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BIAINILI-URARTU DURING THE REIGN OF ISHPUINI ALONE AND TOGETHER WITH HIS SON, MENUA, ACCORDING TO THE RESEARCH OF K.F. LEHMANN-HAUPT

Abstract:

Pioneer of Urartology, orientalist K.F. Lehmann-Haupt (1861–1938) during his research of the Armenian Highlands and Northern Mesopotamia (1898–1899), among other ancient sites, also researched the probable region of Musasir, the religious center of the Kingdom of Van. Discussing the problems of the early period of the history of Van Kingdom (Urartu), the scientist considered as a special topic of a deep research the spread of the cult of the god Khaldi in the capital Tushpa and other areas out of the city. It is noteworthy, that in this context the researcher was the first to conduct a scientific discussion on the circumstances of the location of the bilingual inscription of Kelishin of Musasir region, its dates, about the scribe who recorded it, also the language of the inscriptions. According to K.F. Lehmann-Haupt, the city of Musasir was probably founded in the 9th century BCE and the cult of the god Khaldi was established there. The researcher believes that Menua's brother, Sarduri was appointed viceroy in Musasir and there was a statue dedicated to him in the temple of Musasir the presence of which was evidenced in the description about the invasion of Urartu in 714 BCE by the Assyrian king Sargon II (721–705 BCE). Examining the road from Van to Musasir, K.F. Lehmann-Haupt considers it as a result of the Biainian engineering mind and notes that it was also built in accordance with the features of the transportation of the Biainian army.

Introduction

Restoring the realities of Ishpuini's reign period (alone – about 830–820 BCE, and together with Menua – 820–810 BCE) in the Kingdom of Van, K.F. Lehmann-Haupt paid a special attention to the Biainilian statehood: the circumstances of the expansion to Musasir and the formation and development of the worship of god Khaldi.[1]

The capital of the Kingdom of Van, Tushpa, which, according to the author, became the center of the state during the reign of Ishpuini, is considered by K.F. Lehmann-Haupt as the city of the god Khaldi.[2] Thus, as a starting point for the restoration of the realities of Ishpuini's reign the author chooses the spread of the cult of the god Khaldi in the kingdom of Van. K.F. Lehmann-Haupt, based on his reading of the inscription on the eastern side of the Van citadel (Tabriz Gates), thinks that this inscription was compiled during Ishpuini's single reign.[3] Regarding the details of the inscription about the construction works, the author believes that Ishpuini restored the ruined castle built on the Van rock.[4] The author also excludes the contradictory conclusion that Ishpuini and Lutipri's son, Sarduri, did construction works in the same place, on the other hand, there is no mention in the inscription about the fact that Ishpuini's father, Sarduri, was a co-builder.[5] However, the inscription provides details about the construction of the temple

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[1] See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 341.

[2] K.F. Lehmann-Haupt, misreading the Urartian plural indicator *na* as city, represents *Haldina* as the Khaldian city Tushpa, and promotes the gates of Khaldi (BÁBU-susi) as Khaldian city's gates (fortresses) founded in different places (see **Lehmann-Haupt** 1935, 148–155, 1926, 21, 165; **Wilhelm** 1988, 100–102. This viewpoint of K.F. Lehmann-Haupt was once rightly criticized by Y. Friedrich (see **Friedrich** 1936, 62–78).

[3] The researcher came to such a conclusion based on the inscription's fragment "mIš-pu-ú-i-ni-še a-li-e", however, Menua and Inushpua also were mentioned as co-builders (see **Lehmann-Haupt** 1928, № 11, 23: 1926, 18).

[4] K.F. Lehmann-Haupt translates ši-i-di-iš-tú-še as "to rebuild", and ba-du-si-e as "destroyed" (see **Lehmann-Haupt** 1935, 88, 152). However, today such a translation is denied: the researchers translate šid-iš(i)t(u) as "to build", and there are different opinions about badusi(e) used as adverb (see **Harutyunyan** 2001, 440, 464).

[5] See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1931, 909. B. Piotrovsky believes that the inscription refers to the final construction of the walls of the Van citadel (see **Piotrovsky** 1959, 63).

dedicated to the god Khaldi in the citadel, and the establishment of a rock-hewn portal, Gate of Khaldi, in front of the city of Tushpa which corresponds to the inscription's context.[6]

K.F. Lehmann-Haupt's studies about the establishment of the Biainian dynasty and the cult of the god Khaldi in Tushpa, the construction of the city and the temple of Ardini-Musasir, the dates, the ethnicity of the population, the issues of leaving bilingual inscriptions have not been comprehensively examined. The purpose of this research is to study the results of K.F. Lehmann-Haupt's works on the above-mentioned problems in combination with today's sources and archaeological data, to complete the views expressed in the huge scientific heritage left by the researcher, to find out the facts that condition them. It is noteworthy that during soviet era in Urartology only G. Melikishvili's viewpoint was accepted, which stated that the region of Musasir was the ancient political and religious cultural center of the Urartian tribes, and it later became the religious center of the Urartian Empire.[7]

The Bilingual Record of Kelishin

K.F. Lehmann-Haupt tentatively dated the bilingual inscription of the Kelishin mountain pass in the south-east of the Armenian Highlands to the last period of Ishpuini's single reign.[8] Taking into acount the suggested translation of Albrecht Goetze, the author later assumed that the inscription was written during the second visit to Mutsutsir at the beginning of the joint reign of Ishpuini and Menua.[9] According to A. Goetze, the Assyrian text of the Kelishin inscription was

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[6] See **Salvini** 1995a, 145; 2008, A 4–1$_{6-7}$.

[7] G. Melikishvili thinks that the inscription of Salmanasar I (1273–1244 BCE) that talks about his affairs during the first year of the reign, Urartu was mentioned as Uruatri, which at that time was still a tribal union in the upper and middle reaches of Great Zab River (see **Melikishvili** 1947, 21–29; same: 1948, 45–48; same: 1954, 104–108). In one of his studies, M. Salvini, however, locates Uruatri in a territory that lies to the north of Lake Van (see **Salvini** 2015, 390, also **Diakonoff** 1951, № 2, ref. 5, 7).

[8] See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 340; 1928, № 12.

[9] See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1935, 160. A. Götze assumes that Kelishin inscription describes two different events: foundation of a shrine during the first visit, and the erection of a *monument with an inscription* during the second visit (see **Götze** 1930, 124). According to F. König, the inscription was written by two different authors. During the reign of Ishpuini in Kelishin pass a sanctuary called *burganani* was built, a summer grazing area, and the number of the animals mentioned at the beginning of the inscription and kept there was about 22,600. After that,

written in new Assyrian dialect, and the Biainian and Assyrian texts of the inscription correspond to each other word by word.[10] Examining A. Goetze's current point of view, K.F. Lehmann-Haupt states that there was also an Indo-Aryan element in Musasir and assumes that the scriber originally was from Musasir, knew Musasir's Biainian dialect and spoke well enough in the Assyrian language,[11] not excluding the fact that the inscription was partially composed by the representatives of the priest class. G. Melikishvili also believes that in Musasir the Musasir dialect of the Biainian language was used, noting that the Kelishin inscription's 1–22 lines have mentions of the form "Aldi", then "Haldi", and there are also various suffixes in these passages.[12] However, the viewpoint about the existence of Musasir's dialect is currently denied.[13] At the same time, it should be noted that the inscriptions of Sarduri, son of Lutipri, were also written in the new Assyrian dialect,[14] that can testify the possible connection of the schools.

By K.F. Lehmann-Haupt's viewpoint, it was assumed that the conquest of the eastern regions of the Kelishin mountain pass had already begun at that time.[15] The fact that the Kelishin inscription is bilingual and located in the mountain pass of the same name, K.F. Lehmann-Haupt explains by the existence of a road leading to Assyria through the mountain pass: according to his research, there was an Assyrian fortress at the eastern foot of that pass.[16] The Kelishin inscription has a mention about Ishpuini's and Menua's *visit to the city of Ardini-Musasir*, the

Ishpuini and Menua visited Musasir for the second time, built an *iarani-temple* and a *BARA-residence-pedestal* there, and then a big number of animals were sent to Musasir. When Ishpuini and Menua left Musasir, the animals were sold, thus provoking their other visit (see **König** 1955/1957, 42–45, 48–50, 235). V. Mayer translates *iarani* as the pillar of the monument (**Mayer** 2013, 25). According to Y. Grekyan's research, *iarani* is a religious structure built by Syrian-Mesopotamian standards (see **Grekyan** 2018, 85) which shows the difference of Musasir temple from other Biainian structures.

[10] See **Götze** 1930, 99–100. Unfortunately, this hypothesis of A. Götze is not supported today, there are some differences in Biainian and Assyrian texts (see **Benedict** 1961, 361).

[11] See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1935, 137, 148. Y. Friedrich rejects this assumption of K.F. Lehmann-Haupt regarding the compiler of the record and considers Götze's version more reliable (see **Friedrich** 1932, 42–46; 1936, 77).

[12] The author explains these changes with the relevant instruction received from Tushpa (see **Melikishvili** 1960, 82–84).

[13] See **Salvini** 1995b, 446.

[14] See **Wilhelm** 1986, 106.

[15] See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1910, 257, 1926, 341–342; **Salvini** 1983, 224–226.

[16] See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1910, 247–248; 1926, 341; 1935, 151.

construction of *iarani* and the *establishment of an inscription*.[17] K.F. Lehmann-Haupt believes that the inscription mentioned in the text is not identical with the Kelishin monument, because there are no traces of Biainian construction near the mountain pass. The mentioned inscription was found in the wall of the iarani-parakku temple in Musasir.[18] Based on the data of the Kelishin inscription, the researcher believes that the affairs in Musasir dedicated to the cult of Khaldi testify its transformation from theocratic to political for the Biainian state.

The fact of the construction of an iarani in Ardini may at least indicate that another structure dedicated to Khaldi was added to the already existing temple complex. The existence of the temple is also evidenced by the visit of Ishpuini and Menua to Ardini for "coming to the god Khaldi" (worship). The Kelishin inscription is one of the copies of the inscription in Ardini, that were erected in different parts of the road, leading to Musasir.[19] The fact that the inscription, mentioned at the beginning of the text, appears without a pronoun (we are talking about another inscription) and the one "mentioned in the curse-formula"[20] appears with the *-ini* demonstrative pronoun also testifies in favor of this circumstance.[21] The viewpoint that the inscription refers to events that have taken place at different times remains pending due to the paucity of facts.

The Problem of Ardini-Musasir City and Temple Foundation.

K.F. Lehmann-Haupt assumes that the city of Ardini was just being founded at that time, not excluding the possibility that it already existed.[22] The author

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[17] See **Salvini** 2008, A 3–11Ro$_{6–7}$. *Iarani*, mentioned in the Biainian fragment of the inscription, corresponds to the Assyrian *parraku*. In ancient Babylonian texts *parakku(m)* meant a "temple", later – worship pedestal (see **Soden** 1972, 827–828).

[18] See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1935, 139–140, 151. I. Dyakonov thinks that along with Gates of Khaldi it is necessary to find the meaning of the portal of the mountain pass mentioned in the Kelishin inscription (see **Diakonoff** 1988, 162–163).

[19] See **Salvini** 1995a, 149.

[20] The "curse-formula" of the Biainian fragment of the Kelishin inscription differs from the rest of the inscriptions, which are still pending (see **Benedict** 1961, 383–385).

[21] See **Salvini** 2008, A 3–11Ro$_{7, 37}$.

[22] See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 342. First mentions about Musasir were found in one of the inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 BCE) dated to the 879 BCE: the ambassadors of Musasir were invited to the ten-days ceremony dedicated to the opening of Nimrud's royal palace (see **Grayson** 1991, A.0.101.30 (147), 145–150, **Salvini** 1995b, 444). Some researchers consider the possible connection of the land of Musru and the city of Arini with Ardini-Musasir

argues his point of view by the fact that Salmanasar III (858–824 BCE) in the description of his invasion in the 31st year of his reign mentioned about the conquest of the fortified city of Tsaparia and 46 other settlements in the country of Musasir, but there is no information about the city of Musasir.[23] The description of the campaign was continued with the scene of the destruction of 50 settlements by Dayyan-Assur, the commander-in-chief of the Assyrian army, when he moved from Musasir to the fortresses of Urartu.[24] K.F. Lehmann-Haupt also mentions two other circumstances in favor of the Biainian foundation of the city of Ardini: the etymology of the name Musasir in the Assyrian language, and the presence of the Biainian road construction in Musasir.[25] Lehmann-Haupt suggests the folk version of the Assyrian etymology for "Musasir" as "a place where the snake comes out or the outlet of the snake".[26] The basis of such an etymology for the author was the text of the seal of Urzana, the king of Musasir, which says: "Seal of Urzana, the king of Musasir, the city ... whose mouth is opened like a snake in evil mountains".[27] According to the author, the city here was directly compared to the serpent in the mountains. The author believes that the plateau, on which the ruins of Musasir are located, corresponds to a description (see below). K.F. Lehmann-Haupt notes that Musasir, as a southern country adjacent to Urartu and dominated by it, had a military road directly from Van to Ardini.[28] The author

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mentioned in inscriptions of the Middle Assyrian period (see **Harutyunyan** 1985, 36, 145–146; **Radner** 2012, 245–246). The possible location of Musru is near Kumenu. It should be noted that there is also a Neo-Assyrian version [KUR]Mu-us/ṣ-ri (mountains north of the capital Dur-Sharukin), which was identified by its geographical location with the Musur mountains and the land of Musur mentioned in the texts dated to the reign period of Tiglath-Pileser III (see **Kessler** 1995, 497).

[23] See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 325; **Grayson** 1996, A.0.102.14, 174b–190.

[24] See **Harutyunyan** 1970, 130–131.

[25] See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 301–302.

[26] See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 305–336.

[27] Comp. **Diakonoff** 1951, № 48.

[28] K.F. Lehmann-Haupt in his book quotes V. Belk's report about the military road from Van to Musasir: the Biainian military road comes from the north or northeast to Sidekan from where it turns to the east, continuing to Topuzawa, Bane, and Kelishin. The hilly road here is completely passable for 75 km to the north, northeast, then a steep road over the tributaries of the Great Zab River to the Haruna River. The 10–12 km road continues to the village of Kaniresh 45–50 km away from the Haruna River along the mountains of the Persian-Turkish border. There are no clear facts about this part of the route belonging to the Biainian road. The hill on the road to Kaniresh village is sectioned in the same shape and width as the one near Topuzawa.

mentions the presence of the stone-walled slopes and rock cuttings in the road and draws parallels with road construction technique during the Mycenaean period in Greece. This road had 1.7–2.5/3 m width and was intended not only for the transportation of pedestrians and horsemen, but also for troops and chariots.[29] The slopes were avoided as much as possible during the construction of the road. The road's minimum width gives a possibility to make an assumption about the Biainian chariots. In this regard, it is worth mentioning the brief summary of the results of the author's research about Musasir: "Thus, we definitely see that Musasir was geographically connected with the Khaldian state, as its southern branch is beyond the mountains of the Persian-Turkish border, while for the army these territories were completely impassable from Assyria through Revanduz".[30]

According to K.F. Lehman-Haupt, after conquering these regions from Assyria, here was established a Biainian garrison, the city and its surrounding territories were forced to worship the god Khaldi.[31] Probably, Misasir came under the control of the Kingdom of Van without any resistance when the Assyrian military abandoned the city.[32] K.F. Lehmann-Haupt also discusses the topic whether Musasir could be the initial homeland[33] of the Biainian people and the

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Then the road goes 50 km to the north through the valley of the Zerzan River, Dize, Hadamakert and the Chukh pass, where the traces of the Biainian road, the Khoshab valley and Van are clearly visible on the way up. 7.5 km south of the Chukh pass is a rock-hewn niche, a gate, 4 m wide and 15 m deep (see **Lehmann-Haupt** 1910, 29; 1926, 307–309).

[29] See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1910, 302–304.

[30] See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 309.

[31] According to Lehmann-Haupt, here also was established the worship of the other gods of the Biainian pantheon and the city was probably named Ardini (Shivini) after the sun deity, (see **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 342). Along with Khaldi in Musasir the goddess Bagbartu was also worshiped; the first syllable of her name in Persian sounds like "baga", in Russian, "bog", and this indicates the presence of an Indo-European element in Musasir (see **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 335). In 1946, Y. Friedrich replaced the reading form of Ardini with Shivini as the name of the sun god, and connected it with the god Shimigini of the Hurrian pantheon (see **Friedrich** 1940, S. 213–218). I. Dyakonov considers Shimigini/Shivigini/Shivini as a unsubstantiated transition and finds it to be a Hittite appropriation (see **Diakonoff** 1988, 172).

[32] See **Salvini** 1983, 228.

[33] G. Melikishvili believes that the ancient religious, cultural and political centers of the Urartians were located in the upper and middle reaches of the Great Zab River, as well as in the region of present-day Revanduz. Otherwise, it is unlikely that Musasir was a sacred city during the Urartian period (see **Melikishvili** 1954, 164–165, and 167–168). V. Mayer suggests that the

ancient cult center of the god Khaldi.[34] According to K.F. Lehmann-Haupt, Assyrian sources referering to Urartu during the reign of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 BCE) for the first time, never locate the Urartu-Assyrian confrontation in the south-east regions of Tur-Abdin.[35]

Now the most acceptable etymology of the name of Ardini is considered the Hurrian version: ard/te=ni.[36] The Biainian origin of the name of Ardini can be explained if we accept K.F. Lehmann-Haupt's idea about the establishment of Ardini by the people of Biainili. In this case, it is remarkable to remember the version proposed by G. Jahukyan: "power, authority, command, god-goddess",[37] taking into account the divine nature of the god Khaldi and the role of the newly established city.

K.F. Lemann-Haupt dates the establishment of the temple in Musasir and all the structures dedicated to the god Khaldi described in the rock inscription in Van to the same period of time. According to him, Menua's brother, Sarduri was appointed viceroy in Musasir, and there was a statue dedicated to him in the temple of Musasir the presence of which was evidenced in the inscription by Sargon II.[38] K.F. Lehmann-Haupt believes that the warrior's statue on the right side of the temple's facade in Musasir is probably Sarduri's depiction.[39] There was

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Biainian wealth descended from Aramale, had close ties to Musri's ruling class and that they contrasted Ashur with the Khaldi god of the Arinu sanctuary (see **Mayer** 2013, 13–14).

[34] M. Salvini believes that Khaldi was not originally a Hurrian-Urartian god. Even from the Middle Assyrian region in Upper Mesopotamia, evidence of the theophoric personal name Khaldi is noticeable, it documents the spread of the cult of Khaldi from Musasir, northern Mesopotamia. Musasir was an international religious centre like Kumme, and the rise of the cult of the god Khaldi must have been interwoven with Ishpuini's political plans (see **Salvini** 1995a, 37–40).

[35] See **Grayson** 1991, A.0.101.30 (1–20a); **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 336.

[36] See **Melikishvili** 1954, 36; **Diakonoff** 1967, 139. Following this viewpoint, M. Salvini suggests that the name is connected with the significance of the sanctuary for Hurrian-speaking population (see **Salvini** 1995a, 47). N. Harutyunyan assumes that the name of Ardini is connected with the name of the goddess Ardi from Urartian pantheon, and her worship originated here and only during the reign of Rusa, son of Sarduri (about 730–714 BCE), Musasir became the cult center of the god Khaldi: the researcher explains that Ardini was an important city by its strategic significance (see **Harutyunyan** 1970, 355).

[37] See **Jahukyan** 1967, 39; 1986, 49.

[38] See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1921, 31; **Lehmann-Haupt** 1931, 557; **Mayer** 2013, 20.

[39] Some researchers believe that here we are talking about *Ishpuini, son of Sarduri*, because he is mentioned in the inscription as "King of Urartu": in fact, in the text we are dealing with a mistake made by the scribe (**Adonts** 1972, 194; **Hmayakyan** 1990, 72; **Salvini** 1995a,

a statue of a cow feeding her calf in front of the warrior's statue, on the right side.[40] Along with these statues it was also mentioned about a copper statue of a bull among the trophy looted from the temple.[41] The presence of such a group of statues at the entrance of the temple of Khaldi may suggest the possible connection of these animals with the cult of Khaldi and Bagbartu. B. Piotrovsky, pointing out the presence there of the statue dedicated to Sarduri, son of Ishpuini, assumes that the construction of the Musasir's temple may be dated to the end of the 9th century BCE.[42]

Sharing Ernst Herzfeld's point of view, K.F. Lehmann-Haupt believes that the temple of Musasir represents Pontic-Paphlagonian style which, in its turn, relates to the ancient temples.[43] E. Herzfeld notes that the main features of the temple's style are the six columns of the colonnaded open hall that support the upper facade (fronton) along with the walls. The stylobate made up a quarter of the entire temple. There is a door leading to the main room covered with a gable in the center of the back wall of the vestibule. The entire surface of the upper facade is covered with geometric patterns resembling the Phrygian upper facades; the

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97). According to the inscription, by the order of this person were made statues of a cow and a bull from the cooper kept in the temple. Based on this circumstance, G. Melikishvili believes that he was the supreme priest of the temple: his statue was found there in a praying position (see **Melikishvili** 1954, 204). V. Mayer believes that the above-mentioned Sarduri was a historical person and was the founder of the Biainian dynasty in Musasir, uniting the religious and political centers (see **Mayer** 2013, 20–21). Based on the few available facts, it can be concluded that this person was authorized to manage the already existing wealth of the temple, which is directly evidenced by the management of the temple by the ruling wealth.

[40] It is noteworthy, that according to the Hittite-Hurrian legend, the sun god falls in love with a cow (see **Ivanov** 1992, 550). This was considered as an animal embodiment of the sun goddess in the ancient world (see in details **Badalyan** 2018, 126).

[41] To the left of the bas-relief, probably on the roof of the palace, there is an Assyrian commander dictating the spoils to the scribes (see **Rehm** 2004, 178).

[42] See **Piotrovsky** 1959, 201.

[43] See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1931, 557; **Sarre** und **Herzfeld** 1910, 8–9. K. Trevor identifies the main features of Garni temple with the temple of Musasir (see **Trever** 1953, 74). In this regard, A. Petrosyan's assumption is very interesting: he thinks that Khaldi was possibly a Hayasa-Azzi deity, which may explain such possible connections (see **Petrosyan** 2015, 87–88, 45). David Stronach connects the temple of Musasir with the temple of Ayanis, suggesting that the temple was surrounded by pylons (see **Stronach** 2012, 312–315). Based on the data of the bilingual inscriptions of Kelishin and Rusa, son of Sarduri, M. Salvini differentiates the Musasir temple from the Biainian tower-shaped temples, thinking that it was a structure marked as E'.BA' RA ideogramm (see **Salvini** 2014, 205).

height of the upper facade is equal to half the size of the columns' height. The spear tip depiction on the temple's roof symbolizes Khaldi, the god of war and thunderstorm of the Urartian pantheon.[44]

F. Lehmann-Haupt suggests that the pillars of the Musasir temple had neither capitals nor pillars.[45] It is assumed that the temple was a square structure with a two-sided or four-sided roof.[46]

The Location Problem of Ardini-Musasir

According to Lehmann-Haupt, the region of Musasir covered a small area but had several towns. In the author's words, the region of Musasir extended to Revanduz in the west, and it is assumed that it did not go beyond the valley of the Topuzava River in the south, thus it was possible to extend further than Badlian only in the north.[47] K.F. Lehmann-Haupt believes that the ruins of Musasir are the remains of a not spacious fortress on the top of the plateau: 2 km east of Sidekan, west of the Kelishin Pass. "Here the fortress' wall is visible, destroyed almost to the bottom, made of the small stones and boulders that are not stacked on each other. Next to it is clearly visible the basement of the old Khaldean-Musasirian structure sticking out of the ground only in some places". The author notes that the inner wall of the fortress on the top of the plateau is made in the Biainian style: mortar-free massive and poorly polished 3.4–4m-thick boulders. "It includes a 36x32 m square-shaped area where the royal palace and the temple of Khaldi could have been. The temple structures of the Khaldians were astonishingly small without any exception".[48] Traces of a long fortress wall made of similar stones are also noticeable at the bottom of the plateau. The author thinks that such a wall would hardly withstand a long siege. Therefore, according to the author, Musasir

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[44] See **Riemschneider** 1965, 325. Considering the depictions that are behind the statues standing at the entrance in a saluting position, K. Calmeyer describes them as spears and on the roof of the cathedral as a sacred tree (see **Calmeyer** 1979, 183–193).

[45] It is assumed that the columns were made of tall round or square stones, the fittings of which were covered with a decorative strip, like the visible wall of the hall (see **Lehmann-Haupt** 1931, 558).

[46] See **Boehmer** 1995, 447.

[47] See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 299.

[48] "The ruins of many houses can be seen inside the square, built of small quadrangular stones. Stacks of such quadrangular stones also stretch along the length of the outer wall." (see **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 300–301).

was not protected well enough; the inhabitants relied on the natural and impregnable conditions of the place.

The research results conducted here encountered not only newer but also ancient remains of structures and pieces in 1973 of pottery dated to the 8th–7th centuries BCE. Currently, this viewpoint of K.F. Lehmann-Haupt about the location of Musasir is controversial because more probable location of the city is considered to be near the village of Mujesir, 7 km west of this territory.[49] By this location, we are dealing with Musasir settlement, dating back to the Biainian period and, as K.F. Lehmann-Haupt assumes, the region of Musasir had several settlements.

So, the internal opinions about Musasir discussed in historiography can be divided into two parts: Musru-Musasir and Arini-Ardini, accordingly, the cult of the god Khaldi already existed in Ardini during Middle Assyrian period. In the case of this version, as was mentioned, there are different assumptions about Khaldi's connection with the Hurro-Biainian (Hurro-Urartian) world at that time. The fact that the city of Arini was no longer mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions, also that the name of Ardini in Biainian bilingual inscriptions was used as Musasir, and later as Musur, remains debatable.

And secondly, the suggested version of K.F. Lehmann-Haupt: the city was founded at the end of the 9th century BCE, and the cult of the god Khaldi was already established. As mentioned previously, the researcher did not exclude the possibility of the early existence of the city.[50] There is no direct evidence in sources about the construction of the temple of Khaldi in Musasir, but it is assumed that the construction and rise of the temple should be conditioned by the rise of the Khaldi's worship in the kingdom of Van. As K.F. Lehmann-Haupt mentions that there are structures and the evidence of road construction in the region of Musasir dating back to the Biainian period. The foundation of Ardini can be traced back to the Biainian period in the context of the fortress and city construction system in the Armenian Highlands.

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[49] See **Boehmer** 1995, 446.

[50] This assumption partially relates to the above mentioned viewpoint of N. Harutyunyan. Ardini became the religious center of the god Khaldi much later during the reign of Rusa, son of Sarduri.

Conclusion

According to Assyrian inscriptions, Musasir was out of the political influence of the Kingdom of Van at least until the invasion of Shalmaneser III in 827 BCE, the 31st year of his reign. The god Khaldi was also mentioned in inscriptions, dating to the period of Ishpuini's single reign. The first reliable details about the cult of Khaldi were found in the Kelishin inscription dated to 820–810 BCE. It should be noted that besides Khaldi, Teisheba and Shivini the gods of Ardini were also mentioned in the curse-formula of the Kelishin inscription. The submission of Musasir to the dominance of the Kingdom of Van was also due to the threat of Assyria from the south through the Zab Valley. Based on the discussed topics K.F. Lehmann-Haupt's thoughts about the establishment of the cult of Khaldi in Musasir still continue to be relevant, at least in the context of various periods of the spread and transformation of the cult of the god Khaldi. Many unsolved problems related to the topic of Musasir are a subject for future studies: the exact location of the city, the dates of the city foundation and temple construction, etc.

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ԲԻԱՅՆԻԼԻ-ՈՒՐԱՐՏՈՒՆ ԻՇՊՈՒԻՆԻԻ ՄԻԱՆՁՆՅԱ ԵՎ ՄԵՆՈՒԱՅԻ ՀԵՏ ՀԱՄԱՏԵՂ ԳԱՀԱԿԱԼՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՏԱՐԻՆԵՐԻՆ՝ ԸՍՏ Կ.Ֆ. ԼԵՄԱՆ-ՀԱՈՒՊՏԻ ՀԵՏԱԶՈՏՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐԻ

ՎԱՀԵ ՍԱՐԳՍՅԱՆ

Ամփոփում

Կ.Ֆ. Լեման-Հաուպտը, Վանի թագավորությունում Իշպուինիի (մ.թ.ա. մոտ 830–820 թթ. միանձնյա և մ.թ.ա. 820–810 թթ. Մենուայի հետ համատեղ) գահակալության տարիների իրողությունները վերականգնելիս, առանցքային հետազոտական խնդիր էր դիտարկում բիայնական պետականության՝ դեպի Մուծածիր ծավալման և Խալդի աստծո պաշտամունքի ձնավորման ու զարգացման հանգամանքը: Ըստ այդմ, հեղինակն Իշպուինիի գահակալության տարիներին կատարված իրողությունների վերականգնման մեկնակետ է ընտրում Խալդի աստծո պաշտամունքի տարածումը Վանի թագավորությունում: Կ.Ֆ. Լեման-Հաուպտը, Վանա միջնաբերդի արևելյան կողմի իր ընթերցած արձանագրությունը (Թավրիզյան դարպասներ) հիմք ընդունելով, գտնում է, որ այս արձանագրությունը կազմվել է դեռևս Իշպուինիի միանձնյա գահակալության ժամանակաշրջանում և համաժամանակյա է Մուծածիրի տաճարի կառուցմանը: Ուշագրավ է, որ Կ.Ֆ. Լեման-Հաուպտը դեռևս բիայնագիտության արշալույսին քննարկել է նաև բիայնացիների Մուծածիրից սերելու հանգամանքը և հնդեվրոպախոս շերտի առկայությունն այնտեղ: Կ.Ֆ. Լեման-Հաուպտը կարծում է, որ Մուծածիրի տաճարի կառուցվածքն ադերսվում է պոնտական-պաֆլագոնիական ոճին, որն էլ իր հերթին առնչվում է անտիկ տաճարների ճարտարապետությունը: Կ.Ֆ. Լեման-Հաուպտի հետազոտությունները Վանի թագավորությունում Խալդի աստծո պաշտամունքի տարածման վերաբերյալ ներկայումս նույնպես արդիական են՝ առնվազն պաշտամունքի տարածման և վերափոխման տարբեր փուլերի ծիրում:

Բանալի բառեր՝ Կ.Ֆ. Լեման-Հաուպտ, Ասորեստան, Բիայնիլի, Տուշպա, Արդինի-Մուծածիր, Խալդի աստված, երկլեզվյան արձանագրություն:

БИАЙНИЛИ-УРАРТУ В ГОДЫ ЕДИНОЛИЧНОГО ПРАВЛЕНИЯ ИШПУИНИ, А В ДАЛЬНЕЙШЕМ И СОВМЕСТНОГО ЦАРСТВОВАНИЯ С МЕНУА, ПО ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯМ К.Ф. ЛЕМАНН-ГАУПТА

ВАГЕ САРКИСЯН

Резюме

При воссоздании реалий Ванского царства в период правления Ишпуини (единолично – около 830–820 гг. до н.э., совместно с Менуа – 820–810 гг. до н.э.), К.Ф. Леманн-Гаупт главной исследовательской проблемой Урартской государственности считал расширение территорий в направлени Мусасира, а также особенности формирования и развития культа бога Халди. Соответственно, воссоздавая историческую картину периода правления Ишпуини, в качестве исходной точки автор рассматривает распространение культа бога Халди в Ванском царстве. К.Ф. Леманн-Гаупт, основываясь на надписи на восточной стороне Ванской цитадели (Тебризские ворота), приходит к выводу, что данная надпись относится к периоду единоличного правления Ишпуини и строительства храма в Мусасире.

Примечательно, что К.Ф. Леманн-Гаупт, ещё на начальной стадии изучения урартологии, выдвинул точку зрения о происхождении биайнийцев из Мусасира и наличии там говорящей на индоевропейском языке прослойки. По мнению К.Ф. Леманн-Гаупта, архитектурный стиль храма Мусасира перекликается с понтийско-пафлагонским стилем, характерным для древних храмов. Исследования К.Ф. Леманн-Гаупта, посвященные распространению культа бога Халди в Ванском царстве, актуальны по сей день, по крайней мере, в плане распространения и трансформации культа на разных этапах.

Ключевые слова: *К.Ф. Леманн-Гаупт, Ассирия, Биайнили, Тушпа, Ардини-Мусасир, бог Халди, двуязычная надпись.*