

THE CONCEPTION OF C. F. LEHMAN-HAUPT ON THE FORMATION OF THE KINGDOM OF VAN

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The first cuneiform inscription in Assyrian about the construction activities in the city of Van belongs to the king of the kingdom of Van, Sarduri¹. Based on the present inscription, some of the researchers considered him the founder of the capital city Tushpa-Van², as well as the one (differentiating from the royal dynasty of Arame) who founded both new capital and royal dynasty³. If, formerly, the period of Sarduri's reign was indubitably dated after Arame, circa 845-825 BC⁴, now the researchers are not of the same view concerning the circumstances and the period of the reign of Arame and Sarduri and, consequently, the matter of dating the events of the early period of the land of Biaina⁵. The first to offer his own hypotheses in the historiography on the abovementioned tangle was the famous German Armenologist, orientalist C. F. Lehman--Haupt. The author took the construction of the Tushpa stronghold as a starting point to recover the realities of the kingdom of Van in the 9th century BC and suggested two options.

According to C. F. Lehman-Haupt, it is possible "at first glance" to identify the father of Ishpuini, Sarduri-Seduri mentioned in the Biainian and Assyrian inscriptions, with the builder of the Van stronghold, Sarduri, and to date his reigning period after Arame. The author considered that Sarduri carried out such a construction in order to stop the impending invasion (particularly after the invasion in 856 BC⁶, when Shalmaneser III (858-824 BC) captured some regions in the northern and north-eastern

¹ Sarduri mentions in the inscription about the stones brought there from Alniuni, and the construction of battlement (see Lehmann-Haupt C. F., *Corpus Inscriptionum Chaldicarum*, I/II, Berlin-Leipzig, 1928-1935, N 1-3: Salvini M., *Corpus dei testi urartei* (hereinafter referred to as CTU), vol. I, Roma, 2008, A 1A-1F).

² See Ղափանցյան Գ, Ուրարտուի պատմություն, Երևան, 1940, էջ 137-138: Accepting this standpoint, N. Adonts considers Sarduri the son of Arame at the same time, thinking that the nickname of the latter was *Lutipri* (see Ադոնց Ն., Հայաստանի պատմություն, Երևան, 1972, էջ 186, 194).

³ See Меликишвили Г. А., Наири-Урарту, Тбилиси, 1954, стр. 202. Арутюнян Н. В., Биайнили (Урарту), Ереван, 1970, стр. 123.

⁴ F. König deems it possible to consider Lutipri both as a separate sovereign, having been apart from Arame and his contemporary, and as a title of Arame (König F. W., *Handbuch der chaldischen Inschriften* (hereinafter Hchl), Bd. I/II, Craz, 1955/1957, S. 1, N 1a-c).

⁵ See Գրեկյան Եր., Տուշպա քաղաքը և բիայնական (ուրարտական) պետության կազմավորման որոշ հարցեր, - Հայաստանի մայրաքաղաքները, I, Վան, Երևան, 2013, էջ 48-49: M. Salvini thinks that a certain Aramean sovereign in the face of Arame is mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions and only in later times, during the reign of Sarduri I, the power passed to the Biainian dynasty (see Salvini M., *Geschichte und Kultur der Urartäer*, Darmstadt, 1995, S. 26-27).

⁶ Cf. Grayson A. K., *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC II (858-745 BC)*, *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Assyrian Periods*, vol. III, Toronto-Buffalo-London, 1996, (hereinafter RIMA), A.O.102.2, (ii 47b-56a, ii 56b-60a).

coastal parts of Lake Van⁷, including the royal city of Arame, Artsashkun⁸). If this version is taken into consideration, Van became a capital city subsequently, during the reign of Sarduri's son, Ishpuini.

According to Lehman-Haupt, the stones of Tushpa castle differ from the local raw materials in their nature. Based on the fact of the stones, having been brought here from Alniuni, mentioned in the inscription of Sarduri, he considered that the stones were brought here by ships from the northern coastal regions of Lake Van⁹. The author assumed that Manazkert city was called Alniuni in ancient times¹⁰. Consequently, according to the author, it is supposed that the wall building materials were brought to Van either from Manazkert or from the other northern coastal area via Lake Van¹¹. Lehman-Haupt considered that the name Manazkert of later times was originated from the name of Menua because Menua had reconstructed the castle, situated there¹².

According to the second version of Lehman-Haupt, there is a need to differentiate the son of Lutipri, Sarduri, a founder of the Van stronghold, from the father of Ishpuini, Sardur-Sedur, mentioned in the Biainian and Assyrian inscriptions.

Accordingly, the author deems it possible that the reign of Sarduri was before Arame, during the ruling years of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 BC)¹³. For such a dating he took the fact of close similarities of the titles of Sarduri and Ashurnasirpal¹⁴. As the researcher pointed out, the Nairi political units, which in previous times were weakly connected to each other, later were united in one state under the rule of Lutipri's son, Sarduri¹⁵. Pointing the titles of Sarduri in the inscription, "the king of world, the king of kings", C. F. Lehman-Haupt supposed that he was the driving force for the Nairi advancement during the reign of Ashurnasirpal II in Assyria. The son of Lutipri, Sarduri,

⁷ Lehmann-Haupt C. F., *Materialien zur älteren Geschichte Armeniens und Mesopotamiens* (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Neue Folge Band IX, Nro 3.), Berlin, 1907, S. 35 (16, 17), 41 (7, 8).

⁸ Lehmann-Haupt C. F., *Armenien einst und jetzt* (այսִնիեִսִնִ' AEJ), Bd. II/1, Berlin-Leipzig, 1926, S. 21.

⁹ As an example, the author pointed the medieval similar events, testified by Tovma Artsruni (see AEJ, II/1, S. 20): the fact of bringing hewn stones to Van from the Manavazian city by Gagik Artsruni as well as the transportation of the stones of Akhtamar church from the Kotom castle of Aghdznik via lake Van (see Թովմա Արծրունի և Անանուն, Պատմութիւն տանն Արծրունեաց, Երևան, 1985, էջ 391, 461).

¹⁰ S. Eremyan localized Alniuni in the province of Aghiovit [see Երեմյան Ս., Ուրարտու պետությունը 860-590 թթ. մ.թ.ա., Երևան, 1980թ. (քարտեզ)].

¹¹ See AEJ, II/1, S. 20: B. Piotrovski points that it is difficult to agree definitely with this assumption, but it is clear that the stones have been brought here from other places (see Пиотровский Б.Б., Ванское царство (Урарту), Москва, 1959, стр. 58-59): M. Salvini considers it possible to locate Alniuni city in Nairi-Khubushkia, and the transportation of the acropolis' stones from the stone-pit, not far from Van, corresponding to the locations of Sugunia and Artsashkun(u) (see Salvini M., *Geschichte und Kultur der Urartäer*, S. 35-36).

¹² The father of Armenian history, Movses Khorenatsi (the 5th c. AD) tells that Manavaz from Haik's descendants inherited Hark (see Մովսես Խորենացի (hereinafter Մովսես Խորենացի), Պատմութիւն Հայոց, Երևան, 1991, էջ, 36)

¹³ This version is more possible for the author as he himself notes (see AEJ, II/1, S. 21, 24).

¹⁴ N. Adonts criticizes Lehman-Haupt for such a conclusion, based on the similarities of both kings; but this is not the only argument Lehman-Haupt brings (see Ադոնց Ն., op. cit., pp. 186-187).

¹⁵ See AEJ, I, Berlin, 1910, S. 13.

carrying consciously the titles of the Assyrian king, tried to challenge the global ambitions of Ashurnasirpal in such a way as well¹⁶.

The partly legible inscription (on the left and right sides of the niche, carved into the rock on the southern side of the Van rock face, and discovered by V. Belk and Lehman-Haupt) the latter considered relating to the reigning period of Sarduri¹⁷. As Lehman-Haupt noted rightly, the sacrificial animals are listed in Assyrian in the inscription; the style of the wedges looks like the inscription of Sarduri and the content, on the door of Mher. It did not preserve a name either of a king or a deity. This inscription, discovered by Lehman-Haupt, remained out of the researchers' attention for a long time.

Later M. Salvini, applying the copy of Lehman-Haupt, supposed that the present text has nothing to do with the Biainian inscriptions; this niche and the inscription could belong to Sarduri I or to an Assyrian king¹⁸. Nevertheless, I. Dyakonov, examining the text of the inscription and criticizing M. Salvini, concluded that there is a connection with the new Assyrian dialect in the inscription and it is typical to the Biainian texts, defining sacrifice procedure¹⁹. Accordingly, if Lehman-Haupt is righteous, this inscription, having been dated to the 9th century BC could certify about the involvement of sacrifice procedure and deities in the state policy already in that period.

At the same time, basing on the records of the Assyrian inscriptions, Lehman-Haupt supposed that the advancement of the Nairi state toward the northern regions of Assyria took place during the reign of Ashurnasirpal II²⁰.

According to Lehman-Haupt, the Nairians had a considerable advancement to the south, in the territory belonging to Assyria in previous times, during not only the reign of Shalmaneser I, but also Ashurnasirpal II²¹.

Ashurnasirpal II centered his attention on the Syrian direction, where Damascus had taken a leading role²². The coalition of Damascus and Hamat, which extended to

¹⁶ See Lehmann, C. F., Šar kiššati, "Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete", Bd. 8, Weimar, 1896, S. 200, 202. Investigating the abovementioned inscription, G. Vilhelm came to a conclusion that the royal titles and nicknames of Sarduri corresponded to the titles of Ashurnasirpal II; the inscription is related to the new Assyrian letter style and dialect. According to the researcher, the composer of the inscription being from the cities of the northern part of Assyria, was a writer by profession, mastering some important formulations of royal inscriptions of the previous decades. He was brought to Tushpa during a military raid, or he came to this city by his own will (see Wilhelm G., Urartu als Region der Keilschrift-Kultur, in: V. Haas (Hrsg), Das Reich Urartu. Ein altorientalischer Staat im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr., "Xenia", 17, Konstanz, 1986, S. 106).

¹⁷ See Lehmann-Haupt C. F., Materialien zur älteren Geschichte Armeniens und Mesopotamiens, S. 63, Fig.41: AEJ, II/1, S. 26-28: CTU, vol. I, A1-2.

¹⁸ See Salvini M., Eine vergessene Felsinschrift mit einem assyrischen Opfertext, "Societies and Languages of the Ancient Near East (Studies in honor of I. M. Diakonoff)", Warminster, 1982, S. 331: Salvini M., Le pantheon de l'Urartu et le fondement de l'etat, "Studi epigrafici e linguistici sul Vicino Oriente antico", vol. 6, 1989, p. 83.

¹⁹ Дьяконов И.М., О некоторых направлениях в урартском языкознании и новых урартских текстах, Древний Восток, 1988, 5, стр. 157-158.

²⁰ See AEJ, II/1, S. 21, 395.

²¹ See AEJ, I, S. 13.

Asia Minor, was also seeking a support in Armenia. Hence, according to Lehman-Haupt, there is a need to see causality between the raids of Shalmaneser III against the Arameans and into the Armenian Highland²³. Shalmaneser III succeeded in holding up the Armenian mountaineers and united with them Arameans, thus preventing the danger, hanged over Assyria²⁴. In the subsequent centuries the Biainian kings were maintaining allied relations with the enemies of Assyria, especially with the Aramean states of Northern Syria.

The Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II pointed out in one of his inscriptions that he conquered the lands from the headwaters of the Subnat River to the Urartu (Ararat) country. Lehman-Haupt locates Subnat in Mesopotamia, on the way from Nineveh to Tur-Abdin, near the Western Tigris²⁵. In the similar texts of Ashurnasirpal II the name of Nirbu is mentioned instead of Urartu. The researcher was previously assuming that one has to perceive the Arart/d/ mountains in the face of the most ancient testimony of Urartu in the Assyrian inscriptions²⁶.

The author noted that the Assyrians used the name "Urartu", adjacent to Mesopotamia, for the country and population north to them²⁷.

According to Lehman-Haupt, Ashurnasirpal II failed to invade into the central regions of Armenia, because Sarduri had built the Van stronghold to hold up the Assyrian raids.

The defensive role of the castle was given importance during the siege; at that time the material provision of the castle was being provided from the other shore of the lake²⁸. The researcher was also thinking that the castle was protecting the port built by Sarduri²⁹.

²² See Lehmann-Haupt C.F., *Israel-Seine Entwicklung im Rahmen der Weltgeschichte*, Tübingen, 1911, S. 72, 75.

²³ The military-strategic interests of Assyria in the north and west were connected with each other, which is reflected both in the inscriptions and in illustrations (see Schachner A., *Bilder eines Weltreichs, Kunst- und kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Verzierungen eines Tores aus Balawat (Imgur-Enlil) aus der Zeit von Salmanassar III, König von Assyrien*, "Subartu," XX, Turnhout, 2007, S. 227-228)

²⁴ See AEJ, I, S. 443.

²⁵ See Lehmann-Haupt C. F., *Materialien zur älteren Geschichte Armeniens und Mesopotamiens*, S. 22.

²⁶ See AEJ, I, S. 443: Grayson A.K., *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I (1114–859 BC)*, The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Assyrian Periods, vol. II, Toronto-Buffalo-London, 1991, A.O.101.30 (1-20a): Дьяконов И. М., *Ассирийско-вавилонские источники по истории Урарту (սյունիտուն՝ АВИИУ)*, "Вестник древней истории", Москва, 1951, N 2-4. Nirbu or Nirib may also mean a mountain pass (see *ibid.*, ref. 4). Lehman-Haupt locates Niribi as a country on the southern side of Arart mountains, which is bordered with the Mesopotamian lowland (see AEJ, I, S. 443). Movses Khorenatsi noted, "then he (Hayk) gives birth to his son, Aramaneak, in Babylon, and left for the country of Ararat, which is located in the north (see Մովսես Խորենացի, էջ 33). We have to note that the form Ararat is available in the manuscripts of this work.

²⁷ See AEJ, II/2, Berlin-Leipzig, 1931, S. 847-851. According to M. Salvini, Urartu is mentioned here in the Assyrian inscription as a general geographical name (see Salvini M., *Urartu. A. Geschichte*, "Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie", Bd.14-5./6. Lief., 2015, S. 390).

²⁸ See AEJ, II/1, S. 20, 22.

²⁹ C. F. Lehman-Haupt had an opinion that the level of Lake Van was lower then, and the port was 1 km away from the stronghold; the water reached almost the castle during the water-level fluctuations (see *op. cit.*, p. 18).

According to Lehman-Haupt's concept, a power change took place during the reign of Arame, whom the Armenians glorify as their hero and potentate³⁰; the power of the Nairi state unit in the Armenian Highland passed to the Biainian (Khaldian) dynasty³¹. The author tries to provide a suchlike ground for the absence in subsequent years of the title "king of the Nairi countries" from the title list of the Biainian kings³². The facts of Artsashku being the capital city of the state during Arame's reign and the Biainians spreading their rule both in the southern and the Lake Van eastern areas of the Armenian Highland only in later times, were considered important³³. Sugunia is mentioned in the southern area of Arame's country during the raid organized in the first year of Shalmaneser's (III) reign³⁴. There are different opinions about the localization of Sugunia, but in all cases the researchers locate it in the southern part of the Armenian Highland, between the lakes of Van and Urmia³⁵, having already been included in the sphere of Arame's political power³⁶. It follows from poetic texts, ascribed to the invasion in 856 BC, during the third year of Shalmaneser's (III) reign, that the king received a tribute from the city of Turushpa³⁷. The city of Aramalu is mentioned in the description of this invasion in the central districts of Arame's state, in the neighborhood of the capital city Artsashku³⁸.

The analysis of the records of the inscriptions about Artsashku did not bring the researchers to a definite conclusion³⁹. The mentioning of Tushpa (Turushpa) enables to

³⁰ See Մովսես Խորենացի, էջ 43-44.

³¹ AEJ, I, S. 13.

³² See Lehmann-Haupt C. F., *Das urartäisch-chaldäische Herrscherhaus*, "Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete", Bd., 33, Berlin-Leipzig, 1921, S. 28- 29.

³³ The author considers that the Biainians were living in the territories to the north and north-east of the Tigris river and in adjacency of the Aratsani river; the capital Artsashku was situated north of the Lake Van (see AEJ, II/ 2, S. 595, 679, 851).

³⁴ See RIMA, vol. III, A.O.102.1, 29b-33a, 33b-40a, A.O.102.2, i23b-25a, A.O.102.28, 10b-18a.

³⁵ See Adonts N., *op. cit.*, p. 79. Пиотровский Б., *op. cit.*, p. 55. Арутюнян Н. В., *Топонимика Урарту*, Ереван, 1985, с. 171: Salvini M., *Geschichte und Kultur der Urartäer*, S. 28

³⁶ See Пиотровский Б., *op. cit.*, p. 60.

³⁷ See RIMA, vol. III, A.O.102.17 (57).

³⁸ See АВИИУ, N 27 (II-54): RIMA, vol. III, A.O.102.2, ii56b-60a. A. Fuchs considers that Aramali is mentioned here as a city, which had not a king and is concerned directly the devastation of the Biayna centers around Artsashku (see Fuchs A., *Urartu in der Zeit, Biainili-Urartu*, The Proceedings of the Symposium held in Munich 12-14 October 2007, "Acta Iranica" 51, Peeters, 2012, S. 159)

³⁹ N. Adonts thinks that Artsashku is Manazkert, and there is need to locate Aramali (the domain of Arame) in Apahunik, and Zangiun in Aghiovit (see Աղնյոց Ն., *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 354). S. Yeremyan locates Artsashku (Archesh), Alniuni, Riar and Arbu in the areas of Aramairali, north and north-east of the Lake Van (see Երեմյան Ս., *Ուրարտու պատմությունը 860-590 թթ. մ.թ.ա.*). B. Piotrovski locates Artsashku in the upstream of Aratsani, near Diadin; G. Melikishvili does it for the north-western part of the Lake Urmia, N. Harutiunyan for Artske (see Пиотровский Б. Б., *op. cit.*, p. 55: Меликишвили Г. А., *op. cit.*, p. 32, Арутюнян Н. В., *Биаинили (Урарту)* с.108). M. Salvini locates Artsashku in the areas south or south-west of the Lake Urmia (see Salvini M., *Geschichte und Kultur der Urartäer*, S. 31). Criticizing the standpoint of Salvini, St. Kroll says that positioning Artsashku in the areas either north or east of the Lake Van, in the adjacency of Aratsani, continues to be a modern problem (see Kroll St., *Salmanassar III. und das frühe Urartu, Biainili-Urartu*, S. 167).

make a guess about the possible route of the raid from Dayeni. The Assyrian army moved to Artsashku from Dayeni, passed through Aduru⁴⁰ and Eritia⁴¹ mountains and destroyed the city of Aramalu and the adjacent towns, then moved to the city of Zanziuna, the Sea of Nairi and the Gilzanu countres⁴². The latter is located in the south-western part of Lake of Urmia⁴³.

Lehman-Haupt did not examine separately those inscriptions of Shalmaneser III, where Artsashku and Aramale are mentioned together⁴⁴. The native city of Rusa, Arbu and the city of Sarduri, Riar are mentioned in the province of Armarili while describing the invasion of 714 BC, in the 8th year of the reign of Sargon (II)⁴⁵. Despite the fact that it is not clear which one of Sarduris is referred to in the inscription⁴⁶, it is evident that the the location of the central districts of Arame's state and the paternal cities of Rusa and Sarduri in Armarili is identical⁴⁷.

Lehman-Haupt located *Armarili* between *Bazi* and Archishak, presuming also that Armarili could be farther from Archishak⁴⁸. There is also a need to say that Aramali-Armarili means "the male cousins' province"⁴⁹.

It is probable that the capital city Tushpa was also under the rule of Arame⁵⁰. The fact of not mentioning the title of "the Ruler of the City of Tushpa" by Sarduri, typical to the Biainian kings, and, generally speaking, the absence of the name of Tushpa city indicate also that Tushpa had not still a significance of the capital for the Biainian state⁵¹.

According to Lehman-Haupt's supposition, the son of Lutipri, Sarduri included Tushpa and the southern regions of the Armenian Highland in the borders of his political authority. The center of the kingdom was still in the northern coastal part of Lake Van during the reign of his successor, Arame. The assumption that the Biainians established themselves in the southern lands of the Armenian Highland after Arame does not fit the reality. There is a need to note that according to this version, Lehman-Haupt dates

⁴⁰ It is supposed that the mountain of Aduru is Sipan and is identical with the ^{KUR}Eiduru, mentioned in the Biainian inscriptions (see Арутюнян Н.В., Топонимика Урарту, стр. 12-13: СТУ, vol. I, էջ 70).

⁴¹ Eritia is mentioned in the inscriptions of Sargon II in the form of Irtia (see АВИИУ, N 49(233)).

⁴² See RIMA, vol. III, A.O.102.2, ii 47b-56a, ii 56b-60a, ii 60b-63a.

⁴³ See Reade J. E., Hasanlu, Gilzanu, and related considerations, "Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran", Bd. 12, 1979, pp. 175-181.

⁴⁴ See Schrader E., Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, Bd. I, Berlin, 1889, S. 128-174.

⁴⁵ See АВИИУ, N 49(269).

⁴⁶ See Lehmann-Haupt C. F., Das urartäisch-chaldäische Herrscherhaus, S., 48.

⁴⁷ See Арутюнян Н.В., Топонимика Урарту, стр. 38.

⁴⁸ See AEJ, II/1 S. 319.

⁴⁹ See AEJ, II/1 S. 319.

⁵⁰ See Kroll St., op. cit., p. 167.

⁵¹ Sarduri carries the title of MAN GAL-e MAN dan-nu MAN ŠÚ MAN ^{KUR}na-i-ri» (see СТУ, vol. I, A 1A-1F₁₋₂); Ishpuini acts with this title in the bilingual inscription of Kelishin and the title of «[MAN ^{KUR}] bi-a-i-na- ú -e a-lu-si ^{URU}tu- uš-pa-a [URU]», «[MAN GAL]- MAN dan-nu MAN ŠÚ MAN ^{KUR}Na-i-ri GAR ^{URU}tu- uš-pa-a-[an URU]» had already found a place in his title list as well.

righteously the formation of the state system in the Armenian Highland earlier, before Arame⁵² and had deeper roots. Locating the capital city Artsashku to the north of Lake Van, Lehman-Haupt considered Tushpa as the next capital city of the kingdom.

***Translated from Armenian
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⁵² St. Kroll supposed that the reserve economy of the country had already been formed at the time of Arame (see Kroll St., op. cit., p. 168; Fuchs A., op. cit., p. 138).