here. The latter, generally, as in the given case, is presented with the combination of the adverbs *aše* "when" or *ale* "when, and, but", for instance, *aše <sup>GIŠ</sup>ul(u)de meš=u=le* ... "when the grapes are distributed" (or "when the vine is cut into pieces"), *aše niqali/e šid=u=le* ... "when niqali/e is erected/constructed", *aše <sup>GIŠ</sup>ul(u)de teš=u=le* ... "when grapes are done/are teš-..." etc. (see U. Այվազյան, 2013:54-5). In the given examples, as it may be seen, the subject of the sentence is only assumed. Therefore, LUGÁL<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*i* in the example of Salvini (see above) cannot be a similar case.

<sup>33</sup> It bears Van theonym of *<sup>d</sup>Qi/elibane* right as *<sup>šADÚ</sup>Eiduru* does in the case of *<sup>d</sup>Eiduru* in front of which *Rusa=ḫi=ne=le <sup>šADÚ</sup>Eiduru=kai*, the city founded by Rusa II was situated at.

or Locative. The 6<sup>th</sup> line begins with the ideographic noun of É.BÁRA which probably means “kind of sanctuary” or “palace”<sup>35</sup>. Here É.BÁRA is followed by the signs of *-ni/e-i-ni/e*. The É.BÁRA together with all of the signs following the latter should be probably analyzed as É.BÁRA-*ni=ne* where the first *-ni* is probably a phonetic complement and reflects the last syllable (phoneme) of the corresponding Ur. word-stem written in ideographic form while the second *-ni/e* is the ending of the Ablative Case or a definite article.

Thus, it is possible to briefly transliterate and translate the 1-4<sup>th</sup> lines (the first segment of the header).

#### Transliteration

1. a-ku/šù-ke MU <sup>m</sup>Ru-sa-a-URU/ka <sup>m</sup>Ar-giš-t[e-ḫ]i-n[é]
2. <sup>m</sup>Ša-ga-DUMU ṭi/ar-a LUGÁL Iš-qu-gu-ul-ḫi-e
3. ú-la-b[é] <sup>KUR</sup>Ma-na-i-di <sup>m</sup>A-ka-WA-[x?] (<sup>m</sup>A-ka-we/<sup>m</sup>A-ka-wi/<sup>m</sup>A-ka-wa-x)
4. e-si-i a-še ...

#### Translation

1. a. In the year of ak/šuke (from?) the city of Rusa ((from?)-Rusa-city), ... <sup>m</sup>Rusa-URU ...  
son  
of Argište
- b. In the year of ak/šuke (from) Rusa, son of Argište
- c. In the year(s) of ak/šuke of the kingship (being) of Rusa, son of Argište } ... <sup>m</sup>Rusa=ka ...
2. Šaga-“son”, powerful king of Išqugu=ulḫe (Išqugu-ian ?)
3. left for Mana (Mannean) land in Akaw(a) (or: the Aka-ians’)
4. place, when ...

**Historical context and conclusions.** In this inscription the mentioning of a certain <sup>m</sup>Šaga-DUMU as a *ti/ara* LUGÁL “powerful king” draws a researcher’s attention. This circumstance seems especially unusual if we consider the fact that in Van inscriptions only the kings of Van bear the title of *tara(i/g)(e)* (= *tṭira(i/g)(e)*) “powerful, mighty”. Even more unusual is highlighting the departure episode of <sup>m</sup>Šaga-DUMU for the land of Mana as the most significant event of the year or at least one of them. On the other hand, the resemblance of Skayordi’s (= Skay-“son”) name with the very <sup>m</sup>Šaga-DUMU is worth of notice<sup>36</sup>. Here the following circumstances must be taken into consideration; 1) the sign š in Van cuneiform inscriptions as a rule reflects the phoneme /s/<sup>37</sup>, 2) cuneiform system excludes representation of consonant cluster orthographically both at the end and the beginning of the word and in such cases an additional vowel is

<sup>34</sup> The Ablative Case in the Urartian may be marked by both *-ne* and  $\emptyset$ . See Ayvazyan, 2011:155-7.

<sup>35</sup> For such a meaning of this ideogram see M.Salvini:2007:41-7.

<sup>36</sup> H. Karagyozyan (Հ.Կարաղյոզյան, 1984:75-80) was the first to emphasize the necessary identification of the Skayordi Haykazuni and the above-mentioned <sup>m</sup>Šaga-DUMU.

<sup>37</sup> About this see Г.Меликишвили, 1964:22-3; Գ.Ջահուկյան, 1987:431; S.Ayvazyan, 2011:27; Ս.Այվազյան, 2013:18, 118 etc.



forcedly put between the consonants which should not be read, 3) in Ur. there is an interchange of  $V[\text{owel}]/i/V$ , for instance, *-kai/-ka*, *ainei/anei*, *aišei/ašei*, *alsuine/alsune* etc.<sup>38</sup>. Thus, the only disagreement in the issue of the identification of these two names seems to be the presence of the Ur. sign *g* instead of the OArm. *k(l̥)* phoneme. The point is that OArm. *k(l̥)*, as a rule, is either rendered by *k* or *q* signs in the Urartian cuneiform texts<sup>39</sup>. However, it should be noted that frequent alternation of homorganic consonants in writing is characteristic both for the Urartian cuneiform system and its Neo-Assyrian prototype<sup>40</sup>, such as *d/t/t̥*, *g/q/k* etc. (for *g/q* alternation cf., for instance, *<sup>m</sup>Ar-qu-qi-ne* and *<sup>m</sup>Ar-gu(=qù)-qi-ne*). Accordingly, *Ša-ga* of Van inscriptions is possible to transliterate as *Ša-qá* or *Ša-kà* and pronounce it as */S(ə)kay-/* and the whole name as */S(ə)kay/-“son”(=S(ə)kay-ordī)*, which phonetically fully coincides with the name of the Armenian patriarch of Skayordi.

Haykazun Skayordi is first mentioned in the “History of Armenia” of Movses Khorenatsi (of Khoren)<sup>41</sup>. According to him, Skayordi was the contemporary of Assyrian king Senekerim (= Sennacherib) and gave refuge to the latter’s patricide-sons by settling them in Armenia, near the border with Assyria<sup>42</sup>. According to the cuneiform sources, Sennacherib reigned in 704-681 BC succeeding Sargon II (721-705 BC) and preceded Esarhaddon (680-669 BC). They were respectively the contemporaries of the kings of Van of Argiste II and his son Rusa II. It means that *<sup>m</sup>Šaga-DUMU* attested in this inscription ascribed to Rusa II or at least written during his reign could really be the contemporary of Sennacherib. The circumstance of not only giving refuge to patricide-brothers fled from Assyria but also settling them down near the borders of Assyria highly testifies that first of all Skayordi was an opponent to Assyria and secondly, he had necessary power and might for that. This fact recorded by Movses Khorenatsi is directly confirmed by the Van inscription under discussion. Here it is meant that in the inscription *<sup>m</sup>Šaga-DUMU* is mentioned as a “powerful king”, a title, which, as it is already said above, used to be only given to the kings of Van. Besides, the circumstance that the departure of this *<sup>m</sup>Šaga-DUMU* for Mana was considered as the most significant event of the year and by that the author of the inscription fixes the period of time also once more highlights the fact that *<sup>m</sup>Šaga-DUMU* was an important figure. The departure of this *<sup>m</sup>Šaga-DUMU* for Mana is also worth of notice. This fact, too, indirectly testifies in favor of the identification of *<sup>m</sup>Šaga-DUMU* who had departed for (land) Mana with Skayordi mentioned by Movses Khorenatsi. Here it should be noted that 1) Mana which used to make an alliance with Assyria, during the anti-Assyrian rebellion by the Medians

<sup>38</sup> See S.Ayvazyan, 2011:17; U.Այվազյան, 2013:16.

<sup>39</sup> See S. Ayvazyan, 2011:25, 27; U.Այվազյան, 2013:18, 118.

<sup>40</sup> See G. Wilhelm, 2004:121; U.Այվազյան, 2013:15 etc.

<sup>41</sup> Մովսես Խորենացի, Book 1, chapter 19-23.

<sup>42</sup> Մովսես Խորենացի, Book 1, chapter 23 (24).

and their allies in the 670's, sided the rebels<sup>43</sup>, 2) according to Movses Khorenatsi, Haykazun Skayordi acts from anti-Assyrian positions and his son Paruyr who had close relations with the Medians by supporting them in their anti-Assyrian campaign later was acknowledged by the Medians as the king of Armenia<sup>44</sup>.

Thus, if we summon up the above-mentioned facts related to *<sup>m</sup>Šaga-DUMU* attested in the Van cuneiform inscription under study and Skayordi Haykazuni mentioned by Movses Khorenatsi we may suggest the following clear parallels:

- 1) The full coincidence of the names (if, of course, while interpreting the personal name of *<sup>m</sup>Šaga-DUMU/tur /pu<sub>x</sub>(-x)* we keep to the grammar rules of Ur. and do not suggest that in this case we deal with a certain mistake).
- 2) The correspondence of statuses. On the one hand *<sup>m</sup>Šaga-DUMU* bears the title of the “powerful king” and his departure for Mana is considered as an important event by the author of the inscription and on the other hand Skayordi has enough power for giving refuge to the Assyrian patricide-princes in his own country and for settling them near the borders with Assyria.
- 3) The coincidence of life and activity period (both of them were the contemporaries of the last years of Sennacherib).
- 4) The coincidence of general historical context. *<sup>m</sup>Šaga-DUMU* sets off for Mana which was an enemy state to Assyria and the ally of the Medians at that period. Skayordi gives refuge to the Assyrian patricide-princes, therefore, he was an enemy to Assyria, too, and his son Paruyr was the close ally of Media.

Of course, any of these points may be considered as a result of fortuitousness but, in fact, it is impossible to have so many unrelated cases at a place. In the result we come to the persuasive conclusion that from all possible interpretations of the name of *<sup>m</sup>Ša-ga(-tur/pu<sub>x</sub>/DUMU)-(-x)* mentioned in the Van inscription under study the variant of *<sup>m</sup>Šaga-DUMU* should be selected (or the same as *<sup>m</sup>Šaq/ka-DUMU*) and identify it with the Skayordi Haykazun mentioned by Movses Khorenatsi.

#### A. The Place of the Haykazunis in the Kingdom of Van, the Latter's Period of “Downfall” and Its Reasons

If we summarize the above-mentioned facts related to Skayordi it will bring us to the conclusion that during the reign of Rusa II we deal with the vigorous activities of Skayordi Haykazun vested with enough power in the Kingdom of Van. From this fact, the issue of the relations between Skayordi and Rusa II as well as the relations between

<sup>43</sup> About this see, for instance, И.Медведская, 2010:135–6, etc.

<sup>44</sup> It is also worth of notice that the most probable king of Van contemporary to *<sup>m</sup>Šaga-DUMU* is Rusa II who does not mention about any military operations in his numerous inscriptions. Meanwhile in the extensive inscription of Ayanis he reports on driving off men and women from Assyria (<sup>KUR</sup>Aššurri=ne), Targu (<sup>KUR</sup>Targu=ne), Tabla (<sup>KUR</sup>Tabla=ne), Hatti (<sup>KUR</sup>Hate=Ø), Mushki (<sup>KUR</sup>Muški=ne) and other places to the Kingdom of Van but he does not mention about any military activities [CTU A 12-1 V<sub>10-11</sub>]. The impression is as if those campaigns were launched by another force and Rusa only resettled the captives, the evidence that the power of Rusa was limited in the state and it was not spread over the army. It is not excluded as well that those campaigns were led by Skayordi Haykazun.

the dynasty of Van and the Haykazuns in a larger context are a matter of study in general<sup>45</sup>. For a discussion of the very issue let us first study the internal political situation of the last stage of the Kingdom of Van (the period preceding Sardure (/Zardur/<sup>46</sup>) II up to the supposed downfall of the kingdom is meant here) and especially the circumstances of its downfall and period.

**The probable period of the downfall of the Kingdom of Van and its possible reasons.** First of all, it should be mentioned that among scholars there is a disagreement in relation with the date of the downfall of the Kingdom and its circumstances. They are generally conditioned with the disagreements in written sources as well as the controversies between some of the written sources and archaeological evidence. The existing disagreements related to the issue of the downfall of the kingdom arrive at two main points of view.

According to the first point of view, the downfall of the Kingdom of Van is considered probable not as earlier as the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (hypothesis of later downfall)<sup>47</sup>. By mentioning such a date of the downfall of the kingdom followers of this point mainly base on the references of Urartu (Uraštu)<sup>48</sup> in the late Babylonian cuneiform sources (609, 608/7 BC) and the Ararat kingdom (rrt)<sup>49</sup> in the prophecy of Jeremiah (594 BC). As a rule, the main reason of the collapse of the kingdom is considered the external expansion<sup>50</sup>.

According to the second hypothesis which is widely accepted nowadays the Kingdom of Van collapsed not later than the 640's (hypothesis of earlier downfall)<sup>51</sup>. Followers of this point mainly base on the data of the Ur., partially of the Akkadian inscriptions. As an evidence for such an earlier collapse some archaeological data is also combined according to which a series of fortresses built by Rusa II were destroyed

<sup>45</sup> About the continuity of the major Haykazun dynasty and its branches in the 3rd-1st millennia BC see, Դանիելյան Է.Լ., 2008: էջ 29-57.

<sup>46</sup> For comparison of such a transcription of the royal name of Sardure and OArm. word *zard(qարդ)* (with the meaning of "star, heavenly bodies") see Ա.Դավթյան, 2004:57-9, Ա.Պետրոսյան, 2006:55-6; Ս.Այվազյան, 2013:11 n. 2.

<sup>47</sup> See C.F.Lehman-Haupt, 1931:686; Б.Пиотровский, 1944:136; 1959:41-2, 115-6; И.Дьяконов, 1951a:38-9; 1963:28-9, n. 40 and the references mentioned there; 1981:40-51; Г.Меликишвили, 1954:319-21; R.Barnett, 1954:17-8; Н.Арутюнян, 1970:333-6; 1976:112-4; R.Rollinger, 2003:315-6, n. 128 etc.

<sup>48</sup> These evidence refer to the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> chronicles of Nabopolassar where he speaks about reaching the "Urtian territories" (pīhāt <sup>URU/KUR</sup>Uraštu) during his military campaigns [A.Grayson, 1975(2000):90-8].

<sup>49</sup> Jeremiah, 51, 27-28.

<sup>50</sup> If the latest correction in the chronicles (II 16) of Babylonian king Nabonidus is correct then it should be also added to the above-mentioned evidence which says that the Kingdom of Van (Ú-[raš-tu]) was invaded in 547 by Cyrus the Great who passed the Tigris River, defeated the Urtian king (the name is missing) invaded the latter's country and left his own garrison there (Formerly, it was interpreted as *Lu-[ud-di]* instead of *Ú-[raš-tu]*). Accordingly, it was suggested that seize of Lydia by Cyrus was meant here. For detailed information about all this see R. Rollinger, 2008:51-65).

<sup>51</sup> See S.Kroll, 1984:165; 2014:203-210 etc; R.-B, Wartke, 1993:171; P.Zimansky, 1995a:260-1; 1995:99; И.Медведская, 1998:62; L.Steele, 2007:7-12; U. Seidl, 2004:124; A.Fuchs, 2004:94; U.Hellwag, 2007:227-241 (the author refers to the date of downfall and circumstances of the Kingdom of Van before the widely-known viewpoints expressed by various authors till 2007) etc.

by the end of the reign of the latter or no later than in 650-640's which (minimum a part of them) were not rebuilt again. What concerns the reasons of the collapse of the kingdom there are disagreements among the followers of the hypothesis of earlier downfall. On the one hand, some of them find it possible there was an internal decentralization of the Kingdom of Van, its later collapse and invasion<sup>52</sup> and, on the other hand, the direct external expansion though there is no clearness on the latter's identification<sup>53</sup>. It is also noteworthy that the archaeological data show almost a simultaneous destruction and abandonment of some of the Ur. fortresses (castles) and, on the other hand, no significant changes are noticeable out of the walls of the fortresses (let alone speaking about the traces of foreign rule)<sup>54</sup>. If we touch upon the possible decentralization and internally unstable state of the Kingdom of Van then as it may be judged by the Van cuneiform inscriptions, indirectly from the Akkadian sources<sup>55</sup> in the following period of Sardure II there was an aggravation of the real inner dynasty struggle and certain instability. It becomes even more apparent from the references of the kings of Van about the circumstances of their accession to the throne recorded in the Van cuneiform inscriptions. Thus, from Išpuine I up to Sardure II all of the kings of Van (Minua, Argište I, Sardure II) while presenting the circumstances of their accession to the throne also mention that they inherited their paternal throne, such as:

- 1) <sup>d</sup>Ḫaldi=i=ni=ne bauši=ne <sup>m</sup>Minua=ne <sup>m</sup>Išpuine=ḫe iu <sup>LÚ</sup>ate=ine esi naḫ=a=be ... [CTU A 5-11 A<sub>5-8</sub>, B<sub>3-6</sub>] "By the order of Ḫaldi, Minua, son of <sup>m</sup>Išpuine when came to the father's place (throne) ...".
- 2) iu <sup>d</sup>Ḫaldi=š[e] <sup>m</sup>Argišti=e <sup>m</sup>Minua=ḫi=ne=e LUGÁL=tuḫe ar=u=ne naḫ=a=be <sup>LÚ</sup>AD-ne esi [CTU A 8-1 Ro<sub>17-19</sub>] "when Ḫaldi gave kingship to Argište, son of Minua, (he) came to his father's place (throne) ...",

<sup>52</sup> See about this И.Медведская, 2010:152-3 and the references mentioned there.

<sup>53</sup> Scholars consider the Scythians as such a more probable power (mainly for ascribing the "socketed" arrowheads, found from the layers of the 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC in the Van castles, only to the Scythians as well as reasoning that at that period of time they do not just see any other such kind of power in the region), see, for instance, T.Sulimirski, 1954:313; R.Rolle, 1976:23; 1977:295,312 (allied with the Medes); R.Wartke,1990:61; P.Zimansky,1995b:99; L.Steele, 2007:5-16 etc. But in its time while referring to this issue I. Dyakonov mentioned righteously that the destroyers of the Urartian fortresses could be neither the Scythians nor the Cimmerians because of the lack of the necessary technical means and appropriate experience for besieging the fortresses as well as for other reasons (see И.Дьяконов, 1994:113). I.Medvedevskaya, in her turn, in the search of that power, after all focuses on the obsolete hypothesis of the conquest of the Kingdom of Van by the Medes though she accepts the arguments of the supporters of the earlier downfall of the Kingdom of Van in regard to the downfall date (around 640's BC). Making an attempt to reconcile the contradictory viewpoints she suggests her own viewpoint of the conquest of a part of the Kingdom of Van by the Medes in 640's justifying her hypothesis with the argument that it was rather weakened and divided because of the inner controversies, therefore its conquest was possible even for still weak Media (see И.Медведская, 2010:153).

<sup>54</sup> S.Kroll, 2003:282-3; E. Stone and P.Zimansky, 2003:222 etc. Compare also L.Steele, 2007:13.

<sup>55</sup> First of all scholars indicate the fact of the attack of 657 BC on the territories under the Assyrian subjection by Andaria, a governor of one of the Ur. provinces [A.Piepkorn, 1933:56-7, iv:9-17; И.Медведская, 2010:143 etc].

- 3) <sup>m</sup>Sarduri=še <sup>m</sup>Argište=ḫi=ne=še al=e iu <sup>d</sup>Ḫaldi=š=me LUGÁL=tuḫe ar=u=ne naḫ=a=de <sup>LÚ</sup>AD-sine esi LUGÁL=tuḫi=ne [CTU A 9-4 VII<sub>1-2</sub>, CTU A 9-10<sub>2-4</sub>, ...] “Sardure, son of Argište says when Ḫaldi gave kingship to me, I came to my father’s royal place (throne) ...”.

Whereas later only Rusa II, son of Argište II mentions that he inherited his father’s throne:

- 4) <sup>m</sup>Rusa=še al=e ... iu <sup>d</sup>Ḫaldi=š=me LUGÁL=tuḫe ar=u=ne naḫ=a=di <sup>LÚ</sup>AD-sine esi LUGÁL=tuḫi=ne [CTU A 12-1 I<sub>3-4</sub>] “Rusa says ... when Ḫaldi gave kingship to me, I came to my father’s royal place (throne) ...”. [KUKN 55<sub>12-13</sub>].

In the case of all of the succeeding kings of Van after Sardur II, there is no such kind of mentioning in the cuneiform inscriptions. Moreover, Argište II and Rusa III (son of Erimena) mention completely different circumstances of their accession to the throne. No inscription belonging to Erimena, father of Rusa III, is preserved up to day which casts doubt on his kingship in general<sup>56</sup>. What concerns Argište II and Rusa III they only mention that they received the throne from Ḫaldi. See below almost similar lines in the inscriptions left by the very kings of Van;

- 5) <sup>m</sup>Argiš[ti=še] <sup>m</sup>Rusa=ḫi=ne=[še] <sup>d</sup>Ḫaldi=i=ni=še <sup>LÚ</sup>ERUM=še [al=e] ... alu=š=me ṭ=ub(=)ardu=n[e] ub(=)ar(a)du=i=a[le] alu=š=me LUGÁL=tuḫe ta/ir=ag[e] ar=u=ne naḫ=a=d[e] LUGÁL=tuḫi=ni=i=na <sup>GIŠ</sup>GU.ZA=[a] ter=u=me <sup>GIŠ</sup>LUGÁL=tuḫi=(i=)ne=[i] [CTU A 11-1<sub>13-20</sub>, 11-2<sub>14-26</sub>] “Rusa, son of Argište, servant of Ḫaldi says ... who (Ḫaldi) took (or: take<sup>57</sup>) me from a non-(power/authoritative) order to the order (of power/authoritative) who gave a powerful kingship to me; I came to the royal throne (literary: in/on the throne), (he) set me on <sup>GIŠ</sup><sup>58</sup> of kingdom/kingship (Gen.) ...”.
- 6) <sup>m</sup>Rusa=ne <sup>m</sup>Erimena=ḫe <sup>d</sup>Ḫaldie=i <sup>LÚ</sup>ERUM <sup>d</sup>Ḫaldi=i=ni=ne ušma=ši=ne EN-si=ni=ne alu=š=me ... alu=š=me ṭ=ub(=)ardu=ne ub(=)ardu=ge alu=š=me LUGÁL=tuḫe DAN.NU ar=u=ne naḫ=a=de LUGÁL=tuḫi=ni=i=na <sup>GIŠ</sup>GU.ZA ter=u=me <sup>GIŠ</sup>(LUGÁL=tuḫi=(i=)ne=i) ... [CTU A 14-1 Ro.<sub>2-10</sub>, 14-2 Ro<sub>2-9</sub>] “Rusa, son of Erimena, servant of Ḫaldi, by the lord’s power of Ḫaldi... who (namely Ḫaldi)

<sup>56</sup> The unique inscription which may belong to Erimena is a clay tablet found from Karmir Blur bearing the name of “Erimena” and traces of some other cuneiform sign on its stamp. I.Dyakonov, who published the inscription, suggested to read those cuneiform traces as <sup>m</sup>Ar??[...] or <sup>m</sup>Ru??[...] thus interpreting them as the initial signs of the patronymic of Erimena [И.Дьяконов, 1963:33-4]. Our observations of the clay tablet indicate those traces are not possible to interpret either as <sup>m</sup>Ru- or moreover as <sup>m</sup>Ar-. The improbability of the viewpoints suggested by I.Dyakonov and about the belonging the above-mentioned tablet to Erimena see also Ա.Մովսիսյան, 2000:133-9. Anyway, the reasoning of the authenticity of this or that historical truth by various interpretations of the traces of such heavily damaged signs seems to be far doubtful to us.

<sup>57</sup> The exact meaning of this verbal ending (-i=ale/-g=e) encountering quite rare is not clear. See about this in details Մ.Խաչիկյան, 2005:473-6; S.Ayvazyan, 2011:205-6; Ա.Այվազյան, 2013:55-6 etc.

<sup>58</sup> Ideogram <sup>GIŠ</sup> has the following general meanings 1. “tree, wood” 2. “right, straight”, 3. “yoke” [W. Schramm, 2010:58]. It is difficult to say unanimously what kind of meaning ideogram <sup>GIŠ</sup> especially has in the word combination of <sup>GIŠ</sup> LUGÁL=tuḫi=ne=i “<sup>GIŠ</sup> of kingdom/kingship”.

took (or: take) me from a non-(power/authoritative) order to the order (of power/authoritative), who gave a powerful kingship to me; I came to the royal throne (literary: in/on the throne), (he) set me on GIŠ of [kingdom/kingship]...”.

The expression of *alu=š=me ṭ=ub(=)ardu=ne ub(=)ardu=ge* is worth of attention in the given episodes where their authors directly mention that lacking the royal status they received it from god Իaldi<sup>59</sup>.

The reason for this internal tense situation was probably the growth of the Assyrian power conditioned with the amendments realized by Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727 BC) and as a result of it a series of misfortunes of the kings of Van in the struggle against Assyria. Such kind of examples can serve first of all the defeat<sup>60</sup> of Sardure II at Arpad (in North Syria) in 743 BC and especially the heavy defeat of the latter's successor Rusa I at the mount Uauš in 714 BC by Sargon II<sup>61</sup>. In the result of this defeat, Sargon II could penetrate into the depths of the Kingdom of Van and reach up to the capital Դušpa/Tospa/(= OArm. *Tosp*, gen. *Tospa-y*). However, unable to take the capital Sargon had to retreat but on his way back he managed to give one more, heavy blow to the Kingdom of Van by invading the cult center of the Ur. supreme god Իaldi, Mu□a□ir-Ardini, which was of utmost importance to the kingdom where Sargon fully robbed and destroyed the main temple of Իaldi<sup>62</sup>. In the result of this campaign, the Kingdom of Van was deprived of most of its territories near Urmia. And Rusa I according to Sargon committed suicide<sup>63</sup>. All these could not leave without any traces in the internal political situation of the Kingdom and probably aroused the dissatisfaction of the Ur. elite on behalf of the ruling dynasty. The intrusion of the Cimmerians into Western Asia and the clashes with the Kingdom of Van could also influence on such a situation<sup>64</sup>. If we summon up all data concerning the last stage of the Kingdom of Van (the succeeding stage of Sardure II) the following picture will be clear:

1. In the succeeding period of Sardure II, there is a stage of relative misfortunes for the Kingdom of Van in a confrontation with Assyria. An internally unstable state emerges inside the country which is led by universal deviations from the hereditary order.
2. The military-political situation in the region becomes more complicated because of the intrusion of northern nomadic nations/tribes (Cimmerians, Scythians) into the

<sup>59</sup> For such a translation of the word of *ṭubardune* and word combination of *ṭubardune ubarduiale* (version: *ṭubardune ubarduge*) see S.Ayvazyan, 2011:56-7.

<sup>60</sup> D.Luckenbill, 1968 :785, 813 (also 1926:273, 292): See also Н.Арутюнян, 1970:266-8.

<sup>61</sup>The detailed depiction of this battle is preserved in an extensive "letter" of Sargon II addressed to god Aššur, see F.Thureau-Dangin, 1912, additions in B.Meissner, 1922:113-22 and O. Schroeder, 1922, no. 141; И.Дьяконов, 1951b, № 49; D.Luckenbill, 1968:140-78. About this see also Н.Арутюнян, 1970:298-311; P.Zimansky, 1988:44-51 etc.

<sup>62</sup> About this, in details see the references mentioned in the previous note.

<sup>63</sup> See И.Дьяконов, 1951b, № 52; D.Luckenbill, 1968:22.

<sup>64</sup> A similar clash with the Cimmerians, the defeat of Rusa I in that battle and the palace revolt succeeding it is attested in an Assyrian spy letter addressed to Sargon II. See И.Дьяконов, 1951b, № 50.5; G.B.Lanfranchi, 1983:22,123-35; S. Parpola, 1987:30-2; G.B.Lanfranchi and S.Parpola, 1990:90-2, 173-4; R.Pfeiffer,1967:11 etc.

Western Asia which took an active part in the military-political life of the region forming an alliance with this or that power<sup>65</sup>.

3. At least by the end of the 640's BC there are no more monumental inscriptions. Seals or other artifacts with royal names of that period are not known to science, too.
4. In the succeeding period of Rusa II (or at the end of his kingship), several central fortresses (castles) of the Kingdom of Van (mainly built by Rusa II) undergo destruction by an unknown power which was succeeded by reduction of building activities. At the same time, no essential changes are observed in the everyday life and economy of the inhabitants of the country out of the walls of those destroyed central fortresses (n. 54).
5. Before the establishment of the Achaemenid rule, there are no data in the written sources on establishing a foreign rule or any clear trace in the archaeological layers in relation with that<sup>66</sup>. Moreover, the country continues to be mentioned in the Babylonian official sources and the Bible. In the prophecy of Jeremiah the kingdoms of Ararat (Urartu), Mana (Minni) and Scythians (Ashkenazi) and the Median kings are mentioned as the enemies of Babylon who, by the wish of the prophet should attack Babylon (n. 48, 49). Therefore, it is of less probability that the Kingdom of Van (Ararat-Urartu) could be just a sole geographical territory or an administrative locality of the Median kingdom as some of the scholars consider<sup>67</sup>. The following data preserved in the Achaemenid, Greek and Early-medieval Armenian sources this or that way are related to the Kingdom of Van are also worth of notice.
6. The Achaemenid sources (Behistun) identify Armenia with Urartu.
7. Greek authors of the antique period (Herodotus, Xenophon etc.) do not mention anything about the Kingdom of Van (Ararat-Urartu). On the other hand while touching upon the history of that period they narrate about not only Media, Assyria, Babylon, Armenia, the Cimmerians and Scythians but also about more insignificant states and peoples.
8. Both the Armenian and foreign translators of the Bible identify Ararat-Urartu with Armenia, too.
9. Medieval Armenian authors identify Ararat with Armenia, too.

Summarizing all this it turns out that on the one hand there is a group of facts according to which the Kingdom of Van collapsed no later than in the 640's (probably in the result of internal political struggle) and on the other hand according to the other facts it continued existing at least up to the 590's (Jeremiah) or even up to 547 BC (Nabonidus). From the first look it seems the only way out from this controversial

<sup>65</sup> Generally the actions of the Scythians and Cimmerians in Western Asia most likely had a predatory rather than an invasive character [И.Медведская, 2010:209].

<sup>66</sup> About this, see for instance, S. Kroll, 2003:285.

<sup>67</sup> See И.Дьяконов, 1981:40-4; К. Kessler, 1986:78; И. Медведская, 2010:219 etc.

situation is refusing a part of the mentioned alternative facts for the sake of the others. As a rule scholars acted in the same way while neglecting this or that fact. But in reality, there is no need of it and both hypotheses of the early or late downfall of the Kingdom of Van in a way express reality. Some turning events really took place in the Kingdom of Van in the 640's BC but there was no such a collapse of the state.

### **The possible place and position of the Haykazuns in the Kingdom of Van.**

The historian of the V c., Movses Khorenatsi, gives us detailed information about the Haykazuns, but there is a big gap in the data rendered by him. The point is that at the beginning he presents the first representatives of the Haykazuns (elder generation), from Hayk up to Ara the Beautiful and the latter's grandson Anushavan Sosanver and respectively narrates the Armenian history of that period (the 3rd-2<sup>nd</sup> millennia BC). Subsequently, in a strange way he omits a big period of time and by turns brings only the genealogical register of the Haykazuns (27 persons)<sup>68</sup> after which Movses Khorenatsi, the Father of Armenian history restarts the detailed composition already describing the historical events of the period of Skayordi Haykazun and his son Paruyr. According to Movses Khorenatsi, the latter was the first among the Haykazuns to reign over Armenia (probably here it should be understood after Aramian Ara (Ara the Beautiful, son of Aram). All this create the impression that Movses Khorenatsi while referring to the ancient period of the Armenian history omitting several centuries again mentions the Haykazuns as the rulers of Armenia. Movses Khorenatsi considers the Haykazuns the "posterity of our native ancestors" and he did not conceal his deep respect towards them<sup>69</sup>. Here, most important report of Movses Khorenatsi is that Paruyr, the son of Skayordi was the first of the Haykazuns who reigned over Armenia<sup>70</sup>. If we take into account that on the one hand Skayordi was the contemporary of the last years of the reign of Sennacherib (in Armenian sources mentioned as "Senekerim" who was killed during the living of Skayordi in 681 BC) the Assyrian king, and on the other hand he lived in the period of Rusa II (around 685-645 BC), the king of Van then his son Paruyr should reign approximately from 660-630 BC. Here it should be considered Paruyr did not inherit his status of a king from his father but obtained it personally, therefore there should have been a time gap between the death of Skayordi and the coronation of Paruyr. This date surprisingly coincides with the above-mentioned events taken place in the Kingdom of Van in the years of 640's BC (destruction of a series of fortresses, discontinuity of the reign of Van dynasty, probably disavowal of applying

<sup>68</sup> On this occasion Movses Khorenatsi writes: "But it would be too much if we narrated all the deeds and stories of the above-mentioned people in a proper way in this chapter", Մովսես Խորենացի, Book 1, chapter 20 (21).

<sup>69</sup> About this see, for instance, the following lines of Movses Khorenatsi: "Now I shall pass on to number our people, especially the kings before the (establishment of) the Parthian State. Because among our kings these people are the favorites for me as the native, kindred and real kinsfolk", Մովսես Խորենացի, Book 1, Chapter 22 (23).

<sup>70</sup> "By omitting the unimportant ones of the cases let us tell what is necessary. The last of those men, who lived during the period of the kingdom of the Assyrians, after Shamiram or Ninos, was our Paruyr who lived during Sardanapal. This man showed not a small support to Median Varbakes to take the kingdom from Sardanapal. And here, now I enjoy feeling not a small delight that I reach the place when the posterity of our native ancestor reach the level of kingship", Մովսես Խորենացի, Book 1, Chapter 20 (21).



cuneiform)<sup>71</sup>. All this can hardly be the result of fortuitousness and comes to explain what really happened in the Kingdom of Van in the years of 640's BC. It is noteworthy that *Šaga-DUMU* /*Səka-DUMU*/ (=“Skayordi”) of the cuneiform inscription dated by the reign of Rusa II already had a high rank and is mentioned with the title of “mighty king”. Taking into consideration the latter case it may be assumed that already during the reign of Rusa II in the person of Skayordi Haykazun a new centre of force emerged in the Kingdom of Van which further development finally resulted in an inter-dynasty struggle, weakening of Van dynasty and the latter's final deprivation of all the power. Probably this process came to its apogee by the years of 640's BC. Judging by the destruction of several cities, more correctly the military bases of Rusa II, this struggle may have been provided with internal military-political confrontation as well. Movses of Khoren mentions that Paruyr was acknowledged as a king by the Medians. This, perhaps, testifies that the Haykazuns deserved the assistance by the Medians while the Van dynasty was either assisted or at least sympathized by Assyria which may be understood by the correspondence between the last king of Van dynasty Sardure III and Ashurbanipal<sup>72</sup>. Whatever was the struggle process already by the end of the 640's BC and the beginning of the 630's BC at latest the dynasty of Van was finally deprived of all of the political power and disappeared from the stage of history. Of course, it is not excluded that the representatives of that dynasty may have continued their existence as a noble family in their native historical lands.

**Appendix.** The Subject and the Direct Object of the Sentence in the Urartian

It is known that the Urartian morphologically distinguishes the subjects of both transitive and intransitive verbs which is characteristic for the ergative languages. At the same time it clearly differentiates the subject of intransitive verbs from the object of transitive verbs (the intransitive subject, on the contrary to the transitive object, without exception, acquires the ending *-ne/-n/*) which is characteristic to the Nominative-Accusative languages. See the following examples:

- 1) <sup>d</sup>Ḫaldi=ne ušt=a=be (but never \*<sup>d</sup>Ḫaldi ušt=a=be) ma=si=ni=e <sup>Glš</sup>šuri=e kar=u=ne<sup>m</sup>Abeliane=ḫe <sup>KUR</sup>ebani=e “Ḫaldi (/Hal-Di/<sup>73</sup>) went (marched), subjugated to his sword Abelian (OArm. *Abelian-k'*)-ian land<sup>74</sup>” [KUKN 173 I 16-17],

<sup>71</sup> Movses Khorenatsi mentioning about the importance of registering the deeds of the forefathers noted Մովսես Խորենացին հիշատակելով նախնիների գործերի գրանցման անհրաժեշտությունը, նշել է that «the deeds fulfilled by the father of Nabugodonosor were described from memory by the custodians of registers, while our ones not taking care of it registered only afterward events [Մովսես Խորենացի, Book 1, Chapter 21]:

<sup>72</sup> In one of his inscriptions Ashurbanipal says: “IŠTAR-dure (=Sardure) whose ancestors, the kings, always wrote 'brother' to my ancestors, the kings, now IŠTAR-dure ... as a son always writes 'lord' to his father, similarly he, in the same way started to write to me as 'to the king, my lord'. With respect, he humbly brings to me his tributes”. In another letter to Sardure III, the latter considers him as his 'son' and writes in particular: “From the moment when the god gave (kingship?) to you [...], you are looking for a [f]riend ...”[И.Дьяконов, 1951b:236-8; 243-4].

<sup>73</sup> The supreme god of the Kingdom of Van which is probably composed of the non-preserved \*(h)al root of the OArm. with the possible meaning of “the Sun, heavenly light, etc.” (cf. Gk. Hom. *ἥλιος*, Dor. *ἄλιος*, *ἄλιος* etc. “the Sun”) and the well-known root of *di* (*ṛḫ*) meaning “deity, god” as the god of the Sun and the sacred fire. See U.Այվազյան, 2013:34 n. 22.

- 2) ušt=a=be <sup>m</sup>dSarduri=ne <sup>m</sup>Argište=ḫe ... (but never \*ušt=a=be <sup>m</sup>dSardure <sup>m</sup>Argište=ḫe) “Sardure, son of Argište, went (marched)...” [KUKN 241 A<sub>3</sub>],
- 3) ušt=a=be <sup>m</sup>Minua=ne <sup>m</sup>Išpuu<sup>75</sup>ine=ḫe ulu=št=ai=be <sup>d</sup>Ḫaldi=ne (but never \*ušt=a=be <sup>m</sup>Minua <sup>m</sup>Išpuuine=ḫe, ulu=št=ai=be <sup>d</sup>Ḫaldi) “Minua, son of Išpuuine went (marched), Ḫaldi directed (him)...” [KUKN 53 <sub>5-6</sub>],
- 4) <sup>m</sup>Minua=še al=e <sup>m</sup>Uṭuburši=ne LUGAL<sup>m</sup>D/Ṭiaue=ḫe n=un=a=be (but never \*<sup>m</sup>Uṭuburše ... n=un=a=be) ka=iu=ke “Minua says, Uṭuburše, the king of D/Ṭiaue (/Tiayo/ = OArm. *Tay-k*´, gen. *Tayo-c*´) came to me” [KUKN 55<sub>12-13</sub>] etc.

Our studies show that in such kind of sentences attested in hundreds in all of the Van cuneiform inscriptions known to science until now only once the subject is mentioned without the additional suffix of *-ne*. It comes to the following segment of famous bilingual inscription of Kelishin:

- 5) iu <sup>d</sup>Ḫaldi=ka[i] [<sup>URU</sup>A]rdine=(e)de n=un=a=le <sup>m</sup>Išpuuini=ne [<sup>m</sup>Sa]rdure=ḫe <sup>m</sup>Minua <sup>m</sup>Išpuuine=[ḫe] “when Išpuuine, son of Sardure (and) Minua, son of Išpuuine came (to) Ḫaldi to the (city) of Ardine ...” [KUKN 30 ur.<sub>25-27</sub>].

Here, as it can be seen, the royal name of <sup>m</sup>Minua as the second subject of the intransitive verb of *n=un=a=le* is lacking the above-mentioned *-ne* ending. This is an obvious typo and the above-cited segment should be corrected as *n=un=a=le ... <sup>m</sup>Išpuuini=ne [<sup>m</sup>Sa]rdure=ḫe <sup>m</sup>Minua<ne> <sup>m</sup>Išpuuine=[ḫe]*. Anyway, in all other cases the above-mentioned rule is strictly followed. But the object of transitive verbs in the Urartian, as a rule, is zero-marked thus getting no case endings. Accordingly, the cases of the subject of intransitive verbs (Absolute first) and of the object of transitive verbs (Absolute second) should be clearly distinguished in the Urartian language<sup>76</sup>.

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<sup>74</sup> The translations of the given segments are done by the author of this article.

<sup>75</sup> The royal name of “Išpuuine” is always recorded with double “u” in the Van cuneiform texts.

<sup>76</sup> About this see S.Ayvazyan, 2011:139-44; Ա.Այվազյան, 2013:39, 59 etc.

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