

TO THE PROBLEM OF CONCEPTUAL APPROACHES OF THE FRENCH ARMENOLOGISTS AND ORIENTALISTS TO THE HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF VAN

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In the 19th century studies in history of the Kingdom of Van had a specific course in some European countries, particularly in France within the sphere of Armenological Studies. The British Assyriologist A. Sayce noted: "It is now more than half a century ago that the existence of inscriptions written in the cuneiform character, and found in different parts of Armenia... At Saint-Martin's instigation, a young scholar from Hesse, Prof. Fr. Ed. Schulz, was sent by the French Government to Armenia, in 1826, in order to examine them. In 1828, accordingly, Van and its neighbourhood were thoroughly explored by Schulz, who succeeded in discovering and copying no less than forty-two cuneiform inscriptions... They were published in "Journal Asiatique"¹ in 1840..."². In the next decades some other Vannic (Biainian) inscriptions were discovered in Western Armenia³, as well as in Eastern Armenia⁴.

In their works the European, particularly the French Orientalists and Armenologists began to pay special attention to the problems of the decipherment and language of the cuneiform inscriptions of Van, first of all trying to read some ideograms.

The French-German Assyriologist Jules Oppert, differentiating the language of the inscriptions of Van from Assyro-Babylonian, noted that the latter's sign system and ideographs were used there. He mentioned the kings of Van as Armenian kings and called Argishti: "the King of Ararat". Making a linguistic grouping, J. Oppert named *Arméniaque* the cuneiform inscriptions of Van⁵. The French Armenologist M. Brosset noted that *Armenian Sardur* (II) (*Arménien Sardur*) together with Matiel⁶ confronted

¹ Schulz Fr. Ed., *Mémoire sur le lac de Van et ses environs*, *Journal Asiatique*, Paris, 1840, III^e série, t. IX, N 52, pp. 257-323+pl.

² "Three of the inscriptions turned out to belong to the Persian king Xerxes... The remaining thirty-nine were written in special syllabary and in a language unlike any found elsewhere" (Sayce A., *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van, Deciphered and Translated*, *JRAS*, 1882, pp. 377-378).

³ *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character from Assyrian Monuments*, discovered by A. H. Layard, London, 1851, Fol., p. 74 (Inscription at Palou on the Euphrate), A. Sayce, op. cit., p. 378.

⁴ Notice sur deux inscriptions cunéiformes, découvertes par M. Kästner dans l'Arménie russe, Notice de M. Lerch, *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des sciences de St-Petersbourg*, 1863, t. cinquième, p. 431; Никольский М. В., Клинообразные надписи ванских царей, открытых в пределах России, Москва, 1893; see also Lehmann-Haupt C. F., *Corpus inscriptionum Chaldicarum*, Berlin und Leipzig, 1928.

⁵ Oppert J., *Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie*, 1858, Paris, t. II, liv. I, ch. V, pp. 69-70.

⁶ The king of Bit-Agusi in northern Syria (Հայ ժողովրդի պատմություն, հ. 1, Երևան, 1971, էջ 315).

Tiglatpalasar⁷ (III) who “captured many towns and founded the town of Asurbaza⁸ in Armenia”⁹.

Different opinions were expressed on the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions of Van and their language. The Irish Assyriologist E. Hincks supposing that those inscriptions were “in the vernacular dialect, which totally differed from the Assyrian,” concluded: “... those who read this paper will admit that I have made a beginning, and gone a considerable way, in the decipherment and interpretation of a set of inscriptions, which, however slight may be their value in a historical point of view, are invaluable to the philologist, as being beyond all comparison the oldest specimens of the Asiatic branch of the Indo-Germanic family...”¹⁰.

The British orientalist H. Rawlinson wrote: “These inscriptions I name Armenian. They are written in the same alphabet that was used in Assyria, but are composed in a different language... which although has adopted numerous words from the Assyrian, I believe to belong radically to another family...”¹¹. Then he noted: “There are six kings of the Armenian line following in a line of direct descent... This family... seems to have held extensive sway in Armenia”¹².

The French Assyriologist and archaeologist Fr. Lenormant made a linguistic grouping and noted that the language of numerous cuneiform inscriptions carved on the rocks in the neighbourhood of the city of Van was *Arméniaque* - the Aryan or Indo-European language, used by the population of Armenia from the 9th to the 7th century BC¹³. Two years later, Fr. Lenormant expressed another opinion, contradicting himself, that the study of the language of cuneiform inscriptions of Armenia allowed him to see likeness to Georgian along with the existence of the Aryan element in the vocabulary¹⁴.

⁷ The confederation formed by Sarduri II (764-735 BC) attacked Assyria, but in the battle of Arpad (in the north of Syria) (743 BC) the allied forces were defeated by Tiglatpalasar (Tiglath-Pileser III, 745-727 BC.) (Հայ ժողովրդի պատմություն, հ. 1, էջ 315, 317).

⁸ According to a reading suggested by S.M. Bacieva, «Ashurikisha» (see: Ассиро-вавилонские источники по истории Урарту, ВДИ, N 2, 42, стр. 313).

⁹ Brosset M., Sur l'histoire ancienne de l'Arménie, d'après les textes hiéroglyphiques et cunéiformes, Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des sciences de St-Petersbourg, 1871, t. seizième, p. 338.

¹⁰ Hincks E., On the inscriptions at Van, JRASGBI, 1848, vol. IX, pp. 404, 422.

¹¹ There, erroneously, is mentioned “Scythian” (Rawlinson H. C., A Commentary on the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria, London, 1850, p. 75). The researcher, mentioning the language family of the “Scythian” tribe, actually meant a branch of the Indo-European language family, as the Scythians were of Iranian origin (Фрай П., Наследие Ирана, Москва, 1972, стр. 27). In his comparative linguistic work (1875) on the position of the Armenian language in the Indo-European language family, the German linguist H. Hübschmann determined that Armenian is “Indo-German”, being a separate branch of the Indo-European family (see: Ջահուկյան Գ., Հայոց լեզվի պատմություն, Երևան, 1987, էջ 86-90).

¹² Rawlinson H. C., op. cit., p. 75.

¹³ Lenormant Fr., Manuel de l'histoire ancienne de l'Orient, Paris, jusqu' aux guerres médiques, 1869, t. II, pp. 155-156.

¹⁴ Lenormant Fr., Lettres Assyriologiques, Paris, 1871, t. I, pp. 124-127; Sayce A., op. cit., p. 381, cf. Լէօ, Վանի թագաւորութիւնը (Ուրարտու), Թիֆլիս, 1915, էջ 18, 66; Սարուխան, Վրաստան եւ հայերը, Հանդէս ամսօրեայ, 1933, № 1-2, էջ 58-75:

But the relation with Georgian was rejected in the linguistic studies of the Biainian inscriptions¹⁵.

The German orientalist A. D. Mordtmann¹⁶ and Archimandrite Joseph Sandalgyan¹⁷ supported the theory of Armenian origin of the language of the cuneiforms of Van (according to Mordtmann “der armenischen Keilinschriften”/ *Armenian cuneiforms*).

A. Sayce and the French Assyriologist St. Guyard¹⁸ tried to introduce grammar and lexicography of the cuneiform inscriptions of Van. A. Sayce, touching upon the initial steps of such studies, noted: “There is much yet to be done before the decipherment of the Vannic inscriptions can be placed on a thoroughly satisfactory footing”¹⁹.

Insufficient research of the language of the cuneiform inscriptions of Van resulted in the separation of the history of Ararat-Urartu (the kingdom of Van) from the history of Armenia and Armenians by some researchers. The French orientalist J.A. Gatteyrias and archaeologist J. de Morgan offered a “migration” hypothesis about the Armenians. According to Gatteyrias, “Les Arméniens ... dont les ancêtres descendus du plateau du Pamir”²⁰, and according to J. de Morgan - from the Balkan Peninsula. The latter denied the opinion that the Armenians were the successors of the kings of the Kingdom of Van. According to J. de Morgan, the traditions and linguistic facts had not been taken into account²¹.

The French historian E. Cavaignac named the Kingdom of Van the *Armenian kingdom* [le royaume arménien d'Ourartou (Ararat)] and mentioned Western Armenia (l'Arménie occidentale)²². According to the French historian Fr. Tournébiz, the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions testify to “le Nairi, nom assyrien d'une partie de l'ancienne Arménie méridionale...”²³.

¹⁵ Никольский М., op. cit., p. 3.

¹⁶ Mordtmann A. D., Entzifferung und Erklärung der armenischen Keilinschriften von Van und der Umgegend, ZDMG, Band XXVI, Leipzig, 1872, S. 465-696. Mordtmann's theory (“the Vannic language was not only Aryan, but Armenian, and that it was only necessary to turn to an Armenian dictionary to discover the meaning of every word in the inscriptions”) was criticized by A. Sayce whose main argument was “that even granting the language to be an early form of Armenian speech, it would still have been impossible to recover the signification of its words by simply consulting a dictionary of modern Armenian, without tracing the past history of the Armenian language and the changes undergone by its phonology... Without a grammar no decipherment is possible” (Sayce A., op. cit., pp. 382-383). It is worthy noting that the researches of academician Gevorg Jahukyan and Sargis Ayvazyan (see below) relating this problem are based on historical linguistics and grammar.

¹⁷ Sandalgyan J., Les Inscriptions Cunéiformes Urartique, Venise, 1900.

¹⁸ Guyard St., Les inscriptions de Van. - Mélange d'assyrologie, Paris, 1883, pp. 113-144.

¹⁹ Sayce A., op. cit., p. 679.

²⁰ Gatteyrias J.-A., L'Arménie et les Arméniens, Paris, 1882, p. 7.

²¹ J. de Morgan, Histoire du peuple arménien depuis les temps les plus reculés de ses annales jusqu'à nos jours, Nancy-Paris-Strasbourg, 1919, pp. 38-39.

²² Cavaignac E., Histoire générale de l'antiquité, Paris, 1946, pp. 116, 155, 156, 194; see also: Cavaignac E., Histoire du monde, tome II, Le monde Méditerranéen jusqu'au IV^e siècle avant J.-C., Paris, 1929, pp. 173, 207, 243.

²³ Tournébiz Fr., Histoire politique et religieuse de l'Arménie, Paris, 1900, p. 16.

The founder of the Armenological Studies in France, A.-J. Saint-Martin (1791-1832) profoundly researched the ancient Greek and Latin primary sources on the history and geography of Armenia²⁴, at the same time critically noting: “Sans m’arrêter ici à réfuter les absurdités que quelques écrivains Grecs and Latins ont débitées sur l’origine des Arméniennes”²⁵.

Contrary to such criticism, the French Egyptologist G. Maspero made an attempt to revive the reports of some Greek authors²⁶ as if about “L’origine phrygienne des Arméniens”²⁷. Thus, following the baseless “migration” hypothesis he wrote: “Plus au Nord, les Ourartiens et les peuples de l’ancien Nairi, moins favorisés de la destinée, perdaient du terrain à chaque génération sous la poussée constante des Arméniens”²⁸. N. Dolens and A. Khatch critically noted that it is necessary to be very cautious in respect to ancient historians when they reminisce about their legendary world²⁹.

The French Armenologist, linguist A. Meillet noted that the Phrygians were of the Thracian origin and, according to some Greek authors’ evidence, “les Arméniens seraient des colons Phrygiens”, but little information about Thrace does not allow linguistically to confirm that theory³⁰.

The baseless “migration” hypothesis turned into an obstacle³¹ to consideration of the history of the Kingdom of Van as an integral part of the Armenian nation’s history. In the second half of the 20th century dominated a viewpoint that the language of the cuneiforms of Van or Biainian-Urartian had a close relationship with the Hurrian language³². Presenting the problem of interrelation between the Armenian and Urartian

²⁴ Saint-Martin guided by the holistic perception of the historical geography of Armenia (Great Armenia and Armenia Minor) wrote: “Les géographes Arméniens, aussi bien que les géographes Grecs et Latins, partagent ordinairement l’Arménie en deux grandes divisions. La Grande Arménie, Մեծ Հայք, qui s’étend depuis l’Euphrate jusqu’ à la mer Caspienne et la Petite, Փոքր Հայք, situé à l’occident de la Grande...” (Saint-Martin A.-J., Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l’Arménie, Paris, 1818, v. I, p. 17).

²⁵ Saint-Martin J., op. cit. pp. 280-281, cf. Глинка С., Обзор истории Армянского народа, от начала бытия его до возрождения области Армянской в Российской Империи, ч. I, Москва, 1832, стр. 23; Шопен И., Исторический памятник состояния Армянской Области в эпоху ее присоединения к Российской империи, Санкт-Петербург, 1852, стр. 94.

²⁶ Herodotus, edited with introduction and notes by Ch. F. Smith and A. G. Laird, books VII and VIII, New York-Cincinnati-Chicago, 1908, VII 73; The Geography of Strabo, with an English translation by H. L. Jones, vol. V, London, 1954, XI 4.8, XI 14.12-15; Stephani Byzantii Ethnorum quae supersunt, ex recensione Augusti Meinekii, tomus prior, Berolini, 1849, p. 123.

²⁷ Maspero G., Histoire ancienne des peuples de l’Orient classique, t. III, Paris, 1899, p. 521, com. 1.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 777.

²⁹ Dolens N. et Khatch A., Histoire des anciens Arméniens, Genève, 1907, pp. 17-18, 34.

³⁰ Meillet A., Esquisse d’une grammaire comparée de l’arménien classique, Vienne, 1936, p. 11.

³¹ It is seen, e.g., from the following statement: “The existence of Urartu (the pre-Armenian, pre 600 BC civilization) was unknown, a “lost” civilization, until 1823...” (Mack Chahin, The Kingdom of Armenia, A History. Second, revised edition, London and New York, 2001, Ch.2).

³² Меликишвили Г. А., Урартский язык, Москва, 1964, стр. 10-14; Дьяконов И. М., Языки Древней Передней Азии, Москва, 1967, стр. 113-165.

languages from that point of view, it was dogmatically concluded that there was no relationship and they belonged to different linguistic families³³.

In his conceptually fundamental article "On possible Armenian nature of the introductory formulas in Urartian inscriptions" G. Jahukyan offered the following solution to the problem: "The Armenian nature of those formulas is rather convincingly proved: their vocabulary is mainly Armenian; the grammatical peculiarities can be explained by the grammatical characteristics of the pre-grabar period. These formulas give an opportunity to make lexical reconstructions of the Armenian of the period preceding the grabar (Classical Armenian) in order to ascertain the proper Armenian equivalents of the future borrowings (especially of Iranian origin) on the basis of comparison of the IE preforms and forms in the inscriptions called "Urartian" ... Further examination of those versions, comparison and more precise definition of the reconstructed standard, as well as the skilled analysis of the extra linguistic trend of the cuneiform texts connected with it, along with great contribution, can actually have a revolutionary significance"³⁴. Sargis Ayvazyan following the research methods based on historical linguistics and grammar, concluded: "Urartian is probably a dialect of Old Armenian"³⁵.

In some works under the research is observed the lack of the Armenian historico-geographical terms particularly relating to Western Armenia³⁶; e.g., instead of the term *Western Armenia* (western part of the Armenian Highland) is wrongly used "Eastern Anatolia" (l'Anatolie orientale)³⁷ (it actually corresponds to the eastern part of Asia Minor and is located to the west of the Armenian Highland). In terms of the history of the Kingdom of Van and of the succeeding period chronology is presented by some

³³ Дьяконов И. М., Предыстория армянского народа, Ереван, 1968, стр. 201-204.

³⁴ Զահուկյան Գ., Ուրարտական արձանագրությունների ներածական բանաձևերի հնարավոր հայկական բնույթի մասին, ՊԲՀ, 2000, № 1, էջ 127-128; Jahukyan G., On possible Armenian nature of the introductory formulas in Urartian inscriptions, *Fundamental Armenology*, 2015, Issue 1, pp. 398-402, <https://goo.gl/RYM1lc>

³⁵ Ayvazyan S. R., *Urartian-Armenian. Lexicon and comparative-historical grammar*, Yerevan, 2011, p. 9; Ayvazyan S.R., Biainian (Uartian)-Armenian (The issue of linguistic identity), *Fundamental Armenology*, 2015, Issue 1, pp. 403-412. <https://goo.gl/RYM1lc>

³⁶ About criticism of falsifications of the Armenian toponyms see: Դանիելյան Է. Լ., Հայոց պատմական և քաղաքակրթական արժեքամակարդի պաշտպանության անհրաժեշտությունը, *Լրաբեր հասարակական գիտությունների (այսուհետև՝ Լրաբեր)*, 2010, N 3, էջ 63; Ayvazyan A., *Western Armenia vs. Eastern Anatolia, Europe and Orient*, N4, <http://www.hayq.org/upload/files/aa-EO4.pdf>; Sahakyan L., *Turkification of the toponyms in the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey*, Montreal, 2011; Դանիելյան Է. Լ., Հայաստանի պատմաքաղաքակրթական ամբողջականության փաստն ընդդեմ թուրք-ադրբեջանական կեղծարարությունների, *Լրաբեր*, 2016, N 1, էջ 43:

³⁷ "La viticulture était une activité importante en Ourartou, et ceci pourrait étayer la tradition historique selon laquelle les habitants des montagnes de l'Anatolie orientale et de la Transcaucasie auraient inventé le vin; cette tradition est renforcée par la découverte de pépins de raisin, dans des couches préhistoriques aussi bien en Géorgie que dans la plaine d'Elâzig (Armenian Kharberd, in Western Armenia-A.D.) à l'ouest, aux IV^e et III^e millénaire av. J. C." (Burney Ch., *Avant les Arméniens: les Ourartéens guerriers et bâtisseurs*, see in: *Histoire des Arméniens*, sous la direction de G. Dédéyan, Toulouse, 1982, p. 65); see also: Huot J.-L., *Une archéologie des peuples du Proche-Orient, Des premiers villageois aux peuples des cités-états (X^e-III^e millénaire av. J.-C.)*, Paris, 2004, pp. 174, 190.

researchers as subdivided into the *Urtian and Post-Urtian* periods³⁸, without mentioning the millenia-old *Armenian* archaeological culture and history.

The British archaeologist Ch. Burney wrongly localizing “la terre de Hayasa” in “le nord-est de l’Anatolie”³⁹ (instead of the western part of the Armenian Highland⁴⁰) and differentiating Armenians from “Urtians”, wrote: “Avant les Arméniens: les Ourartéens guerriers et bâtisseurs”; “L’arrivée des Arméniens”⁴¹.

The French Assyriologist D. Charpin correctly described the geographical position of the Kingdom of Van (“situé sur le territoire montagneux de l’Arménie”), but its emergence considered as an historic enigma (“L’Ourartou est d’une certaine manière une énigme historique... il fit brusquement irruption sur la scène internationale du Proche-Orient au IX^e siècle avant notre ère ... et disparut brutalement, telle une météorite, entre la fin du VII^e siècle et le début du VI^e siècle”). Charpin described with great admiration the culture of the Kingdom of Van, in particular its architecture, fortress-construction, canal construction and metallurgy⁴². It is necessary to note that the ethno-cultural history of the Kingdom of Van had been rooted in the previous periods of the civilizational development in the Armenian Highland and must be considered as an integral part of the history of Armenia.

The French Assyriologist P. Garelli and A. Lemaire mentioned Urartu as a kingdom of unknown origin. According to them, it was an ancient kingdom, which developed in the former Hurrian regions and bore rather a religious than linguistic imprint of that civilization⁴³.

In their work “History of Armenia” the French Armenologists Annie and Jean-Pierre Mahé considered the union of “60 kings” of Nairi as a confederation of Hurrian tribes which fought against the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser I. According to the authors, “Deux siècles et demi plus tard, la menace assyrienne que s’intensifie sous le règne d’Assournazirpal II (884-859) provoque la formation de l’État d’Ourartou. Ce toponyme assyrien, que la Bible a vocalisé en Ararat, désignait à l’origine, d’une façon assez vague, la région montagneuse située au nord de l’Assyrie. Chef du canton d’Arzachku

³⁸ Fichet de Clairfontaine F., Deschamps S., La céramique ourartéenne et post ourartéenne du secteur du temple de Haldi, *Armenian Journal of Near Eastern studies*, v. VII, 2012, Yerevan, pp. 105-125.

³⁹ Il est difficile de démêler les faits historiques de la fiction dans les témoignages concernant les origines des Arméniens et leur arrivée dans les territoires de l’Ourartou. Il est dangereux d’insister trop fortement sur les similitudes entre les noms propres et les noms géographiques: c’est ainsi qu’on pourrait mettre en regard le nom de la terre de Hayasa, située très certainement dans le nord-est de l’Anatolie selon les témoignages hittites, et celui de Hayastan /Hayk’, donné à leur pays par les Arméniens ... Il n’est guère possible de douter des origines occidentales des Arméniens, bien que le témoignage d’Hérodote, selon lequel ils provenaient de Phrygie et étaient armés comme les Phrygiens, soit à peine plus complet que celui du voyageur grec Eudoxe de Cyzique (II^e siècle av. J. C.) portant sur la similarité entre les langues arménienne et phrygienne” (Burney Ch., op. cit., pp. 79-80).

⁴⁰ Ghazaryan R. P., The Development of the Armenian Statehood: Kingdom of Hayasa (XIV-XIII centuries BC). *Fundamental Armenology*, 2015, Issue 1, p. 16. <https://goo.gl/RYM1lc>

⁴¹ Burney Ch., op.cit., pp. 53, 79.

⁴² Charpin D., L’Ourartou et les Ourartéens, Paris, 2001 <https://goo.gl/1QqTkG>

⁴³ Garelli P., Lemaire A., *Le Proche-Orient Asiatique*, t. 2, Paris, 2002, p. 97.

(Arckē ou Arčēš), près de la future Manazkert, Aramou (860-840), qui prend le titre de roi des rois (*erili erilave*), réussit à unir sous son autorité toutes les tribus de la périphérie du lac de Van, le pays de Biaïna ou de Biaïnili⁴⁴. Aram⁴⁵ mentioned by Movses Khorenatsi (the 5th c.), according to them, might probably be identified with Aramu⁴⁶. They wrote that the “Empire of Urartu” reached its peak in 810-735 BC during the reign of kings Minua, Argishti and Sardur II. Referring to the words of the prophet Jeremiah (appelle “Ararat, Menni (Minni) et Askenaz” à se révolter contre Babylone)⁴⁷ A. et J.-P. Mahé noted that the Biainian kingdom still existed in 593 BC and, according to their opinion, it “completely collapsed” in 590 BC⁴⁸.

Thus, in the 19th century studies in the history of the Kingdom of Van had a specific course in some European countries and particularly in France within the sphere of Armenological Studies⁴⁹. Later, approaches to the problem under investigation underwent methodological transformation in conceptual and terminological aspects.

In terms of historical continuity of civilizational processes in the Armenian Highland the ethno-cultural history of the Kingdom of Van must be considered as an integral part of the history of Armenia and the Armenian nation.

***Translated from Armenian
by V. M. Gharakhanyan***

⁴⁴ Annie and Jean-Pierre Mahé, *Histoire de l'Arménie des origines à nos jours*, Perrin, 2012, p. 22.

⁴⁵ Մովսէս Խորենացի, Պատմութիւն Հայոց, Երևան, 1991, էջ 42. It is supposed that Aram's image included the images of Aram Haikian (the second half of the 3rd millennium BC.) (according to Movses Khorenatsi, Haik-Aramaneak-Aramayis-Amasia-Gegham-Harma-Aram) and Arame (or Aramu) of Ararat (Դանիելյան Է. Լ., Մելլոնյան Ա.Ա., Հայոց պատմություն, Երևան, 2008, էջ 35, ծան. 2). A. Movsisyan linked Aram land-name, mentioned in Naram-Suen's (the king of Akkad, the 2nd half of the 3rd millennium BC) inscriptions, “to the south of Van and Urmia lakes” with Harma's son Aram (“Apparently, Aram - country name must be linked with Armenian epic's Aram, and, according to Movses Khorenatsi, the foreigners called our country and our people by his name”, see: Հովհաննիսյան Պ., Մովսիսյան Ա., Հայ ժողովրդի պատմության քրիստոնաւորական, հ. 1, Երևան, 2007, էջ 60).

⁴⁶ A. et J.-P. Mahé, op. cit., p. 22.

⁴⁷ Jeremiah, 51:27. A. et J.-P. Mahé, op. cit., p. 26.

⁴⁸ In fact following the wrong “migration” hypothesis they wrote: “... En réalité les Arméniens sont encore bien loin de l'Euphrate, où ils n'arriveront guère avant la fin du II^e millénaire” (av. J. C.) and about later times (the 7th c. BC) noted: “... et peut-être aussi les Arméniens, dont ce serait la première apparition dans la région... Il faudrait comprendre qu'Arméniens et Scythes, déjà unis par des alliances claniques, concoururent à la défaite d'Ourartou” (A. et J.-P. Mahé, op. cit., pp. 25-27).

⁴⁹ Dumikyan A.V., French researchers of the 19th century on the elucidation of some questions of the history of Armenia of the Van (Ararat-Urartu) kingdom's period, *Fundamental Armenology*, 2016, Issue 1 (3), pp. 36-43. <http://www.fundamentalarmenology.am/datas/pdfs/293.pdf>