


**VAHE SARGSYAN\***

*Junior Researcher Departament  
of Ancient History Institute of History NAS RA*

anarzaba@gmail.com

0000-0002-9569-2569 

DOI: 10.54503/1829-4073-2025.2.12-31

## **THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN URARTU AND ASSYRIA DURING THE REIGN OF RUSA, SON OF SARDURI: ACCORDING TO THE RESEARCH OF C.F. LEHMANN-HAUPT**

### ***Abstract***

During their 1898–1899 journey through the Armenian Highlands and Northern Mesopotamia, the German orientalist C.F. Lehmann-Haupt and the chemist W. Belck, among other archaeological sites, also explored the supposed region of Musasir, the spiritual center of Biainili-Urartu. It is noteworthy that they also copied the Topzawa inscription, already known from various testimonies.<sup>1</sup> According to C.F. Lehmann-Haupt, this bilingual inscription constitutes a primary source for reconstructing the events that unfolded between Urartu and Assyria during the reign of Rusa, son of Sarduri. It is noteworthy that a number of reconstructions suggested by this pioneer of Urartian studies in connection with the Topzawa inscription remain debated and contested to this day. They concerned the identity of the king who left the inscription, the chronology and nature of the events described, as well as the causes and route of the Assyrian king Sargon II's campaign against Urartu in 714 BCE (reigned 721–705 BCE).<sup>2</sup> At the beginning of the twentieth century,

---

\* *The article has been delivered on 26.07.2025, reviewed on 15.08.2025, accepted for publication on 29.08.2025.*

© 2025 The Author(s). This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License.

<sup>1</sup> See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1910, 243–244; 1926, 291; **Arutyunyan** 2001, 387; **Salvini** 2018, A 10–5.

<sup>2</sup> See **Lehmann** 1900a, 624, 630; **Lehmann** 1900b, 434–435; **Lehmann** 1904, 831–840. For discussion, see **Thureau-Dangin** 1912, XV–XVIII; **Roaf** 2010, 69–75, and also **Roaf** 2012, 188 ff.

---

## The Struggle between Urartu and Assyria during the Reign of Rusa...

---

when C.F. Lehmann-Haupt addressed the route of Sargon II's campaign in the Urmian basin, the boundaries of Urartu were still unclear, and his hypotheses were largely disregarded.<sup>3</sup>

**Keywords:** *Topzawa inscription, Lake Urmia, Mana, Musasir, Sargon II, Urzana, campaign.*

### **Introduction**

The Urartian-Assyrian struggle for control over Mana (Mannea) and the adjacent regions in the northwestern part of the Iranian plateau is attested in the annals of Sargon II in 719 BC. In this struggle for supremacy over Mana, Rusa, son of Sarduri (735–714 BC<sup>4</sup>) acted through his vassal, Mitatti, the leader of Zikirtu.<sup>5</sup> Addressing these events, C.F. Lehmann-Haupt observed that in the confrontation between two equal powers, particular importance was attached by both sides to the kingdom of Musasir. Its conquest by Rusa, an event commemorated in the Topzawa inscription, marked the climax of the struggle and directly determined Sargon II's campaign against Urartu in 714 BC. The Assyrian king's expedition was further facilitated by the incursions of the Cimmerians into Urartu.

### **The Urartian-Assyrian Struggle in the Urmian Basin**

In the third year of his reign, Sargon II was compelled to support Iranzu, king of Mana, who was under Assyrian suzerainty (at least from 744–719 BC), because, instigated by Mitatti, uprisings had broken out in two cities of Mana.<sup>6</sup> The Assyrian army, using siege techniques, conquered and destroyed the two rebellious cities, which was unusual in such a mountainous region. It is

---

<sup>3</sup> See **Zymanski** 1990, 4.

<sup>4</sup> **Grekyan** 2023, 784, 795 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Zikirtu was one of the provinces of the kingdom of Mana, whose governor, Mitatti, with the support of Urartu, was already in 719 BCE contending against Iranzu, king of Mana, as an equal rival (see **Fuchs** 2014–2016a, 309; **Radner** 2016–2018, 288). On the basis of Assyrian correspondence, it has been assumed that Mitatti rose to power in Zikirtu through the military intervention of Rusa, son of Sarduri (see **Grekyan** 2024, 36 and the literature cited therein). Some of these source-based testimonies have also been suggested to be restored in the context of the new circumstances that emerged after the Battle of Uaush in 714 BCE, when the king of Zikirtu established diplomatic relations with Assyria (see **Fuchs** 2014–2016a, 309; **Radner** 2016–2018, 288).

<sup>6</sup> See **Lehmann** 1926, 315; **Fuchs** 1993, 315 (58–60); **Frame** 2021, 1, 58–65.

evidenced that in the context of these events in Mana, King Rusa himself was supporting three other rebellious cities bordering Urartu. “*The people of the cities Sukkia, Bāla, (and) Abitkna conceived an evil plan to eradicate (their own) land and gave their word to Ursā (Rusā), the Uraṛṭian, (to do obeisance to him)*”.<sup>7</sup> After the suppression of the rebellion and the conquest of the cities, the population was deported and resettled in Assyria. The success of Assyria during this campaign is evidenced by the fact that in the following years the Mesopotamian basin was quiet.<sup>8</sup>

Taking advantage of the fact that Assyria was engaged in warfare in Cappadocia and Tabal in 718–717 BC, Urartu resumed its struggle over Mana in 716 BC. Bagdatti of Uishdish (in the regions of Sohendi and Lake Urmia) and Mitatti of Zikerta (south and southeast of Sohendi),<sup>9</sup> among others, rose in rebellion against the new king of Mana, Atu, son of Iranzu, instigated by Rusa. In Uishdish, near Mount Uaush, Atu was killed in a battle against the rebels.

The rebels proclaimed Atu’s brother, Ullusunu, as king. According to C.F. Lehmann-Haupt, by aligning with Rusa, he aimed to free himself from Assyrian suzerainty.<sup>10</sup> At Ullusunu’s instigation, the kings of the neighboring southern regions, Karrala and Allabria, followed his example and promised “to do obeisance to the land Uraṛṭu.”<sup>11</sup>

“In order to avenge the Manneans (and) to make (that area part of) the territory of Assyria” the Assyrian army won yet another victory near Mount Uaush, where Bagdatti was flayed.<sup>12</sup> The rebellion ended with the conquest of Izirtu, the capital of Mannea, as well as two other cities. Ullusunu, however, was not deprived of his throne by Sargon II. By sparing him, Sargon II punished the other rebels instead, thereby depriving Ullusunu of potential allies in case of a future revolt. In certain parts of Mannea, Assyrian administration was

---

<sup>7</sup> Fuchs 1993, 315 (66–67); Frame 2021, 1, 66–68a.

<sup>8</sup> See Diakonoff 1956, 206; Mayer 1995, 324–325.

<sup>9</sup> For details about the rebellion first addressed by M. Streck, see Streck 1899, 140–143; Lehmann-Haupt 1926, 315; Arutyunyan 1985, 81, 197. For this Zikirtu, as well as the identifications proposed in the Mianeh region, see Bagg 2020, Heft 2, 623–624.

<sup>10</sup> See Lehmann-Haupt 1926, 315.

<sup>11</sup> See Lehmann-Haupt 1926, 315; Fuchs 1993, 317 (84–90); Fuchs 2014–2016, 308; Frame 2021, 1, 83b–85a, 26b–29a.

<sup>12</sup> A. Fuchs believes that, in reality, the Assyrian troops did not reach Mount Uaush (Fuchs 1993, 316–317 [78–84], 345 [36], cf. 243; Frame 2021, 1, 78b–83a, 2, 70b–74, 4, 20b–26a, 7, 44b–49).

### **The Struggle between Urartu and Assyria during the Reign of Rusa...**

---

established.<sup>13</sup> The regions lying west and southwest of Lake Urmia were of particular importance for Assyria because of their copper and iron deposits, as well as timber. In the south, Mannea also served as a buffer against Urartian incursions, protecting the Assyrian territories in Western Iran that lay along the military road.<sup>14</sup> Regarding the communication routes passing through this area, C.F. Lehmann-Haupt makes an interesting observation: through the eastern or western regions of Lake Urmia, it was easier to maintain connections with Babylonia than with Assyria. The researcher also suggests that Rusa's active policy in the south pursued another goal as well: at that time, Babylonia was ruled by Assyria's bitter enemy, Marduk-apla-iddina (721–710 BC, 703 BC) mentioned in the Old Testament as the Merodach-Baladan, and the two kings were acting in alliance against Assyria.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, as C.F. Lehmann-Haupt notes, it is reasonable to assume that Assyria's enemies in the north and south were natural allies, especially since the king of Babylonia, in his anti-Assyrian struggle, was also allied with the kingdom of Elam.<sup>16</sup>

According to C.F. Lehmann-Haupt, Rusa, son of Sarduri, campaigned in 715 BC in the southeastern regions of Lake Urmia against Mana, seized certain territories, and reestablished Urartian suzerainty there. The scholar interprets the following annalistic testimony, "Rusâ, the Urartian, spoke deceitfully with Ullusunû, the Mannean, and took away from him twenty-two of his fortresses," as evidence of the execution of this campaign.<sup>17</sup> During these events, Rusa was also supported by the Mannaeian ruler Dayukkum.<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> See **Mayer** 1995, 327.

<sup>14</sup> See **Mayer** 2013a, 11; **Fuchs** 2012, 141.

<sup>15</sup> See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 337–338; **Holy Bible**, **Isaiah** 39:1.

<sup>16</sup> See **Brikman** 1987–1990, 375.

<sup>17</sup> See **Streck** 1899, 109; **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 299, 315; **Grayson** 2008, 94–95. A. Fuchs considers Urartu's control over these fortresses to have been established at an early stage. In order to enthrone Ullusunû, 22 fortresses were ceded to Urartu in exchange for Rusa's support. Fuchs also parallels this with another event attested in the "ceremonial inscription," where Ullusunû of Mana, whom they placed on his father's throne, relied on Urartu's Ursu and gave him 22 of his fortresses as compensation (**Fuchs** 1993, 318 [101], 345 [36–38]; **Frame** 2021, 1, 101–104a; 2, 95b–98; 7, 36b–39). These 22 fortresses, I. Diakonoff argues, were located on the border between Mana and Assyria, since they were later annexed to Assyria (see **Diakonoff** 1956, 299; **Frame** 2021, 27).

<sup>18</sup> See **Streck** 1899, 109. According to M. Salvini, after the campaign, Rusa subjected Dayukkum to his authority, keeping his son with him as a hostage (see **Salvini** 1995, 79).

According to C.F. Lehmann-Haupt, the chronicle of the 7<sup>th</sup> year of Sargon II reports distorted information about the struggle against Urartu: the researcher believes that there is no evidence in the source about Musasir, since the events did not go well for the Assyrian side.<sup>19</sup> Sargon II first conquered the aforementioned twenty-two fortresses and deported the rebel Dayukku and his family, thereby he “brought order to the disturbed land Mannea.”<sup>20</sup> Later, the chronicle mentions the invasion of Urartu: “I conquered nine fortresses ...I carried off as booty the people of the five districts of Ursâ (Rusâ), the Urařtian, together with their property...”<sup>21</sup> C.F. Lehmann-Haupt believes that after the successes of Rusa in the Urmian basin in 715 BC, such a sudden change in the situation was due to the invasion of the Cimmerians into the northeastern regions of the kingdom.<sup>22</sup> Taking advantage of the favorable situation, Sargon II moved to Mannea, defeated the Biainian auxiliary forces that had rushed to assist the allies, and invaded Urartu.<sup>23</sup>

#### ***The conquest of Musasir***

In the 740s–730s BC, as a result of Assyria’s successes in its campaigns against Urartu, control over Musasir had weakened.<sup>24</sup> This circumstance explains why Musasir is attested in the sources as an intermediary kingdom, whose king, Urzana, maneuvered between the struggles of Urartu and Assyria. As C.F. Lehmann-Haupt thinks, within the context of the conflict between Urartu and Assyria in the Upper Zab River basin in 715 BC, the conquest of Musasir by Urartian troops also took place. On this basis, the researcher infers that the Urartian campaign toward Musasir occurred no later than the beginning of 715 BC, while not excluding the possibility that it may have taken place in 716 BC.<sup>25</sup>

---

Within the context of the events in Mana in 715 BC, it is certain that Urartian forces at least entered Dayukkum’s domain and took his son as a hostage.

<sup>19</sup> See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 299.

<sup>20</sup> See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 299; **Fuchs** 1993, 319 (102–103); **Frame** 2021, 95b–98.

<sup>21</sup> **Fuchs** 1993, 319 (104–106); **Frame** 2021, vol. 1, 104b–109a.

<sup>22</sup> See **Tsakanian** 2018, 137–138, and the literature cited therein.

<sup>23</sup> See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1922, 402–403.

<sup>24</sup> See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 342.

<sup>25</sup> See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 298, 314–315; **Salvini** 1995, 82–83; **André-Salvini**, **Salvini** 2002, 28–29.

### **The Struggle between Urartu and Assyria during the Reign of Rusa...**

---

Judging from Urzana's letter addressed to the royal chamberlain, the king of Assyria had previously been in Musasir.<sup>26</sup> *"As to what you wrote me: "Nobody may take part in the service without the king's permission" when the king of Assyria came here, could I hold him back? He did what he did. So how could I hold back this one!"*<sup>27</sup> According to C.F. Lehmann-Haupt, Sargon II's visit to Musasir took place in 717 BC or earlier, while Urzana's letter was written in 716 BC, or at the latest in early 715 BC, when Urzana was still under Assyrian suzerainty.<sup>28</sup>

Based on another testimony from the aforementioned letter ("the governor of Waisi and the governor next to the Ukkean have come and are doing service in the temple. They say: "The king is on his way; he is staying in Waisi..."), the researcher infers that the two governors mentioned had come here as heralds, announcing the arrival of the king and other governors.<sup>29</sup> Due to this circumstance, the researcher believes that Waisi, attested in Assyrian sources also as Uais-Uasi-Uesi, and in Biainili as Wishe, was located in the vicinity of Musasir.<sup>30</sup> C.F. Lehmann-Haupt considers the performance of rituals by the kings of Assyria and Urartu in Musasir as a manifestation of symbolic sovereignty in the sanctuary. The situation around Musasir changed, however, after the Assyrian threats aimed at Urzana, the resistance he organized in Musasir, and Rusa, son of Sarduri, restored Urzana's authority through force of arms.<sup>31</sup> Judging from Assyrian letters, Urzana was captured by the Biainili governor Kaqqadanu during the battle fought near Mount Andarutu (the Andaruta Pass in Assyrian sources).<sup>32</sup>

---

<sup>26</sup> C.F. Lehmann-Haupt suggests that the king of Assyria proceeded toward Musasir via the Dahuk Pass to Daudi and Amadia, then to Giyavar, and subsequently along the Biainili route from Van to Musasir (see **Thureau-Dangin** 1912, XIX; **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 309).

<sup>27</sup> **Lanfranchi, Parpola** 1990, N 147.

<sup>28</sup> See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 314–315.

<sup>29</sup> The entry of the Urartian governors into Musasir constituted a gross violation of the Assyrian boundary and was one of the key causes of the war (see **Lanfranchi** 1983, 134; also **Lanfranchi, Parpola** 1990, XVII). For these events, as well as the use of the name Urzana as a title and the attestation of two different rulers of Musasir under him, see **Grekyan** 2005, 5–9.

<sup>30</sup> See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 314–317, 342; for details, see **Dan** 2020, 177; **Fuchs** 2014, 257–258.

<sup>31</sup> See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 342; **Salvini** 1993–1997, 445.

<sup>32</sup> See **Salvini** 2018, A10–5, vol. 15; **Lanfranchi, Parpola** 1990, no. 89, 187; **Grekyan** 2024, 35.

C.F. Lehmann-Haupt believes that the Topzawa inscription was erected in connection with the mentioned events in Musasir and also confirms the reaffirmed Urartian sovereignty there.<sup>33</sup> The stele was inscribed in Urartian and Neo-Assyrian, intended for both the local population and travelers from Van to Musasir – Lake Urmia basin. The Topzawa stele is erected on a six-meter-wide stone-paved road leading from Sidekan to Topzawa, a section of the Urartian road connecting Van to Kelishin and Musasir.<sup>34</sup>

According to C.F. Lehmann-Haupt's reading, lines 16–17 of the inscription state: *"I, Rusa, marched to the mountains of Asshur like a... and gave a battle."*<sup>35</sup> Subsequently, however, C.F. Lehmann-Haupt thinks, it is difficult to determine whether Rusa, son of Sarduri appears in the inscription as a protector of Urzana, king of Musasir, or his opponent. He notes that the inscription after line 18 can be read in two different ways: "I seized from Urzana's hand... I took care of him, and I installed him in his place as king," or, "I captured Urzana with my own hands... and installed him in his place not as king."<sup>36</sup> Accordingly, however, the events between Musasir and Urartu are reconstructed differently. In his latest study devoted to this issue, C.F. Lehmann-Haupt restored and translated the events mentioned in the Topzawa inscription as follows: "Urzana, before Rusa, ascended to the temple of the gods."<sup>37</sup> In the following lines, though in a less precise context, Khaldi, Rusa, and Asshur are mentioned. According to the researcher, Urzana swore an oath of loyalty to Rusa, which likely took place in Urartu, as the continuation of the text states: "I, Rusa, marched to the mountains of Asshur, like a ..., seized from Urzana's hand, brought him back to his place, and installed him as king... For fifteen days I offered sacrifices in Musasir."<sup>38</sup> C.F. Lehmann-Haupt explains the

---

<sup>33</sup> M. Salvini considers that the inscription depicts a situation in which Urzana accepted Biainili (Urartian) suzerainty, which in turn was the reason for Sargon II's campaign (see **Salvini** 1995, 84; also **Melikishvili** 1954, 280, 293).

<sup>34</sup> See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 291.

<sup>35</sup> **Lehmann-Haupt** 1904, 836; **König** 1957, 122; **Arutyunyan** 2001, 387<sub>16–17</sub>.

<sup>36</sup> For this version see **Arutyunyan** 2001, 387<sub>19–20</sub>, for the second, see **König** 1957, 122, 5; **Salvini** 2018, A 10-5 Vo <sub>17–18</sub>.

<sup>37</sup> See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1900, 435; 1926, 298; cf. **König** 1957, 122.

<sup>38</sup> **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 298: According to F. König, the king and the governors conducted a campaign toward the Ashshur mountains, and Urzana accepted Rusa's suzerainty. The inscription's phrase "I captured with my own hands" should not necessarily

### **The Struggle between Urartu and Assyria during the Reign of Rusa...**

---

reference to marching to the mountains of Asshur by noting that, since the route from Assyria to Musasir was almost entirely impassable, it would have required traversing the entire territory of Musasir and reaching the gorge located west of the Revanduz River.<sup>39</sup> Notably, in this discussion the researcher suggests that the Topzawa inscription attests to Rusa's restoration of Urzana's authority in Musasir by force of arms. Here, he revisits one of his earlier views: following the Assyrian attack, Urzana sought refuge with Rusa, and the king of Urartu restored his rule in Musasir.<sup>40</sup>

M. Tsereteli offered another reading and translation of the Topzawa inscription,<sup>41</sup> which was adopted by G. Melk'ishvili and N. Harutyunyan, authors of Urartian inscription corpora.<sup>42</sup> V. Mayer's latest study is also based on this version of the inscription's reading.<sup>43</sup>

---

be interpreted as a hostile act, since Urzana subsequently appears as a king appointed by Rusa. Rusa's objective was to restore the sacrificial order in Musasir and reaffirm Urzana's authority there. This was made possible by the campaign to the Ashshur mountains (see **König** 1957, 148, 150). M. Salvini considers that the inscriptions of Movana and Mergeh-Karvani are replicas of the Topzawa inscription, on the basis of which he offers an alternative reading of the text. According to him, the inscription mentions the connection between the Biainili royal house and the sanctuary, the motives for the campaign, Urzana's prohibition against Rusa entering the sanctuary, the Biainili military incursion into Musasir, Urzana's flight to Assyria, the subsequent battle near the Andarutu mountains, and the restoration of Urzana's authority as a vassal king (see **Salvini** 1995, 82–83; **Salvini** 2018, A10-3–A10-5).

<sup>39</sup> The researcher also mentions the presence of controlling fortresses on both sides of the rocky gorge, which had relevance to Rusa Sarduruni (see **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 283, 309).

<sup>40</sup> See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1900c, 23–24.

<sup>41</sup> M. Tsereteli considers that the inscription records the reconciliation between Rusa and Urzana, the campaign conducted with forces provided by the latter, and the restoration of Urzana's authority (see **Tsereteli** 1950, 191–192).

<sup>42</sup> See **Arutyunyan** 2001, no. 387, and the literature cited therein.

<sup>43</sup> According to V. Mayer, after the death of Sarduri II, the throne of the kingdom was vacant, and the first to establish himself in Musasir would take the king's throne. Rusa Sarduruni was probably not considered among the likely candidates for the throne, yet he was the first to reach Musasir along with his entourage. According to the inscription, Urzana enthroned him and offered sacrifices in the temple. Rusa reaffirmed Urzana's authority and erected the Topzawa inscription. Thereafter, Rusa conducted a campaign with the Musasir forces, probably toward the border regions of Mannea. The Assyrian portion of the inscription reports a successful battle, while the Biainili version states that Rusa killed a certain king. Following the successful campaign, Rusa's coronation took place, and Urzana was reaffirmed as king. The statement in the inscription, "Urzana closed the temple door



Notably, C.F. Lehmann-Haupt, referring to the Urartian coronation ceremony mentioned in the description of Sargon II's eighth-year campaign, believes that the events recorded there are those whose commemoration also motivated the creation of the Topzawa inscription.<sup>44</sup> It is stated that the offering is made to Khaldi (Ḫaldi): "into the presence of the god Ḫaldi, together with gold, silver, (and) everything valuable, the treasure of his palace; they present him (with them) as gift(s). They offer before him countless fattened oxen (and) fattened sheep (and) give a ceremonial banquet for his entire city. In front of his god Ḫaldi, they place upon him the crown of lordship and have him take up the royal scepter of the land of Urartu."<sup>45</sup>

According to C.F. Lehmann-Haupt, Sargon II's 714 BC campaign against Urartu was Assyria's response to the events that had taken place in Musasir the previous year.<sup>46</sup> The Topzawa inscription remained standing for nearly a year. The unexpected incursion of the Cimmerians into Urartu created a favorable situation for the Assyrian campaign carried out in 714 BC. Notably, when reconstructing the events of the Topzawa inscription, C.F. Lehmann-Haupt also considers the theoretical possibility of dating them after 714 BC.<sup>47</sup>

### ***Sargon II's 714 BC Campaign Against Urartu***

Following F. Thureau-Dangin,<sup>48</sup> C.F. Lehmann-Haupt believes that Sargon II, starting his campaign from Kalhu, crossed the Great and Little Zab rivers and advanced through the Kullari mountain passes (the route to the Zagros Mountains east of Altin-Köprülü) to Sulaymaniyah. From there, he proceeded via the Shivekel Pass to Baneh and Saqqez, entering the kingdom of Mannea. The Assyrian army then invaded Zikertu from Mannea, while Mitatti retreated to the

---

before me," was part of the coronation ritual, city officials closed the door, and Khaldi opened it (see **Mayer** 2013b, 59, 107).

<sup>44</sup> See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 311; **Mayer** 2013b, 54–55.

<sup>45</sup> See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 311–312; **Mayer** 2013b, 131; **Frame** 2021, 65, 333–342.

<sup>46</sup> See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 340; **König** 1957, 150. The eponym for 714 BC mentions "Against the land Urartu, the city Muṣaṣir, (and the god) Haldi," indicating the alliance between Rusa and Urzana, which also determined the main objectives of the campaign (see **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 298; **Roaf** 2012, 208; **Frame** 2021, 40).

<sup>47</sup> See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1900a, 630; **Roaf** 2012, 203–211.

<sup>48</sup> Since C.F. Lehmann-Haupt's view relates to the route of the campaign around the Urmia basin, proceeding from east to west, this study primarily addresses this variant (see **Zymansky** 1990, 10–20; **Kroll** 2012, 11–17; **Grekyan** 2024, 40–42, and the cited literature).

### **The Struggle between Urartu and Assyria during the Reign of Rusa...**

---

mountains to await the Urartian army.<sup>49</sup> Subsequently, the Assyrian forces advanced westward to Uishdish, described as “a district of the land of Mannea that Ursâ (Rusâ) had annexed and appropriated for his own”.<sup>50</sup> It was likely conquered during the first half of the year.

In the battle fought near Mount Uaush (Sohend), Sargon II defeated Rusâ and Mitatti, and subsequently entered Ushkaya fortress, located on the Urartian frontier, which had already been evacuated.<sup>51</sup> By entering Ushkaya, “which like a gate acts as a barrier in the pass to the district of Zaranda,” Sargon II had already reached the territory of main Urartu.<sup>52</sup>

Based on his observations in the field, C.F. Lehmann-Haupt identifies Mount Mallau, rising over the Subi district and covered with ravines, on which Ushkaya was built, with the height of the medieval Arg fortress in Tabriz.<sup>53</sup> According to the researcher, it was the center of the Subi district, inhabited by the Mannaeans.<sup>54</sup> In the context of Subi, it is also attested that horses for the Biainili royal army were trained here for the maneuvers required in battle.<sup>55</sup> Judging from this evidence, Subi had been conquered many times, at least during the reign of Rusa’s predecessor. Based on the primary source’s mention of Uishdish and Subi as Mannaeian districts, it can be inferred that Subi was located southeast of Marand and east or northeast of Uishdish.

---

<sup>49</sup> See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 310; **Mayer** 1983, 18; **Mayer** 2013a, 105 (79–90); **Frame** 2021, 65, 79–90.

<sup>50</sup> See **Mayer** 2013a, pp. 67, 106 (91), 107 (111); **Frame** 2021, 65, 96–115.

<sup>51</sup> See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 310, 318; for details on the Battle of Uaush, see **Grekyan** 2002, 180–193; **Grekyan** 2010, 83–95.

<sup>52</sup> **Mayer** 2013a, 113 (168); **Frame** 2021, 65, 167–173.

<sup>53</sup> See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1910, 196; 1926, 318; **Thureau-Dangin** 1912, VII. I. Diakonoff identifies it with the settlement of Osku (see **Diakonoff** 1956, 216; also **Parpola**, **Porter** 2001, 5). Archaeological data have also suggested correlations with Marand–Livari Fortress–or Ajabshir–Narin Qal’eh (see **Zymansky** 1990, 15, note 50; **Dann** 2020, 24–25 and referenced literature). Notably, the source indicates that Ushqaya was located on the mountain pass leading to the district of Zaranda, at the mountain’s summit, but not in Zaranda itself (see **Fuchs** 1994, 321 [137–138]; **Frame** 2021, 1, 133b–147a), while the Assyrian army subsequently entered the district of Sangibutu from Ushqaya via the Subi district (see also **Bagg** 2020, 523; and Karte).

<sup>54</sup> **Mayer** 2013b, 113–115 (170–172); **Frame** 2021, 65, 167–173).

<sup>55</sup> See detailed **Weszele** 2003–2005, 473.

C.F. Lehmann-Haupt envisions Sargon II's subsequent campaign from Tabriz in the direction of Sufian–Marand–Khoy. According to the inscription, the Assyrian army, advancing from Ushkaya, reached “the steppeland on which his herds rely (for pasture) (and) which is (also) called the land Sangibutu” and destroyed the formidable fortresses of Taru and Tarmakisa.<sup>56</sup> From there, the Assyrian army advanced toward the city of Ulkhu. C.F. Lehmann-Haupt identifies it with Marand, noting that by the late 19<sup>th</sup> century it was an oasis in the northeastern part of Lake Urmia. The presence of watermills and subterranean channels in Marand, according to Lehmann-Haupt, reflects the established Urartian sovereignty and the developed hydro-irrigation culture in the area.<sup>57</sup> Archaeological evidence indicates that by the early 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, Marand was part of Urartu, and the northeastern boundary from Lake Urmia extended along the watershed mountains, also encompassing the Varzagan River and Ahari regions.<sup>58</sup> This is also attested by Rusa, son of Sarduri, in an inscription found southeast of Ahari, at Karajlu, which testifies to the conquest of the land and the construction of a fortress in the area.<sup>59</sup>

According to the inscription, after the hydro-irrigation works carried out by Rusa; the dry and arid land was transformed into an irrigated agricultural zone, a “meadow,” where the king also rested. In the context of the works carried out at Ulkhu, it is further noted: [He had] the fortress city Sarduriḫurda [built] on Mount Kišter to be his guard post [and] he stationed there [(...)] people [from the land ...]tina, (men) on whom his land relied.”<sup>60</sup> In the case of the land “...tina,” it is quite possible that the primary source is referring to the land of Etiuni, which stretched beyond the Araks river, from Kars to Lake Sevan.<sup>61</sup> Given the fact that a fortress-city was constructed and resettlement was carried out, it may be inferred that this also took place within the framework of

---

<sup>56</sup> See **Mayer** 2013b, 115 (188–198); **Frame** 2021, 65, 188–198.

<sup>57</sup> See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1910, 183–186; 1926, 319. Urartian cities were not fortified and consisted of open settlements surrounding a fortress (see **Grekyan** 2017, 120). For comparison with the 9-hectare administrative, economic, and religious center of the Livari fortress, dated to the early 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE in Ulkhu, see **Kleiss, Kroll** 1977, 54–57, 84–89; **Kleiss** 1977, 140; also **Bagg** 2020, Heft 2, 587, and the references cited therein.

<sup>58</sup> See **Kroll** 1976, 59–73, 167; **Biscione, Khatib-Shahidi** 2006, 303.

<sup>59</sup> See **Dara, Someh, Rokni** 2025, 116.

<sup>60</sup> See **Frame** 2021, 65, 199–212).

<sup>61</sup> See **Dann** 2020, 41; **Grekyan** 2022, 268–271.

### **The Struggle between Urartu and Assyria during the Reign of Rusa...**

---

a retaliatory campaign by Rusa, son of Sarduri's against the king of Etiuni's raids.<sup>62</sup> Judging from Rusa's Tsovinar inscription, which records the conquest of the lands of 23 kings and states ("I deported men and women to the Biainili"), it is likely that the source here refers to deportees from the Sevan-adjacent regions who were resettled in Sardurikhurda.<sup>63</sup>

C.F. Lehmann-Haupt believes that from Ulkhu, Sargon II proceeded to Khoy, located in the district of Sangibutu.<sup>64</sup> Regarding this region, the source states: "(This is) an inhabited district seized by his (Rusâ's) land, which long ago earlier king(s), his predecessors, had annexed in order to expand their country."<sup>65</sup> Notably, Qiz Qal'eh (Evoghlu), located northeast of Khoy, as well as the fortresses extending northwest from it, are dated to the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>66</sup>

Following F. Thureau-Dangin, C.F. Lehmann-Haupt believed that from Khoy the Assyrian army advanced through the Koturi valley, situated between two mountains, and subsequently entered the district of Armariyali (which at present is a region on Iran–Turkey border) and Lake Arjishakovit.<sup>67</sup> The arguments supporting this section of the route addressed by F. Thureau-Dangin, are now considered untenable, and Armariyali is identified with the Plain of Salmas.<sup>68</sup>

To enter the next district, Ayadu (i.e., the Urmia Plain), the Assyrian army passed near the Wizuku Mountains covered with cypresses and containing breccia-stone (Keplan Dag, or Kuh-e-Dareh Hasan).<sup>69</sup> The inhabitants of the 30 cities in the Ayadu district located on the shores of Lake Urmia, took refuge in the fortresses of Argishtiuna and Kallania, which Sargon II was not prepared to besiege.<sup>70</sup> The Assyrian army, however, destroyed and plundered the cities of

---

<sup>62</sup> See **Saags** 2001, 116–118; **Grekyan** 2022, 269; **Grekyan** 2024, 34.

<sup>63</sup> See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1910, 146; **Harutyunyan** 2001, 389<sub>14</sub>; **Salvini** 2018, A 10–2<sub>14</sub>; See **Tsakanyan** 2018, 272–273.

<sup>64</sup> See **Thureau-Dangin** 1912, VIII; **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 319.

<sup>65</sup> **Mayer** 2013a, 121 (233); **Frame** 2021, 65 (233–246).

<sup>66</sup> See **Kroll** 1976, 166–167.

<sup>67</sup> See **Thureau-Dangin**, 1912, IX; **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 318–319.

<sup>68</sup> See **Zimansky** 1990, 16; **Vera Chamaza** 1995–1996, 240.

<sup>69</sup> See **Bagg** 2020, Heft 2, 585–586; **Mayer** 2013a, 125 (280); **Frame** 2021, 296 (280–296). From the vicinity of the settlement of Sera in Armariyali, Sargon II moved south of the Varaga mountains toward the district of Ayadu on the shores of Lake Van, while Uizuku is the rock cliff located near the Gate of Mher (see **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 319).

<sup>70</sup> See **Mayer** 2013a, 127 (287); **Frame** 2021, 280–296; **Bagg** 2020, Heft 1, 10. According to one view, Argishtiuna is the fortress of Qal' eh Esmail Agha, which bears the

Ayadu along with 87 settlements. According to C.F. Lehmann-Haupt, the city recorded in Ayadu under the name Old Uais was located “on the lower border of the land of Urartu,” not far from Uais bordering Nairi, and served as the latter’s “mother city.”<sup>71</sup>

C.F. Lehmann-Haupt believes that on the return route through Ayadu, the Assyrian army advanced for one to two days along the valley of the Khoshab River in Hayots Dzor and reached Uais, the later Hadamakert.<sup>72</sup> The reconstruction of the Assyrian army’s route from the northwestern districts of Lake Urmia to Musasir is based on the mention of the city of Uishini in the land of Aituni, found in an inscription discovered at Akhtamar. According to the researcher, this city had been relocated from the area southeast of Lake Van to an island.<sup>73</sup>

From Uais, the Assyrian army advanced toward Nairi, whose king, Yanzun, moved out to meet Sargon II, and the king of Assyria received his tribute in the capital, Khubushkia.<sup>74</sup> According to C.F. Lehmann-Haupt, the land of Nairi-Khubushkia extended southwest from the Great Zab Valley to the northwestern districts of Lake Urmia, while its capital, Khubushkia, was located in the Salmas-Dilman region.<sup>75</sup> Although this view is now considered untenable, it was never

---

name of King Argishti (see **Bagg** 2020, Heft 1, 59). However, it was founded already in the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century BC (see **Kleiss, Kroll** 1977, 108–109).

<sup>71</sup> See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 317; **Mayer** 2013a, 127 (299); **Frame** 2021, 65, 297–305.

<sup>72</sup> Since Hadamakert (the present Bashkale) is located at the junction of the Dize–Neri–Rewanduz–Musasir and Van–Çukh Pass–Lake Urmia western basin–Musasir routes, the researcher explains the identification on the basis of this circumstance (see **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 317). This localization, differing from F. Thureau-Dangin’s proposed identification with Uais = Bitlis (see **Thureau-Dangin** 1912, IX, n. 2), was a new discussion of the problem, which was subsequently followed by other researchers as well (see in detail the literature cited in **Muscarella** 2012, 6; also **Melikishvili** 1954, 33–34, n. 33; **Arutyunyan** 1985, 193–194 and the cited literature). At present, two alternatives seem more probable: either Qalatgah, to the southwest of Lake Urmia (see **Zimansky** 1990, 17; **Kroll** 2012, 11–17; **Fuchs** 2014–2016b, 258), or in the Nazlu river valley, the fortresses of Qal’ eh Esmail Agha (see **Muscarella** 1986, 472–473; **Salvini** 1995, 93–94; **Muscarella** 2012, 6). From the fortress of Qalatgah one could observe the road leading to the Kelishin Pass, as well as the fortresses of Sufian (Gird-e-Sorah), Hasanlu, and Yediar, while the function of the fortress was the transmission of information (see **Kleiss, Kroll** 1977, 72).

<sup>73</sup> See **Harutyunyan** 2001, N 79Vo<sub>7–9</sub>; **Salvini** 2018, A 5-23Vo<sub>5–9</sub>.

<sup>74</sup> See **Mayer** 2013, 129 (307–308); **Frame** 2021, (306–308).

<sup>75</sup> See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1916, 146; 1921, 33; 1926, 321, 326; cf. **Belck** 1894, 483.

### **The Struggle between Urartu and Assyria during the Reign of Rusa...**

---

discussed in the context of the route of the campaign repeatedly addressed by the researcher, namely, the Assyrian army's return via the western basin of Lake Urmia.<sup>76</sup>

C.F. Lehmann-Haupt explains the Assyrian army's failure to advance directly from Uais toward Musasir by the fact that Sargon II had not initially planned to conquer Musasir. However, Urzana displayed a servile attitude when the Assyrian forces passed near the Kelishin pass, which prompted him to seek revenge.<sup>77</sup> During the campaign, Sargon II did not acquire a substantial amount of booty, and in Khubushkia he was able to partially recover only the resources expended.<sup>78</sup> For this reason, Sargon II advanced toward Musasir with a detachment, while the main body of the army returned.

The inscription mentions a difficult-to-pass route to Mount Arsiu, which C.F. Lehmann-Haupt identifies with the direct path from Ushnu to the Kelishin Pass leading to Musasir.<sup>79</sup> Then, it is mentioned that the Great Zab was crossed; since there is no reference to difficulties in fording the river, the researcher infers that it was the Topzawa tributary, which also explains why it is referred to as Elamunia.<sup>80</sup> To prevent the approach of the Assyrian army from being noticed, Sargon II crossed the tributary in its upper course. The primary source then describes a forested area surrounded by four mountains, which, according to the researcher, corresponds to the left-bank mountainous section of the Topzawa River. To advance through this terrain, the Assyrian army cleared a path by cutting down trees.<sup>81</sup> The suddenly appearing Assyrian army easily captured Musasir; Urzana's family, the inhabitants of Musasir, and even the god Khaldi (Ḫaldi) were taken captive, while Urzana himself sought refuge in the

---

<sup>76</sup> Khubushkia is located northeast of Muṣaṣir, in the upper reaches of the Lesser Zab River (see in detail **Lanfranchi** 1995, 132–133; **Kroll** 2012, 12; **Bagg** 2020, Heft 1, 283, and the references cited therein).

<sup>77</sup> See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 320–321; **Mayer** 2013a, 129 (307–308).

<sup>78</sup> See **Mayer** 1984, 30.

<sup>79</sup> For a possible correlation with Kelishin and other discussions, see **Bagg** 2020, Heft 1, 66.

<sup>80</sup> See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 313; **Mayer** 2013a, 129 (322–323); **Frame** 2021, 65, (323–332).

<sup>81</sup> For C.F. Lehmann-Haupt, the evidence of these four mountains, along with the documentation of rivers, forests, and other geographical features on site, served as additional indicators in the task of locating Muṣaṣir (see **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 313).

mountains.<sup>82</sup> Upon learning of the captivity of the god Khaldi and Musasir's transfer to Assyria, Rusa took his own life, as his entire reign had been founded on the idea and slogan of avenging Assyria.<sup>83</sup> Urartu lost its territories south and southwest of Lake Urmia, and the campaign brought an end to the conflict taking place in the near-Urmia basin.

### **Conclusion**

In reconstructing the events of Rusa, son of Sarduri's reign in Urartu, the Topzawa inscription proved central for C.F. Lehmann-Haupt. He correlated its information with Assyrian sources, examining theoretically all possible scenarios within the context of the Assyrian interactions, both before and after 714 BC. C.F. Lehmann-Haupt views the events recorded in the Topzawa inscriptions as rooted in the conflict in the near-Urmia basin, occurring in the territory of third-party states, with the conquest of Musasir as its climax. In this struggle, until the Cimmerian incursion, Rusa, son of Sarduri, enjoyed success by 715 BC. The conquest of Musasir and the Cimmerian invasion proved pivotal, setting the stage for the Assyrian campaign of 714 BC. Notably, the researcher accurately identifies the location of Musasir and, while examining the route of Sargon II's campaign, albeit somewhat erroneously, envisions it as passing through the Lake Van basin; however, he reconstructs the final phase of the campaign through the western districts of the Lake Urmia basin. Essentially, since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the version suggested by C.F. Lehmann-Haupt, except for the Assyrian army's entry through the Lake Van basin, has remained the primary and most widely discussed reconstruction of Sargon II's campaign route.

### **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

**Գրեկյան Ե.** 2002, Ուաուշի ճակատամարտը (պատմահամեմատական վերլուծություն), «Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ», XXI, էջ 180–199: (**Grekyan Y.** 2002, *Uaushi chakatamarty (patmahamematakan verlutsut'yun)*, «Merdzavor yev Mijin Arevelk'i yerkrner yev zhoghovurdner»). **Grekyan Y.** 2002, *The Battle of Uaush (A Historic-comparative analysis), The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, XXI, pp. 180–199 (in Armenian).*

---

<sup>82</sup> See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 314; **Fuchs** 1993, 149–155; **Frame** 2021, 149–161a.

<sup>83</sup> See **Lehmann-Haupt** 1926, 326, 330.

## The Struggle between Urartu and Assyria during the Reign of Rusa...

**Գրեկյան Ե.** 2005, Երկու Ուրզանա՝, «Մերձավոր Արևելք: Պատմություն, քաղաքականություն, մշակույթ», II, էջ 5–11: (**Grekyan Y.** 2005, *Yerku Urzana?*, «Merdzavor Arevelk': Patmut'yun, k'aghak'akanut'yun, mshakuyt'», II, ej 5–11). **Grekyan Y.** 2005, *Two Urzanas?, Near East: History, Politics, Culture, II, pp. 5–11 (in Armenian).*

**Գրեկյան Ե.** 2022, Էթիունիներ և էթիունցիները նորասորեստանյան սեպագիր աղբյուրներում, «Ծովային Հայաստան. Ուդուրի-Էթիունի երկրի հնագիտական ժառանգությունը», Երևան, Ոսկան Երևանցի տպագրատուն-հրատարակչություն, էջ 264–272: (**Grekyan Y.** 2022, *Et'iunin yev et'iunts'inery norasorestanyan sepagir aghbyurnerum?*, «Tsoyayin Hayastan. Uduri-Et'iuni yerkri hnagitakan zharangut'yuny», Yerevan, Voskan Yerevants'i tpragratun-hratarakch'ut'yun, ej 264–272). **Grekyan Y.** 2022, *Etiuni and the Etiunians in Neo-Assyrian Cuneiform Sources?*, in *Maritime Armenia: The Archaeological Heritage of Uduri-Etiuni Country*, Yerevan, Voskan Yerevantsi Printing House-Publishing, pp. 264–272 (in Armenian).

**Գրեկյան Ե.** 2024, Վանի (Նաիրի, Բիայնիլի, Ուրարտու, Արարատ) թագավորությունը, Հայոց պատմություն, հ. I, գիրք II (Ք.ա. IX դար-Ք.հ. III դար), Երևան, Զանգակ հրատարակչություն, էջ 5–61: (**Grekyan Y.** 2024, *Vani (Nairi, Biaynili, Urartu, Ararat) t'agavorut'yuny, Hayots' patmut'yun, h. I, girk' II (K'.a. IX dar-K'.h. III dar)*, Yerevan, Zangak hratarakch'ut'yun, ej 5–61): **Grekyan Y.** 2024, *The Kingdom of Van (Nairi, Biainili, Urartu, Ararat), History of the Armenians*, vol. I, book II (9<sup>th</sup> century BCE–3rd century CE), Yerevan, Zangak Publishing, pp. 5–61 (in Armenian).

**Տականյան Ռ.**, 2018, Էթնոքաղաքական տեղաշարժերը Մերձավոր Արևելքում և Հայկական լեռնաշխարհում, մ.թ.ա VII–V դդ., «Էդիթ Պրինտ», 290 էջ: (**Ts'akanyan R.**, 2018, *Et'nok'aghak'akan teghasharzhery Merdzavor Arevelk'um yev Haykakan lernashkharhum, m.t'.a VII–V dd., Edit' Print*, 290 ej): **Tsakanian R.** 2018, *Ethno-Political Movements in the Near East and the Armenian Highlands, 7<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE*, Edit Print, 290 pp. (in Armenian).

**Арутюнян Н.** 1985, Топонимика Урарту, Ереван, Издательство АН Арм. ССР, 307 с. **Harutyunyan, N.** 1985, *Toponymy of Urartu*, Yerevan, Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR, 307 pp. (in Russian).

**Арутюнян Н.** 2001, Корпус урартских клинообразных надписей, Ереван, Издательство «Гитутюн» НАН РА, 533 с. **Harutyunyan N.** 2001, *Corpus of Urartian Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Yerevan, Gitutyun Publishing House of the NAS RA, 533 pp. (in Russian).

**Дьяконов И.М.** 1956, История Мидии от древнейших времен до конца IV века до н.э., Москва – Ленинград: Издательство Академии наук СССР, 483 с. **Diakonoff I.M.** 1956, *History of Media from the Earliest Times to the End of the 4<sup>th</sup> Century BCE*, Moscow–Leningrad, Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, 483 pp. (in Russian).

**Меликишвили Г.** 1954, Наири-Урарту, Тбилиси, Издательство Академии Наук Грузинской СССР, 446 с. **Melikishvili G.** 1954, *Nairi-Urartu*, Tbilisi, Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the Georgian SSR, 446 pp. (in Russian).

**André-Salvini B., Salvini M.** 2002, The Bilingual Stele of Rusa I from Movana (West-Azerbaijan, Iran). *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici*, 44, pp. 5–66.



- Bagg A.M.** 2020, Die Orts-und Gewässernamen der neuassyrischen Zeit: Teil 3: Babylonien, Urartu und die östlichen Gebiete, (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B (Geisteswissenschaften), 7/7/3), Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes Bd. 7/3-1, Wiesbaden, Dr. Ludwig Reichner Verlag, Heft 1, Ortsnamen A-N. Bd. 7/3-2, Heft 2, Ortsnamen P-Z, CIII+986 S. + Karte.
- Belck W.** 1894, Das Reich der Mannäer, "Zeitschrift für Ethnologie", Bd. 26, S. 479–488.
- Bisicone R., Khatib-Shahidi H.** 2006, Iranian - Italian archaeological survey in Eastern Azerbaijan, "Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici", vol. 48, pp. 302–306.
- Brinkman J.A.** 1987–1990, Marduk-apla-iddina, RLA, pp. 374–375.
- Dann R.** 2020, A study of the toponyms of the Kingdom of Bia/Urartu, with a contribution by Marie-Claude Trémouille, Rome, Ismeo, Serie Orientale Roma, Nouva Serie, vol. 19, 328 p.
- Dara M., Naseri Someeh H., Rokni M.** 2025, A Newly-Discovered Urartian Rock Inscription in Qarajalu: The First Piece of Evidence about Rusa I's Presence in the East of Urmia Lake, Ancient Iranian Studies, vol. 4, No. 13, pp. 113–122.
- Frame G.** 2021, The royal inscriptions of Sargon II, king of Assyria (721–705 BC); with the collaboration of Andreas Fuchs for two inscriptions, vol. 2, The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period, Eisenbrauns, University Park, Pennsylvania, 571 p.
- Fuchs A.** 1993, Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad, Göttingen, Cuvillier Verlag, 475 S.
- Fuchs A.** 2012, Urartu in der Zeit, in: S. Kroll, C. Gruber, U. Hellwag, M. Roaf, P. Zimansky (eds.), Biainili-Urartu. The Proceedings of the Symposium held in Munich 12–14 October 2007, "Acta Iranica" 51, Louvain, S. 135–161.
- Fuchs A.** 2014–2016a, Ullusunu, "Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie", Bd. XIV, S. 308–309.
- Fuchs A.** 2014–2016b, Uayis, Uesi, Uasi, Uiše, "Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie", Bd. XIV, S. 257–258:
- Galo W. Vera Chamaza** 1995–1996, Der VIII. Feldzug Sargons II.- Eine Untersuchung zu Politik und historischer Geographie des späten 8. Jhs. v. Chr(II), "Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran", Bd. 28, 235–267.
- Saggs H.W.F.** 2001, The Nimrud Letters, 1952, "Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud", V, London, British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 327 p., Pl. 62.
- Grayson A.** 2008, Assyria: Tiglath-pileser III to Sargon II (744–705 B.C.), Chapter, 22, in: The Cambridge Ancient History, vol. III, part 2, Cambridge University Press, 2008, pp. 71–102.
- Grekyan Y.** 2017, The Settlement Size and Population Estimation of the Urartian Cities, in: Bridging Times and Spaces: Papers in Ancient Near Eastern, Mediterranean and Armenian Studies: Honouring Gregory E. Areshian on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday, Printed in England by Oxuniprint, Oxford, pp. 103–132.
- Grekyan Y.** 2010, The Battle of Uauš Revisited, "Aramazd: Armenian Journal of Near Eastern Studies", V/1, pp. 83–108.

### **The Struggle between Urartu and Assyria during the Reign of Rusa...**

---

**Grekyan Y.** 2023, The Kingdom of Urartu, in: The Oxford History of the Ancient Near East, vol. IV (editet by K. Radner , N. Moeller, D.T. Potts), pp. 769–864.

**Kleiss W., Kroll St.** 1977, Urartäische Plätze in Iran: A. Architektur (Stand der Forschung Herbst 1976). B Die Oberflächenfunde des Urartu-Surveys 1976, "Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran", Bd. 10, S. 53–118, Taf. 10.

**Kleiss W.** 1977, Alte Wege in West Iran, "Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran", Bd. 10, S. 137–151.

**König F.** 1957, Handbuch der chaldischen Inschriften, Craz, Bd. II, 275 S., Taf. 128.

**Kroll S.** 1976, Keramik Urartäischer Festungen in Iran. Ein Beitrag zur Expansion Urartus in Iranisch-Azarbaidjan, AMI, Ergänzungsband 2, Berlin Verlag von Dietrich Reimer, 184 S.

**Kroll S.** 2012, Sargon II's 8th Campaign: A New View on Old Constructs, -The Eighth Campaign of Sargon II, Historical, geographical, literary and ideological aspects, First published 2012 by The Hasanlu Translation Project, pp. 11–17:

**Lanfranchi G.B.**, 1983. Some New Texts about a Revolt against the Urartian King Rusa I, *Oriens Antiquus*, 22, pp. 123–136.

**Lanfranchi G.B., Parpola S.** 1990, The Correspondence of Sargon II. Part II: Letters from the Northern and Northeastern Provinces, *State Archives of Assyria*, vol. V, Helsinki University Press, 272 p.

**Lanfranchi G.B.** 1995, Assyrian Geography and Neo-Assyrian Letters. The Location of Hubuškia Again, in: *Neo-Assyrian Geography* (ed. M. Liverani), *Quaderni di Geografia Storica* 5, Roma pp. 127–137.

**Lehmann C.F.** 1900a, Bericht über die Ergebnisse der von Dr. W. Belck und Dr. C.F. Lehmann 1898/99 ausgeführten Forschungsreise in Armenien, "Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften philosophisch-historische Classe" 29, 1900, S. 619–633.

**Lehmann C.F.** 1900b, Bericht über die Ergebnisse der von Dr. W. Belck und Dr. C.F. Lehmann 1898/1899 ausgeführten Forschungsreise in Armenien, "Zeitschrift für Ethnologie", Bd. 32, Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, Juli-Sitzung, 1900, 430–437.

**Lehmann C. F.** 1900c, Von der deutschen armenischen Expedition, "Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes", Bd. 14, 1900, S. 1–45.

**Lehmann C. F.** 1904, Zwei unveröffentlichte chaldische Inschriften, "Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft", Bd. 58, S. 815–852.

**Lehmann-Haupt C.F.** 1916, Muşafir und der achte Feldzug Sargons II. (714 v. Chr.).- Orientalistische Studien. Fritz Hommel zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 31. Juli 1914 gewidmet, Erster Band, Leipzig, 1917, J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, S. 119–151:

**Lehmann-Haupt C.F.** 1926, Armenien einst und jetzt, Bd. II/1, Berlin-Leipzig, B. Behrs Verlag, 450 S.

**Lehmann-Haupt C.F.** 1910, Armenien einst und jetzt, Bd. I, Berlin, B. Behr's Verlag, S. 543.

## Sargsyan V.

---

- Lehmann-Haupt C.F.** 1922, *Kimmerier*, Realenzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, Bd. XI, 1922, S. 397–434.
- Mayer W.** 1983, Sargons Feldzug gegen Urartu–714 v. Chr.: Text und Übersetzung, "Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft", 115, 65–132.
- Mayer W.** 1995, *Politik und Kriegskunst der Assyrier*, Münster, Ugarit-Verlag, 545 S.
- Mayer W.** 2013a, Assyrien und Urartu, I. Der Achte Feldzug Sargons II. im Jahr 714 v. Chr., *Alter Orient und Altes Testament*, 395/1, Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, XVI+189 S.
- Mayer W.** 2013b, *Die assyrisch-urartäischen Bilinguen*, Assyrien und Urartu II, Münster, Ugarit-Verlag, 156 S.
- Muscarella O.W.** 1986, The Location of Ulhu and Uise in Sargon II's Eight Campaign, 714 B.C., "Journal of Field Archaeology", vol. 13, No. 4, pp. 465–475.
- Muscarella O.W.** 2012, Sargon II's 8th Campaign: An Introduction and Overview, The Eighth Campaign of Sargon II, Historical, geographical, literary and ideological aspects, First published 2012 by The Hasanlu Translation Project, pp. 4–10.
- Parpola S., Porter M.** 2001, *The Helsinki Atlas of the Near East in the Neo-Assyrian Period*, Helsinki, Helsinki University Press, pp. xiv+46.
- Radner K.** 2016–2018, Zikirtu, "Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie", Bd. XV, S. 288.
- Roaf M.** 2010, Thureau-Dangin, Lehmann-Haupt, Rusa Sardurihi and Rusa Erimenahi, "Aramazd: Armenian Journal of Near Eastern Studies", vol. V/1, pp. 66–82.
- Roaf M.** 2012, Could Rusa son of Erimena have been king of Urartu during Sargon's Eighth Campaign?, in: S. Kroll, C. Gruber, U. Hellwag, M. Roaf, P. Zimansky (eds.), *Blainili-Urartu. The Proceedings of the Symposium held in Munich 12–14 October 2007*, "Acta Iranica" 51, Louvain, pp. 187–216.
- Salvini M.** 1995, *Geschichte und Kultur der Urartäer*, Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 257 S.
- Salvini M.** 2018, *Corpus dei testi urartei*, vol. V, Revisione delle epigrafi e nuovi testi su pietra e roccia (CTU A), dizionario urarteo, schizzo grammaticale della lingua Urartea, Editions de Boccard, 506 p.
- Streck M.** 1899, Das Gebiet der heutigen Landschaften Armenien, Kurdistan und Westpersien nach den babylonischassyrischen Keilschriften, "Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie", Bd. 14 (1–2), S. 103–172.
- M. de Tseretheli** 1950, *Études ourartéennes: III. – La stèle de SIDIKAN-TOPZAOUA* (Voir Lehmann, Bericht, p. 6, n° 128), *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*, vol. 44, No. 4 (1950), pp. 185–192.
- Thureau-Dangin F.** 1912, *Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon (714 av. J.-C.)*, Textes cunéiformes, Tome III, Musée du Louvre, Paris, Librairie Paul Geuthner, xx+87 p., 30 Pl.
- Weseli M.** 2003–2005, Pferd, A.I, In Mesopotamien, "Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie", Bd. X, S. 469–481.


Zimansky P.E. 1990, Urartian Geography and Sargon's Eighth Campaign, "Journal of Near-Eastern Studies", 49/1, pp. 1–21.

ՎԱՀԵ ՍԱՐԳՍՅԱՆ

Կրթսեր գիտաշխատող

ՀՀ ԳԱԱ պատմության ինստիտուտ

anarzaba@gmail.com

0000-0002-9569-2569 

**ՈՒՐԱՐՏՈՒԻ ԵՎ ԱՍՈՐԵՍՏԱՆԻ ՊԱՅՔԱՐԸ ՌՈՒՍԱ  
ՍԱՐԴՈՒՐՈՐԴՈՒ ԳԱՀԱԿԱԼՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՏԱՐԻՆԵՐԻՆ՝ ԸՍՏ  
Կ.Ֆ. ԼԵՄԱՆ-ՀԱՈՒՊՏԻ ՀԵՏԱԶՈՏՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐԻ**

Ամփոփում

Հայկական լեռնաշխարհում և Հյուսիսային Միջագետքում 1898–1899 թթ. իրականացրած ճանապարհորդության ժամանակ գերմանացի արևելագետ Կ.Ֆ. Լեման-Հաուպտը և քիմիկոս Վ. Բելքը ընդօրինակեցին Թոփուզավայի երկլեզու արձանագրությունը: Արձանագրության թարգմանությունից հետո Կ.Ֆ. Լեման-Հաուպտն այն իրավացիորեն վերագրեց Ռուսա Սարգուրորդուն: Սույն սկզբնաղբյուրը հետազոտողի համար առանցքային դարձավ Ք.ա. VIII դարի վերջին Ուրարտուի և Ասորեստանի միջև ծավալված իրադարձությունների վերականգնման համար: Կ.Ֆ. Լեման-Հաուպտը Թոփուզավայի արձանագրությունում վկայված իրողություններով է պայմանավորում Ք.ա. 714 թ. Սարգոն II-ի արշավանքը Ուրարտու: Ուշագրավ է, որ հետազոտողը ճշգրիտ տեղորոշեց Մուծածիրի վայրը և քննելով Սարգոն II-ի արշավանքի երթուղին, թեպետ թյուրիմացաբար, այն պատկերացրեց Վանա լճի ավազանով, սակայն արշավանքի վերջին փուլը վերականգնեց Ուրմիա լճի ավազանի արևմտյան շրջաններով: Ըստ էության դեռևս XX դարասկզբին Կ.Ֆ. Լեման-Հաուպտի առաջարկած սույն տարբերակը, բացառությամբ Վանա լճի ավազանի ասորեստանյան բանակի մուտքի, հանդիսանում է Սարգոն II-ի արշավանքի երթուղու ցարդ առանցքային քննարկվող վարկած:

**Բանալի բառեր՝** Թոփուզավայի արձանագրություն, Ուրմիա լիճ, Մանա, Մուծածիր, Սարգոն II, Ուրզանա, արշավանք: