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در پایان هزاره دوم پیش از میلاد، قبایل ماد در قلمرو ماد آینده در غرب ایران شروع به سکونت کردند، جایی که در آن زمان، بسیاری از شاهزادگان کوچک و گروه‌های زبانی و قومی مختلف گواهی می‌دهند: گوتی‌ها، لولوبیان، کاسیت‌ها و هوری‌ها. بعدها، در قرون ۹ تا ۸ قبل از میلاد، نقش مادها بسیار افزایش یافت. و سرانجام در قرن هفتم تمام غرب ایران و برخی از مناطق همجوار به ماد نسبت داده شد. بنابراین، مرزهای ماد به تدریج طی چند صد سال تغییر کرد. با این وجود گستره جغرافیایی دقیق آن برای ما ناشناخته باقی مانده است. در اوایل، مرزهای غربی حکومت‌های ماد که مستقل از یکدیگر بودند، از نواحی غربی دشت همدان فراتر نمی‌رفت. اما اطلاعات ما در مورد مرزهای شمالی و شرقی ماد بسیار محدود است. قلمرو اصلی ماد، همانطور که برای آشوری‌ها شناخته شده بود در طول دوره از ثلث آخر قرن نهم تا آغاز قرن هفتم پیش از میلاد، از شمال به گیزیل‌بوندا محدود می‌شد که در این منطقه قرار داشت. کوه‌های (قافلانکوه) در شمال دشت همدان؛ در غرب و شمال غرب از دشت همدان فراتر نمی‌رفت و به جز جنوب غربی به کوه‌های زاگرس محدود می‌شد. در آنجا ماد دره زاگرس را اشغال کرد و مرز آن در رشته کوه گارین بود که ماد را از ایلییی، پادشاهی در ناحیه پیش کوه در جنوب کرمانشاه جدا می‌کرد. در جنوب با منطقه ایلامی سیماشکی، یعنی دره خرم‌آباد امروزی هم مرز بود.

**کلید واژه:** ماد، پادشاهی ماد، زاگرس، ایلییی، گیزیل‌بوندا

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## MEDIA

### HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

At the end of the ۲nd millennium BCE, Median tribes began to settle in the territory of the future Media in western Iran, where, at that time, are attested many small principalities and different linguistic and ethnic groups: [Gutians](#), Lullubians (see [LULUBI](#)), [Kassites](#), and Hurrians. Later, in the ۹th-۸th centuries BCE, the role of the Medes greatly increased; and, finally in the ۷th century, the whole of western Iran and some neighboring territories were attributed to Media. Thus, the boundaries of Media changed gradually over several hundred years; nevertheless its precise geographical extent remains unknown to us (Diakonoff, ۱۹۸۵, pp. ۳۶ ff.).

In the early period, the western frontiers of the Median principalities, which were independent from each other, passed not far beyond the western reaches of the [Hamadān](#) plain. Our information on the northern and eastern frontiers of Media, however, is very limited. The original territory of Media, as it was known to the Assyrians (see [ASSYRIA](#)) during the period from the last third of the ۹th century until the beginning of the ۷th century BCE, was bounded on the north by Gizilbunda, which was located in the mountains (Qāflānkuh) to the north of the Hamadān plain; on the west and northwest it did not extend beyond the Hamadān plain and was bounded by the Zagros mountains, except in the southwest. There Media occupied the Zagros valley, and its boundary lay at the Garin mountain range, which separated Media from Ellipi, a kingdom in the area of Piš-e Kuh to the south of Kermānšāh. On the south it bordered on the Elamite region of Simaški, that is, the present-day valley of Kōrramābād.

On the east and southeast, the territory of Media seems to have been delimited by the Dašt-e Kavir desert (see [DESERT](#)) and by the country Patušarra, described by the Assyrians as lying on the border of the Salt Desert (probably Dašt-e Kavir). The mountain range near Patušarra was known to the Assyrians as Bikni and was referred to as the “Lapis Lazuli Mountain.” Usually, scholars equate it with Mt. [Damāvand](#) located to the northeast of Tehran (see, e.g., Reade, p. ۴۰). Patušarra apparently was the region mentioned in Middle Persian as Padišxwār (in the vicinity of Damavānd: Herzfeld, pp. ۱۹۴, ۳۱۷-۱۸), where the mining of lapis lazuli is attested in early medieval times (Qazvini, I, p. ۲۰۶; see Grantovskii,

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۱۹۸۳, pp. ۲۸-۲۹; cf. the opinion of Muscarella, ۱۹۸۷, p. ۱۱۰, that the lapis lazuli paid in tribute to the Assyrians was “acquired by Median trade further east” [see [BADAĶŠĀN iii](#)]). Patušarra and Mt. Bikni probably were the most remote territory of Media that the Assyrians penetrated during their greatest expansion in the second half of the ۸th century and the first decades of the ۷th century BCE. Louis D. Levine (pp. ۱۱۸-۱۹), however, has argued that Mt. Bikni should most probably be equated with the [Alvand range](#), which lies immediately west of Hamadān, and this identification has been accepted by S. C. Brown (۱۹۹۰b, p. ۶۲۲) and a number of other scholars. Identifying Bikni with the Alvand range, if correct, means that the Assyrians never crossed this mountain and that all the territory of Media that they conquered or was known to them lay to the west of Hamadan.

The name of the capital of Media appears in ۶th-century inscription of [Darius I](#) at Bisotun as OPers. *Hamgmatāna*-(DB ۲,۷۶, ۷۷-۷۸), El. Agmadana-, Bab. Agamtanu-, etc. (New Pers. Hamadān), and is transmitted by Herodotus and other classical authors as [Ecbatana](#). Although it lay on the Great Khorasan Road, the Assyrian sources do not mention this city at all. There are, however, grounds to assume that the city Sagbat/Sagbita, repeatedly referred to in Assyrian texts, was an earlier form of the name Hamgmatāna found in Old Persian. Thus, the localization of Sagbat in the west of the Hamadān plain and the identification of Mt. Bikni with Damāvand in the east allows us to define roughly the original boundaries of Media until its expansion in the ۷th century BCE (see Medvedskaya, ۲۰۰۲, pp. ۴۷-۵۰, ۵۴).

## ASSYRIAN CAMPAIGNS ON MEDIAN TERRITORY

Beginning with the ۹th century BCE, the Assyrians regularly raided and looted regions of northwest Iran, where at that time existed dozens of petty principalities. The Assyrians could reach Media by two routes: from the north, via Gizilbunda, and apparently along the present-day [Bijār](#)–Hamadān road, from the northwest through Mesu on the western border of Gizilbunda, or through Kišesim along the Sanandaj–Hamadān road. The Assyrians always returned home from Media along the mountain part of the Great Khorasan Road, through Ḥarḥar, Araziaš, and Bit Barru, which constituted the northern part of Ellipi, and, finally, [Bit Hamban](#). All these countries were located in the Zagros mountains, between Asadābād in the east, at the exit to the Hamadān plain, and the Mahidašt valley in the west. The latter was a part of Bit Ḥamban. The Assyrians reached the Khorasan Road not only from Media but also directly from the north, through Parsua and neighboring countries. In this case, passing along the route Sanandaj-Bisotun or Pāva–

Kermānšāh, the Assyrians had on the left side not only Media, but also Ḥarḥar and Kišesim.

The first mention of the Medes in Assyrian texts refers to ۸۳۴ BCE, when Shalmaneser III (r. ۸۵۸-۸۲۴) invaded Namri. Having entered deep into regions to the east of Parsua, in order to return home the Assyrians had to penetrate the Hamadān plain through the lands of the Medes and then to pass along the Great Khorasan Road. During this campaign they received gifts from twenty-seven “kings” of Parsua. When in the last quarter of the ۹th century BCE the Urartians started to invade Iran, the Assyrian king Šamši-Adad V (r. ۸۲۳-۸۱۱ BCE) in ۸۱۹/۸۱۸ hindered further Urartian advance in the Lake Urmia zone, which made it possible to set out against Media. In ۸۱۵ he conquered Gizilbunda and then marched against Sagbita, the “royal city” of the Median chief Hanaširuka, who first fled into mountains but later faced the enemy in battle. According to the Assyrian inscription, ۲,۳۰۰ Medes were killed and ۱۴۰ of their horsemen were taken prisoner; and Sagbita, as well as ۱,۲۰۰ settlements located near it, were all destroyed (Grayson, ۱۹۹۶, p. ۱۸۵, iii, ۲۷b-۳۶). This campaign was of great significance, since from that time Assyria imposed regular tribute on the Median tribes in horses, cattle, and handicraft products. Now the Assyrians transferred the main direction of their raids to Media. This transference was partly caused by the events in the Urmia zone, since by the end of the ۹th century BCE the Urartians had conquered the west and south shores of Lake Urmia and had started to move forward to Manna (see [MANNEA](#)). Assyria failed to stop the Urartian advance and gradually became a Mannean ally in its struggle against [Urartu](#).

The Assyrians were not able to secure the results of the six campaigns (in the years ۸۰۹, ۸۰۰, ۷۹۹, ۷۹۳, ۷۹۲, and ۷۸۸) **waged against Media by Adad-nerari III (r. ۸۱۰-۷۸۱ BCE)**, and subsequently a long political crisis began to develop in Assyria. Later, during the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (r. ۷۴۵-۷۲۸ BCE), Assyria started organizing provinces in conquered countries, and this guaranteed a regular source of income and also provided a base for the conquest of neighboring territories. To the east of their country, the Assyrians created in ۷۴۴ BCE, in addition to the already established province of Zamua, two more provinces called Bit Ḥamban and Parsua, and Assyrian governors and garrisons were installed there. Thus, the borders of Assyria moved close to Media. In ۷۴۴, the Assyrians received tribute from the Medes and Manneans. Finally, in ۷۳۷, Tiglath-pileser III invaded Media proper, and this time the Assyrians reached the most remote parts of Media and exacted tributes from the “city rulers” of the Medes as far as the Salt Desert and Mt. Bikni. In an account of this campaign, Tiglath-pileser mentions “the provinces of the mighty Medes” and also asserts that in ۷۳۸ he deported ۶,۵۰۰ people from northwestern Iran to Syria and Phoenecia (Tadmor, p. ۱۶۴; Diakonoff, ۱۹۸۵, pp. ۷۷-۷۹). Later, Bit Ḥamban and Parsua were attached to Assyria, and Assyrian governors and garrisons were installed there. Sargon II

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also deported many Medes to Syria and settled people from north Syria and Samaria in the “cities of the Medes” (II Kings 17:6; see also Na’aman and Zadok, pp. 38-40).

Thus, late in the 8th century BCE, the first major unions and states based on tribal confederations began to arise on the territory of western Iran, which were headed by local chieftains. Manna, a region located to the east of Assyria, was one of such states. The Medes were not yet united but had many rulers.

Sargon joined the borders of the Assyrian provinces in the east with Media, an accomplishment that Tiglath-pileser had not been able to realize. Thus in 716 he made Ḥarḥar and Kišesim centers of new Assyrian provinces, adding to them some other territories of west Media, including Sagbat, and renamed these provinces Kar-Šarrukin and Kar-Nergal, respectively. He also strengthened Kar-Šarrukin in order to subjugate in future all Median lands. In the same year, the Assyrians received taxes from twenty-eight “city rulers of the land of the mighty Medes” (Luckenbill, ii, secs. 10, 11), but in 710, Ḥarḥar revolted, and the Assyrians had to conquer it again. In the next year, Sargon managed to stop Urartian advancement into Iran. In 713, he reached the distant bounds of Media at the Bikni mountains. During this campaign he received tribute from forty-five city chieftains (see Luckenbill, secs. 24, 28). He carried out another expedition into Media in 708 but was unable to realize his purpose of conquering all Median lands or establishing stable control over them. Afterwards, both Sargon and his successor Sennacherib (r. 705-681 BCE) were engaged in war with Babylonia. Moreover, tribes in the territory of Iran who opposed the Assyrian predominance consolidated their efforts against it. Manna, situated to the northwest of Media, which had been a loyal ally of Assyria beginning at the very end of the 9th century, by 770 became an associate of Media. Ellipi was also inclining to support Media in its struggle against Assyria. At the same time, the penetration of Cimmerians and Scythians from the north posed a serious threat to Assyria.

This new balance of power in the east caused the Assyrian king Asarhaddon/Esarhaddon (r. 680-669 BCE) to undertake several expeditions into the territory of Iran. Between 679 and 677, the Assyrians defeated the “unpacified Manneans” and their Scythian allies led by Išpakaia, and they reached Mt. Bikni and Patušarra, where they seized two Median chieftains and brought them, together with their families and possessions, to Assyria (Heidel, ii, 20-23; iii, 23-24; iv, 1-2) Compared with Sargon’s achievements, the results of the campaign of Asarhaddon were rather insignificant.

Soon after the last campaign against Media, three Median chiefs arrived in Nineveh with gifts, requesting Esarhaddon's help in their struggle against the rulers of the neighboring regions. These Medes were Uppis from Partakku, Zanasana from Partukka, and Ramataia from Urukazabarnu. Esarhaddon ordered the governors of the Assyrian provinces, which bordered on the districts of these Medes, to restore their power. They, however, were now obliged to pay regular tribute to Assyria. As is seen from this event, discord existed among Median rulers concerning whether to seek alliance with Assyria or to unite themselves in order to struggle against it. Ramataia, one of these Medes, is also referred to in the so-called "loyalty oaths" that were concluded on the occasion of the nomination of the successor to the Assyrian throne in ۶۷۲ BCE. Among the seven names that have been preserved in these texts, three are indisputably Median. Their bearers were chieftains of several western regions of Media. In ۶۷۲, agreements were concluded between Esarhaddon and each one of these Medes, which guaranteed their loyalty to the Assyrian king, as well as the security of their possessions. Scholars usually consider this agreement as a "vassal treaty" imposed by Assyrian administration on recently submitted vassals, but Mario Liverani has argued that this agreement was a result of infighting among various Median groups, as well as of the presence of armed Median warriors stationed in the Assyrian palace and serving as bodyguards of the crown prince. The Median chieftains had to take an oath that their men at the Assyrian court would be loyal to Esarhaddon and his son Aššurbanipal (Liverani, ۱۹۹۰, pp. ۶۱-۶۲).

To judge by the queries from the time of Esarhaddon to the diviners of the sun god Šamaš, the situation on the eastern borders of Assyria was extremely strained. Magnates and governors of Bit Kāri in the province of Kišesim and Saparda in the province of Ḥarḥar, who had been sent with an army to collect tribute from the Median territories, began to return with empty hands, having been attacked by the detachments of the Medes, Manneans, Cimmerians, and Scythians (see Starr, nos. ۶۴-۷۱). This disguised resistance eventually resulted in the formation of a union against Assyria, and in about ۶۷۲ the Medes and their allies rose in open rebellion against Assyria. Assyrian sources name three Median chieftains who headed the revolt; they were Kaštariti, "city lord" of Kār-kašši, located in the region of Sagbat of the province of Kišesim, Dusanna, ruler of Saparda, and Mamitiaršu, a Median "city lord" (Starr, nos. ۴۱, ۴۵, ۵۰-۵۱). The last of these perhaps was the head of some Medes who had remained independent from Assyria. Among them, Kaštariti, who gradually began to unite the Median tribes, played the leading role. Twenty-three omen texts concerning this revolt have been preserved, and his name is mentioned in seventeen of them. Esarhaddon considered Kaštariti to be the main culprit and the actual instigator of the revolt (Starr, no. ۴۲); it was he who was particularly active in military operations and with whom it was necessary to negotiate in order to make peace with the rebels (Starr, nos. ۴۳-۵۷, ۶۰-۶۲). The rebels began by besieging the Assyrian fortresses in the provinces Ḥarḥar and Kišesim. The immediate aim of the revolt

was to cut off the main line of Assyrian communication in the Zagros range and to cut off access to Ḫarḫar, which led to Media from the west. It seems that the revolt spread also to Ellipi, to the southwest of Ḫarḫar along the Great Khorasan Road. The revolt was successful, and the Medes achieved independence, although their state still did not yet include all Median provinces and tribes, and Assyria was still able to retain a few areas in western Iran. In a letter of about ٦٦٩ BCE from the royal Assyrian archive, Media is mentioned with Urartu, Manna, and Hubuškia as a separate kingdom (Luukko and van Buylaere, no. ١٤٨), but it is not known how far it extended in the east and south during that time. Esarhaddon, in a summary of his achievements compiled at the end of his life, does not mention any more conquests in Iran, which also demonstrates that the Median revolt was successful. Besides, the Manneans during this period were able to extend their dominion, becoming the northern neighbor of Assyria (Medvedskaya, ٢٠٠٢, pp. ٢٠-٣٢). A decade later, Aššurbanipal led an inconclusive expedition into Mannea as far as its capital. Later on, the Manneans, being afraid of the rise of Media, their former ally, resumed their alliance with Assyria and remained devoted to it until the fall of the latter. The latest mention of the Medes in the Assyrian sources belongs to about ٦٥٨ BCE, when Aššurbanipal captured Birišatri, a chieftain of the Medes who had been an Assyrian vassal but later “threw away the yoke of the Assyrian supremacy” (Piepkorn, p. ٣٦, IV:٣-٦).

## THE MEDIAN DYNASTY

According to Herodotus (١,٩٦-١٠٧), the Median dynasty consisted of four kings who belonged to the same family and ruled for ١٥٠ years. Since this dynasty was overthrown by the Persian king [Cyrus II the Great](#) in ٥٥٠ BCE, to judge from Herodotus, the Median kings ruled during the following years (all dates are in BCE):

Deioces ٥٣ years ca. ٧٠٠-٦٤٧

Phraortes ٢٢ years ca. ٦٤٧-٦٢٥

Cyaxares ٤٠ years ca. ٦٢٥-٥٨٥

Astyages ٣٥ years ca. ٥٨٥-٥٥٠

Only [Cyaxares](#) (OIr. \**hUvaxštra-*, Babylonian Umakištar) and [Astyages](#) (OIr. \**Ršti-vaiga-*, Babylonian Ištumegu) of these kings are mentioned in cuneiform

texts (Grayson, ۱۹۷۵, Chronicle ۳, ll. ۲۹, ۳۰, ۴۰, ۴۷; Chronicle ۷, ii, l. ۲). Nevertheless, scholars have tried to find the names of Deioces and his son Phraortes in other relevant sources. Thus, a Mannean chieftain called Daiauku, who is mentioned several times in neo-Assyrian texts (including also annals) from the time of Sargon II was identified with Herodotus's Deioces (see, e.g., Smith, ۱۸۶۹, p. ۹۸). **He is mentioned in the Assyrian sources as a Mannean provincial governor (*šaknu*) who joined the king of Urartu against the Mannean ruler, but he was captured by Sargon, who exiled him together with his family to Syria in ۷۱۵ BCE. He apparently died there (Diakonoff, ۱۹۸۵, pp. ۸۳, ۹۰-۹۱, ۱۰۹, ۱۱۲-۱۳; see [DEIOCES](#) with references). His namesake may have been one of many chieftains of Median districts free from Assyrian rule.**

Based on the assertion of Herodotus (۱.۱۰۶) that the Scythian domination over the Medes lasted for about twenty-eight years preceding the fall of Nineveh in ۶۱۲ BCE, scholars have pushed back the beginning of the Median chronology to the year ۷۲۸ BCE. This permitted them to identify Phraortes, the second Median king, with Kaštariti, the leader of the Median revolt against Assyria in ۶۷۲. This identification is based on the statement in the Behistun (see [BISOTUN](#)) inscription (DB ۲, ۱۳-۱۷) that a Median pretender called Fravartiš (or Phraortes in Greek transcription), who revolted in ۵۲۲-۵۲۱ BCE against the Persian king [Darius I](#), claimed to be Xšaθrita (Hašattriti in the Babylonian version of the inscription) "of the family of Cyaxares" (*Uvaxštrahyā taumāyā*). From this George Cameron concluded that "Kashtariti" was the throne name of the king Fravartiš/Phraortes, who may have been the father of Cyaxares (Cameron, pp. ۱۷۴-۷۷). I. M. Diakonoff likewise assumes that Xšaθrita (Kaštariti) was probably the person whom Herodotus calls Phraortes, son of Deioces (Diakonoff, ۱۹۸۵, p. ۱۰۶). The same author agrees that Xšaθrita (not Phraortes) was the regnal name, since there was no need for a man who already bore a regnal name to assume another one (Diakonoff, ۱۹۵۶, pp. ۲۷۵-۷۶). Some scholars, however, are inclined to reject the identification of Phraortes, son of Deioces, with Kaštariti (see, e.g., Roaf, p. ۶۲) or consider it doubtful (Young, p. ۱۹; Brown, ۱۹۸۸, p. ۷۵). Moreover, it remains unclear why Fravartiš should assume Xšaθrita as his throne name.

If the beginning of Deioces' reign is moved up to ۷۲۸ BCE, then the absolute chronology of his dynasty can be presented in the following way:

Deioces ۵۳ years r. ۷۲۸-۶۷۵

Kaštariti/Phraortes ۲۲ yearsr. ۶۷۵-۶۵۳

Scythian domination ۲۸ years ۶۵۳-۶۲۵

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Cyaxares ٤٠ yearsr. ٦٢٥-٥٨٥

Astyages ٣٥ yearsr. ٥٨٥-٥٥٠

This chronology was rejected by scholars when René Labat demonstrated that, in a number of manuscripts of Herodotus's "Histories," the twenty-eight years of Scythian domination were included in Cyaxares' reign, and therefore Phraortes chronologically could not be Kaštariti of the Assyrian sources (Labat, p. ٧). Édvin A. Grantovskii (١٩٩٨, pp. ١٣٩, ١٧٤-٧٦) argued that this chronological problem could be solved on the basis of cuneiform sources, which date the Median revolt against Assyria to about ٦٧٢ and the end of the Median dynasty to ٥٥٠ BCE. He offered the following dates:

Deioces r. ca. ٦٧٢/٦٧١ - the ٤٠s of the ٧th century BCE

Phraortes r. ca. ٦٤٠ - ca. ٦٢٠)

Scythian domination ca. ٦٣٥-٦١٥)

Cyaxares r. ٦٢٠-٥٨٤

Astyages r. ٥٨٤-٥٥٠

Thus, according to Grantovskii, the Median dynasty existed for about ١٢٠ years; Deioces overthrew the Assyrian rule and founded the Median dynasty. Phraortes subjugated the Persians. The Median domination over Upper Asia began when Cyaxares defeated the Assyrian army in ٦١٢, and it continued for about sixty-two years. As to Scythian domination over Media and other countries, the statement of Herodotus (١,١٠٦) bears a legendary character and is not reliable, since it cannot be reconciled with the real ٧th-century history of Media and all the rest of the ancient Near East (see Medvedskaya, ٢٠٠٠, p. ٢٢٢).

According to another account of Herodotus (١,١٣٠), the Medes ruled over Upper Asia for ١٢٨ years. In this case, since the Median dynasty existed until ٥٥٠ BCE, its rise should be dated in the year ٦٧٨, that is, a few years before the revolt against Assyria. R. Drews (pp. ٨-٩) considered this figure of Herodotus not trustworthy, since, according to Hdt., ١,١٠٣, it was Cyaxares, the son of Phraortes, who conquered all Asia beyond (i.e., east of) the Halys river (the modern Kizil Irmak

in Asia Minor). This could not have happened earlier than ۶۲۰ BCE. But it may be possible to reconcile the apparent contradiction between these two reports of Herodotus (see Medvedskaya ۲۰۰۴, pp. ۹۷-۹۸). As already observed by George Rawlinson (I, pp. ۴۰۷-۹), Herodotus (۱,۱,۰۲) may have transposed the two figures of ۲۲ and ۰۳ years which his informant had assigned to Deioces and Phraortes, respectively. Rawlinson proposed that it was Phraortes who ruled for ۰۳ years and Deioces for ۲۲ years. With this change to the first table, above, one obtains for Phraortes regnal dates of ۶۷۸-۶۲۰ BCE. Thus, according to Rawlinson, the sum of the reigns of the three Median kings after Deioces (۰۳ + ۴۰ + ۳۰) would then be the ۱۲۸ years of Hdt., ۱,۱,۳۰. Phraortes overthrew the Assyrian dominance and, as Herodotus (۱,۱,۰۲) states, attacked the Persian tribes, and then began to subdue all Asia, one people after another. The results of the German archeological excavations at Bestām (see [BESTĀM](#), entry no. ۲), which was located to the north of Urmia, allow us to assume that the Medes attacked Urartu even before they started to subdue the Persian tribes (see below). Therefore, the starting point of the ۱۲۸-year period of Median supremacy probably is the accession of Kaštariti/Phraortes, who began to rule a few years before the successful revolt against Assyria and reigned for ۰۳ years. As to Deioces, the father of Phraortes, he was only a chieftain of the Medes, who began to consolidate the unity of the Median tribes (see Herodotus ۱,۱,۰۱). It is possible that he was only the eponymous founder of the Median royal house. According to Diakonoff's suggestion (۱۹۸۰, p. ۹۰), Herodotus oversimplified the event and transferred to Deioces the activities of several generations of Median chiefs, ascribing to him the founding of the Median kingdom. As to other Median kings, Cyaxares, in coalition with Babylonia, conquered Assyria and established his rule over Asia beyond the river Halys. Astyages was the last king of the Median dynasty. Thus, the rule of the Median kings can be presented as follows:

Deioces ۲۲ yearsr. ۷۰۰-۶۷۸ BCE

Kaštariti/Phraortes ۰۳ yearsr. ۶۷۸-۶۲۰ BCE

Cyaxares ۴۰ yearsr. ۶۲۰-۵۸۰ BCE

Astyages ۳۰ yearsr. ۵۸۰-۵۵۰ BCE

## THE RISE AND FALL OF THE MEDIA EMPIRE

By the middle of the ۷th century BCE, Media was a major kingdom, ranking with Elam, Urartu, Manna, and even with Assyria. Urartu posed a real threat to Media and in the first half of the ۷th century continued its military activity in the east,

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penetrating into Iranian territory. In the middle of the same century, however, all fortresses in the eastern periphery of the Urartu dominion were destroyed by fire or were abandoned. In particular, to judge by evidence presented by Urartian seals and bullae, “Rusaḏs City” (the present-day site of Beṣtām) was plundered and destroyed by fire toward the end of the reign of Rusa II (r. ٦٨٥-٦٤٥/٦٣٩ BCE), who had founded the town. This could be a result only of Median expansion, since there existed no other power in the region at that time that was able to destroy Urartu. The Median blow was apparently directed against the fortification line of the Araxes (Aras)-Urmia basin, which presented the only approach to Urartu from Media, since the southern and western coasts of Lake Urmia had already been occupied by Manna. Probably, the Medes not only attacked the Araxes-Urmia bridgeheads but also penetrated into the interior of the country. Thus, in the ٦٤٠'s BCE. Urartu ceased to exist as an independent state (see Medvedskaya, ٢٠٠٠, pp. ٣٣-٣٥).

After the fall of Urartu, the Medes started to conquer Persia. But, according to Herodotus (١,١٠٢), who apparently knew nothing about Urartu and Elam, Persia was among the first to be attacked by the Medes. This could have happened only some time after about ٦٤١ BCE, when Cyrus I, the Persian prince of [Anshan](#), became an Assyrian tributary and sent gifts to Aššurbanipal, together with his son [Arukku](#) as a hostage, after the Assyrian victory over [Elam](#).

The Median king Phraortes united all Median tribes into a single state with Ecbatana as its capital. His son Cyaxares created a regular army, reorganizing it by type of weapon into spear-bearers, archers, and cavalry in place of the former levies structured by tribal principles (Herodotus, ١,١٠٣). Subsequent events of Median history are known from Babylonian sources, and its several episodes are described by Herodotus.

The Babylonians (see [BABYLONIA](#)) revolted against Assyrian domination in ٦٢٦ BCE. The Chaldean Nabopolassar, the governor of the southern regions and the leader of the revolt, was soon recognized as king of Babylonia, and by ٦١٦ he was in full control of all Babylonian territory. Then he marched against Assyria. The Medes, led by their king Cyaxares, also decided to turn on their old enemy. In November ٦١٥ BCE, they attacked the Assyrian province of Arrapha (present-day Kirkuk) and also annexed the territory of its ally Manna. In ٦١٤, they seized Tarbiṣu near Nineveh, the capital of Assyria. They also surrounded Nineveh but did not succeed in taking it. In the same year the Medes besieged and captured Aššur, the ancient capital of the country. Nabopolassar with his army arrived on the field of battle only after the fall of Aššur. There the Medes and Babylonians concluded an alliance, reinforcing it by the marriage of Amytis, daughter of

Astyages, Cyaxares' son, to Nebuchadnezzar, Nabopolassar's son (Berossos, apud Schnabel, p. ۲۷۱; cf. Cameron, p. ۲۱۶, n. ۹; Diakonoff, ۱۹۸۵, pp. ۱۲۲-۲۳).

In the spring of ۶۱۳, a revolt against Nabopolassar occurred in Suhu, a region on the middle Euphrates, which later spread to central and southern Babylonia. He was on the verge of losing his power to the Assyrians and was saved from this danger by the Medes (see Zawadzki, p. ۱۱۱). Finally, after three months of siege, in August of ۶۱۲, the joined forces of the Medes and Babylonians stormed Nineveh, the Assyrian capital, and took it. The major part in the city's downfall was played by the Medes. The city was plundered, and the conquerors returned home with enormous booty. The remains of the Assyrian army managed to leave for the city Ḥarrān in Upper Mesopotamia, where Aššurballiṭ II, a member of the royal family who was appointed the new king, continued the struggle against the Babylonians, who had to face him without any help from Media. In the meantime, the Assyrians were reinforced by the arrival of the Egyptian army of Pharaoh Necho II. In November ۶۱۰, the Medes returned to Mesopotamia and to the assistance of Nabopolassar. The joined forces of the Babylonians and Medes marched on Ḥarrān; upon their approach the Assyrians and Egyptians retreated to Carchemish, where they were eventually defeated. The Medes plundered Ehulhul, the main temple of Ḥarrān, and went home. After the fall of Ḥarran, the strategic center of Assyrian resistance was moved to Carchemish, a city on the Upper Euphrates, which at that time belonged to Egypt. Carchemish was captured by the Babylonians in ۶۰۵ BCE. It is not clear whether the Medes also participated in this final defeat of the Assyrians (Diakonoff, ۱۹۸۵, pp. ۱۲۳-۲۵; Saggs, pp. ۱۳۴-۴۱; Dandamaev and Lukonin, pp. ۵۴-۵۹).

The main source for the Babylonian and Median military operations against Assyria is the so-called *Chronicle of Nabopolassar* (or *Gadd Chronicle*), which is a part of the Babylonian chronicles and covers the period from ۶۱۶ to ۶۰۹ BCE. In this text the Babylonian ally is first referred to as Medes but elsewhere also as Umman-manda. In particular, this Chronicle mentions Cyaxares as the king of the Umman-manda, whereas the same source in the report concerning the capture of Aššur designates him simply as a "Mede" (Grayson, pp. ۹۳-۹۴, ll. ۲۴-۶۵; Pritchard, ed., pp. ۲۰۲-۳). The same chronicle also states that the Umman-manda came to the assistance of Nabopolassar when he was at war with the Assyrians in the Ḥarrān region (Grayson, p. ۹۵, ll. ۵۹-۶۱). To judge from a Babylonian letter, the term Umman-manda is a reference to the Medes. This letter, sent by the crown prince Nebuchadnezzar, says that "the king has gone to Ḥarrān, [and] with him went large forces of Medes" (Contenau, no. ۹۹). Evidently, Umman-manda and Mādāya (Medes) are used in these sources as different names for one and the same people.

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After the fall of Nineveh, the western boundaries of Media lay near the plains of Mesopotamia. Until recently, it has been a common opinion that, as a result of the fall of Assyria, the Medes took possession of the native Assyrian lands to the east of the Tigris, as well as the Ḥarrān region. This opinion is partly based on the so-called *Dream Text* of the Babylonian king Nabonidus, which states that the Medes dominated Ḥarrān for fifty-four years until the third year of his reign (Schaudig, p. ٤١٧, col. ١, ll. ٢٧-٢٩). In this case, the Medes possessed Ḥarrān from ٦٠٧ to ٥٥٣ BCE (see Diakonoff, ١٩٨٥, p. ١٢٥). Moreover, still in the ٥th century BCE and later, the Assyrian heartland was viewed in popular memory as Median land (for references see Dandamaev and Lukonin, p. ٥٨). Such an opinion, however, is being reconsidered at the present time. Some scholars argue that the Assyrian heartland and Ḥarrān belonged to the Babylonians from the year ٦٠٩ BCE and remained under their control until the fall of the Neo-Babylonian empire in ٥٣٩ BCE (see, e.g., Rollinger, pp. ٢٩٢-٣٠٥ with further references). It is true that, to judge from the *Babylonian Chronicle*, Ḥarrān remained under Babylonian dominance, while the Medes returned home after its capture from the Assyrians. It is, however, hard to maintain that Nabonidus would try to force upon his countrymen, and even on Marduk and other gods, the fiction that Ḥarrān belonged to Media while the Babylonians were ruling it. It is probable, therefore, that some time after ٦٠٩ BCE the Medes seized Ḥarrān again and stayed there for a long period of time.

After the fall of Assyria, only four powerful states remained in the entire Near East, namely Egypt, Babylonia, Media, and Lydia. Soon, the relations between the former allies began to deteriorate, and both the Babylonian and Median rulers willingly accepted refugees from each other. For instance, as seen from a Babylonian letter drafted in ٥٩١ BCE, several citizens of Uruk fled to Media and then ignored the order of King Nebuchadnezzar to return to Babylonia (Dougherty, no. ٣٥٩). On the other side, according to Babylonian texts dated to ٥٩٥-٥٧٠ BCE, the royal court distributed foodstuffs to some aliens, including a “refugee from Media” (Weidner, p. ٩٣٠; Dandamajev, ١٩٩٢, p. ١٥٤).

After his victory over Assyria, Cyaxares continued to expand the frontiers of his kingdom at the expense of northwestern and eastern neighbors. Judging by later indirect evidence, he succeeded in the conquest of the regions south and east of the Caspian Sea (i.e., Parthia and Hyrcania) and Armenia (see Dandamaev and Lukonin ١٩٨٩, pp. ٦٠-٦١). In ٥٩٠ BCE, however, when the Median army approached the Halys river, they were attacked by Alyattes, the king of Lydia. The war lasted for five years, and, when a solar eclipse occurred during a battle on ٢٩ May ٥٨٥, both sides decided to conclude a peace treaty, according to which the frontier was established along the Halys river. The king of Cilicia Syennesis and “Labyntus of Babylon” (probably, Nabonidus is meant here) acted as

mediators of this treaty (see Herodotus, ۱.۷۴; cf. Rollinger, where the opinion is expressed that Asia Minor was never under direct and stable Median control). It was followed by a marriage alliance between Aryene, the daughter of Alyattes, and Astyages, the son of Cyaxares. It is possible, however, that about ten years later a second war, started by Astyages, broke out between the two states (Cobbe, p. ۳۰; Diakonoff, ۱۹۸۵, p. ۱۲۶).

In ۵۸۵ BCE, Cyaxares died, leaving his throne to Astyages, who might be the one that established Median control over Elam. After a long rule, he lost his kingdom to the Persian king [Cyrus II the Great](#). There are three main primary sources about the war between Persia and Media: the *Histories* by Herodotus (and also some other later classical works, including Strabo, ۱۵.۳.۸), as well as the *Babylonian Chronicle* and the *Dream Text* of the Babylonian king Nabonidus. Herodotus's account apparently was based on an oral tradition of the Medes, and occasionally it cannot be reconciled with Babylonian historical data. According to him (۱.۱۲۳-۲۸), Cyrus, being a grandson of Astyages (his daughter's son) and his vassal, rose in rebellion against him. The Babylonian sources do not speak of him as the grandson of Astyages and his vassal; they refer to him only as "the king of Anshan/Anzan" (i.e., of Persia, the present-day Fārs), while Astyages (Ištumegu) is named the "king of Umman-manda" (see the *Dream Text* in Schaudig, p. ۴۱۷, no. ۲, l. ۲۹). As seen from the same text, the war between Media and Persia started in the third year of Nabonidus's reign, that is, in ۵۵۳ BCE, and the *Nabonidus Chronicle* dates the defeat of Media in the sixth year of Nabonidus (i.e., ۵۵۰ BCE). According to the *Dream Text*, Cyrus, "king of Anshan, with small army defeated the many troops of the Umman-manda and captured Ištumegu, king of the Umman-manda, and brought him in chains" (Schaudig, p. ۴۱۷, col. I, ll. ۲۷-۲۹).

According to Herodotus (۱.۱۲۷-۲۸), the Median nobleman [Harpagos](#) organized a plot against Astyages and during a battle defected with a large part of the troops to Cyrus's side. Then Astyages himself commanded the army in the second battle, but the Medes were defeated, and their king was taken prisoner. This information of Herodotus is supported in outline by the *Nabonidus Chronicle*, which states that, in the sixth year of the reign of Nabonidus, Astyages called his troops and marched against Cyrus. Then it adds that the troops of Astyages revolted, took him prisoner, and handed him over to Cyrus. The latter advanced to Agamtanu (i.e., Ecbatana), and took to Anshan the silver, gold, and other goods found there (see Grayson, p. ۱۰۶, II, lines ۱-۴). Thus, this war lasted from ۵۵۳ to ۵۵۰ BCE.

Different opinions have been expressed about the character of the Median kingdom. For instance, according to Ernst Herzfeld (p. ۳۴۴), it was a powerful empire, which stretched from north Mesopotamia to [Bactria](#) and India. On the other side, Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg (p. ۲۱۲) insists that there is no real

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evidence about the very existence of the Median empire and that it was an unstable state formation.

It seems that Cyrus did not abolish the Median kingdom. What occurred was, rather, a transition of royal power from one dynasty to another. In any case, Cyrus and his Achaemenid successors adopted the official titles of the Median kings and their system of state administration. In the Achaemenid empire, Media retained its privileged position, occupying the second place after Persia itself. Media was a large province, and its capital Ecbatana became one of the Achaemenid capitals and the summer residence of the Persian kings. The Median nobility maintained its privileged position under Cyrus the Great, and also to a significant degree under his successors, in spite of a dangerous rebellion of the Medes against Darius I the Great in ۵۲۱ BCE [Gobryas](#) (OPers. *Gaub(a)ruva-*), the first governor of Babylonia after its occupation by the Persians, may have been a Mede. In the *Nabonidus Chronicle*, he is attested as “the governor of the country Gutium,” who took Babylon (Grayson, p. ۱۰۹, col. III, l. ۱۵). In the first millennium BCE, Gutium was an archaic name for Media or, at least, for its western part (Herzfeld, p. ۱۹۴; Diakonoff, ۱۹۸۵, p. ۱۱۷). It should also be mentioned that, along with the Persians and Elamites, Medes served in the standing army of the “۱۰,۰۰۰ Immortals” of the Achaemenids. The Greeks, Jews, Egyptians, and other peoples of the ancient world called the Persians “Medes” and regarded the Persian rule as a continuation of that of the Medes (see, e.g., Herodotus, ۱,۲۰۶). As seen from some Babylonian documents drafted after the conquest of Mesopotamia by the Persians, many Medes resided in Babylonia as important state officials, military officers, and royal soldiers. Moreover, it seems that some Medes lived in Babylon and perhaps in other big cities as private individuals. Cuneiform documents also attest that Babylonian businessmen were engaged in various transactions in Ecbatana and other cities of Media (for references see Dandamayev, ۱۹۹۲, pp. ۱۵۳–۵۶).

## MEDIAN SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

At present, we have no direct data on the social institutions and economic organization of Median society. Herodotus (۱,۱۰۱) mentions six Median tribes, of which only [Arizantoi](#) (< \**arya-zantu* “having Aryan lineage”) has an obvious Iranian etymology, but we have almost no information on these tribes. Apparently, some elements of the administrative system introduced by the Assyrians continued to function in the Median provinces also after the fall of Assyria and were gradually viewed by the Medes as their own traditional institutions. János Harmatta (p. ۱۳) has attempted to trace the Median administrative system and, basing his argument mostly on linguistic data, has

come to the conclusion that the Medes had “a highly developed bureaucratic organization, which later on was adopted also by the Achaemenids.” In any case, the Achaemenid title for a satrap (OPers. *xšaçapavān*- “regional administrator”) existed even prior to the emergence of the Median state for the designation of independent chiefs (Grantovskii, ۱۹۷۰, pp. ۱۵۴, ۳۲۳-۲۴).

Rich archeological material from Tepe Nush-i Jan (Nuš-e Jān), Godin (Gowdin) [Tepe](#), and other ancient sites (see [URARTU](#)), as well as Assyrian reliefs demonstrate that in the first half of the first millennium there existed settlements of the urban type in various regions of Media, which were centers of handicraft production and of a sedentary agricultural and cattle-breeding economy. To judge from Assyrian sources, the basic economic occupations of the population in Median regions were the breeding of horses and handicraft production. From the Median districts the Assyrians received tribute of horses, cattle, sheep, Bactrian camels, as well as lapis lazuli, bronze, gold, silver, and other metals mainly in the form of fashioned objects, and also linen and woolen fabrics.

## MEDIAN CULTURE AND ART

Before the rise of the Achaemenids under Cyrus II, Media obviously was the focus of the development of Iranian material and intellectual culture. However, no archives from Median times have been discovered, and we do not know whether the Medes had their own writing system. So far only one inscription of pre-Achaemenid times (a bronze plaque) has been found on the territory of Media. This is a cuneiform inscription composed in Akkadian, perhaps in the ۸th century BCE, but no Median names are mentioned in it (cf. Diakonoff, ۱۹۷۸, with further references). A cuneiform inscription on a piece of silver has been excavated in Media at Tepe Nush-i Jan, but only the end of one sign and the beginning of the next have been preserved (Brinkman, p. ۱۰۷). It is not known whether the Medes used Akkadian script for writing. But some scholars are inclined to assume that the so-called Old Persian cuneiform was in fact Median cuneiform, which later was borrowed by the Persians (see, for instance, Diakonoff, ۱۹۷۰, pp. ۱۲۱-۲۲).

Herodotus (۱,۹۸) gives a description of Deioces’ palace at [Ecbatana](#), which, according to him, was an architectural complex built on a hill and surrounded by seven circles of walls so that the battlements of each wall out-topped those of the next wall outside it. The palace itself and royal treasuries were within the innermost circle. The battlements of these circles were painted with various colors and those of the inner two circles were covered with silver and gold respectively. It may be noted that, in the ۶th century BCE, as known from Achaemenid

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inscriptions, Median goldsmiths adorned the walls of the royal palaces in the imperial capital at Susa (DSf ٤٩-٥٥; see Vallat).

Median art, however, remains a matter of speculation, and even its existence is denied by some scholars (see, for instance, Genito, p. ١١). This situation apparently will last until the royal palaces in Ecbatana are discovered and studied. Oscar Muscarella (١٩٩٤, p. ٥٧) notes that “no examples of Median art and artifacts are known to exist in the archaeological record” (see also idem, ١٩٨٧). Nevertheless, other scholars presume that such sites as Nush-i Jan Tepe and Godin Tepe located on the territory of historical Media and dated in the ٨<sup>th</sup> and ٧<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE were Median (see Calmeyer, ١٩٨٧, pp. ٥٦٥-٦٩, with further references). The attribution of Bābā Jān III to Median culture is uncertain (see Muscarella, ١٩٨٧, p. ١١٢, n. ١٢; idem, ١٩٩٤, p. ٥٨; Medvedskaya, ١٩٩٢, pp. ٧٣-٧٩).

Although Tepe Nush-i Jan was not a capital city, according to David Stronach (١٩٨٥), it became an important link in a chain of evidence on the composition and development of Median architecture, as well as in the incorporation of Median culture in the ancient Oriental civilizations. In the architecture of Tepe Nush-i Jan and Godin Tepe can be traced influence and direct borrowings of both the fine details and entire architectural forms and design of buildings that had precise analogues in Assyrian art (e.g., the plan of forts), in Urartian methods of erecting the buildings (rock-cut tunnel, the use of blind windows and recessed niches with dentil cornices, and cisterns for water). The columned hall had already been attested in the architecture of northwest Iran and Urartu, but in Tepe Nush-i Jan and Godin Tepe it does not have smaller rooms adjoining the hall. The columned hall became a representative building without any dwelling or economic functions, a prototype of the Achaemenid audience hall (see [APADĀNA](#)). One can also mention the lozenge-shaped plan of the Central Temple in Tepe Nush-i Jan (see below), which is unparalleled elsewhere. Thus, the Medes not only borrowed some elements of foreign art but also used them in forms with new functions and meanings, that is, in a new context without their typical and initial qualities. Later, the Achaemenids borrowed the cultural achievements of the ancient Near East through the intermediary of the Medes.

## MEDIAN RELIGION

Our information about the religion of the Medes is very scanty. Between ١٩٦٧ and ١٩٧٧, Stronach excavated a building that had been founded in about ٧٥٠ BCE and appears to have been principally religious in character. It was located at Tepe Nush-i Jan, about ٦٠ km to the south of Hamadān. The buildings were erected on

a rock with a height of about ۳۰ m and consisted of the “Central Temple,” “Western Temple,” “Fort,” and “Columned Hall,” which were surrounded by a circular brick buttressed wall. The Central Temple was of a tower-shaped form with a triangular inner sanctuary. Its floor-space is ۱۱ x ۷ m, and the walls are still eight meters high. Near the western corner of this sanctuary, a stepped fire altar was discovered which was built of mud brick. As is known, the cult of fire was a common Indo-Iranian legacy, and the temple in Tepe Nush-i Jan is the earliest of the temple structures in Iran that are known to us (Stronach, ۱۹۸۴ and ۱۹۸۵).

The rest of our information about Median religion is mainly based on the *Histories* of Herodotus and on the personal names of Median individuals. According to Herodotus (۱,۱۰۱), the Magi (*magoi* < OPers. *magu-*) were a Median tribe that provided priests not only for the Medes but also for the Persians. Thus, they constituted a priestly caste that passed their functions from father to son. Additionally, at the court of the Median king Astyages they acted as advisers, dream interpreters, and soothsayers. Thus, apparently, the Magi played a significant role at the court of the last Median kings (see Herodotus, ۱,۱۰۷; Boyce, *Zoroastrianism* II, s.v. magi; Schwartz, pp. ۶۹۶-۹۷). As for Median personal names, Assyrian texts from the ۹th and ۸th centuries BCE contain examples in which the first element is familiar from both Old Persian and Avestan: the Indo-Iranian word *arta-* (Av. *aša-* < Ind-Ir. *\*rtá* “truth”; q.v.) or theophoric names with *Maždakku* and even the name of the god [Ahura Mazdā](#) (for references, see Grantovskii, ۱۹۷۰, pp. ۲۵۳-۶۲; Dandamaev, ۱۹۷۶, pp. ۲۱۶-۱۷; Boyce, *Zoroastrianism* II, pp. ۱۵, ۱۰۴). **Classical authors unanimously** regarded the Magi as Zoroastrian priests. Diakonoff (۱۹۸۵, p. ۱۴۱) assumed that “Astyages and perhaps even Cyaxares had already embraced a religion derived from the teachings of Zoroaster (though certainly not identical with his doctrine).” The majority of scholars, however, do not share this opinion. Mary Boyce (*Zoroastrianism* II, p. ۲۱) even argued that the existence of the Magi in Media with their own traditions and forms of worship was an obstacle to Zoroastrian proselytizing there. In all probability, as early as the ۸th century, a kind of Mazdaism with common Indo-Iranian traditions prevailed in Media, to which specific features of Zoroastrianism were alien, whereas the religion reformed by Zarathustra started to spread in western Iran only in the first half of the ۶th century BCE, under the last Median kings.

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## کممک های قلعه آیانیس به گاهشماری عصر آهن

### کممک های قلعه آیانیس به گاهشماری عصر آهن<sup>۱</sup>

آیلین اردیم<sup>۲</sup>

آتیللا باتماز<sup>۳</sup>

مترجم دکتر منصور حمداللهزاده<sup>۴</sup>

چکیده<sup>۵</sup>

این مقاله عمدتاً به مسائل قرن هفتم پ.م. و دوره پس از اورارتو از منظر قلعه آیانیس می پردازد. بر اساس نتایج قدمت‌نگاری درختی، قلعه آیانیس بین سال‌های ۶۷۷ تا ۶۷۳ پ.م. ساخته شده است. این تاریخ‌ها زمانی معقول به نظر می‌رسند که لشکرکشی شوپریا اسرحدون پادشاه آشور در سال‌های ۶۷۳ تا ۷۲ پ.م. و کتیبه معبد آیانیس را در نظر بگیریم که اشاره می‌کند که روسا مردم را از سرزمین‌های آشور تبعید کرده است. قلعه آیانیس باید قبل از ۶۵۳ پ.م. فرو ریخته باشد. این دیدگاه توسط متنی از آشوربانپال پشتیبانی می‌شود که از پادشاه اورارتویی «روسا»، احتمالاً روسا سوم، در رابطه با فتح عیلام در سال ۶۵۳ پ.م. یاد می‌کند. پس از فروپاشی قلعه آیانیس، ساکنان محلی به زندگی در شهر بیرونی ادامه دادند، زیرا مثلث ویر، عنصر جدیدی همراه با سرامیک‌های اورارتویی پیدا شد. بنابراین، منطقی است که بگوییم مردم محلی آیانیس منطقه را رها نکرده اند، بلکه با مهاجران زندگی می‌کنند.

کلید واژه: اورارتو، آیانیس، آشور، ماد، پسااورارتویی

<sup>۱</sup> این مقاله بازنشری است از:

Erdem, A. Ü., & Batmaz, A. (۲۰۰۸). Contributions of the Ayanis Fortress to Iron Age Chronology. *Ancient near eastern studies*, ۴۵, ۶۵-۸۴. doi: ۲۱۴۳/ANES.۴۴,۰,۲۰۲۲۸۳۱ ANES ۴۵ (۲۰۰۸) ۰۰۰-۰۰۰

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<sup>۵</sup> ما بیلیم از دویگو اولگات و کیله واگنر که ما را در دستور زبان انگلیسی و نحو ارائه این مقاله یاری کردند تشکر کنیم.

## Contributions of the Ayanis Fortress to Iron Age Chronology

Aylin Ü. ERDEM<sup>۱</sup>  
Atilla BATMAZ<sup>۲</sup>

### Abstract<sup>۳</sup>

*This paper deals primarily with the chronological issues of the seventh century BC and post-Urartian period from the perspective of Ayanis Fortress. According to dendrochronological results, Ayanis Fortress was built between 677 and 673 BC. These dates seem reasonable when we consider the Shupria campaign of Assyrian king Esarhaddon in 673–72 BC, and the Ayanis temple inscription which mentions that Rusa deported people from the lands of Asur. Ayanis Fortress must have been collapsed before 653 BC. This view is supported by a text of Ashurbanipal that mentions a Urartian King 'Rusa', possibly Rusa III, relating to his conquest of Elam in 653 BC. After the collapse of Ayanis Fortress, the local inhabitants continued to live in the Outher Town since Triangle Ware, a new element, was found together with the Urartian ceramics. Thus, it is reasonable to suggest that the local people of Ayanis did not abandon the area, but rather cohabitated with immigrants.*

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<sup>۳</sup> We wish to thank to Kyle Wagner and Duygu Ülgüt, who assisted us with the English grammar and syntax of this paper.

# Contributions of the Ayanis Fortress to Iron Age Chronology

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## Abstract\*

*This paper deals primarily with the chronological issues of the seventh century BC and post-Urartian period from the perspective of Ayanis Fortress. According to dendrochronological results, Ayanis Fortress was built between 677 and 673 BC. These dates seem reasonable when we consider the Shupria campaign of Assyrian king Esarhaddon in 673-72 BC, and the Ayanis temple inscription which mentions that Rusa deported people from the lands of Asur. Ayanis Fortress must have been collapsed before 653 BC. This view is supported by a text of Asurbanipal that mentions an Urartian King 'Rusa', possibly Rusa III, relating to his conquest of Elam in 653 BC. After the collapse of Ayanis Fortress the local inhabitants continued to live in the Outer Town since Triangle Ware, a new element, was found together with the Urartian ceramics. Thus, it is reasonable to suggest that the local people of Ayanis did not abandon the area, but rather co-habitated with immigrants.*

\* We wish to thank to Kyle Wagner and Duygu Ölgüt, who assisted us with the English grammar and syntax of this paper.

The aim of this study is to examine the destruction level of the Ayanis Fortress with the help of philological and archaeological evidence. This analysis will include an exploration of the chronological order of the construction of fortresses belonging to Rusa II, as well as a discussion concerning the dates of transition from the Middle Iron Age to the Late Iron Age.

The Urartian Kingdom emerged as a one of the most influential powers in Eastern Anatolia from the ninth to seventh century BC. This is particularly important to note because despite the harsh geographical conditions of the region (Fig. 1), the Urartian Kingdom, which is normally associated with the Middle Iron Age, was able to sustain its administrative mechanism for around 300 years. The insulated geography, even though it is somewhat disadvantageous from the point of administrative functionality,<sup>1</sup> provided a defensive advantage. These natural defenses were, in part, why the powerful Assyrian Empire, which had many encounters with the Urartians, was not able to conquer their kingdom easily.

Excavations in this region usually concentrate on fortresses, and so our knowledge of Urartu primarily concerns the military, administrative and religious features of the kingdom. In this region a type of 'fortress based settlement system' was common in this period, as evidenced by the number of fortresses that have been excavated in eastern Anatolia. Ayanis is one such fortress (Fig. 2), located 35 km from Van city on the eastern shore of Lake Van. Excavations have been ongoing since 1989 under the direction of Prof. Altan Çilingiroğlu.<sup>2</sup> The fortress, which consists of an area approximately 200 x 450 m in size, was built on a rocky hill. It is dated to the reign of King Rusa II (685-645 BC). Currently, there are five known Urartian fortresses belonging to the reign of Rusa II. These are Karmir-Blur, Bastam, Kef, Toprakkale and Ayanis (Fig. 3). At this time, the most pressing issue concerning these fortresses is determining the order in which Rusa built them and where Ayanis fits into this chronology.

Archaeological and philological evidence indicates that Karmir-Blur was the first fortress constructed by Rusa II. This assertion is based on a building inscription from Karmir-Blur which tells us that Rusa II built a temple for God Haldi after this new city Karmir-Blur was established. The inscription reads:

When God Haldi gave the kingship to me and when I sat on the paternal royal seat, I built up this perfect Gate of Haldi...<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Zimansky 1985, pp. 9-32; Zimansky 2004, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> We would like to thank Prof. Çilingiroğlu for his tremendous support and guidance during the course of our research and the presentation of this paper.

<sup>3</sup> UKN II, 448; Salvini 1980, pp. 249-269; Diakonof 1991, pp. 13-21.

The expression "when I sat on the paternal royal seat" is seen as a chronological statement by scholars and so it is believed that the Karmir-Blur Fortress was the first fortress built by Rusa II. At the same time, Rusa II was aware of the fact that during the reigns of his father Argishti II, and his grandfather Rusa I, the Urartian Kingdom had suffered Cimmerian and Scythian attacks.<sup>4</sup> It is probable that he built a fortress to keep this region under control.

If Karmir-Blur is the first fortress, what about the other fortresses? Archaeological and philological information is helpful in determining the chronology of construction. A *bullae* from Bastam, another fortress of Rusa II, provides information about the building dates of Bastam and Toprakkale. The inscription on the *bullae* reads:

...That year, Rusa son of Argishti seated the throne Rusahinili in front of Qilbani....<sup>5</sup>

The statement "Rusahinili in front of the Qilbani" indicates that Rusa had been residing at Bastam in this period, moving later to Toprakkale (Rusahinili Gilbani-kai /Erek Mountain),<sup>6</sup> which had just been built.<sup>7</sup> In a Keşiş Göl inscription (Fig. 4:1) the city of Toprakkale only was referred to as Rusahinili. This indicates that Bastam might have been built just before Toprakkale. From the same inscription from Bastam we also have information about the chronological order of Toprakkale and Ayanis. In the Keşiş Göl inscription, which is related to building of Toprakkale Fortress, only the term *Rusahinili* was used for Toprakkale and no other distinctive word was preferred or necessary for its expression. As a result, the term "Rusahinili in front of the Qilbani" on one of the *bullae* from Bastam and on two of the tablets found in Toprakkale<sup>8</sup> indicate that King Rusa used this expression for Toprakkale to distinguish it from his other fortresses. He named his previous buildings with the singular term 'Rusahinili', but when Ayanis fortress was built longer descriptions were required to distinguish between the two fortresses. That is why he employed the terms "Rusahinili in front of Gilbani" for Toprakkale and "Rusahinili in front of Eiduru" for Ayanis. Within this context, this philological evidence indicates that the fortress of Toprakkale was constructed at an earlier date than the fortress of

<sup>4</sup> Çilingiroğlu 1994, p. 99.

<sup>5</sup> Salvini 1988, pp. 130, 131, 134, 135 (fig. No: Ba 78-146).

<sup>6</sup> Two clay tablets proved this suggestion: UKN I, 286.

<sup>7</sup> Çilingiroğlu and Salvini 2001, p. 17.

<sup>8</sup> UKN I, 268

Ayanis. It is even possible to assert that the beginning of the construction of these two fortresses may have begun in almost the same period.

Other evidence concerning the chronological order of the fortresses is provided by a connection between an inscription from Kef Fortress<sup>9</sup> and the Ayanis temple inscription.<sup>10</sup> On the inscription from Kef Fortress (in Adilcevaz), the campaigns of Rusa to the west to Hate and Mushki are mentioned. A similar expression exists on the Ayanis Temple inscription, with some notable additions. The Adilcevaz inscription mentions that King Rusa deported women and men from the enemy countries, such as Tablani (Tabal), Qainaru, Mushki, Hate and Halitu. The Ayanis inscription (Fig. 5), however, lists other countries, such as Asur, Targuni, Etiuni, Shiluquni, in addition to those listed on the Adilcevaz inscription. A. Çilingiroğlu and M. Salvini place the date of Kef Fortress earlier than that of Ayanis Fortress because of the presence of these new country names on the Ayanis inscription.<sup>11</sup>

Based on all of this evidence, the chronological order of the fortresses is:

1. Karmir-Blur was built before Toprakkale
2. Bastam was built before Toprakkale
3. Ayanis was built after Kef Fortress
4. Ayanis was built after Toprakkale<sup>12</sup>

In other words, it is possible to suggest that the chronological sequence of the construction of the fortresses was as follows: Karmir-Blur, Bastam, Kef Kalesi, Toprakkale and Ayanis.<sup>13</sup> As a result, Ayanis Fortress is the last Urartian fortress built by Rusa II.

So what is the construction date of the Ayanis Fortress? The dendrochronological studies conducted on wood samples collected from the fortress give us the dates 677–673 BC.<sup>14</sup> If the earliest wood used to build Ayanis Fortress can be bracketed to these years, then the fortress must have been built in 673–72 BC. This specific date is based on an Assyrian inscription related to Rusa II called the Shupria campaign inscription. Yet it is still not known for certain how long Ayanis Fortress was in use. Archaeological evidence from the fortress indicates that it was used only in the period of

<sup>9</sup> UKN II, 278

<sup>10</sup> Salvini 2001, pp. 259–261

<sup>11</sup> Çilingiroğlu and Salvini 2001, p. 23.

<sup>12</sup> Çilingiroğlu and Salvini 2001, p. 23.

<sup>13</sup> Çilingiroğlu 2002, p. 485.

<sup>14</sup> Kuniholm and Newton 2001, p. 2

Rusa II. Hundreds of objects have inscriptions on them saying that they were dedicated to Haldi by Rusa II. The absence of any other names of Urartian king confirms that this fortress was not used after Rusa II. Bronze arrowheads make up one group of these objects. There are two distinct groups of bronze arrowheads from Ayanis Fortress: socketed arrowheads and tanged leaf arrowheads. Socketed arrowheads (Fig. 6:1) are an important group because they inform us about the destruction of the fortress. This type of arrowhead was found in front of the southern fortification walls (Fig. 6:2). While many scholars attribute these types of arrowheads to the Scythians, others attribute them to the Cimmerians as well as the Scythians. According to both groups, there is no archaeological evidence for socketed arrowheads before nomadic groups arrived in the region in the seventh century BC. On the other hand, some scholars believe that the bilobate group of the socketed arrowheads were produced by the Cimmerians and trilobate ones by the Scythians. Von der Osten, for instance, suggests that bilobate socketed arrowheads came to Anatolia with the Cimmerians.<sup>15</sup> In contrast, Yamauchi claims that the Scythians produced both bilobate and trilobate arrowheads, and later the Cimmerians adopted them for their own use.<sup>16</sup> Previously, Piotrovsky suggested that both types were produced by the Scythians.<sup>17</sup> The types of arrowheads found at Ayanis are also attested at other Urartian fortresses. Traditionally, it was believed that socketed arrowheads from Urartian fortresses were testimony to Scythian attacks on Urartu and not part of Urartian weaponry. Recent research, however, suggests that these types of arrowheads might have been used by the Urartians as well.<sup>18</sup>

The traditional view of Urartian history proposes that the Cimmerians and Scythians came to eastern Anatolia in the seventh century BC and fought against the Urartian Kingdom. Yet when we look at the era of Rusa II it is apparent that the Urartian Kingdom experienced a short, brilliant, and plentiful period. This situation was made possible through peaceful political relationships established with nomadic peoples as well as with Assyria. The relations between Urartu and the Cimmerians in the reign of Rusa II are not well known, with the exception of some measures taken against the nomadic people by Urartu. However, the archaeological evidence from Karmir-Blur proves the existence of some relationships. According to one hypothesis, Rusa II gave permission to the Cimmerians to settle

<sup>15</sup> Derin and Muscarella 2001, p. 198.

<sup>16</sup> Derin and Muscarella 2001, p. 198.

<sup>17</sup> Derin and Muscarella 2001, p. 198.

<sup>18</sup> Derin and Muscarella 2001, pp. 200–201.

near Lake Sevan.<sup>19</sup> This policy would have been a block against the Cimmerians to go further south and would have been a measure against other nomads who would come from the north. It is probable that the Cimmerians moved ahead, toward the west and south-west, with the permission of the Urartian king. According to another hypothesis, the Sycythians who resided in the Russian Steppes, pushed the Cimmerians from the mountains of Caucasus towards south, and then, having lost their way, reached the lands of Medes. According to the annals of Assyria,<sup>20</sup> Esarhaddon won a battle against Ishpakai, the king of Scythia, in 679 BC. This inscription mentions Sycythians coming from Land of Mana. In addition, an inscription of Rusa II on a tablet from Toprakkale stresses the year: "That year, when Saga-dummu-tar, the son of the king of Ishgigulu Lands, went to the land of Mana". This indicates that there were diplomatic relations between Urartu and the Sycythians. It is possible, then, that the Scythians, who came from the north, settled in Mana. Thanks to the agreement between Rusa II and Sagastra, the Sycythians went to the lands of Mana without facing any conflicts. Because the Urartian Kingdom allowed the nomads to pass through their lands, it reaped tangible benefits. Rusa did not have to wage war against the Sycythians, thus protecting his country with this astute political decision. In addition, Urartu also acquired a great supporter against its enemy, Assyria.<sup>21</sup>

The historical events outlined above demonstrate that Rusa II attempted to develop peaceful relations during his rule. With this in mind, we can postulate that the socketed arrowheads may, in fact, point to the cooperation between Urartians and Scythians. As such, although socketed arrowheads were found in front of the fortification walls both at Ayanis and Karmir-Blur, the people responsible for the collapse of the Kingdom might not have been the Scythians, but some other ethnic group.

It may be accepted, then, that the Urartian Kingdom established peaceful relations with the Cimmerians and Scythians in the seventh century BC, owing to the policies of Rusa II. During his reign, the Urartian Kingdom's resources and time were directed, to a large extent, towards the production of metalwork in the form of art objects and weapons. Many bronze and iron objects were obtained from the fortresses of Rusa II. The intensity of production of bronze art works, in particular, corresponds to the establishment of commercial relationships with neighbouring areas. Such relationships arose from the importation of tin, which is not available in east-

<sup>19</sup> Çilingiroğlu 1994, p. 103.

<sup>20</sup> LAR II, 517.

<sup>21</sup> Çilingiroğlu 1994, p. 105.

ern Anatolia. This suggests that some commercial ties must have been established to provide tin to the Urartian Kingdom. The source of the tin probably lay east of Urartu. The trade route passed just south of Lake Urmia, crossing through Syria, and reaching the Mediterranean. For example, Sargon took 109 tons of bronze objects from the palace and the temple of Musasir back to Assur at the end of the eighth campaign fought in 714 BC. The quantity of tin was not mentioned by Sargon, which may show that the tin obtained from Musasir was not remarkable.<sup>22</sup> In any case, in order to produce 109 tons of bronze, 8–9 tons of tin are required.<sup>23</sup> This is quite a large amount, indicating that the Urartian Kingdom had a well-developed commercial mechanism. Currently we have inadequate information regarding this complex organisation in Urartu. Research on bronze artifacts found at Ayanis demonstrates that tin was used not only to produce bronze, but also to cover the bronze objects. This may indicate why the Urartian Kingdom needed to import a great amount of tin.

The inscriptions on the bronze objects from Ayanis illustrate that the fortress was used only during the reign of Rusa II, with no indication that it was used by the Urartians after this time. Under these circumstances, the fortress might have collapsed at the end of the reign of Rusa II. If we determine the year in which Rusa II was dethroned, then we might be able to determine the date of the collapse of Ayanis Fortress. The date traditionally given for the dethroning is 645 BC, but it is quite possible that he was dethroned before this date because 40 years is a long time span for the reign of an Urartian king. Also, there are doubts as to whether or not the name of Rusa on the text of Asurbanipal dated 652 BC is Rusa son of Argishti or Rusa son of Erimena. Taken together, these reasons render uncertain when exactly Rusa II was dethroned.

We do not have sufficient data to prove if the reign of Rusa II intersected with the reign of Asurbanipal. A text, inscribed on stone and dated to 653–652 BC, mentions a certain Rusa. In it Rusa is said to have sent his envoys to the festival celebrating defeat of Elam by Asurbanipal in 653 BC. We do not know which Rusa is referred to in this text. The Rusa mentioned could be Rusa III, the son of Erimena, who is also mentioned in Urartian inscriptions. If it is Rusa III, it is possible that Rusa II might have left the throne before 652 BC. When we consider these possibilities, it could be argued that Rusa II's dethronement was around 655 B.C. We then have two dates for the dethroning of Rusa II: 645 BC and 655 BC. If we

<sup>22</sup> Belli 2005, pp. 43–44.

<sup>23</sup> Belli 2005, p. 44.

assume the date of dethroning of Rusa II to be 655 BC then Ayanis Fortress must have collapsed after 655 BC.

The data from the fortresses pointing to the period after Rusa II in the Lake Van basin is very limited. At Toprakkale two shields bear inscriptions, mentioning Sarduri son of Sarduri, and Rusa son of Erimena.<sup>24</sup> Another inscription that provides us with some information about the period after the reign of Rusa II comes from Gövelek, near Van (Fig. 7). Thanks to a newly found stele in Gövelek, some data are provided regarding the end of the Urartian Kingdom.<sup>25</sup> The inscription belongs to Rusa, the son of Erimena (Fig. 4:2). From earlier inscriptions, Erimena's son Rusa is accepted as the last king with a building inscription. From Sarduri I to Rusa II, apart from the royal building inscriptions, we do not have a list of Urartian kings. The Gövelek inscription is concerned with a hydraulic project, including a canal and a dam.

There are no other epigraphic data pointing to the period after the reign of Rusa II in eastern Anatolia. Though the situation for Transcaucasia and northwestern Iran is not much different, there is more evidence pointing to possible kings following Rusa. Some inscriptions from Karmir-Blur and Bastam mentioning Sarduri son of Sarduri,<sup>26</sup> as well as some clay tablets from Bastam saying Rusa son of Rusa,<sup>27</sup> point to Sarduri IV and Rusa IV. Another inscription mentions that Rusa, son of Erimena, built granaries in Armavir and Arin-berd: "King Rusa, son of Erimena built up this granary. 6848 kapi it has (in it)."<sup>28</sup>

Despite all of these written records dated to the period after Rusa II, there are some fortresses which were not used after his reign. This suggests that the Urartian Kingdom might have begun to disintegrate after the reign of Rusa II and perhaps they no longer even performed the attributes of kingship.

As mentioned above, Ayanis Fortress was not occupied after Rusa II was dethroned. Yet there is some evidence which shows that one part of the Outer Town of Ayanis, Pınarbaşı (Figs 8-9), was occupied during the Post-Urartian Period. According to P. Zimansky and E. Stone who excavate in

<sup>24</sup> UKN I, 287, 289, 290-296a-b; UKN II, 458.

<sup>25</sup> Salvini 2002, pp. 122-123

<sup>26</sup> UKN II, 459, 460

<sup>27</sup> Piotrovskii 1969, p. 196

<sup>28</sup> UKN II, 458.

<sup>29</sup> Stone, Zimansky 2001, pp 362.

the Outer Town of Ayanis, the architecture belonging to the Post-Urartian Period was weak and consisted of merely some additional walls and very small door sockets. Additionally, three sherds of Triangle Ware (Fig. 10) were found in this area.<sup>30</sup> Triangle Ware has been found on other mounds in the Lake Van Basin as well. Van Fortress mound phase IIa, for example, has this pottery independent of the architecture. Another example can be found at the mound of Karagündüz, where the third architectural level is defined as belonging to the Late Iron Age. In spite of the fact that there was no solid architecture in this level, it has several grain pits like those of the construction phase of Yaniktepe in Iran.<sup>31</sup>

It has not yet been determined if there was a hiatus between the Urartian period and the Post-Urartian period at Pınarbaşı, Ayanis. However, the great majority of the ceramics from this context is not different from Urartian wares. Likewise, S. Kroll, who has recently worked at Horom, suggests that Urartian ceramics continued after the collapse of the kingdom.<sup>32</sup> The result of recent research in Armenia also demonstrates that second quality Urartian Ware dates to the Late Iron Age. Therefore it is not surprising that Triangle Ware from Pınarbaşı was found together with Urartian ceramics. It is probable that the use of the traditional Urartian ceramics extended through the Post-Urartian Period and overlapped with the introduction of the Triangle Ware tradition.

So what might be the date of the Post-Urartian period of the Outer Town at Ayanis? The first mention of this ceramic group was in Hasanlu IIIA. Burney suggests that the date of Triangle Ware must be around 600 BC. However, the calibrated radiocarbon dates from Hasanlu IIIA point to around 500 BC and later.<sup>33</sup> Triangle Ware came into use in the period following the collapse of the Urartian Kingdom. Although the definite dates concerning eastern Anatolia are not known, the Upper Tigris Valley province has yielded related ceramics from the time after the Neo-Assyrian period. Their relation with the former levels, however, is undefined.<sup>34</sup> According to the data from the Outer Town of Ayanis, the remains of the so-called Post-Urartian period lie directly on top of the architecture of the Urartian period. One of the Urartian structures was even used in the Post-Urartian period after being modified. The excavators suggest that the Outer

<sup>30</sup> Sevin 1998, pp. 716–717.

<sup>31</sup> Personal communication with S. Kroll.

<sup>32</sup> Young 1965, pp. 53–54.

<sup>33</sup> Sevin 1998, pp. 716–717.

Town was constructed directly after the collapse of the fortress. If we assume that Ayanis Fortress was destroyed immediately after the dethroning of Rusa II around 655 BC, then we need to determine how many years the Outer Town existed after the time of destruction of the Ayanis Fortress.

At this point, we must consider the position of the Pınarbaşı area in which Post-Urartian materials were obtained. Pınarbaşı lies on a sloping area and it is open to the effects of erosion. According to our personal observations during the excavations, the outline of the architectural remains can easily be seen on the surface without any excavations. Therefore, it is most likely that the people who had brought the tradition of Triangle Ware with them to the Outer Town of Ayanis were faced with standing Urartian structures. Yet we do not have definite data that indicates whether the Urartians had still been living in this area when the community bearing Triangle Ware arrived at the Outer Town. However, if we accept as indicative of specific populations the fact that the Triangle Ware was found together with the Urartian ceramics of the Late Iron Age, then it is reasonable to think that the local people of Ayanis had not abandoned the area and simply continued to live together with the immigrants. Three sherds of Triangle Ware, however, are not sufficient to confirm such speculation.

In conclusion, when we take into consideration the evidence belonging to the Post Urartian period at Ayanis, the beginning of that period should be placed in the sixth century BC, at least for Ayanis. Future excavations that are planned for the Outer Town will enable us to clarify this issue further.

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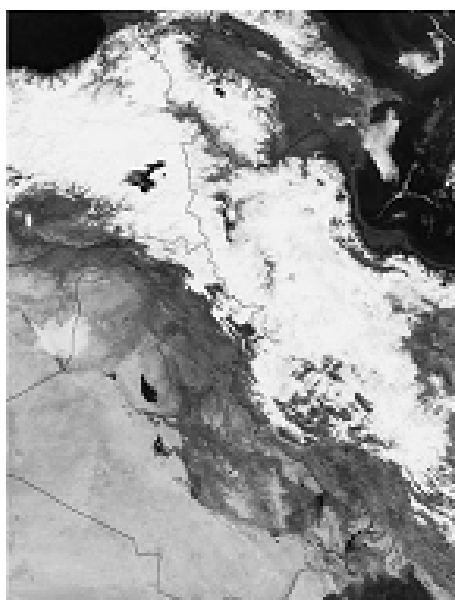
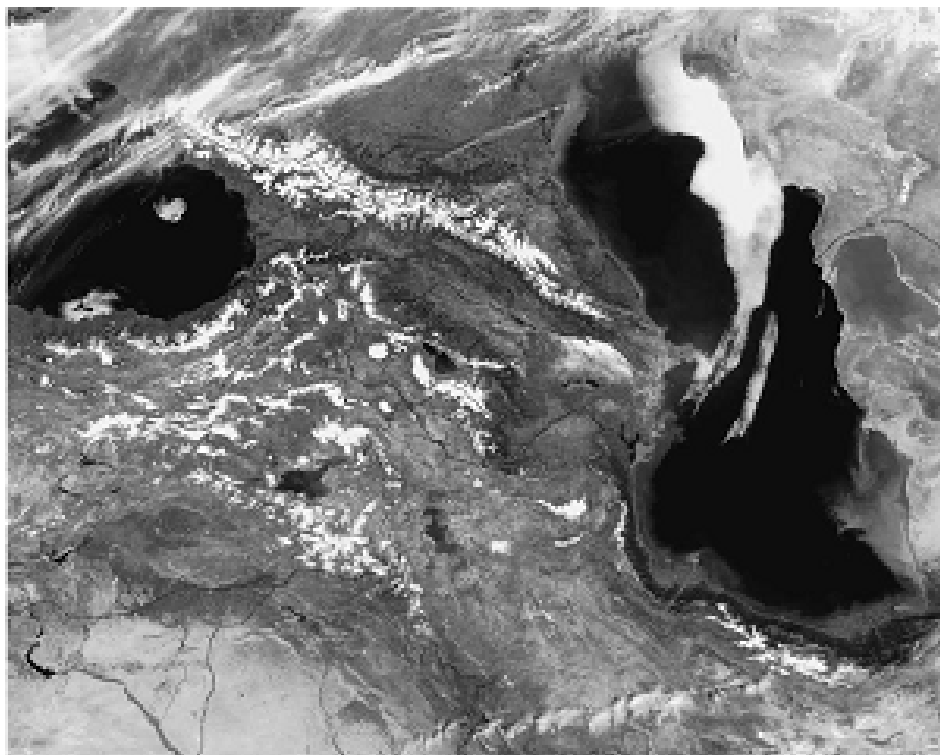


Fig. 1: 1. Satellite image of eastern Turkey and neighbouring regions; 2. The highland region north of Mesopotamia under snow, highlighting the harshness of this rugged terrain.



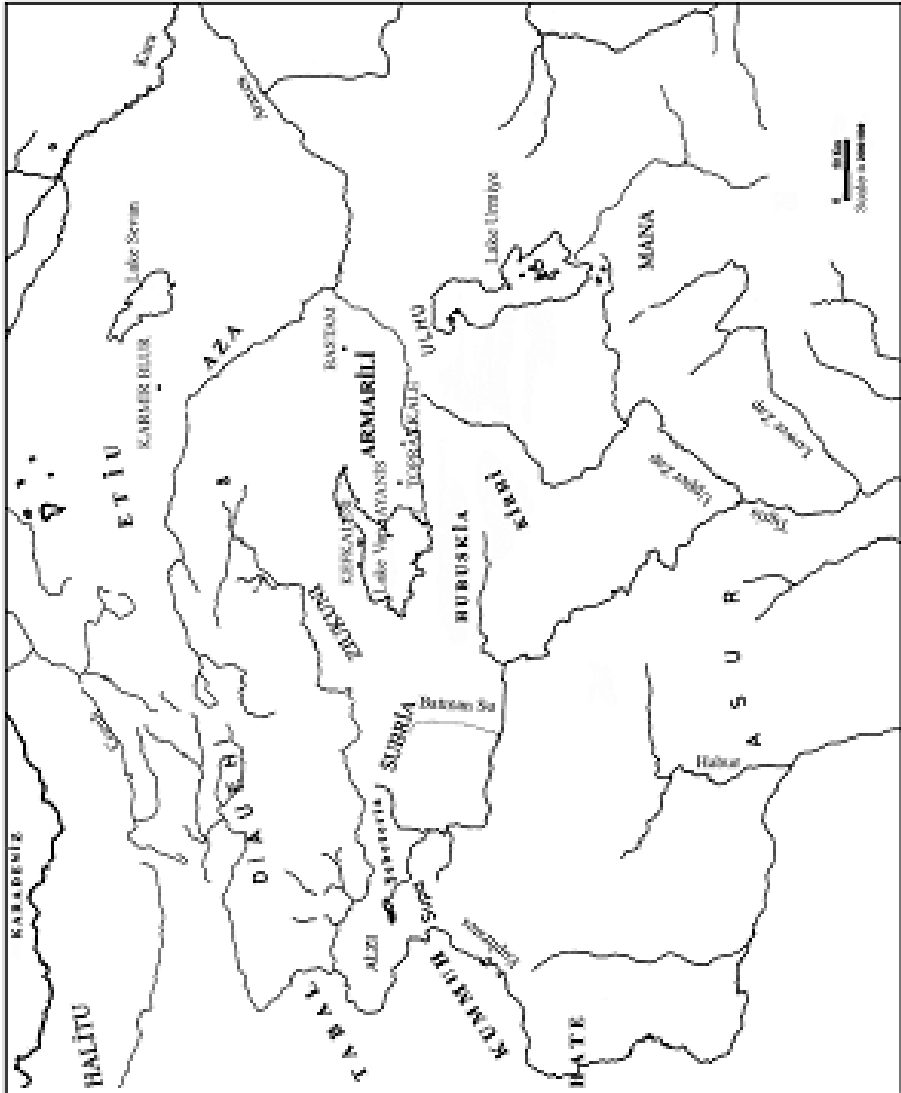


Fig. 3: Map of the Lake Van area showing the key Urartian sites and historical regions.

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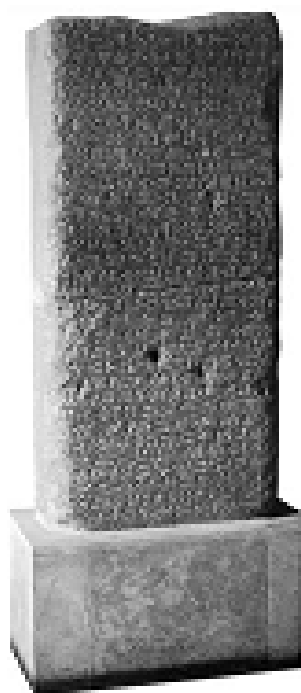


Fig. 4: 1. The Kağı Göl inscription; 2. The Govelek stele.



Fig. 5: The lengthy Urartian text inscribed around the base of the exterior wall of the Iron Temple at Ayanis.

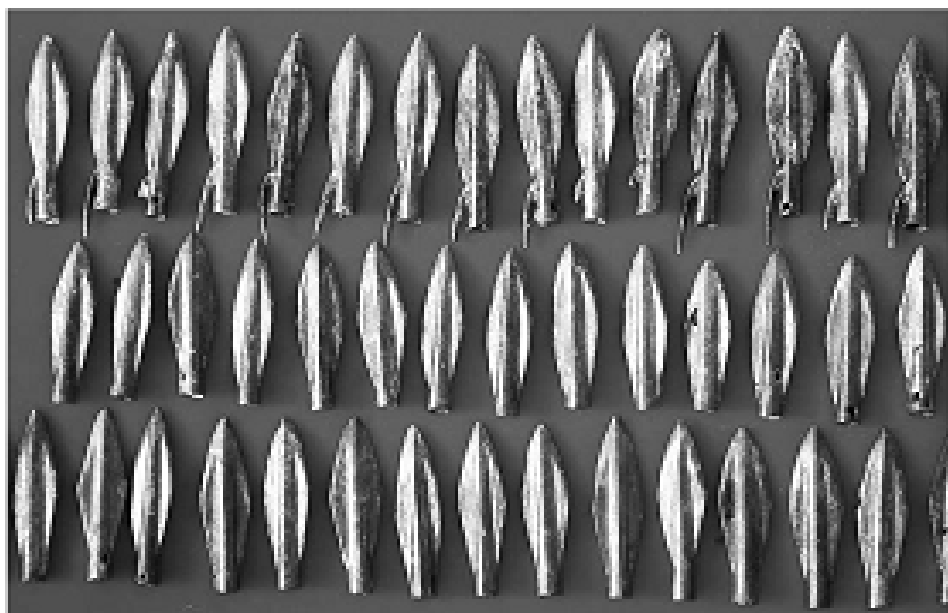


Fig. 6: ۱. Trilobate arrowheads found around the fortification wall at Ayanis; ۲. Fine masonry of the fortification wall, southern face, Ayanis.



Fig. 7: Map showing modern towns, archaeological sites and location of Urartian inscriptions in the Lake Van Basin.



Fig. 3: Plan of the residential area, Outer Town (Pinarbaşı), Ayanis.



Fig. 3: Excavation area, Outer Town (Pinarbasi), Ayanis.

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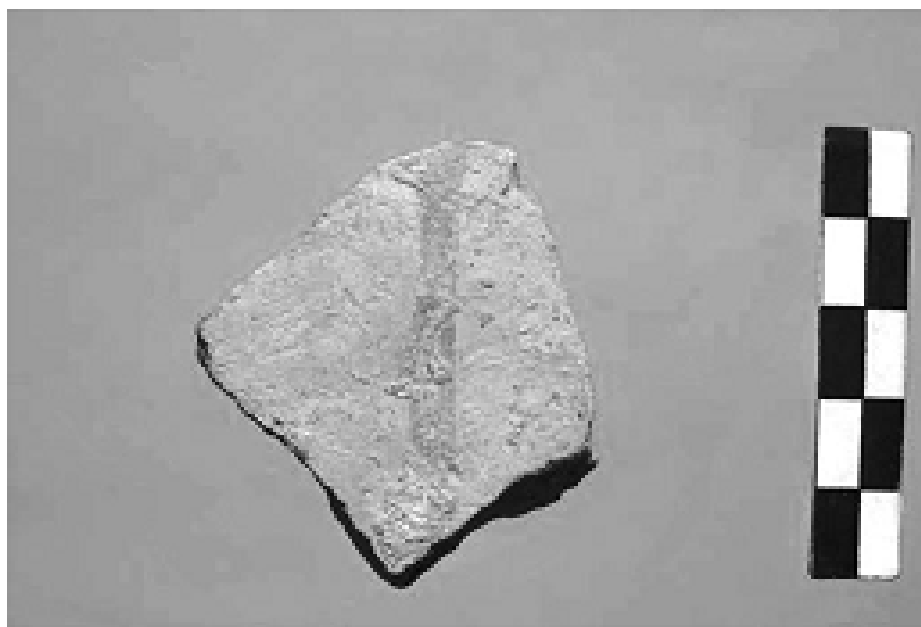
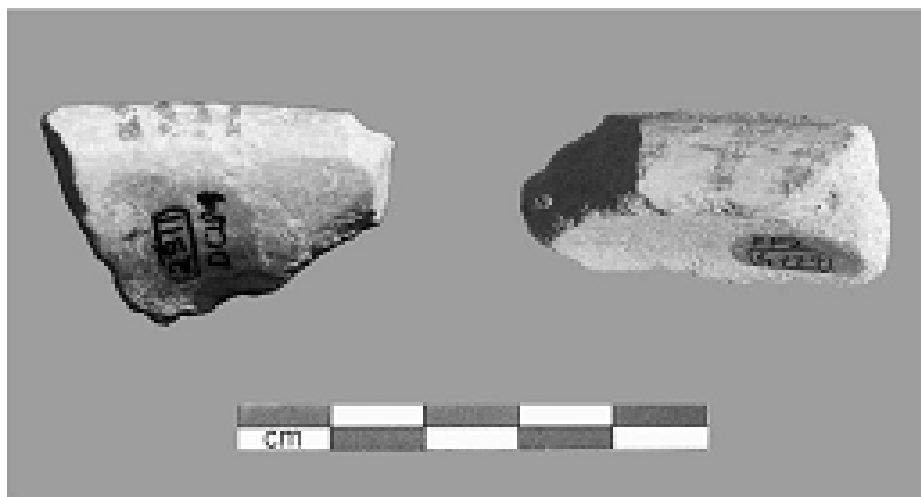


Fig. 10: Fragments of Triangle Ware, Ayanis.

## پیشینه تاریخی سکونتگاه اورارتویی کف کالاسی<sup>۱</sup>

سرکان اردوگان<sup>۲</sup>

مترجم دکتر منصور حمدالله‌زاده<sup>۳</sup>

کف کالاسی، که نام اورارتویی آن شهر هالدی در سرزمین زیگونی است، در نتیجه کاوش‌های باستان‌شناسی که بین سال‌های ۱۹۶۴ و ۱۹۷۴ م. انجام شد تا حدی کشف شد. تحقیقات باستان‌شناسی و علمی نشان می‌دهد که قدمت کف کالسی به قبل از میلاد مسیح می‌رسد. مشخص شد که روسا، پسر پادشاه اورارتویی، آرگیشتی، که بین سالهای ۶۸۵-۶۴۵ پ.م. سلطنت کرده است، ساخته شده است. قلمرو و هدف این پژوهش، قرار دادن کف کالسی در چارچوبی تاریخی با تحلیل مجدد تاریخ سکونتگاه، روند ساخت آن، هویت قومیتی افراد به کار گرفته شده به عنوان نیروی کار در ساخت آن و ساختارهای مهم سکونتگاه است. در زمینه جغرافیای تاریخی، تاریخچه آن به قرن سیزدهم پ.م. مسیح می‌رسد. کشور زیوکونی که قدمت آن به نیمه اول قرن می‌رسد و با منطقه آدلچواز مرتبط است، که سرخ‌های مهمی برای تعیین پیشینه تاریخی کف کالسی ارائه می‌دهد.

کلیدواژه‌ها: اورارتو، کف کالاسی، روسا، باستان‌شناسی، آناتولی شرقی

<sup>۱</sup> این مقاله باز نشری است از:

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## KEFKALESİ URARTU YERLEŞİMİNİN TARİHSEL ARKA PLANI

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF KEFKALESİ URARTIAN SETTLEMENT

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#### Özet

*Urartuca ismi Haldiei URU<sup>KUR</sup>Ziuquni (Ziuquni Ülkesi'ndeki Haldi'nin kenti) olan Kefkalesi, 1964 – 1974 yılları arasında yapılan arkeolojik kazılar sonucu kısmen açığa çıkarılmıştır. Yapılan arkeolojik ve filolojik araştırmalar, Kefkalesi'nin M.Ö. 685-645 yılları arasında hüküm sürdüğü kabul edilen Urartu kralı Argišti'nin oğlu Rusa tarafından inşa ettirildiğini ortaya koymuştur. Yerleşim tarihini, inşa edilme sürecini, inşasında işgücü olarak çalıştırılan insanların etnik kimliğini ve yerleşimin önemli yapılarını yeniden analiz etmek suretiyle Kefkalesi'ni tarihsel bir çerçeve içerisine oturtmak bu çalışmanın kapsam ve amacını oluşturmaktadır. Tarihsel coğrafya bağlamında geçmişi, M.Ö. XIII. yüzyılın ilk yarısına dayanan ve Adilcevaz yöresiyle ilişkilendirilen Ziuquni ülkesi, Kefkalesi'nin tarihsel arka planını tespit etmek için önemli ipuçları sunmaktadır.*

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Ziuquni, Adilcevaz, Kefkalesi, Rusa, Ayanis, Dendrokronoloji, Tabal, Hate/i, Muški, Halitu.

#### Abstract

*Kefkalesi, Haldiei URU<sup>KUR</sup>Ziuquni (City of Haldi in Ziuquni Land) in Urartian, has been partly excavated during the archaeological excavations made between the years 1964 and 1974. Archaeological and philological studies have demonstrated that Kefkalesi had been built by Rusa, son of Urartian King Argišti, who has been reigned during 685-645 B.C. The aim and scope of this study is to take Kefkalesi in a historical frame by reanalysing settlement history of Kefkalesi, construction process, ethnicity of construction workers and significant buildings in*

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*the settlement. Ziuquni Land, that has been related with the region of Adilcevaz and historical geography of which goes back to first half of the XIII century B.C, gives important clues to determine the historical background of Kefkalesi.*

**Key Words:** Ziuquni, Adilcevaz, Kefkalesi, Rusa, Ayanis, Dendrochronology, Tabal, Hate/i, Muški, Halitu.

## Giriş

Kefkalesi, Van Gölü'nün kuzeybatı kıyısında, Bitlis iline bağlı Adilcevaz'ın 6 km. kuzeyindeki 550 m. yüksekliğinde volkanik bir tepe üzerinde yer almaktadır. Denizden yüksekliği 2270 m. olan kaleye erişim sadece kuzey yönünden mümkündür. Emin Bilgiç ve Baki Ögün'ün başkanlık ettiği bir ekip tarafından 1964 yılında başlayan kaledeki kazı çalışmaları, 1974 yılına kadar devam etmiştir. Gerçekleştirilen arkeolojik kazılar sonucu Kefkalesi yerleşiminin Urartu kralı Argišti'nin oğlu Rusa tarafından inşa ettirildiği anlaşılmıştır. Urartuca ismi "Haldiei URU<sup>KUR</sup>Ziuquni (Ziuquni Ülkesi'ndeki Haldi'nin kenti)"<sup>1</sup> olan Kefkalesi, boyutu ve bünyesindeki yapıların niteliğinden ötürü Urartu ülkesinin önemli bir şehri hüviyetindedir.

Kefkalesi'nin inşasında sosyal statüsü belli olmayan uzak ülkelerden getirilen kadınlar ve erkekler çalıştırılmıştır. Bununla birlikte işgücü olarak kullanılan bu insan toplulukları, inşasında görev aldıkları Kefkalesi'nde iskân ettirilmişlerdir.

Kefkalesi yerleşimi halkından bir grubunu teşkil edecek olan söz konusu Urartulu olmayan nüfus, askeri bir seferin sonucunda getirilmiş olabilir<sup>2</sup>. Ancak toplu nüfus aktarımı ile sonuçlanmış böyle bir seferden ya da askeri bir zaferden Urartu çivi yazılı kaynaklarının söz etmediğini not etmek gerekir. Bununla birlikte Urartu Krallığı sınırları dışında bulunan geniş bir coğrafi yelpazedeki söz konusu insan topluluklarının, barışçıl

<sup>1</sup> I. M. Diakonoff – S. M. Kashkai, *Geographical Names According to Urartian Texts (Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes IX)*, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1981, s. 105.

<sup>2</sup> Hate, Muški, Halitu ülkelerinden insanların getirilip Kefkalesi'ne yerleştirilmesi, çeşitli araştırmacılar tarafından zımnen de olsa Urartu kralının askeri bir girişimiyle ilişkilendirilmiştir. Bkz. A. Çilingiroğlu, Urartu'da Toplu Nüfus Aktarımları", *Anadolu Araştırmaları IX*, 1983, s. 316. Söz konusu nüfusun esirlerden oluştuğuna dair bir görüş için bkz. P. Zimansky, "An Urartian Ozymandias" *Biblical Archaeologist* 58/2, s. 97; E. Konakçı, "Urartu Krallığı'nın Ekonomik ve Siyasi Yapılanmasında Toplu Nüfus Aktarımları", *Altın Çilingiroğlu'na Armağan, Yukarı Deniz Kıyısında Urartu Krallığı'na Adanmış Bir Hayat* Ed. H. Sağlantımur ve diğerleri, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, İstanbul, 2009, s. 340, 342; C. Avcı, "Urartu İskânında Esir Nüfus" *Toplumsal Tarih* 274, 2016, s. 73.

yollarla geldikleri ya da getirildikleri yönünde bir değerlendirme yapmak için de elimizde tatmin edici bir veri yoktur. Bu bağlamda Kefkalesi yazıtında belirtilen işgücü nüfusunun getirildikleri ülkelerin lokalizasyonu, aydınlatılmaya ihtiyaç duyulan önemli bir problemi oluşturmaktadır. Kefkalesi'nin tarihsel arka planını elimizdeki veriler ışığında daha eksiksiz biçimde anlayabilmek için Adilcevaz yöresinin uzak tarihine göz atmak ve Kefkalesi'nde arkeolojik araştırmalar sonucu açığa çıkarılmış kalıntıları farklı bir bakış açısıyla yeniden ele almak gereklidir.

### Ziuquni (Zingun/Ziqunu) Ülkesi

“Ziuquni Ülkesi'ndeki Haldi'nin kenti (Haldiei URU<sup>KUR</sup>Ziuquni)” anlamındaki ifadeyle belirtilen Kefkalesi'nin, içinde yer aldığı Ziuquni ülkesi Adilcevaz'ı da içine alan yöreyle eş tutulmaktadır<sup>3</sup>. Adilcevaz yöresi ya da Urartuca adıyla Ziuquni ülkesi, coğrafi konum bakımından Van Gölü'nün kuzeybatı kıyısını oluşturmaktadır. Ziuquni, aynı zamanda Urartu Krallığı'nın batıya açıldığı bir rota üzerinde yer almaktaydı. Ziuquni'nin Urartu panteonu açısından önemi ise İşpuini ve Menua'nın ortak krallık döneminde (M.Ö. 820-810) yapılmış Meher Kapı Yazıtı'ndaki <sup>d</sup>Zi-qu-ú-ni ifadesinden yani Ziquni'nin bir tanrı adı olarak kaydedilmesinden kaynaklanmaktadır<sup>4</sup>. Buradaki ilişki, tanrılara yönelik bir kurban listesi niteliğindeki Meher Kapı Yazıtı'nda bir sığır (GU<sub>1</sub>) ve iki koyun (2 UDU) ile şerefendirilmiş tanrı Ziquni'nin, Ziuquni ülkesinden adını almasına dayanmaktadır<sup>5</sup>.

Ziuquni ülkesinin geçmişi M.Ö. XIII. yüzyılın ilk yarısına değin uzanmaktadır. Söz konusu ülke, Asur kralı I. Şulmanu-aşared (M.Ö. 1274-1245)'e ait kayıtlarda *Zingun* adıyla Urartu adının öncülü formundaki Uruatri içerisinde yer alan sekiz ülke isminden biri olarak anılmaktadır<sup>6</sup>. Asur hâkimiyetine karşı ayaklanan Zingun, -diğer Uruatri ülkeleri gibi- söz konusu Asur kralı tarafından boyunduruk altına alınmış, kaleleri tahrip edilerek insanlarına ve mallarına el konulmuştur<sup>7</sup>. Orta Asur Dönemi'nde

<sup>3</sup> Diakonoff-Kashkai, *RGTC IX*, 1981, s. 105.

<sup>4</sup> Hehl 10; UKN 27; KUKN 38; CTU I A 3-1.

<sup>5</sup> M. Salvini, “The Historical Background of the Urartian Monument of Meher Kapı”, *Anatolian Iron Ages 3*, Ed. A. Çilingiroğlu - D. H. French, The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, Ankara, 1994, s. 206; M. Riemschneider, “Die urartäischen Gottheiten” *Orientalia* 32, 1963, s. 156; A. Buhály, “Egy urartui istenkatalógus: A Meher Kapisi-felirat”, *Sic Iur Ad Astra* 1-2, 2000, s. 74.

<sup>6</sup> Metnin başındaki “Aşşur, Efendi, ona tapan beni içtenlikle seçtiği, kraliyet asasını bana verdiği zaman...” ifadesi, seferin I. Salmanasar'ın tahta çıktığı M.Ö. 1274 yılına tarihlenmesi için delil oluşturur. Bkz. A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC (to 1115 BC)*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1987, A.0.77.1 i 22; M. Salvini, *Nairi e Ur(u)atri*, Edizioni Dell'Ateneo, Roma, 1967, s. 24-25, 25 dn. 31c.

<sup>7</sup> Grayson, *RIMA I*, 1987, A.0.77.1 i 22-46.

diğer bir atıf, *Ziçunu* formuyla Asur kralı Aşşur-bêl-kala (M.Ö. 1073-1056) dönemine aittir<sup>8</sup>.

Adilcevas yöresinde Urartu imar faaliyetlerine yönelik ele geçen en eski yazılı belge I. Arğısti (M.Ö. 786/780 -756) zamanına aittir. Söz konusu yazılı belge Adilcevas ilçe merkezinin 27 km. doğusunda bulunan Kavuştuk (Arinçkus) Köyü'nde ele geçmiş bir yazıt parçasıdır<sup>9</sup>. Formundan ötürü bir kaide üzerine oturtulduğu anlaşılan yazıt, harabe durumundaki bir kilise kalıntısı içerisinde bulunmuştur. Kavuştuk Yazıtı'nın yer aldığı köyün güneydoğusunda Ziyarettepe (Terhan) adı verilen bir Urartu yerleşmesi saptanmıştır<sup>10</sup>. Burada Urartu mimarisi özellikleri gösteren dikdörtgen planlı bir oda (16 m. x 12 m.) ve muhtelif yapılara ait kaya temel izleri izlenebilmekte olup üzerinde toplanan çanak çömlek parçaları Orta Demir Çağı'na tarihlendirilmektedir<sup>11</sup>. Fonetik benzerlikten yola çıkılarak Arinçkus'un, Urartu Krallığı'nın ilk başkentlerinden olan "Urartu'lu Aramu'nun krali kenti"<sup>12</sup> Arzaşkun ile idantifiye edilmesi Baki Öğün tarafından önerilmiştir<sup>13</sup>.

Adilcevas yöresindeki Kümbet Höyük<sup>14</sup>, Kafirkale<sup>15</sup> ve Adilcevas nekropolü<sup>16</sup> Urartu dönemi ile çağdaş öteki Orta Demir Çağ kalıntılarını temsil etmektedir.

### Kefkalesi Yerleşiminin Önemli Yapıları

Kale, sitadel ve sitadelin doğusunda uzanan aşağı şehirden oluşmaktadır (Resim -1)<sup>17</sup>. Sarp bir tepe üzerine kurulu Kefkalesi'nin topoğrafyasına

<sup>8</sup> A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millenium BC (1114-859 BC)*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1991, A.0.89.2 (8-18). Asur kaynaklarında *Ziçunu* ve *Ziçunu* formlarıyla anılan yer adlarının *Ziçunu* ile olan özdeşliği konusunda bkz. Diakonoff - Kashkai, *RGTC IX*, 1981, s. 105.

<sup>9</sup> Yazıt metni, Urartuca bir lanetleme kalıbını içermektedir. A. Ceylan - N. Ceylan, "Kavuştuk Yazıtı ve Değerlendirilmesi" *Belgi* 1, 2015, s. 1-5; K. Işık, "A Fragmentary Stela of the Urartian King Arğısti I found in Arinçkus, to the Northwest of Van Lake" *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 105/2, 2015, s. 215-219.

<sup>10</sup> C. A. Burney, "Urartian Fortresses and Towns in the Van Region", *Anatolian Studies* 7, 1957, s. 43 Fig. 1 no. 235.

<sup>11</sup> A. Özfırat, "1997 Yılı Muş-Bitlis Yüzey Araştırması: Tunç ve Demir Çağları" *XVI. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı II*, Ankara, 1999, s. 4.

<sup>12</sup> A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millenium BC II (858-745 BC)*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2002, A.0.102.2 ii 48.

<sup>13</sup> B. Öğün, "Urartular", *Türk Ansiklopedisi* cilt 33, 1984, s. 40.

<sup>14</sup> Özfırat, *XVI. AST. II*, 1999, s. 4.

<sup>15</sup> Burney, 1957, s. 43, 51.

<sup>16</sup> B. Öğün, "Die Urartäischen Gräber in der Gegend von Adilcevas und Patnos", *The Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Classical Archaeology I*, TTK, Ankara - İzmir, 1973, s. 61-67 (Tafeln 25-32).

uygun olarak kademeli şekilde inşa edilmiş büyük bir Urartu sarayı ortaya çıkarılmıştır<sup>18</sup>. En az 40 odası bulunan (bununla birlikte 140 odası olduğuna inanılan), üç farklı teras düzlemine inşa edilen sarayın, tabanındaki seviye farklılığından dolayı bazı yerlerde iki veya üç, güneyde ise dört katlı olabileceği belirtilmiştir<sup>19</sup>. Saray olarak değerlendirilen yapı içerisinde hafirleri tarafından “Yukarı Salon” ve “Aşağı Salon” olarak adlandırılan iki önemli bölüm belirlenmiştir<sup>20</sup>. Aşağı salonda gerçekleştirilen kazılarda ele geçen mavi, kırmızı, sarı ve beyaz renkli fresk buluntuları, duvarların - zamanında diğer Urartu saraylarında olduğu gibi - fresklerle kaplı olduğunu göstermektedir<sup>21</sup>. Arkeolojik kazılar sonucunda saray yapısının çevresinde 9 adet rölyefli blok ele geçmiştir (Resim - 2). Bu rölyefli blokların korunabilmiş olanların üzerinde şöyle bir yazıt bulunmaktadır<sup>22</sup>.

- 1 D<sup>h</sup>al-di-ni-ni al-su-i-ši-ni <sup>m</sup>ru-sa-a-še ar-giš-te-ḫi-ni-še i-ni
- 2 É a-ši-ḫu-si-e za-du-ni qar-bi-e šú-li ma-nu ú-i a-i-še-e-i
- 3 LUGÁL-še za-da-la-ni šú-ki D<sup>h</sup>al-di-i-še i-zi-du-ú-ni i-e-še za-du-bi
- 4 <sup>m</sup>ru-sa-a-[še] a-li a-lu-še i[ni DUB-t]e tú-li-e a-mi-ni-ni D<sup>u</sup>TU-ni-še

“Haldi'nin gücüyle Argišti oğlu Rusa, bu aşihusi<sup>23</sup> evini inşa etti. Kayaya dokunulmamıştı (?). Önceki bir kral buraya (daha önce) hiçbir şey

<sup>17</sup> Burney, 1957, s. 50-51; E. Bilgiç - B. Ögün, “1964 Adilcevaz Kef Kalesi Kazıları” *Anadolu* 8, 1964, s. 66.

<sup>18</sup> Z. Çizmeli Ögün, “Adilcevaz Kef Kalesi (1964 - 1974), *DTCF Arkeoloji Bölümü Tarihçesi ve Kazıları (1936 - 2011)*, Ed. O. Bingöl - A. Öztan - H. Taşkıran, Anadolu/Anatolia Ek III. 2, Ankara, 2012, s. 288.

<sup>19</sup> B. Ögün, “Die urartäischen Paläste und die Bestattungsbräuche der Urartäer” *Palast und Hütte, Beiträge zum Bauen und Wohnen im Altertum*, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz, 1982, s. 217.

<sup>20</sup> Çizmeli Ögün, *DTCF Arkeoloji Bölümü Tarihçesi ve Kazıları*, 2012, s. 288.

<sup>21</sup> Ögün, *Palast und Hütte*, 1982, s. 217.

<sup>22</sup> M. Salvini, “The Inscription of the Urartian King Rusa II at Kefkalesi (Adilcevaz)”, *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 40/1, 1998, s. 124.

<sup>23</sup> Bir yapı ismi olarak *ašihusi* konusunda görüş birliği mevcut değildir. İlk olarak F. W. König, “sıvı libasyon kült yeri” olabileceğine yönelik görüş belirtmiştir. Bkz. *Hchi* s. 74, 145. Buna benzer bir öneriyi “içki kurbanı kült yeri” ifadesiyle E. Bilgiç ve B. Ögün tarafından dile getirilmiştir. Bkz. E. Bilgiç - B. Ögün, “Adilcevaz Kef Kalesi İkinci Mevsim Kazıları (1965)”, *Anadolu* IX, 1965, s. 8-9. Diğer taraftan M. Salvini'ye göre *ašihusi* binaları sütunlu yapılar olup, “depo yapısı”, “silo” gibi mimari unsurlar ile ilişkilidir. Bkz. Salvini, 1998, s. 126. Buna karşın G. Wilhelm - R. Akdoğan, Urartuca *aših* ve Hurrice *azōge* kelime köklerini esas alarak bu yapının şüphe götürmeksizin “ziyafet salonu yapısı” olduğunu ifade etmişlerdir. Bkz. G. Wilhelm - R. Akdoğan “Eine Inschrift Argišti I. mit Erwähnung *ašihusi* - Gebäudes” *Studi Micenei Ed Egeo-Anatolici* 53, 2011, s. 226-227.

inşa etmemiştir. Haldi emir verdiğiinde (bunu) ben yaptım. Rusa der ki: Her kim bu yazıtı yok ederse Güneş Tanrısı onu yakсын! <sup>24</sup>

Kefkalesi sarayının bir başka önemli buluntusu ise *in situ* olarak ele geçen küplerdir. Birbirine bağlı üç ayrı mekânda günışığına çıkarılmış 170 adet depo küpü işlevli pitoslar, yarıya kadar toprağın içine gömülü olarak ele geçmiş olup, bunların yükseklikleri 1. 90 – 2.03 m. arasında değişmektedir (Resim - 3). Söz konusu depo küplerinin bazılarının dudak-ağız kısmında hacimlerini belirten yazıt bulunmaktadır (Resim - 4)<sup>25</sup>. Kefkalesi'nde açığa çıkarılan bir depo küpü üzerinde - 4 *aqarqi* 4 *terusi* 1/2 - ibaresi yer almaktadır. Bir *aqarqi* biriminin 240 – 290, bir *terusi* biriminin ise 29 litrelik bir değerinin olduğu dikkate alınrsa, bir Kefkalesi depo küpü ortalama olarak 1000 litrenin üzerindeki bir hacme karşılık gelmektedir<sup>26</sup>. Bu hesaplamaadan yola çıkarak Kefkalesi deposunun toplam hacminin 200.000 litre civarında olduğunu önermek mümkündür (Resim - 5). Bu pitosların sadece şarap saklamak için değil, aynı zamanda tahıl ve yağ depolamak için de kullanıldığı düşünülmektedir<sup>27</sup>.

Kefkalesi'nin 2 km. kuzeybatısında bulunan Kırca Göl'deki baraj seti, Kefkalesi'nin su ihtiyacını karşılamak için yapılmış olmalıdır<sup>28</sup>. Bu set, yarı kiklopik taşlardan oluşan harçsız üç duvardan ve aralarındaki toprak dolgudan meydana getirilmiştir. Baraj seti 57 m. boyunda olup her bir duvarın kalınlığı 3-3.5 m. arasındadır<sup>29</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> Salvini, 1998, s. 124. Buna karşın daha eski bir çalışma olan E. Bilgiç - B. Öğün'ün çevirisi şu şekildedir. "Tanrı Haldi'nin büyüklüğü sayesinde Argiştirin'in oğlu Rusas bu içki kurbanı kült yerini inşa etti. Zemini bakımsız bir durumda idi, ...değildi. Ben Rusas inşa ettim. Her kim ki bu kitabeyi tahrip ederse..... herhangi bir yere....., tanrı Haldi'nin bana emanet ettiği şeyleri..... ederse, Güneş Tanrısı Utu tarafından mahvedilsin!" Bkz. Bilgiç - Öğün, 1965, s. 8.

<sup>25</sup> Öğün, *Palast und Hütte*, 1982, s. 217-218. Kefkalesi depo küplerinin ağız kısmındaki hacim ölçü birimleri için bkz. M. Payne, *Urartian Measures of Volume*, Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement 16, Peeters, Louvain - Paris - Dudley, 2005, s. 63-68.

<sup>26</sup> Urartu ölçü birimleri *aqarqi* ve *terusi* için temsil edebileceği değerler konusunda bkz. M. R. Payne, "Urartu Hacim Ölçüleriyle İlgili Yeni Bulgular" *Türk Eskiçağ Bilimleri Enstitüsü Haberler* 13, 2002, s. 1 vdd.; H. Sağlantimur, "The volumes of some Urartian pitthoi" *Anatolian Iron Ages 5*, Edited by A. Çilingiroğlu - G. Darbyshire, British Institute at Ankara, London, 2005, s. 139 vdd.

<sup>27</sup> Öğün, *Palast und Hütte*, 1982, s. 218; Çizmeli Öğün, *DTCF Arkeoloji Bölümü Tarihçesi ve Kazıları*, 2012, s. 288.

<sup>28</sup> B. Öğün, *Van'da Urartu Sulama Tesisleri ve Şanram (Semiramis) Kanalı*, Anadolu Yayinevi, Ankara, 1970, s. 41, 42.

<sup>29</sup> Öğün, 1970, s. 42, Res. 3, Lev. XVI-37.

### Kefkalesi (Tapınak) Yazıtı

Kefkalesi ve Ayanis (Rusahinili Eiduru-kai / Eiduri önündeki Rusa'nın şehri)<sup>30</sup> yerleşimlerinin Urartu kralı Argišti'nin oğlu Rusa'ya ait aynı inşaat programının bir parçası olduğuna ve aynı siyasi gelişmelerin sonucu inşa edildiğine her iki kalede bulunan yazıtlar tanıklık etmektedir. Kefkalesi yazıtlı stelleri<sup>31</sup>, Ayanis Tapınak Yazıtı<sup>32</sup> ile içerik yönünden büyük paralellik göstermektedir<sup>33</sup>. Giriş bölümü, giriş bölümünden sonraki fragmanlar ve işgücü nüfusu sağlanan pek çok ülke adı Kefkalesi Yazıtı'nın Ayanis Tapınak Yazıtı ile olan paralelliğinin unsurlarını oluşturmaktadır<sup>34</sup>. Bununla beraber her iki yerleşimde bulunan yapıların fonksiyonu da benzer özellikler taşımaktadır<sup>35</sup>. Ayanis tapınak avlusundaki fil ayaklarına paralel olarak Kefkalesi'ndeki taşıyıcı unsur görünümündeki fil ayaklarının, henüz açığa çıkarılmamış standart tipli bir Urartu tapınağının parçası olabileceği önerilmiştir<sup>36</sup>. Adilcevaz yakınlarında bulunan 3.5 m. yüksekliğindeki

<sup>30</sup> A. Çilingiroğlu - M. Salvini, "Rusahinili in front of Mount Eiduru: The Urartian Fortress of Ayanis (7th Century B.C.)", *Studi Micenei Ed Egeo Anatolici* XXXV, 1995, s. 111 vdd.

<sup>31</sup> Kefkalesi için bkz. Hehl 128; M. R. Payne, *Urartu Çiviyazılı Belgeler Katalogu*, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, İstanbul, 2006, 12.2.1; P. Hulin, "New Urartian Inscriptions from Adilcevaz", *Anatolian Studies* 9, 1959, s. 189 vdd.

<sup>32</sup> Ayanis Yazıtı için bkz. Payne, 2006, 12.2.19; CTU I, A 12 4, A 12 4 II.

<sup>33</sup> M. Salvini, "Reconstruction of the Susi Temple, at Adilcevaz on Lake Van", *A view from the Highlands, Archaeological Studies in Honour of Charles Burney*, Ed. by A. Sagona - Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement 12, Peeters, 2004, s. 257 vd., 267-270 (Fig. 5-8); T. Tanyeri-Erdemir, *Continuity, Change, and Innovation: Considering the Agency of Rusa II in the production of the Imperial Art and Architecture of Urartu in the 7th Century B.C.* Doctoral Dissertation, Boston University Graduate School of Arts and Science, 2005, s. 198.

<sup>34</sup> Salvini, *Archaeological Studies in Honour of Charles Burney*, 2004, s. 250 vdd. Ayanis ve Kefkalesi yazıtlarında belirtilmiş yabancı ülkelerden getirilen insanlar için Urartuca - *paru* fiili kullanılmıştır. Bu fiile M. Salvini tarafından "deporte etmek, getirmek" anlamları yüklenmiştir. Bkz. M. Salvini, "Monumental Stone Inscriptions", *Ayanis I, Ten Years' Excavations at Rusahinili Eiduru-kai 1989 - 1998*, Ed. A. Çilingiroğlu - M. Salvini, Documenta Asiana VI, Roma, 2001, s. 261; CTU I, A 12-1 VI, A 12-14 II.

<sup>35</sup> Karş. A. Çilingiroğlu, "Temple Area", *Ayanis I, Ten Years' Excavations at Rusahinili Eiduru-kai 1989 - 1998*, Ed. A. Çilingiroğlu - M. Salvini, Documenta Asiana VI, Roma, 2001, s. 37 vdd.; A. Çilingiroğlu, "Storerooms", *Ayanis I, Ten Years' Excavations at Rusahinili Eiduru-kai 1989 - 1998*, Ed. A. Çilingiroğlu - M. Salvini, Documenta Asiana VI, Roma, 2001, s. 67 vdd.; Çilingiroğlu - Salvini, 1995, s. 115 vd.

<sup>36</sup> Kefkalesi'ne yönelik son yapılan araştırmalar sonucunda, öncesinde iki katlı bir saray yapısı olarak değerlendirilen fil ayaklı mekânların aslında standart tipli bir Urartu tapınağının avlusu olabileceğine yönelik görüş ağırlık kazanmıştır. Konu hakkında bkz. R. Mayer - Opificius, "Gedanken zur Bedeutung des Urartäischen Ortes Kefkalesi", *Istanbul Mitteilungen* 43, 1993, s. 273 vd.; V. Sevin, "Adilcevaz Kef Kalesi Sarayı Üzerine Bir Not", *Emin Bilgiç Hatıra Kitabı*, Yayına Hazırlayanlar O. Aslanapa - E. İhsanoğlu, İSAR, İstanbul, 2000, s. 305-306.

ortostatın<sup>37</sup>, Kefkalesi Tapınağı'na ait kapı fasadını oluşturduğu öne sürülmüştür (Resim - 6). Buna göre tapınağın kapı fasadının her iki yanında karşılıklı iki koruyucu nitelikteki bu kabartmalı ortostatlar bulunmaktaydı (Resim - 7)<sup>38</sup>. Bununla bağlantılı olarak Kefkalesi yazıt parçalarının mimari bağlamda ait olduğu asıl yerin, bir tapınak duvarı olduğu ifade edilmiştir<sup>39</sup>. Ayanis Tapınak Yazıtı'na göre eksik kısımları tamamlanmış olan Adilecevas (Tapınak) Yazıtı'nın yapılabildiği ölçüde tercümesi şu şekilde verilebilir (Resim - 8):

“...bu işler... Argiști oğlu Rusa, Ziuquni Ülkesi'nin Haldi Şehri'ni yaptırdı. Argiști oğlu Rusa der ki: Düşman ülkesinden kadımlar göturdüm... Muški, Hati ve Halitu ülkelerinden halk (?)... bu kale, ayrıca bu şehirleri ... bu kaleye ekledim. Hiçbir zaman ... bunların herhangiisine (hiç kimse kötülük etmesin). Argiști oğlu Rusa der ki: Tanrı Haldi ... bana sundu (?). Tanrı Haldi için bu güçlü işleri yaptım. Tanrı Haldi'nin büyüklüğü ile Argiști oğlu Rusa, güçlü kral, büyük kral, Bianili Ülkesi'nin kralı, ülkelerinin kralı ve Tuşpa Şehri'nin kahramanıdır.<sup>40\*</sup>”

### Kefkalesi Nüfusunu Oluşturan İnsan Gruplarının Etnik Kökeni

Argiști'nin oğlu Rusa'nın yazıtlarına göre Kefkalesi'nin inşa edilmesinde çalıştırılıp iskân ettirilen insan topluluklarının geldikleri yerler <sup>KUR</sup>Luluinani, <sup>KUR</sup>Etiuni, <sup>KUR</sup>Tabla(ni), <sup>KUR</sup>Qainaru, <sup>KUR</sup>Muški(ni/e), <sup>KUR</sup>Hate, <sup>KUR</sup>Halitu ve <sup>KUR</sup>Siluqu(ni) ülkelerinden oluşmaktadır<sup>41</sup>. Halitu ülkesi dışında sözü edilen ülkeler Ayanis Tapınak Yazıtı metninde de anılmakla<sup>42</sup> beraber Ayanis Yazıtı'ndan farklı olarak Kefkalesi yazıtlı stellerinde <sup>KUR</sup>Tarquini

<sup>37</sup> C. A. Burney - G. R. J. Lawson, “Urartian Reliefs at Adilecevas, on Lake Van, and a Rock Relief from the Karasu, near Birecik”, *Anatolian Studies* 8, 1958, s. 211 vdd.

<sup>38</sup> U. Seidl, “Torschützende Genien in Urartu”, *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* (Neue Folge) 7, 1974, s. 115 vdd., 116 Abb. 1; U. Seidl, “Urartäische Bauskulpturen”, *Aspects of Art and Iconography: Anatolia and its Neighbors. Studies in Honor of Nimet Özgüç*, Edited by M. J. Mellink - E. Porada - T. Özgüç, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, 1993, s. 557 vd., 558 fig. 2. Buna karşın M. Salvini, ortostatların kapı fasadını değil, tapınağa giden koridorun dış yüzünde olabileceğini önermektedir. Bkz. Salvini, *Archaeological Studies in Honour of Charles Burney*, 2004, s. 248, 267 fig. 5.

<sup>39</sup> Salvini, *Archaeological Studies in Honour of Charles Burney*, 2004, s. 249 vdd.; Tanyeri-Erdemir, 2005, s. 197-198.

<sup>40</sup> Payne, 2006, 12.1.1; UKN 278. Yazıtı bütünlüğünün korunamamış olmasından ötürü tam olmayan bu tercüme, CTU A 12-4 II'nin transkripsiyonuna karşılık gelmektedir.

<sup>41</sup> Payne, 2006, 12.1.1; CTU I, A 12-4 II.

<sup>42</sup> Payne, 2006, 12.2.19; Salvini, *Ayanis I*, 2001, s. 258 (Ay- susi. Section VI); CTU I, A 12-1 VI. Adı geçen ülkelerden toplu nüfus aktarımı yapıldığına yönelik bkz. A. Çilingiroğlu - M. Salvini, “The Historical Background of Ayanis”, *Ayanis I, Ten Years' Excavations at Rusahinili Eiduru-kai 1989-1998*, Ed. A. Çilingiroğlu - M. Salvini, Documenta Asiana VI, Roma, 2001, s. 19 vd.

adındaki yer isminin geçtiğine dair herhangi bir veri yoktur. Bu ülkeler arasında Qainaru ve Siluqu(ni)<sup>43</sup> sadece Kefkalesi ve Ayanis Urartu yazıtlarında geçmekte olup geriye kalan yer isimleri diğer Asur ve Urartu yazılı kaynaklarından tanınmaktadır.

Argišti'nin oğlu Rusa zamanında Kefkalesi Urartu yerleşiminin işgücü nüfusunu oluşturan insan topluluklarının getirildiği coğrafi alan, ana hatları ile şöyle açıklanabilir (Tablo - 1) :

Kefkalesi ve Ayanis yazıtlarında da belirtildiği haliyle Tabla(ni), Tabal'in Urartuca yazım şekli olarak önerilmiştir<sup>44</sup>. Büyük Hitit Devleti'nin siyasal ve kültürel mirasçılarından biri olan Tabal, M.Ö. I. Binyıl Geç Hitit ülkeleri arasında en batıda yer alanıdır. Tabal'ın sınırları, kuzeyde Kızılırmak'tan güneyde Aladağlar ve Bolkar Dağları'na; batıda Tuz Gölü'nden doğuda Gürün'e dek uzanır<sup>45</sup>. Tabal'ın sınırları günümüz coğrafya anlayışıyla kabaca ifade edersek Kayseri, Nevşehir, Niğde ve Aksaray illerini kapsamaktadır. Jeopolitik konumu itibarıyla Tabal'ı, Antik Çağ'ın Kapadokya bölgesi ile eşleştirmek mümkündür<sup>46</sup>.

Kefkalesi ve Ayanis Urartuca yazıtları bağlamında Muški ülkesinin lokalizasyonuna ilişkin iki olası öngörürden söz etmek gerekir. Genellikle Muşkiler, Frigler ile bir tutulmaktadır<sup>47</sup>. Frigya bilindiği üzere Anadolu'nun batısında yer alan Sakarya Irmağı ile Büyük Menderes Irmağı'nın yukarı çığırları arasındaki bölgeyi (bugünkü Ankara-Eskişehir-Afyon-Kütahya-Denizli illerini) kapsamaktaydı. Bunun dışında "Doğu Muşkiler" olarak adlandırılan bir etnik gruptan daha söz edilmektedir<sup>48</sup>. Yazılı kaynaklara

<sup>43</sup> Yer ismi olarak daha öncesinde belgelenmediğine dair bkz. Salvini, *Ayanis I*, 2001, s. 261.

<sup>44</sup> Çilingiroğlu - Salvini, *Ayanis I*, 2001, s. 20.

<sup>45</sup> T. Yiğit, "Tabal", *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih - Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* 40/3-4, 2000, s. 177.

<sup>46</sup> H. H. Duymuş, "Asur kaynaklarına Göre Demirciçi'nde Tabal Krallığı", *ODÜ Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü - Sosyal Bilimler Araştırmaları Dergisi* 2/3, 2011, s. 37; S. Pullu, *Tabal Bölgesi Tarihi (M.Ö. I. Binyılın İlk Yarısında Tabal Krallığı'nın Siyasal ve Ekonomik Tarihi)*, İstanbul Üniversitesi - Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Doktora Tezi, İstanbul, 2006, s. 18.

<sup>47</sup> Diakonoff - Kashkai, *RGTC IX*, 1981, s. 59; R. Zadok, *Geographical Names According to New -and Late Babylonian Texts (Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes VIII)*, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1985, s. 231; S. Berndt-Ersöz, "The Chronology and Historical Context of Midas", *Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 57/1, 2008, s. 18-19; F. Işık, "Karanlık Dönem'in Aydınlığı ve Frig Sanatının "Anadoluluğu" Üzerine", *Anadolu/Anatolia* 24, 2003, s. 23; M. J. Mellink, "Mita, Mushki and Phrygians", *Anadolu Araştırmaları* 2, 1965, s. 317 vdd.; O. W. Muscarella, "The Iron Age Background to the Formation of the Phrygian State", *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 299/300, 1995, s. 92; V. Sevin, "The Early Iron Age in the Elazığ Region and the Problem of the Mushkians", *Anatolian Studies* XLI, 1991, s. 96.

<sup>48</sup> Diakonoff - Kashkai, *RGTC IX*, 1981, s. 59.

bakılacak olursa bu etnik grup, ilkin Yukarı Fırat ve Yukarı Diele bölgelerinde ortaya çıkmış olup sonrasındaki süreçte - M.Ö. VIII. yüzyıla ait Asur kaynaklarının da tanıklık ettiği gibi - Fırat'ın batısındaki bölgelere çekilmişlerdir<sup>49</sup>. Kimi araştırmacılar, M.Ö. VII. yüzyıldaki "Doğu Muşkiler"<sup>50</sup> olarak anılan grubun Gaziantep - Adıyaman bölgesinde yaşadıklarını önermekte<sup>51</sup> ise de Ayanis ve Kefkalesi yazıtlarında anılan Muški ülkesi, Orta Anadolu bölgesindeki Kızılırmak kavsinin güney ya da güneydoğusunda yer alan politik bir güce işaret etmektedir<sup>52</sup>.

Yer ismi olarak Hate/i, adını, M.Ö. II. binyıl Hitit İmparatorluğu'nun merkezi bölgesi konumundaki İç Anadolu Platosu'ndaki Hatti ülkesinden almış olabilir<sup>53</sup>. Hate/i, Urartu kaynaklarında Hati-na olarak çoğul formda da kullanılmıştır<sup>54</sup>. Dar anlamda Melitia (Malatya) Krallığı'nı ifade edebileceği önerilmişse de<sup>55</sup> Melitia ve Hate/i isimleri birbirlerinden farklı yer adları olarak Urartu kaynaklarında anılmıştır<sup>56</sup>. Bununla birlikte Melitia Krallığı'nın M.Ö. VII. yüzyılın ilk yarısında Asur egemenliği altında olduğunu da belirtmek gerekir<sup>57</sup>. Eldeki mevcut veriler, Kefkalesi ve Ayanis yazıtlarında bahsedilen Hate/i ülkesinin Malatya dışındaki farklı bir bölgeye

<sup>49</sup> A. V. Kossian, "The Mushki Problem Reconsidered", *Studi Micenei Ed Egeo-Anatolici* 39/2, 1997, s. 254-255; Mellink, 1965, s. 318-319; Sevin, 1991, s. 97. Muşkiler'den ilk defa söz eden Asur kralı I. Tukulti-apil-Ešarra, M.Ö. 1114 yılında Alzu ve Purulumzu ülkelerini 50 yıl boyunca elinde tutan 5 Mušku kralı ile savaştığını ve onları Katmulu ülkesinde yendiğini belirtmektedir. Bkz. Grayson, *RIMA* 2, 1991, s. 14 A.O. 87. 1 i 62-70; Yeni Asur Dönemi kaynakları için bkz. Zadok, *RGTC VIII*, 1985, s. 231.

<sup>50</sup> Kossian, 1997, s. 255-256, 261 vd.; Sevin, 1991, s. 97. Coğrafi konumlandırma konusunda benzer bir görüş için bkz. K. Strobel, "Aspekte eines neuen Bildes der Entwicklung Anatoliens in der Frühen Eisenzeit", *Anatolian Iron Ages 5*, Edited by A. Çilingiroğlu - G. Darbyshire, British Institute at Ankara, London, 2005, s. 197.

<sup>51</sup> W. Röllig, "Muški, Muski", *Reallexicon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 8. Band (Meek - Mythologie), Berlin, 1993-1997, s. 494.

<sup>52</sup> A. -M. Wittke, "Das Land Mušku" *Armenian Journal of Near Eastern Studies* II, 2007, s. 126-127.

<sup>53</sup> J. D. Hawkins, "Hatti", *Reallexicon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 4 (Ha-a-a - Hystaspes), Berlin, 1972-1975, s. 152.

<sup>54</sup> Diakonoff - Kashkai, *RGTC IX*, 1981, s. 39-40.

<sup>55</sup> M. Salvini, "Le Testimonianze Storiche Urartee Sulle Regioni del Medio Eufrate MELITHNH, KOMMATHNH, ΣΟΦΗNH, ΤΟΜΙΣΑ", *La Parola del Passato* CXLII-CXIV, 1972, s. 102.

<sup>56</sup> CTU I, A 8-3 II; Diakonoff - Kashkai, *RGTC IX*, 1981, s. 55 - 56.

<sup>57</sup> Asur kralı Aššur-ahhe-iddina'nın M.Ö. 678-676 yıllarına tarihlenen bir kehanet sorusu, Melitia Krallığı üzerinde Asur egemenliğinin bir kanıtı olarak değerlendirilmelidir. Bu kehanet sorusunda Tabal, Muški, Hilakku (Kilikya) ve Kimmerlerden oluşan bir anti-Asur ittifakının Melitia'ya saldırıp saldırmayacağı sorulmaktadır. Berndt-Ersöz, 2008, s. 23; I. Starr, *Queries to the Sun God, Divination and Politics in Sargonid Assyria (State Archives of Assyria IV)*, Helsinki University Press, Helsinki, 1990, No. 1, 17.

lokalize edilmesi gerektiğini göstermektedir. Yeni Asur kaynaklarında *Hattu* olarak anılan *Hate/i*, Kuzey Suriye ile ilişkili görünmektedir<sup>58</sup>. Buna paralel olarak Urartu kaynaklarındaki *Hate/i* yer adının Kuzey Suriye'deki (Karkamış, Til Barsip, Tell Afis, Ayn Dara, Amuk gibi) Geç Hitit şehir devletleri için kullanıldığı iddia edilmiştir<sup>59</sup>.

Halitu ülkesi, muhtemelen klasik kaynaklarda *Xaldia* (Haldia) ya da (H)alybe formunda geçen ülke ile idantifiye edilebilir<sup>60</sup>. İç Karadeniz bölgesinde yer alan Haldia ülkesi günümüz Trabzon'un iç kesimleri ile Gümüşhane - Bayburt yöresini kapsamaktaydı<sup>61</sup>. M.Ö. V. yüzyıldan itibaren klasik Yunan kaynaklarında anılmaya başlayan Haldia<sup>62</sup>, Ortaçağ kaynaklarında *Haldia*<sup>63</sup>/*Hāliidiya*/*Haltik* olarak yansımaları bulmuştur<sup>64</sup>. Buna göre Haldia ve Halitu eşitliği görüşü benimsendiği takdirde Halitu ülkesinin *Hate/i*, Muşki ve Tabal ülkelerinin kuzeydoğusunda yer aldığı sonucunu kabul etmek gerekecektir<sup>65</sup>.

Urartu kaynaklarında birçok defa geçen Etiuni ülkesi, Güney Kafkasya'da, Sevan Gölü'nün kuzeybatı kıyılarından Sarıkamış'a değin uzanan toprakları kapsamış olmalıdır<sup>66</sup>. Geniş bir alana yayılmış, yerleşik olmayan bir aşiret konfederasyonu görünümündedir. Güney Kafkasya'da

<sup>58</sup> Zadok, *RGTC VIII*, 1985, s. 157.

<sup>59</sup> E. C. Stone - P. Zimansky, "The Urartian Transformation in the Outer Town of Ayanis", *Archaeology in the Borderlands: Investigations in the Caucasus and Beyond*, Eds. A. Smith - K. Rubinson, Cotsen Institute, Los Angeles, 2003, s. 214. Urartu kaynaklarındaki *Hate/i* için Hitit İmparatorluğu'nun çekirdek bölgesi konumundaki Orta Anadolu Platosu'nun doğusu ve Fırat'ın yukarı çıkışlarındaki havaliye işaret ettiğine ilişkin bkz. Strobel, *AIA* 5, 2005, s. 197.

<sup>60</sup> M. N. van Loon, *Urartian Art, Its Distinctive Traits in the Light of New Excavations*, Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten, Leiden, 1966, s. 82; Çilingiroğlu - Salvini, *Ayanis I*, 2001, s. 20; G. A. Tirats'yan, *From Urartu to Armenia: Florilegium Gevork A. Tirats'yan*, Ed. R. Vardanyan, Recherches et Publications, Neuchâtel, 2003, s. 18. Bununla birlikte bazı araştırmacılar Halitu ülkesini, klasik kaynaklarda anılan Halizon ülkesi ve Homeros'un İlyada eserinde geçen (H)alybe kavminin yaşadığı ülke ile eşleştirmek istemişlerdir. Bununla bağlantılı olarak Haldia yer ismini de bu yer ve kavim isimleriyle ilişkilendirmek istenmiştir. Bkz. van Loon, *Urartian Art*, 1966, s. 82; Çilingiroğlu - Salvini, *Ayanis I*, 2001, s. 20.

<sup>61</sup> van Loon, *Urartian Art*, 1966, s. 82-83.

<sup>62</sup> Xenophon, *Anabasis IV*, 4, V. 17; Xenophon, *Kyrou Pedia III*, 2.

<sup>63</sup> W. M. Ramsay, *Anadolu'nun Tarihi Coğrafyası*, Çev. Mihri Pektaş, Milli Eğitim Basımevi, İstanbul, 1960, s. 350.

<sup>64</sup> E. Honigmann, *Bizans Devletinin Doğu Sınırı*, Çev. F. Işıltan, İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, İstanbul, 1970, s. 50-57, 67-68, 149, 161 vd, 178 vdd.; Diakonoff - Kashkai *RGTC IX*, 1981, s. 39.

<sup>65</sup> Diakonoff - Kashkai, *RGTC IX*, s. 39

<sup>66</sup> A. g. e., s. 34.



dendrokronolojik araştırma sonuçları vermektedir. Söz konusu araştırmalar, Ayanis yerleşiminde kesilen ağaçların en yaşlısının takriben M.Ö. 673(+4/-7) yıllarına ait olduğunu ortaya koymuştur<sup>74</sup>. Bu çıkış noktasından hareketle Ayanis Urartu yerleşiminin inşa edilişi M.Ö. 677 - 673 yılları arasına tarihlendirilmektedir<sup>75</sup>. Bununla birlikte söz konusu yerleşimin M.Ö. 673/672 yıllarına ya da hemen sonraki yıla tarihlendirilmesi konusunda genel bir eğilim vardır<sup>76</sup>. Dolayısıyla Kefkalesi gibi Argiştî oğlu Rusa tarafından uygulanan aynı inşaat programının ve aynı politik gelişmelerin bir parçası olan Ayanis yerleşiminden yola çıkarak Kefkalesi'nin tarihlenmesi mümkün olabilmektedir. Dendrokronoloji yönteminin sağladığı bu bulgudan hareket edilirse M.Ö. 677 - 666 tarihleri arasında Kefkalesi'nin kurulmuş olabileceğini ifade etmek akla yatkın bir çıkarım olarak görünmektedir<sup>77</sup>. Bu kronolojik öngörünün bir sonucu olarak Argiştî oğlu Rusa'nın hükümdarlığının ilk on beş yılında Ayanis ve Kefkalesi yerleşimlerinin inşa edilmiş olması gerekir<sup>78</sup>. Kuzeybatı İran'da bir Urartu yerleşimi olan Bastam Kalesi'nin, söz konusu Urartu kralının yaptırmış olduğu ilk kale olduğu düşünülmektedir. Bu düşünce, Bastam'da bulunmuş bir kil bulla üzerinde, Toprakkale'nin Urartuca adı olan "Rusahinili Qilbani-kai (Qilbani [Dağı'nın] karşısındaki Rusahinili)" ifadesinin yer almasından kaynaklanmaktadır<sup>79</sup>. Bu göreceli tarihlendirmeye göre Argiştî'nin oğlu

<sup>74</sup> M. W. Newton - P. I. Kuniholm, "A Revised Dendrochronological Date for the Fortress of Rusa II at Ayanis: Rusahinili Eiduru-Kai", *Anatolian Iron Ages 6*, Edited by A. Çilingiroğlu - A. Sagona, Leuven, 2004, s. 195 vdd.

<sup>75</sup> A. Ü. Erdem - A. Batmaz, "Contributions of the Ayanis Fortress to Iron Age Chronology", *Ancient Near Eastern Studies 45*, 2008, s. 72; S. W. Manning - B. Kromar - P. I. Kuniholm - M. W. Newton, "Anatolian Tree Rings and New Chronology for the East Mediterranean Bronze-Iron Ages", *Scienceexpress 1066112*, 2001, s. 2. Buna karşın eski verilere göre Ayanis Kalesi'nin yapımı M.Ö. 655-651 yılları arasına tarihlendirilmiştir. Bkz. A. Çilingiroğlu - M. Salvini, "When was the castle of Ayanis of built and what is the meaning of the word 'şuri'?", *Anatolian Iron Ages 4*, Ed. A. Çilingiroğlu - R. J. Matthews, Mersin, 1999, s. 55.

<sup>76</sup> A. Çilingiroğlu, "Ayanis", *Ege Üniversitesi Arkeoloji Kazıları*, Ege Üniversitesi - Edebiyat Fakültesi, İzmir, 2012, s. 2; Erdem - Batmaz, 2008, s. 72.

<sup>77</sup> Kefkalesi için yapılan dendrokronolojik araştırmalar, Kefkalesi'nin tarihlendirilmesine yardımcı olmamaktadır. Kefkalesi'ndeki payeli salonda elde edilmiş tek bir çam ağacı kalıntısı üzerinden yapılan araştırma M.Ö. 902 - 776 +4/-7 yılları arasını verir. Bu sonuç Kefkalesi'ndeki epigrafik ve arkeolojik veriler ile çeliştiğinden ötürü güvenilir değildir. Bkz. Newton - Kuniholm, *AI4 6*, 2004, s. 199.

<sup>78</sup> A. Çilingiroğlu, "The Reign of Rusa II: Towards the End of the Urartian Kingdom", *Festschrift für Manfred Korfmann, Mauer Schau Band I*, Herausgegeben R. Aslan etc., Verlag Bernhard Albert Greiner, Remshalden - Grunbach, 2002, s. 485.

<sup>79</sup> Kil bulla üzerindeki yazıtın çevirisi şu şekilde yapılabilir: "Argiştî'nin oğlu Rusa Qilbani Dağı karşısındaki Rusahinili'de tahta oturduğu o yıl, tahta parçaları... marangozlar Ala ülkesinin küçük Rusa şehrinde (sergilendi)". Bkz. M. Salvini, "Die Urartäischen

Rusa tarafından yaptırıldığı tespit edilen yerleşimlerden Bastam, Toprakkale'den daha önce kurulmuş olmalıdır<sup>80</sup>. M.Ö. 673/672 yıllarında inşa edildiği kabul edilen Ayanis Kalesi göz önünde bulundurulduğunda Bastam, Urartu kralının ilk on yılında yapılmış gözükmektedir. Sonrasında ise Toprakkale, Kefkalesi ve Ayanis yerleşimleri inşa edilmiş olabilir<sup>81</sup>. Parçalı Kefkalesi yazıtlarında, Ayanis Tapınak Yazıtı'na göre bazı ülke isimlerinin eksik olmasından dolayı, Ayanis'in Kefkalesi'nden sonra inşa edilmiş olabileceği önerilmiştir<sup>82</sup>. Bununla birlikte söz konusu göreceli tarihlendirmeler kesinlik taşımamaktadır.

Arkeolojik ve yazılı verilerden yola çıkılarak Ayanis yerleşiminin M.Ö. 653 yılı öncesinde yıkıldığı önerilmiştir<sup>83</sup>. Buna karşın sitadel dışında yer alan sivil yerleşim niteliğindeki dış kentte, ikamet edenlerin bir süre daha yaşadığını Urartu sonrasına tarihlendirilen "triangle ware" adı verilen bir seramik grubu doğrulamaktadır<sup>84</sup>. Kefkalesi'nin sitadel kısmında yapılan arkeolojik kazılarda Argiști'nin oğlu Rusa devri sonrasına tarihlendirilebilecek herhangi bir buluntu ya da yazılı bir belge saptanmamıştır. Bununla birlikte Kefkalesi'nin sivil yerleşim alanı olan aşağı şehirde kazı yapılmadığından ötürü iskân ömrü hakkında kesin bir görüş ortaya koyabilmek mümkün değildir. Ancak Kefkalesi'nin sitadeli, Ayanis sitadeli ile aynı tarihsel kaderi paylaşmış görünmektedir. Kefkalesi, tıpkı Karmir Blur, Bastam, Ayanis gibi Argiști oğlu Rusa'nın başlattığı büyük krallık yerleşimlerinin kurulmasına yönelik inşaat programının bir parçasıydı. Bu yerleşimler şiddetli bir yangın sonucu belli bir düzen dâhilinde boşaltılmış ve sonrasında terk edilerek sonraki dönemlere ait bazı küçük izler dışında bütünüyle unutulmuş görünmektedir. Konuya ilişkin bir çalışma söz konusu büyük çaplı şehirlerin yıkılmasını, uzak ülkelerden getirilerek iskân ettirilmiş sadakatsiz insan topluluklarının Rusa'nın

Schriftdenkmäler aus Bastam (1977-1978)" *Bastam II: Ausgrabungen in den Urartäischen Anlagen 1977-1978*, Ed. W. Kleiss, Gebr. Mann Verlag, Berlin, 1988, s. 130, 135 vdd.

<sup>80</sup> Çilingiroğlu - Salvini, *Ayanis I*, 2001, s. 17.

<sup>81</sup> Toprakkale ve Ayanis'in aynı zaman diliminde planlanıp inşa edilmiş olabileceğine dair öneri için bkz. Çilingiroğlu - Salvini, *Ayanis I*, 2001, s. 17.

<sup>82</sup> Çilingiroğlu - Salvini, *Ayanis I*, 2001, s. 20.

<sup>83</sup> Erdem - Batmaz, 2008, s. 69, 75-76.

<sup>84</sup> E. C. Stone - P. Zimansky, Survey and Soundings in the Outer Town of Ayanis 1996-1998", *Ayanis I, Ten Years' Excavations at Rusahinili Eiduru-kai 1989-1998*, Ed. A. Çilingiroğlu - M. Salvini, Documenta Asiana VI, Roma, 2001, s. 362; Erdem - Batmaz, 2008, s. 76-77.

uyguladığı yerleşim politikasına karşı gösterdiği şiddetli tepkilere bağlamaktadır<sup>85</sup>.

Yazılı kaynaklar, M.Ö. 680-670 yılları arasında Urartu Krallığı'nın güney komşusu Asur ile aralarında bir ihtilaf olduğuna dair herhangi bir bilgi vermemektedir. Öte yandan M.Ö. 673/672 yıllarına tarihlenen kimi Asur çivi yazılı kaynakları, Argiştî oğlu Rusa'nın Asur kralı Aşşur-ahhe-iddina (Asarhaddon) ile karşılıklı antlaşmaya dayalı, düşmanca olmayan ilişkiler içerisinde olduğunu doğrulamaktadır<sup>86</sup>.

M.Ö. VIII. yüzyılın sonlarından başlayarak M.Ö. VII. yüzyılın ortalarına değin devam etmiş olan Kimmer akınları Anadolu'daki krallıklar için hem olumlu hem de olumsuz sonuçlar doğurmuştur. Asur kralı Aşşur-ahhe-iddina (M.Ö. 680-669) döneminde Anadolu'da yoğunlaşan Kimmer akınları Asur'un Anadolu'ya yayılımına engel olmuştur<sup>87</sup>. Ancak aynı Kimmer akınları, Eski Anadolu krallıklarına yönelik tehdidi de meydana getirmiştir. Bu durum Anadolu'da ve Güney Kafkasya'da bulunan krallıkların Urartu Krallığına karşı mukavemetini zayıflatmış olmalıdır. Bununla birlikte Urartu kralının söz konusu inşa faaliyetlerinin hayat bulduğu dönemde Frig kralı (I.) Midas'ın M.Ö. 677 yılına tarihlendirilen<sup>88</sup> ölümünü de göz önünde bulundurmak gereklidir. Midas'ın ölümünün ardından Frigya'da taht mücadelesinden kaynaklı olabilecek muhtemel iç karışıklıkların da Argiştî oğlu Rusa'nın bu geniş coğrafyada askeri faaliyetlerini kolaylaştırıcı bir etki yaratmış olması mümkündür.

## Sonuç

Van Gölü'nün kuzeybatısını oluşturan Adilcevaz yöresinin *Ziuquni* ülkesi adıyla Urartu Krallığı'nın çekirdek bölgelerinden biri olduğunu, Asur yazılı kaynakları ortaya koymaktadır. Orta Asur Dönemi'nde Asur kralı I. Şulmanu-aşared (M.Ö. 1274-1245)'e ait kayıtlarda bir Uruatri ülkesi olarak *Zingun*, Aşşur-bêl-kala (M.Ö. 1073-1056)'ya ait kayıtlarda ise Urartu ülkesinin içerisinde gösterilen bir yer adı olarak *Ziqumu* telaffuzuyla anılmıştır. Kefkalesi'nin içinde bulunduğu Ziuquni ülkesi, aynı zamanda Urartu panteonunda *Ziqumu* adındaki bir tanrıya ya ismini vermiş ya da ondan ismini almış olabilir.

<sup>85</sup> P. Zimansky, "The cities of Rusa and the end of Urartu" *Anatolian Iron Ages 5*, Ed. by A. Çilingiroğlu - G. Darbyshire, British Institute at Ankara, London, 2005, s. 235 vdd., 239.

<sup>86</sup> Salvini, *Urartu Tarihi ve Kültürü*, 2006, s. 115; R. Borger, "Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien", *Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft 9*, Graz, 1956, s. 106, 123 vd.

<sup>87</sup> Duymuş, 2011, s. 42.

<sup>88</sup> Berndt-Ersöz, 2008, s. 16, 19, 27.

Urartu kralı Arğiști'nin ođlu Rusa döneminde çeşitli ölkelerden toplanan insanların nasıl ve hangi şartlar altında Kefkalesi'ne yerleřtirilerek Urartu topraklarına getirildiđi bilinmemektedir. Bununla birlikte Urartu kralının düzenlediđi bir sefer kapsamında toplu nüfus aktarımı sonucunda Kefkalesi'ne yerleřtirilmiř olmaları ihtimal dâhilindedir.

Konu ile iliřkili tarihsel cođrafyaya iliřkin bilgiler bütönlöklü bir biçimde deđerlendirildiđinde söz konusu insan gruplarının kökeni, Orta Anadolu'ya, Kuzey Suriye'ye, İç Dođu Karadeniz Bölgesi'ne ve Güney Kafkasya'ya dayanmaktadır.

Kefkalesi'nin Urartu dilinde "Ziuquni Ölkesi'ndeki Haldi'nin kenti" anlamındaki ifadeyle belirtilmesi, söz konusu yerleřimin dini karakterine iřaret etmektedir. Bir tapınađın avlusu olabilecek bir mimariye sahip olması, *ařihusi* binası ve asıl yerinin tapınak kapısı olduđu önerilen koruyucu niteliđindeki büyük taş kabartma, yerleřimin dinsel kimliđini açığa vuran arkeolojik izlerdendir. Kefkalesi'nde açığa çıkarılan 170 adet depo küpü büyük bir depo yapısını göstermekle beraber yapılan zirai üretimin azımsanmayacak miktarda olduđunu açığa vurmaktadır. Kabaca yapılabilecek bir matematiksel hesaplama, depo binasının yaklaşık olarak 200.000 litrelik bir kapasiteye sahip olduđunu ortaya koymaktadır. Kefkalesi'nin 2 km. kuzeybatısında yer alan Kırca Göl baraj gölünün varlıđı, kale etrafında verimli bir tarımsal üretimin yapılabilmesi amacıyla ilgili olmalıdır.

M.Ö. 685-645 yılları arasında Urartu tahtında oturduđu kabul edilen ve Arğiști'nin ođlu olan Rusa'nın inşa ettirdiđi Kefkalesi'nin kuruluş tarihini daha kesin verebilmek, yeni arkeolojik bulguların deđerlendirilmesi sonucunda mümkün olabilecektir. Ayanis Urartu yerleřimindeki ađaç keresteleri üzerinde yapılan dendrokronolojik arařtırmalara dayanılarak Ayanis M.Ö 673/672 yıllarına tarihlendirilebilirken Ayanis ile aynı tarihsel arka plana sahip Kefkalesi'ni M.Ö. 677-666 yılları arasına tarihlendirmek mümkündür. Yapılan arkeolojik arařtırmalar Urartu egemenliđinin sona ermesinin ardından Kefkalesi sitadeli üzerinde herhangi bir yerleřim tabakası olmadıđını ortaya koymuřtur. Kefkalesi'nin sitadel iskânı, Ayanis sitadeline paralel olarak M.Ö. 653 yılına dođru bir yangın sonucu son bulmuř görünmektedir.

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AIA	Anatolian Iron Ages
AST	Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı
CTU	Mirjo Salvini, <i>Corpus dei testi urartei</i> (Documenta Asiana VIII), Volume I-III, Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di Studi sulle Civiltà dell'Egeo e del Vicino Oriente del Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, Roma, 2008.
HchI	Friedrich Wilhelm König, <i>Handbuch der chaldischen Inschriften</i> AfO, Beiheft 8, Im Selbstverlage des Herausgebers, Graz, 1955-57.
KUKN	Nikolaj Vasil' evič Arutjunjan, <i>Korpus urartskich klinoobraznych nadpisej</i> , Gitutjun, Erevan, 2001.
RGTC VIII	Ran Zadok, <i>Geographical Names According to New- and Late-Babylonian Texts</i> , Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients), Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1985.
RGTC IX	Igor M. Diakonoff – S. M. Kashkai, <i>Geographical Names According to Urartian Texts</i> , Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients), Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1981.
UKN	G. A. Melikišvili, <i>Urartskie klinoobraznye nadpisi</i> , Izd-vo Akademii nauk SSSR, Moskva, 1960.
UKN II	G. A. Melikišvili, <i>Urartskie klinoobraznye nadpisi II. Otkritija i publikacii 1954-1970 gg.</i> , VDI 1971/3 229-255; 4, 267-293.

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## Ekler



Resim – 1: Kefkalesi Yerleşiminin Planı (Burney, 1957, s. 51 fig. 12'den uyarlama)



Resim – 2: Kefkalesi Rölyefli Bloğu (Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi'nden)



Resim – 3: Kefkalesi Depo Küpü (Adilcevaz Koruma Alanı'ndan)



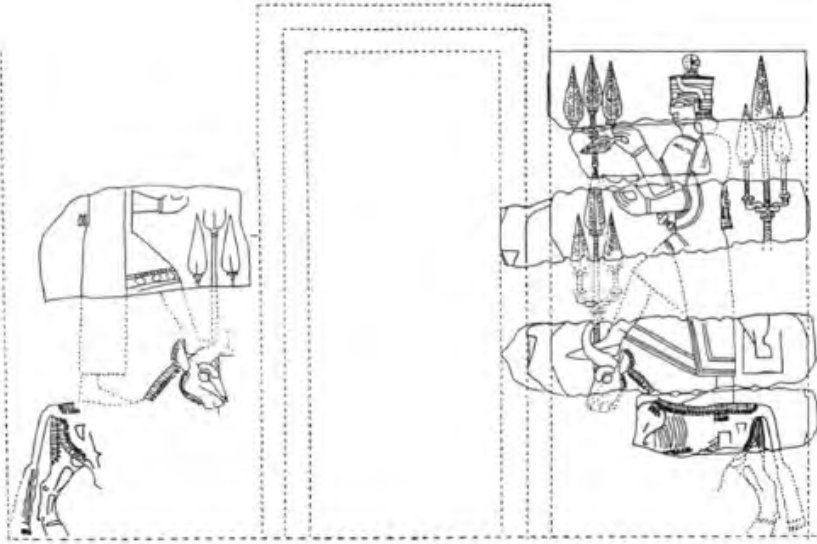
Resim – 4: Pitos Üzerindeki Yazıtın Bir Görünüm (Adilcevaz Koruma Alanı'ndan)



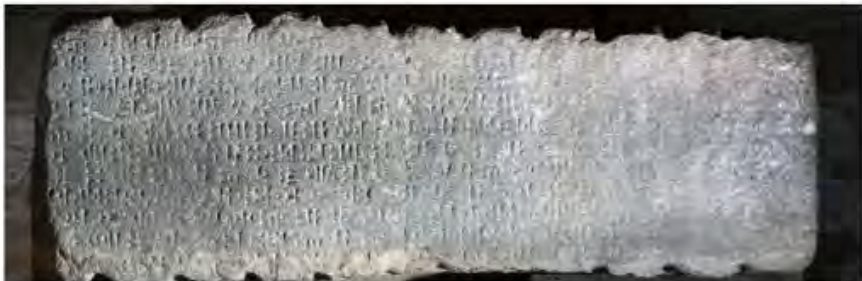
**Resim - 5:** Kefkalesi Depo Yapısı (S. Doruk'un Arşivinden)



**Resim - 6:** Adilcevaz Ortostatı (Van Müzesi'nden)

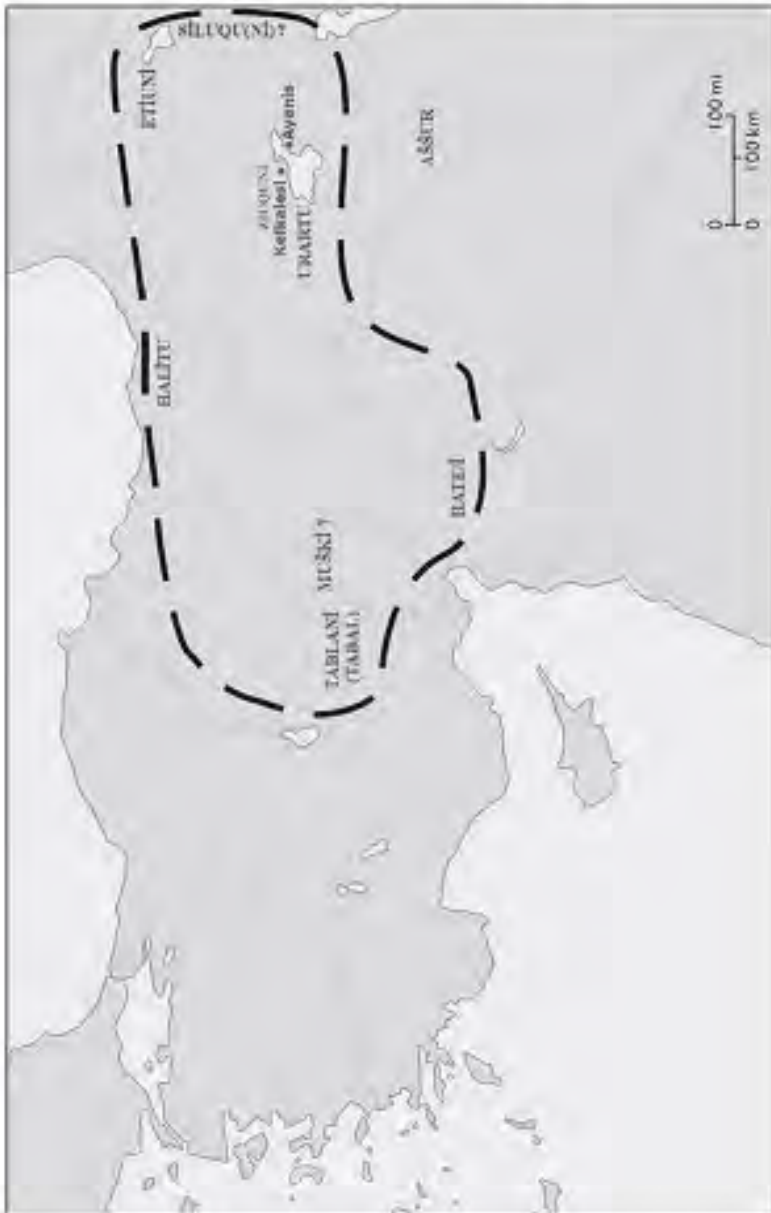


Resim - 7: Adilcevaz Ortostatı'nın Muhtemel Orijinal Konumu (U. Seidl, 1993, s. 558 fig. 2)



Resim - 8: Kefkalesi Yazıtları ( Van Müzesi ve Adilcevaz Koruma Alanı'ndan)

Tablo - 1: Kefkalesi Urartu Yerleşiminin Coğrafi Arka Planı



## استعمارگران جهان باستان<sup>۱</sup>

بخش اول - خاستگاه ها و مهاجرت های اولیه

گیامپیترو فابری<sup>۲</sup>

مترجم دکتر منصور حمداللهزاده<sup>۳</sup>

### چکیده

در بخش اول این تحقیق نام سوپارستاس برای نیاکان مردمانی که به زبان نیای هند-اروپایی صحبت می کنند و خویشاوندان آنها بازسازی و پیشنهاد شده است. علاوه بر این، نام سواگواتاس و انواع آن به عنوان نام های درونی نیای هند-اروپایی ها شناخته می شود. با تحلیل نام های اقوام و تبار و گواهی های تاریخی بر روی آنها، رگه هایی از آداب و رسوم و مذهب سوپارستها و سواگواتاس روشن تر می شود. در نهایت، مهاجرت های اولیه اقوام در آسیا و اروپا تا آغاز هزاره دوم قبل از میلاد بازسازی شده است.

کلید واژه ها: سوپارستاس، سواگواتاس، دنیای باستان، هند و اروپایی، آریایی ها

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## SUPARSTHAS and SWAG<sup>W</sup>AUTAS Colonisers of the Ancient World

### Part I – Origins and early migrations

Giampietro Fabbri<sup>†</sup>

**ABSTRACT** - In the first part of this study the name *\*Suparsthas* is reconstructed and proposed for the ancestors of the peoples speaking the Proto-Indo-European language and their relatives. Moreover, the name *\*Swag<sup>W</sup>autas* and its variants are recognised as endonyms of Proto-Indo-Europeans. By analyzing the ethnonyms of the descendant peoples and the historical attestations on them, traces of the customs and religion of *\*Suparsthas* and *\*Swag<sup>W</sup>autas* are highlighted. Lastly, the early migrations of the descendant peoples in Asia and Europe are reconstructed until the beginning of the second millennium BC.

### INTRODUCTION

The ancient cultures transferred to us the knowledge of a time when the earth was flooded and just few men and animals survived. Sumerians (Wasilewska 2000: 146), Assyrians-Babylonians (George 2016: 31), Jews (*Genesis*: 7, 10-24), Greeks (Pseudo-Apollodorus: I, 7, 2), Indians (Daniélou 2003: 19) (Vyāsa: 8, 17) left texts about a great flood. It is commonly believed that the event remembered by these cultures was actually a flood on Mesopotamia due to different causes, such as an exceptional overflow of Tigris and Euphrates rivers, the melting of glaciers at the end of the last ice age, seismic activity, or an asteroid crash into the earth.

The hypothesis of a flood on Mesopotamia due to a temporary increase in the sea level as a consequence of the melting of glaciers at the end of the last Ice Age (9000 BC; Denton et al. 2010) would also explain the separation of caucasoid somatic morphology peoples into branches speaking languages belonging to apparently different families, in particular the Semitic and Indo-European languages. It is believed in fact that the languages of these two families, attested in documents of the third millennium BC, can be derived from a single language through an evolution process lasted about 6000-6500 years (Villar 2011: 651).

If Mesopotamia was flooded, the caucasoid morphology populations, who were gathered there, tried to escape into the surrounding areas, which probably were already partly occupied by their relatives. They thus resulted separated by a water barrier stretching from north-west to south-east. The populations who escaped to the north, on the mountain chain stretching from Anatolia to the Iranian highlands, and those that fled to the south, on the highest parts of the Arabian peninsula, maintained the common somatic morphology with small mutations, such as minor changes in forehead, eye arch, and nose curvature. Their descendants, in the historical age, resulted in speaking Indo-European and Semitic languages, respectively. The populations who escaped the flood to east and west probably interbred with people of different morphology, settled respectively in the Indus and Nile Valley, contributing to the civilization of these areas.

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## SUPARSTHAS

Comparing the names of the different Iranian and related populations attested in the historical age, we can reconstruct the name by which, in the primordial Proto-Iranic or Proto-Indo-European language, peoples were remembered, who escaped the flood by taking refuge on the mountains, or survived because they had settled there previously. This name was probably *\*Suparsthas*, composite of *\*supar*, over (Lat. *super*, Gr. *ὑπέρ*, Sans. *upari*), and *\*sthā*, stay (Lat. *sto*, Gr. *ἵστημι*, Sans. *sthāmi*). It could have the meaning of Lat. *superstes*, survivor, or simply indicated who was over, i. e. on the mountains. The term is very close to Lat. *superstes* and Sans. *uparistha*, and then to forms of the historical languages. Therefore, it is hardly imaginable that such a term belongs to a phase very close to the separation between the Indo-European and Semitic families. On the other hand, since it finds confirmation in two languages considered to belong to lateral areas, it must have originated in a remote stage of the common Indo-European language.

From the noun *\*Suparsthas* we can derive those of the main historical Iranian and related populations, who probably were originally settled on the mountain chain north of Mesopotamia: *Subari* (Subarus), *Hurri* (Hurrians), *Parthi* (Parthians), *Qarti* (Kurds; also *Καρδοβόχοι* in Greek), *Hatti* (Hattians, Protoanatolians), *Parsi* (or *Persi*, Persians), *Arsi* (endonym of the Indo-European population who lived in Xinjiang and has been identified with Tocharians), *Ari* (Armenians, Iranians, Indians), *Asi* (inhabitants of Asia).

By analysing the geographical distribution of ethnonyms and toponyms we can assume that the term *\*Suparsthas* has initially evolved through abbreviation in the form *\*Suparas* (> *\*Subarus* > *\*Hubaras*), adopted by northern populations, and in the form *\*Parsthas* (> *\*Parthas* > *\*Qartas* > *\*Hattas* to the west and *\*Parsas* > *\*Arsas* > *\*Asas* to the east), spread in southern regions. It is probable that caucasoid morphology populations already inhabited the mountain areas north of Mesopotamia before the flood and spoke a slightly different language from that spoken by the populations who lived in the plain between the rivers. It is also probable that peoples escaping from the flood pressed the mountain populations towards northern territories, where they interbred with peoples speaking an even more different language. Therefore, it is consequent to assume that the opposition between the terms *\*Suparas* and *\*Parsthas* reflected the linguistic difference between the original population of the mountain area and the newcomers, two peoples who even should originally speak closely related languages.

The area where *\*Suparsthas* were originally gathered and from which they moved into Anatolia, Caucasus, and Iranian highlands was indicated with the ablative (motion from place) form *\*Suparsthat*, from which probably come the nouns *Subartu*, *Uratu*, and *Ararat* (< *\*Urarat* < *\*Uparat* < *\*Suparat* < *\*Suparsthat*). It is in fact probable that when the land between Tigris and Euphrates rivers began to be flooded, the inhabitants, trapped between the two rivers, have been pushed to their sources. From this area, fearing that the water level could rise again, they have reached the highest peak, namely the *Ararat* mount. This mountain, higher than the others, became the symbol of the surrounding mountainous area where the survivors the flood had taken refuge.

It is credible that *\*Suparsthas* have remained in *\*Suparsthat* for a very long time, for two main reasons: the tradition maintained alive the recall of the past flood devastation and the fear of new ones; the area should be exceptionally rich in fauna, since even the animals had been driven to the mountains by the overflowing of rivers and the progressive water raising. When later the region become gradually poorer, *\*Suparsthas* began to move, but remaining on the mountains. Only much later they went back to Mesopotamia and they ventured in the grasslands of southern Russia.

Among the aforementioned ethnonyms, deriving from the term *\*Suparsthas*, those of two important Iranian peoples are missing: *Scythians* and *Medes*. The noun *Scythians* derives in fact from a term coined later, probably after the survivors left the mountains and began to occupy the grasslands of southern Russia, once covered by glaciers. The name of *Medes* instead began to assert after the social and religious evolution of the people who had escaped the flood.

## SWAG<sup>W</sup>AUTAS

*Scythians* are remembered as a people of horsemen who wandered the steppes of southern Russia and burst into Asia Minor fighting and subjecting the populations it got in contact: a nation of warriors and horse breeders. From Eastern Europe to India they were called by names apparently different, such as *Skythai* (Σκυθῆται; Herodotus: IV, 6) by Greeks, *Askenaz* by Jews (Genesis: 10, 3; Jeremiah: 51, 27), *Ashkuzai* by Assyrians (Szemerényi 1980: 7), *Saka* by Persians (Herodotus: VII, 64) and Indians (Mitchiner 1986: 68).

According to Herodotus, *Scythians* called themselves *Scolotoi* (Σκολιότοί; Herodotus: IV, 6). Szemerényi (Szemerényi 1980: 22), reconstructing the phonetic changes occurred in the name of this people in the transition from the Persian to the Assyrian and to the Greek, come to the conclusion that the original form would be *\*Scuda*, changed in a more recent time into *\*Scula*, from which then the greekised name *Scolotoi*.

However, comparing the various names by which Scythians and related were called, we can imagine that the original name was *\*Sagatas*, with a possible apocopated form (or pure root) of the singular nominative *\*Sagas* (cfr. Gr. *τέρας-τέπατος*, Lat. *cives-civitis*). The name *\*Sagas-Sagatas*, probably had the alternative form *\*Sagus-Sagutas* (as we derive below), and later evolved into *\*Sakatas*, *\*Sakytas*, and *\*Sagetas*. The latter form would have been framed in Greek into the *a* declination, resulting in the name *\*Σαγέται*, namely *\*Sagetae*. The form *\*Sakytas* would have instead contracted into *\*Skytas* and then changed into *\*Skythas*, translated with Gr. *Σκυθῆται*, and would have been used to indicate the western *\*Sagatas*. Finally, the form *\*Sakatas*, apocopated into *\*Sakas* (gr. *Σάκαι*), would have been employed by Persians and Indians to indicate the eastern *\*Sagatas*.

Herodotus noted that Cyrus II died fighting against Massagetae (Gr. *Μασσαγέται*), an Iranic people having costumes similar to those of Scythians (Herodotus: 1, 201-216). Remembering that in Sanskrit *maha* means *great* (cf. Gr. *μέγας*, Lat. *magis*, *mag-nus*, *ma'-ior*, and *mag-simus*), we can imagine that by the term *\*Mahasagatas* o *\*Magsagatas* (Big Sagetae) members of a Sagetae tribe were indicated at the time of Herodotus, who were bigger than the others in some quality or characteristic.

The names *\*Sagatas*, *\*Sakatas*, and *\*Sakytas* seem to be connected to the Indo-European root *\*sag/\*sak*, to which the meaning of joining, attaching, and, figuratively, attacking or assaulting is usually attributed. This root can be put in relationship with the activity of both breeders and warriors, as we see below. However, the true meaning and etymology of the root *\*sag/\*sak* can be obtained by analysing just the activity of the people from which the *Scythians* originated.

A predominant element in the Bronze Age figurative art of *Proto-Scythian* populations are oxen, progressively accompanied by sheep and horses around the age of historical *Scythians* (Rolle 1989: 101). Therefore, it can be assumed that originally *\*Sagatas* were nomads committed to cattle breeding.

Comparing the terms *sagina* and *gauna* which indicate the crop in Latin and Sanskrit, respectively, we can assume that the Proto-Iranian, who first dealt with the breeding of cattle, called *\*swag<sup>w</sup>auna* the herbaceous plants used to feed their animals. Such a term results as a composite of *\*swa* (essence, substance, good, with a meaning equivalent to that of the Gr. *οὐσία*) and *\*g<sup>w</sup>auna* (bovine, from *\*g<sup>w</sup>aus*, cow, cf. Sans *gaus*, Lat. *bos-bovis*, Gr. *βοῦς-βοῦς*), namely substance, food for cows. People feeding cows with *\*swag<sup>w</sup>auna* were called *\*Swag<sup>w</sup>autas*, name which in a subsequent time evolved into *\*Sagatas* and *\*Sagutas*, and then, through phonetic change of the vowel and framing into the *a* declination, was translated into Gr. *-σαγέται*.

The cattle breeders *joined* and regrouped the animals and safeguarded them within corrals originally surrounded by fences composite of canes or poles which were in turn *joined* together. The root *\*sag/\*sak* of *\*Sagatas/\*Sakatas* and the root *\*sgau/\*skai* of the contracted form *\*Sgatas/\*Skatas* were then associated also to the action of *joining* and attaching and to that of safeguarding and defending. Hence Lat. *sacer* and *sacellum*, Gr. *σηκός* (*sēkós*, Gr. Dor. *σακός*) and Sans. *saketa* originated. These are terms which indicate indeed an area originally surrounded by a fence of canes

or poles attached to each other. Moreover, we can find the root *\*sag* in Lat. *sagitta*, which refers to a cane used to attach the enemy in a figurative sense, namely to attack. We find instead the root *\*skat* with vowel variation in Lat. *scutus* (schild), in Gr. *σκότος* (*skytos*: leather, skin, protection, wicker shield covered with leather, in Ger. *Schutz* (protection), and in Eng. *shut*, words which indicate shelter and protection.

Referring to the domestication of wild oxen (*uri* or *aurochsen*), the term *\*swag<sup>w</sup>autas* can also be interpreted as "people making cows their own", attributing to *swa* the meaning of Lat. *suus*. Under such an interpretation, *\*swag<sup>w</sup>autas* and *\*swag<sup>w</sup>auna* would have been derived from *\*swag<sup>w</sup>aus*, own cow, bred cow, or herd of cows. These derivations in *-ta* and *-na* are common in the Indo-European languages. To these we can add the derivation in *-la*, *\*swag<sup>w</sup>aula*, and the derivations of derivations *\*swag<sup>w</sup>autala*, *\*swag<sup>w</sup>aulata*, *\*swag<sup>w</sup>aulana*, and similar, which have been employed to indicate the cow breeder people and its activity. From the term *\*swag<sup>w</sup>aulata*, through contraction and common vowel changes, the name *Scolotoi* derives, which was reported by Herodotus.

Another probable etymology, based on the cattle breeding, could be that which considers the name *\*Sagatas* as derived from *\*g<sup>w</sup>ausg<sup>w</sup>aus*. The repetition of roots or words is a characteristic phenomenon of the Proto-Indo-European languages (Martinet 1987: 92). As a consequence of it, words under metathesis form often occur in the derived languages. For example, the repetition *\*ulfulf* results in Ger. and Engl. *wolf* (Goth. *wulfis*) and Old Pers. *varka* on one side, and in Lat. *lupus* and Gr. *λύκος* on the other. In case of *\*g<sup>w</sup>ausg<sup>w</sup>aus*, the repetition of the term *\*g<sup>w</sup>aus* may also indicate plurality, transferring the meaning from "cow" to "herd of cows". Under such an etymology, the cow breeder would have been indicated by the terms *\*g<sup>w</sup>ausg<sup>w</sup>autas* > *\*gasgatas* > *\*asgatas* > *\*sagatas*. The name *\*asgatas* finds confirmation in Ass. *Askuzai* and in Hebr. *Askenaz* (more precisely from *\*g<sup>w</sup>ausg<sup>w</sup>auna*), even if, for some authors (Szemerényi 1980: 7), such names, in which the metathesis *sak* > *ask* occurs, would result from an uncorrect transcription in the semitic alphabets (devoid of vowels). We can find a trace of the term *\*g<sup>w</sup>ausg<sup>w</sup>aus* in the name of *Caucasus*, an isthmus crossed in both direction several times by peoples descending from the ancestors of *Scythians*, as we will see. It is also probable that *\*Swag<sup>w</sup>autas* and *\*G<sup>w</sup>ausg<sup>w</sup>autas* were distinct alternative forms both used to indicate the cow breeder people.

An additional probable etymology, based on the breeding of cattle, can be the one that identifies *\*Sagatas* with the *Thatagus* (Sattagydiens) who are mentioned in the inscription of Darius the Great at Mount Behistan (Darius: col. I, row 6). At the time of Darius (VI sec. BC) the *Thatagus* were a population of Persia settled in proximity of the Indus valley. Herodotus mentions them, with the greek name *Sattagydoi* (Σατταγυδοί), together with Gandarians, Dadians, and Aparytai, as the constituents of the seventh satrapy of the Persian Empire (Herodotus: III, 91). The name means "hundred cows" (cf. Sans. *sata* and *gaus*) and probably indicated a tribe of breeders having particularly copious herds. According to this etymology, the original name *\*Sattagytas* would have contracted into *\*Sagytas* and the into *\*Sgytas*. However, at the time of Herodotus we find attested all three forms: Σατταγυδοί (Herodotus: III, 91), (Μασ)σαγυται (Herodotus: I, 201), and Σαθθαι (Herodotus: IV, 6). The original people of *\*Sattagytas*, breeders of copious herds, probably wandering through the grasslands North and East of the Caspian Sea, would then be divided into different branches, one of which would have kept the original name, while the others would have assumed the contracted forms.

We can then imagine that *\*Parsthas* migrated from the southern part of *\*Suparsthai* into the Iranian highlands and later moved to lower altitude lands and ventured into the plains situated to the north. They then found in this territory great herds of wild oxen. In the course of time they learned to domesticate these animals and to breed them making their own herds of cows (*\*swag<sup>w</sup>aus*, *\*g<sup>w</sup>ausg<sup>w</sup>aus*, or *\*satag<sup>w</sup>aus*). The "cows breeders" (*\*Swag<sup>w</sup>autas*, *\*G<sup>w</sup>ausg<sup>w</sup>autas* or *\*Satag<sup>w</sup>autas*) thus became a nomadic population which wandered in the grasslands between the Northern Iran and Southern Russia.

Successively, in the southern part of the original territory, the name of the "cows breeders" population become *\*Sagatas* and *\*Saguas*. A part of the population concentrated in a more limited

area, which was named *\*Sagatàn*, (country of *\*Sagatas*). From this term and the intermediate forms *\*Sagatàn*, *\*Sagiana*, we can obtain the historical forms *Suguda* (Darius: col. 1, row 6), *Sughdha* (*Vendidad*: 1), *Sogdia* (Σόγδία; Ptolemaeus: VI, 12, 2), *Sogdiana* (Σογδιανή; Strabo: XI, 8). The rest of the population continued to move in the northern grasslands, covering greater distances. In this way, it disposed of wider pastures and was able to feed large herds. These *\*Sagatas* was called *\*Magsagatas* (<*\*Magaswag<sup>w</sup>autas*). “breeder of large cow herds”, namely *Massagetae*. Herodotus places *Massagetae* beyond the river Araxes, that is East and North of the Caspian Sea, bordering on *Issedones* (Ἰσσηδόνων; Herodotus: I, 201).

The original area, where the first communities of breeders of *\*swag<sup>w</sup>aus*, *\*g<sup>w</sup>ausg<sup>w</sup>aus*, or *\*satag<sup>w</sup>aus* were created and from which later their descendants emigrated to the most extreme regions of Asia and Europe, was probably indicated by the ablative form *\*Swag<sup>w</sup>auat*, *\*G<sup>w</sup>ausg<sup>w</sup>auat*, or *\*Satag<sup>w</sup>auat*. From this name, through the intermediate forms (common for all three hypothetical etymologies) *\*Sagauat* and *\*Asgauat*, probably the name of the city of *Ashgabat* originates, which was successively reinterpreted as *Ashakhabad*, city of love. This city is located in the current Turkmenistan, near the border with Iran, namely in that territory that for the Medes-Persians was the beginning of the *\*Sakauat*. Similarly, from the alternate name *\*Swag<sup>w</sup>auamas* we obtain *\*Swag<sup>w</sup>auaat* > *\*Saganat* > *\*Asganat* > Hebr. *Askenaz*.

In the following we use the term *\*Swag<sup>w</sup>autas* to indicate the original cow breeder population and its descendants in general. Such a population was probably called by different equivalent names just since its origin. As we said, in addition to the term *\*Swag<sup>w</sup>autas* the other derivative forms *\*Swag<sup>w</sup>auanas* and *\*Swag<sup>w</sup>aulas* or the shorter ones *\*G<sup>w</sup>autas*, *\*G<sup>w</sup>auanas*, and *\*G<sup>w</sup>aulas* were employed. From these, other names were obtained, such as *\*(Swa)g<sup>w</sup>auanas* and *\*(Swa)g<sup>w</sup>aulatas*, and others derived from these latter, such as *\*G<sup>w</sup>aulatàn* (country of *\*G<sup>w</sup>aulatas*) and *\*G<sup>w</sup>aulatanas* (inhabitants of the country of *\*G<sup>w</sup>aulatas*).

At the beginning of the migrations, in the names of the tribes the labiovelar *g<sup>w</sup>* occurred, which later resulted in labial *v e b* (mainly in the North) and in velar *g e k*. In the migration flows and backflows the names changed undergoing transformations and phonetic changes which are characteristic of Indo-European languages, such as vowel change (*Sagata/ohyti*), contraction (*G<sup>w</sup>aulatas* > *G<sup>w</sup>aultas*), apheresis (*Sjeti* > *Feti*), transformation of voiced consonants into voiceless (*Sjoti* > *Skoti*), doubling of consonants (*Skoti* > *Skotti*), transformation of velars into labials (*Kyltas* > *Pyltas*), which is characteristic of Celtic languages, consonant shift (*Kelt*>*Hel*) such as in German languages. In the course of the time the original meaning of the names became less evident and the need was felt to place beside them an adjective (again derived from *\*g<sup>w</sup>autas*, *\*g<sup>w</sup>auanas*, and *\*g<sup>w</sup>aulas*, or simply from *\*g<sup>w</sup>autas*), that specified the characteristic of cow breeders. Sometimes these adjectives were joined to the name, even when it kept clear its meaning, to denote *\*Swag<sup>w</sup>auanas* who had kept costumes or linguistic or physical characteristics more similar to the original ones, and to distinguish these peoples from those who, mingling with neighbouring peoples, had assumed different features. This is the case of *\*g<sup>w</sup>aulas* *\*G<sup>w</sup>auanas* (> *\*G<sup>w</sup>aulg<sup>w</sup>auanas* > *\*Volghuni* > *Volsini*) distinct from *\*thyras* *\*G<sup>w</sup>auanas* (> *\*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>auanas* > *\*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>huni* > *Tyrini*). In the case of *\*G<sup>w</sup>aulg<sup>w</sup>auanas* and *\*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>auanas* we can also observe how the meaning of the term *\*g<sup>w</sup>auana* evolved from “bovine”, “cow breeder”, “group of cows” to “group of cow breeders”, “camp”, “village”, resulting into *G<sup>w</sup>aulg<sup>w</sup>auanic* (Proto-celtic) *bona* (cf. *Ratisbona*, *Vindobona*, *Bona*) and into *Thyrg<sup>w</sup>auanic* (Etruscan) *zna*, translated into Lat. *senalsina* (cf. *Bolsena*, *Cesena*, *Felsina*, *Sarsina*). Finally, the names of *\*Swag<sup>w</sup>autas* descendants mixed and fused with those of other peoples, as for example, in the case of *\*G<sup>w</sup>auanas*-*\*Hubaras*, whence the name of *Cumbri*, *Cimbri*, and *Umbri*, and in the case of *\*G<sup>w</sup>aulas*-*\*Hubaras*, whence the name of *Chalybi* and *Calabri*.

As we observed, *\*Swag<sup>w</sup>autas* were originally cow breeders. However, in the course of the time, they began to pay their care even to another animal, the horse, perhaps less generous in milk (*\*g<sup>w</sup>aulata* > gr. γάλα-γάλακτος) production, but more agile and interactive with the man. The wild horse was then domesticated and used as an aid in cattle breeding. The other peoples knew him as

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"the beast of the cows breeders". The Proto-Iranian term \*ak<sup>W</sup>as, (cf. Sans. *asvas*, Aves. *aspa*, Lat. *equus*, Celt. *epos*, Gr. ἵππος), is in fact closely related to \*(sw)ag<sup>W</sup>aus.

Also the wolf (wild dog) was domesticated and employed in cattle breeding. The verse of the wolf, "ulf-arj", gave rise, through onomatopoeia, to the name by which the animal was indicated (cf. Goth. *wulfs*, Lat. *vulpes-lupus*, Gr. λύκος, Old Pers. *varka*, Sans. *vṛka*), the color of the coat (white and bright in the Siberian wolf) to the name of the color white (cf. Old Pers. *varka*, wolf, with Gr. ἀργός, Sans. *arjuna*, Lat. *albus*, white) and of the light (cf. Gr. λύκος with Gr. λευκός, white, and with Gr. λυκῆ, Lat. *lux-lucis*, light). But when the wolf was domesticated and used to guide the cow herds, it was called \*g<sup>W</sup>aua (bovine), whence Sans. *svan*, Gr. κύνων-κυνός, Celt. *cú*, Lat. *canis*, dog. However, the concept of leading a herd or a community was indicated by the terms derived from the root \*vrk (cf. Lat. *regere*, to lead, and Lat. *rex-regis*, Sans. *raja*, king). By chance, in Ger. Koenig and Engl. king (< ku/in rig < \*g<sup>W</sup>aua *raja*) both roots are probably fused, since, as we observed, the term \*g<sup>W</sup>aua, in the course of time, got the meaning of "group of men", tribe).

The similarity between the names of cow, horse and dog can lead to the assumption that originally the term \*g<sup>W</sup>aus indicate livestock and animals in general, and were connected with the verb \*ga (go, cf. Sans. *gam*, Ger. *gehen*, Lat. *vado*, Gr. βαίνω) in a way similar to Gr. πρόβατον ("going forward", "moving", animal, livestock, from Gr. προβαίνω). The term \*Swagauta could then be interpreted as a breeder not necessarily of cows. A connection could also be hypothesised between the term \*Sagata and the verb \*ga and its derivative \*aga (let go, lead, move), through a more archaic \*Swaagata, to which the meaning "moving himself" (i. e. nomad) could be attributed.

However, several elements concerning costumes, religion, interactions with other peoples, as we will see in the following, lead to believe more probable the derivation of the term \*Sagatas from the cow breeding.

## RELIGION

The survivors the deluge were certainly grateful and devoted to the deity that had welcomed them in the mountainous territory. Such a deity was associated with the features of the site, which was located up, was dry and abounded in fauna. The name by which it was probably indicated, \*Supria, was derived from that of \*Suparsthas, as usual for eponymous deities, and from the characteristic of being up (\*supar). The deity \*Supria, who saved \*Suparsthas from the flood by accomodating them in a high and dry site, was soon identified with the sun, which warms and dries, standing up in the sky. The association with the abundance and the prosperity of the territory was probably felt more deeply by \*Suparas, while the identification with the sun had a more considerably relevance for \*Parsthas. From deity \*Supria the name of the sun in the main languages of the descendant of \*Parsthas can be derived (cf. sans. *surya*, lat. *sol-solis*, gr. ἥλιος).

We find a trace of the name of deity \*Supria in the ancient Italic people of *Umbrians*, whose principal deity was in fact the goddess *Supra* or *Cupra* (as reported in Iguvine Tablets, Plestia lamina, and Fossato lamina) According to Pliny the Elder, *Umbrians* were the most ancient people of Italy and had been named *Ombri* by Greeks (cf. Gr. ὄμβρος, Lat. *imber* or *yMBER*, rain), since they survived the great flood (Plinius: III, 112). Actually, as we will see in the next section, the *Umbrians* (Lat. *Umbri* < \*G<sup>W</sup>umbras) were probably a crossbreed of peoples descending from \*Swag<sup>W</sup>autas (\*G<sup>W</sup>anamaras > \*G<sup>W</sup>unmaras > \*G<sup>W</sup>umras) and from \*Suparas (\*Hubaras > \*Hubras), having inherited from the latter the veneration of a goddess of fertility and abundance which was later identified by the Romans with the Bona Dea or Bona Mater (Varro: V, 159).

In the *Hurrians* (*Hurri* < \*Hubras < \*Hubaras), people who lived in the territory north of Mesopotamia and was the result, through subsequents migrations, of a fusion of elements from \*Parsthas, \*Suparas, and \*Swagautas, we find both the association of the deity with fertility and richness of the land and the identification with the sun. We find in fact a trace of deity \*Supria in the name of goddess *Hepa* or *Hebat* (< \*Hupa < \*Supr: cf. Gr. ἥλιος < Sans. *surya*), venerated as

the mother goddess and identified with the Hittite goddess of the sun *Arinna* (Bach 1998: p. 171). In the Hurrian pantheon, consort of *Hepa* was *Teshup*, god of the sky, in which we find again the association with a high place.

In the descendants of *\*Parsthas*, we find the cult of the sun in the religion of the Iranian peoples. Diodorus Siculus reports (Diodorus: II, 43, 6) that when *Scythians* occupied Media, they deported the population in the region of the Tanais river (Don), in Scythia. Here *Medes* (Old Persian *Mādā*, Hebr. *Madai* [Genesis: 10, 2] greekised into *Madei* [Μαδαῖοι; Josephus 94: I, 6, 1], Gr. *Μῆδοι* [Herodotus: VII, 62, 1]) were called *Sauromatians* (Gr. *Σαυρομάται*, Lat. *Sauromatae* > Lat. *Sarmatae*, Sarmatians). The terms *matae*, *mādā*, *mazda*, *magi* are equivalent forms derived from the root *\*mat/\*mad* that, in the Indo-European languages, indicates wisdom and knowledge of the things and of the way to solve problems and to venerate gods. We find for example this root in Gr. *μαθηάω* (I learn, I become wise), Gr. *μᾶντις* (foreteller), Lat. *modus* (mode, measure, order), Lat. *mediare* (to cure), Sans. *mata* (religion). The suffix *sauro* refers instead to the sun (cfr. Sans. *sauros*, solar). The name *Sauromatians* means therefore “priests” or “devotees” “of the sun”.

This leads us to think that already in the *\*Parsthas* the sun was worshiped, and his priests were simply called *\*matas* (priests). When later *\*Parsthas* migrated to Iran, the term was used to indicate the communities ruled by a priestly caste, in order to distinguish them from those where the leaders only held an administrative function. In this way, the tribes of the *\*Matas*, the *Medes*, whose leaders were invested with a divine power, were denoted and distinguished from those of other *\*Parsas*. Therefore, the tribes of *\*Matas* had probably power over all *\*Parsas* already at the time of the first settlements in Iran.

According to Herodotus (Herodotus: VII, 62, 1) *Medes* were originally called *Ἄριοι* (*Arii* < *\*Arias* < *\*Ar'as* < *\*Arsas*) and changed their name after the sorceress *Medea* came to live with them. Therefore, *Medes* would have been *\*Parsas/\*Arsas/\*Arias* and would have asserted themselves as *\*Matas* after learning the magic arts from *Medea*. The myth mentioned by Herodotus thus try to explain and confirms the rise of a class of magicians-priests in the Persian tribes.

It is likely that the territory controlled by *\*Matas* was called *\*Matān* (country of *\*Matas*) and the invaders coming from it were distinguished by Akkadians as *\*Matannu*, gone down in history as *Mitanni*. From the terms *\*Matan* and *\*Matannu* comes probably also the names of later *Matiani* and *Mannae*.

When *\*Parsas* began to settle in the grasslands of southern Russia and the first communities of *\*Swagautas* were created, the cult of the sun lost relevance compared to that of new deities connected to the activities of cow breeders. To these new deities, the characteristics of abundance and richness of the original deity *\*Supria* were transferred. For this reason, when *Medes* were deported into Scythia, they were called *Sauromatians*, to highlight that they were priests or devotees of the sun, a god different from that revered by the people of the country. Herodotus (who visited Scythia 150 years after the *Medes* deportation) locates *Sauromatians* north of the territories occupied by Scythian tribes (Herodotus: IV, 117).

In historical age, Persians were devotees of *Ahura Mazda* [26] (Darius: col. 5, row 75) and followers of his priest or prophet *Zoroaster* or *Zarathustra*. Such a cult was probably the result of subsequent reforms of the worship of Sun God. It is likely, in fact, that originally the venerated deity was the sun (Old Pers. *svaryas*, Aves. *hvare* < *\*svare*) and was invoked under the name *\*Saurastaras* or *\*Svarastaras* (cf. Sans. *saura*, solar and Ved. Sans. *staras*, star) from which the names *Zoroastro* and *Zarathustra* derived. Beside, its priests, who served it taking care of the cult, were indicated by the name *\*Sauramatas* o *\*Hauramazdas*. It is possible that, after the tribes ruled by the priestly caste took the power, *\*Parsas* were forced to worship the *\*Hauramazdas* as gods, leaving in the background the god *\*Svarastaras*, which was transformed into their servant or priest. When later *\*Parsas* rebelled against *\*Matas*, they reformed the religion again, becoming conscious that the *\*Hauramazdas* were impostors who had seized the power and the veneration that actually belonged to a deity immaterial, *ahura* (cfr. sans. *asura*), and wise, *mazda*. No longer a multiplicity

of priests-leaders was to be worshiped, but only one god: *Ahura Mazda*, whose prophet was *Zoroaster*.

In this way, the ancient Persians became devoted to *Ahura Mazda*. They did not abandon the religion that the ancestors had handed down, but reinterpreted it. The cult of the Sun, whose power the *\*Matas* claimed they were invested, was considered foreign and attributed to the impious people who did not worship *Ahura Mazda* and did not enjoy his favor.

This forced projection of the cult of the Sun on the peoples neighbouring to the Persians, is probably the cause of the belief reported by Herodotus (Herodotus: I, 216) that *Massagetae* adored only the sun, although *\*Swagautas*, at least at the stage when they separated from other *\*Parsas* and formed their own individuality of cow breeders, were probably devoted, as we have said, to other deities. In fact, the animals domesticated and bred by *\*Swagautas*, the cow, the horse and the dog, were not just a resource to be exploited for the sustenance, but probably assumed a totemic role in the cow breeder tribes.

Herodotus himself, writing about the origin of the Scythians (Herodotus: IV, 5) and therefore of their progenitor people, refers to a legend according to which they would derive from the union of Zeus with the daughter of Borysthenes (Dnpr) river. From this union a man named Targitaoz (probably derived from *\*sthaurg<sup>v</sup>autas*, "breeder of bulls, strong cows") was born, who had three children: *Colaxais*, *Arpoxais*, and *Lipoxais*. The name *Colaxais* is clearly derived from *\*g<sup>v</sup>aulas*, in turn derived from *\*g<sup>v</sup>aus*, cow. *Arpoxais* comes instead from *\*arpos*, an intermediate term between the Iranian *aspas* and the Proto-Indo-European *\*markos*, horse. Finally, *Lipoxais* can be related to Lat. *lupus*, Gr. *λύκος*, Sans. *vṛka*, Old Pers. *varka*, wolf. Therefore, the three brothers represent in the legend tribes having as totemic animals the cow, the horse and the wolf (or dog). From *Colaxais*, according to legend, the race of the kings, the *Paralatae* (perhaps from *\*uparg<sup>v</sup>aulatas* or *\*paramg<sup>v</sup>aulatas*, "higher" or "supreme" "breeders of cows"), would be born. Among the totemic animals, the higher degree was then attributed to the cow.

Of the totemic and eponymous role of the three animals in *Scythians*, we find evidence in the names of *Callippidae* (*Καλλιπίδοι*; Herodotus: IV, 17) and *Argippaei* (*Ἀργιππαιοί*; Herodotus: IV, 23), probably Greek reinterpretations of *\*Gaulaspas* and *\*Varkaspas*, respectively. This names should indicate the union of *\*Swag<sup>v</sup>autas \*g<sup>v</sup>aulatas* (having the cow as a totem) and *\*varkanas* (wolf-dog totem), respectively, with *\*Swag<sup>v</sup>autas \*aspanas* (horse totem). From *\*Swag<sup>v</sup>autas \*varkanas*, also the name of *Hyrcanians* and *Albanians*, who lived on the Caspian Sea coast, probably comes.

It is widely believed that Lat. *pecunia* (exchange asset, money) comes from *pecus* (sheep, livestock). In a similar way, Lat. *bonus* (good, asset) can be derived from *bos* (ox, cow). Therefore, the Italic peoples, to which a descendance from *\*Swag<sup>v</sup>autas* can be attributed as we see in the next section, considered the cows as the good par excellence. To Latin adjective *bonus*, Gr. *ἀγαθός* (*agathós*, good) corresponds, which can be assumed as derived from a more archaic form *\*sagathós* by analogy with Gr. Dor. *σακίτη* (contained in the fence). Hence, even for Greeks the cow herd (*\*swag<sup>v</sup>aus* or *\*g<sup>v</sup>ausg<sup>v</sup>aus*) guarded in the fence represented the "good thing" par excellence. In German and English terms that indicate bovines, respectively *cow* and *kuh*, the original labiovelar results in velar consonant. From these two terms the words *gut* and *good*, even with velar consonant, could be respectively derived by analogy with the Gr. *ἀγαθός*. It then seems that in Indo-European languages the tendency to regard the cattle as the supreme good is diffuse. We can therefore conclude that this tendency was typical of *\*Swag<sup>v</sup>autas*, since, as we shall see, they were the progenitors not only of *Scythians* but also of the main European nations and many Asian ones. However, for *\*Swag<sup>v</sup>autas*, as well as for their descendants, the cows were considered not only a material good but also deities. It is in fact known that in India cows are sacred. With a similar sentiment Italics derived the concept of sacred (Lat. *sacer*) from the cow fence. Moreover, Ger. *Gott* (God) and Eng. *God* can be respectively related to *gut* and *good*, and in turn to *kuh* and *cow*. Therefore it is reasonable to think that even *\*Swag<sup>v</sup>autas* venerated cows.

*\*Swag<sup>v</sup>autas* and *Scythians* were then devoted to cows, namely *\*g<sup>v</sup>aumatas*. This is the reason for which, when the *Medes* were deported among *Scythians*, they were distinguished from these latter

as *Sauromatians*, while in Persia and among devotees of the Sun God they were simply indicated as *\*Matas*.

In the history of the Iranian peoples we find an attestation of the term *\*g<sup>w</sup>aumatas* in the name of a usurper, indeed called *Gaumata*. In the Behistun inscription (Darius: col. 1, row 10), Darius reports that a Magian or a priest named *Gaumata*, after the death of Cambyses, pretended to be the his brother, *Bardiya*, and seized the throne. Justin attributes (Justinus: I, 9, 7) the killing of *Mergis* (*Bardiya*) to *Cometen*, namely *Gaumata*. Herodotus refers (Herodotus: III, 61-79) instead that *Smerdis* (*Mergis*) was killed by *Pressaspe* by order of *Cambyses* himself and later two Magian brothers, one of whom named *Smerdis*, took possession of the kingdom.

The story seems to be confusedly arrived to the historians. It is likely that in their reports the common names have become proper names. It is evident that *Bardiya* and its derivatives (*Bhardiya* > *Swardiya* > *Smerdis* > *Mergis*) mean "brother" (cf. sans. bhratr) and *Gaumata* "priest of the cows". *Gaumata* was probably a *Scythian-Massageta* and his attempt to seize the power in Persia shows how *Scythians*, still in the time of Darius, represented a threat to the Persian Empire. Herodotus, in fact, reports (Herodotus: III, 88) that Darius, immediately after depositing *Gaumata* and having ascended the throne, wanted to undertake an expedition against *Massagetae* to avenge the death of Cyrus (father of Cambyses and *Smerdis*), fallen in a previous war against that people.

The cult of bovine deities is also attested in *Hatti*. In the wall drawings of Çatal Hüyük deities are depicted with bull shapes or having bull horns (Lehmann 1977: 150). The cult of such deities has been handed down to *\*Subaras*, *\*Hubaras*, *Hurrians*, *\*Tarhunus*, and *Hittites*, peoples who, as we shall see, populated Anatolia and neighbouring territories in later periods. The aforementioned *Hurrian* God of sky and storm *Teshup* and the *Hittite* analog *Tarhun* are depicted with a headgear adorned with bull horns and riding a bull or a chariot drawn by bulls. The veneration of bovine deities in lateral areas, such as Anatolia populated by *Hatti* and grasslands between Russia and Iran occupied by *\*Swag<sup>w</sup>autas*, leads one to think that this cult was originally shared by all *\*Parsthas*. However, in the Anatolian peoples the bovine revered was an indomitable animal to be placated with the cult, while in the people of cow breeders it was a domesticated animal, which was thanked and ingratiated for sustenance.

According to Lehmann (Lehmann 1977: 259) the bull and its horns for Anatolian, Syrian, and Mesopotamian peoples, as well as the snake and the dragon for the Eastern peoples, would represent meteors. They were then worshiped to avert the fall of meteorites. The Urrian-Hittite god of the sky and the storm, who rides the bull and adorns himself with its horns, represents the control of this phenomenon. Such an interpretation then leads us to support the hypothesis that the flood of Mesopotamia was caused by the impact of asteroids against the earth, changing the inclination of its axis and inducing the melting of glaciers. This phenomenon, perhaps repeated in a minor form through successive falls of meteorites, would have been remembered for a long time by the descendants of *\*Suparsthas* and would have been averted by practising the cult of the bull.

## EARLY MIGRATIONS IN ASIA

The first migrations of *\*Suparsthas* (Fig. 1) occurred in the prehistoric age. We can try to reconstruct them by analysing the toponyms, the ethnonyms and the linguistic heritage attested in the cultures of successive eras. The first movements were probably very slow. Men had in fact to move on foot through a mountainous territory. Only when *\*Suparas* and *\*Parsthas* reached the plains and began to exploit animals for towing, the movements became more rapid.

### *\*Suparas and \*Parsthas*

Initially *\*Suparas*, pressed by *\*Parsthas*, moved to the North and slowly reached, crossing *Caucasus*, the region North of Black Sea and a territory which took from them the name of

\**Suparia* or \**Sybaria*, namely the Siberia. Simultaneously \**Parsthas*, rapidly grew in number thanks to the fauna abundance, moved to Anatolia (the \**Hattas*) and to the Iranian highlands (the \**Parsas*). In their migrations they assimilated the inhabitants of the crossed territories, gradually varying customs and language. The language then differed, however maintaining a geographical continuity in variations. From the Iranian Highlands \**Parsas*/\**Arsas*/\**Aras* moved to Russia, China, and Mesopotamia. The territory from which they departed was probably called by the name \**Arat*, whose we can find a trace in the Sumerian mythology (*Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta*) in the name of the city of *Aratta*, located somewhere in the mounts of Persia.

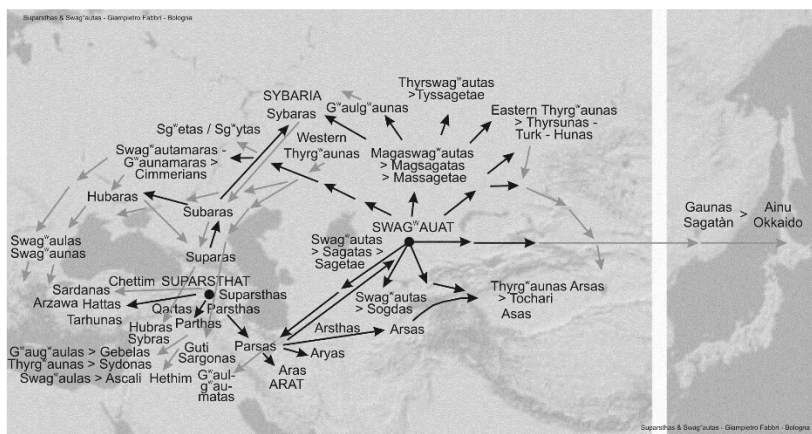


Figure 1 – Migrations in Asia.

When \**Parsas* reached the grasslands of southern Russia, and began to practice the cow breeding, they took advantage of its products and grew in number and strength. Again they exerted pressure on \**Suparas* who were at the time settled in the Siberian grasslands and had changed their own name to \**Subaras*. As a consequence, a part of these latter was forced to flow back to its original territory, and also to move beyond this and settle in the plain region which took from \**Subaras* the name \**Sybria*, namely the *Syria*. Of the remainder, a branch probably stayed bordering on \**Swagautas*, one went to the North-East, and another joined the \**Suparas* who settled North of Black Sea in the past and those who were brought into this region from *Caucasus* as a result of reflux of \**Subaras* themselves from \**Sybaria*. In the Semitic languages of the nomads coming from the Arabian desert the name *Syria* probably became synonym with sea, coast, cliff, hence the Arab. *sur*, cliff.

From Syria \**Suparas* or \**Huparas* reached the island that took from them the name \**Supras* or \**Hupras*, namely *Cyprus* (Gr. *Κύπρος*). From the island \**Suparas* exported in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia copper (Sum. *zubar*) to alloy with tin in bronze (Sum. *kubar*). Copper was already known and utilized in the Stone Age, as demonstrate the archaeological finds from the *Hattian* city Çatal Hüyük. From Black Sea \**Subaras*, then known as \**Hubaras*, namely *Iberians*, slowly moved towards the center of Europe following the course of Danube river.

The backflow of \**Subaras* from \**Sybaria* to \**Suparsthat* interrupted the linguistic continuity between \**Hattas* and \**Parsas* and probably gave rise to the process that caused the separation of the Anatolian branch of Indo-European languages (Villar 2011: 349). The backflow began in prehistoric age, and overlapped with the first migration of \**Swag^w autas* through Caucasus to Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. The inflow of \**Swagautas* in \**Suparsthat* brought in the region linguistic

elements which were more closely related to the language of the \*Parsas and are considered characteristic of the language that we identify as Proto-Indo-European or Common Indo-European. Such elements, fused with those of the \*Parsas language of *Hatti* (<\*Hattas), originated the peculiarities of the Anatolian languages, which appear as early separated from other Indo-European dialects.

Of the term \*Subaras we find an attestation in historical age in the names Sum. *Subar* (Hertzfeld 1968: 56) and Akk. *Subari* (as in Amarna Letter 100, 108 and 109), referred to a territory identified also with Akk. *Subartum* (< \*Subarsthān), namely the \*Suparsthat. Even today we find in that area a trace of the term in the name of the Kurdish tribe of *Zibaris* (Izady 1993: 30). Moreover, the land of *Subarium* (Toumanoff 1963: 586) was also known by Assyrians as *Shubria* and *Shupria* (< \*Suparas). Of the terms \*Hubaras and \*Huparas, derived from \*Subaras and \*Suparas, we find evidence in historical age in Akk. names *Habiru* and *Hapiri* (also *Khabiru*, Egypt. *Apiri*) by which nomadic populations located between Syria and Mesopotamia were indicated in the second millennium BC. It is a widespread opinion that the terms *Subari* and *Habiru* derive from the Semitic root *avri/evri/ivri* which means "overcome", "pass beyond" and then "cross", "wander", "to be nomad." It is evident that this root, in the original meaning indeed, is connected to the Indo-European adverb \*supar. With a similar meaning but a negative connotation we find in Greek the word ὑπερ, "overcome the limit", "arrogance", clearly derived from the adverb ὑπερ (<\*supar). Therefore, it is likely that the root *avri/evri/ivri* was introduced in Semitic languages just after the advent of \*Subaras in Syria and Mesopotamia. We will see in the second part of this study that even the biblical terms Hebrew. *Eber* and *Abraham* can be attributed to the same origin.

\*Subaras and \*Hubaras, backflowed from Siberia and Black Sea to \*Suparsthat and Syria, were later known by Akkadian as *Huru* (< \*Hubras < \*Hubaras < \*Subaras). The territory from which they made incursions in Mesopotamia was probably called \*Hubarat, term of which we find traces not only in \*Suparsthat/Subartu/Urartu but probably also in the name of the city of Ugarit. Territories bordering with \*S/Hubaras, were probably called \*(s)am-s/hubras, from which the name of the semitic populations who started settling in these lands around the beginning of the second millennium BC: *Assur* (< \*assuras < \*amsubras < \*ansubaras; Assyrians) and *Amurru* (< \*amhurras < \*amhubras < \*amhubaras; Amorrites).

#### \*Swag<sup>W</sup>autas

The development of communities of nomadic breeders of cow herds between Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan began in the prehistoric age. It is presumable that the controlled displacement of cow herds has been possible only after the domestication of the wolf (dog) and the horse. The latter was domesticated in this area around the end of the fifth millennium BC. However, at the beginning of the second millennium BC the size of the selected samples were still relatively small. We need only remember that *Kassites*, \*Swag<sup>W</sup>autas who burst into Mesopotamia in this period, did not ride horses, still too small to bear the weight of armed warriors, but used them to pull the war chariots (Toynbee 1977: 104). It is then logical to think that between the end of the fifth and the beginning of IV millennium BC horses were only used as beasts of burden and trawl, and only around the middle of the fourth millennium BC they were able to bear the weight of light herdsmen. Therefore, it is likely that the first displacements of cow herds for considerable distances date back to this period and the first great migrations of cow breeders have taken place in the second half of the fourth millennium BC.

Already at the beginning of the fourth millennium BC, \*Swag<sup>W</sup>autas probably began to infiltrate into the territories of \*Subaras. Initially there was a peaceful coexistence between formers, breeders of small cow herds, and latters, who probably were partly sedentary and dedicated to agriculture and partly nomadic breeders of small animals. But when \*Swag<sup>W</sup>autas began to use the horse to lead increasingly large herds that burst into increasingly large pastures they needed, \*Subaras were forced to move, penetrating into Siberia, going to central Europe and flowing back to their original

territories through Caucasus. A part of them was assimilated by \*Swag<sup>w</sup>autas, particularly in border regions.

#### *Ainu*

Due to the increase in the human and bovine concentration in \*Swag<sup>w</sup>auat, the cow breeders moved towards increasingly remote areas. To the east, \*Swag<sup>w</sup>autas traversed long distances venturing towards Mongolia and China. Some of them crossed the mountain regions and burst into China's grasslands, propagating the Iranian Caucasoid morphology (dolichocephaly, straight nose with high root, sloping forehead without discontinuity with the top of the skull, sloping shoulders, curved hand flexor line, abundant body hair) up to the coasts of the Pacific Ocean. We find a probable evidence of \*G<sup>w</sup>auanas \*Swag<sup>w</sup>auin (breeders of the country of \*Swag<sup>w</sup>autas) in *Ainu* of *Okkaido* Islands (in northern Japan), in whose language 450 correspondences with Indo-European words have been recognized (Villar 2011: 646). The name *Wo*, by which Japan itself was indicated in the ancient Chinese chronicles, can be connected with the root \*g<sup>w</sup>au.

#### *Euphratics*

To the south, \*Swag<sup>w</sup>autas probably reached Mesopotamia through Caucasus or Iranian highland already in the fourth millennium BC, before the development of the Sumerian culture. Whittaker (Whittaker 2008), analyzing the Sumerian ideograms of third millennium BC, observes that many of them do not schematize the image of the Sumerian word represented, but rather that of a homophonic Protoindo-European one. Therefore he suggests that the Sumerian writing system was at least partly inherited from an Indo-European population, which he defines *Euphratics*. Such a population would have lived in Mesopotamia before the Sumerians or come into contact with them in the fourth millennium BC. Moreover, among Sumerian ideograms we can find a schematized cow head (Uhlig 1979: 72; Whittaker 2008: 160), which corresponds to the Sumerian word *gud*, ox, closely related to the terms \*g<sup>w</sup>au-s and \*g<sup>w</sup>autas. We can then suppose that *Euphratics* were simply *Parsas/Arsas/Aras* coming from the *Arat*. However, it is more probable that they were \*Swag<sup>w</sup>autas who imported the cow breeding in Mesopotamia and made it known to the Sumerians. In the Sumerian and Babylonian mythology about *Gilgamesh*, some memories of \*Swag<sup>w</sup>autas seem in fact to be condensed. *Gilgamesh*, also called *Gishgamesh*, *Gishgimash*, *Gishginumash*, *Gishbilgamesh*, *Gishgibilgamesh*. (Jastrow and Clay 1920: 26; Uhlig 1979: 145; Schärf Kluger 1991: 10; Lehmann 1977: 256) was son of *Lugalbanda* (interpreted as Sum. Lu-gal Banda, "man-big", namely "king" Banda) and king of *Uruk* (Arab. *Warka*, Hebr. *Frech*), city fighting against *Kish*. Moreover *Gilgamesh* fought against and won the bull sent by the God of the Sky *An* on request of his daughter Goddess *Inanna*. It is then probable that the mythology recalls in a confuse way the names of peoples who domesticated the cows: \*G<sup>w</sup>aug<sup>w</sup>aulbandhas (who bind the cow herds) and \*G<sup>w</sup>aulg<sup>w</sup>aumatas (who know how to domesticate the cow herds), and the rivalry between \*Swag<sup>w</sup>autas \*varkanas and \*g<sup>w</sup>aulanas: *Uruk* (< \*vruk < \*vurk < \*vulf) versus *Kish* (< \*g<sup>w</sup>aus, cf. Old. Pers. *gush*, cow), \*Vruk<sup>w</sup>aulbandhas versus \*G<sup>w</sup>aulg<sup>w</sup>aumatas. Of the terms *gishbil* (< \*g<sup>w</sup>ausg<sup>w</sup>aul), *gibil* (< \*g<sup>w</sup>aug<sup>w</sup>aul) and *gishgin* (< \*g<sup>w</sup>ausg<sup>w</sup>auin) inserted in the name of the hero, we can find several examples in ancient Middle East, such as in the name of the city of *Byblos* (Arab. *Jubayl*, Phoen. *Gebeil* < \*g<sup>w</sup>aug<sup>w</sup>aul) and probably of *Babylon* (Arab. *Bābil*, Akk. *Bābili*).

#### *Swag<sup>w</sup>auanas and Swag<sup>w</sup>aulas (Ascani and Ascali)*

To the West, *Swag<sup>w</sup>autas* infiltrated into \**Hubaras*/\**Subaras* around the Black Sea and during the third millennium BC settled in the area between the Adriatic coast and the Caucasus. In this area,

they were also known by the names \*Swag<sup>w</sup>aunas (or \*G<sup>w</sup>ausg<sup>w</sup>aunas) and \*Swag<sup>w</sup>aulas (or \*G<sup>w</sup>ausg<sup>w</sup>aulas), and by the shorter forms \*G<sup>w</sup>aunas and \*G<sup>w</sup>aulas. From \*Swag<sup>w</sup>aunas and \*Swag<sup>w</sup>aulas, the names of *Sicani* (Gr. Σικανοί) and *Ascani* (Gr. Ασκανίος and Ασκανίης) (Homer, *Ilias*, II, 862 and 863), and those of *Sicels* (Lat. *Siculi*) and \**Ascali* (> Lat. *Asculum* and *Ascalonia*) respectively derive. These peoples advanced from the Balkan-Danube area to the central and southern Europe and flowed back to the east in Anatolia and Syria by land and sea during the second millennium BC.

#### \*G<sup>w</sup>umbras and \*G<sup>w</sup>alubras (*Cimmerians and Chalybes*)

Around the Black Sea, \*Swag<sup>w</sup>aunas and \*Swag<sup>w</sup>aulas crossbred with \**Hubaras*, and later also with scarcely pigmented sinanthropoid morphology populations, originating peoples whose descendants are known as *Cimmerians* (Gr. Κιμμέριοι; Herodotus: I, 15) and *Chalybes* (Gr. Χάλυβες; Herodotus: I, 28). *Cimmerians* were a population living north of the Black Sea. Pressed by other \*Swag<sup>w</sup>autas tribes, *Cimmerians* moved to Caucasus, Thrace and Central Europe through repeated migration waves, interacting with the populations of these regions. From Caucasus and Thrace, they passed in Asia Minor. *Chalybes* were a population living in Anatolia on the southern coast of the Black Sea in historical age. It is possible that they crossbred in that place or that they too reached Asia Minor from Caucasus and Thrace.

It is possible that the name of *Cimmerians*, as well as that of *Cimbri*, *Cumbri*, *Humbri*, and *Umbri* (see next section), is derived from \*G<sup>w</sup>umbaras or \*G<sup>w</sup>umbras (< \*G<sup>w</sup>unbaras < \*G<sup>w</sup>aunbaras < \*G<sup>w</sup>aunas \**Hubaras*), a mix of the names of \*Swag<sup>w</sup>autas and \**Hubaras*. Consonant *b* would be changed into *m* through assimilation. In this case, it would be confirmed the assertion of Strabo that the name of *Cimmerians* is derived from that of *Cimbri* (Strabo: VII, 2, 2), or better from their ancestor \*G<sup>w</sup>umbras.

However, it is also possible that the name \*G<sup>w</sup>umbras originated only during the migration of *Iberians* (\**Hubaras*) and *Cimmerians* towards central Europe, from a mix of the names of this peoples. In fact, the name of *Cimmerians* could directly derive from \*Swag<sup>w</sup>autamaras (> \**Sacystmer*) or \*G<sup>w</sup>aunamaras, terms to which the meaning of "partly \*Swag<sup>w</sup>autas" (cf. Gr. μέρος) or "sea \*Swag<sup>w</sup>autas" (cf. Lat. *mare*, Celt. *mór*, Ger. *Meer*) can be attributed, or from \*G<sup>w</sup>aunmaras, with the meaning of "cow fodder", or even from \*G<sup>w</sup>aunmaryas, "Aryas breeder of cow". Of the term \*g<sup>w</sup>aunmar we can find a correspondence in the Bible (*Genesis*: 10, 2), where *Gomer* (< \*G<sup>w</sup>aumar) is mentioned as son of *Yafet* (< \*Sag<sup>w</sup>at < \*Swag<sup>w</sup>auta) and father of *Askenaz* (< \*Swag<sup>w</sup>aunat or \*G<sup>w</sup>ausg<sup>w</sup>aunat). The term \*G<sup>w</sup>aunmaryas can be instead likened to Gr. Κιμμέριοι. In Assyrian chronicles of the seventh century BC *Cimmerians* are mentioned with the name *Gimurri* and indicated, together with the *Scythians*, with the term *Ugutunki*, clearly connected to Old Pers. *Suguda* and \**Sagatas*. The name \*G<sup>w</sup>umbras could then be derived from the mix of the contracted forms \*G<sup>w</sup>umras (< \*G<sup>w</sup>aumaras < \*G<sup>w</sup>aunamaras) and \**Hubras*. (< \**Hubaras*).

The name of \**Chalybes* seems to be derived from the term \*G<sup>w</sup>alubras, a mix of the names \*G<sup>w</sup>aulas and \**Hubaras* (> \*G<sup>w</sup>alubaras > \*G<sup>w</sup>alubras > \**Ghalubas*).

#### *Thyrswag<sup>w</sup>autas (Thyssagetae and Tyrangetae)*

Among *Scythian* populations Herodotus mentions *Thyssagetae* (Gr. Θυσσαγέται; Herodotus: IV, 22), on the border with *Iurcae* (Ίούρκαι, maybe Turks or Uighurs), north and far east of *Sauromatians* and *Budini*, that is North-Northeast of *Massagetae*. By analysing toponyms and ethnonyms of neighboring areas, it is possible to assume that the greek name of this people derives from the endonym \**Thyrsgatas*, in turn derived from \**Thyrswag<sup>w</sup>autas*, whose suffix \**thyr* could have an attribute function as in case of then name of \**Magsagatas (Massagetae)*, or else it could indicate a people fused with or absorbed by \*Swag<sup>w</sup>autas during their expansion.

Since at the time of Herodotus *Thyssagetae* were located on the edge between the area originally occupied by \*Swag<sup>W</sup>autas and the territories of nations having probably different languages and origins, the name \*Thyrswag<sup>W</sup>autas may have been originally attributed to those tribes that, in the migration towards East-Northeast, stopped beside the mountain passes or on the borders of the territories controlled by \*Swag<sup>W</sup>autas. In this case the term could be derived from \*Duvrswag<sup>W</sup>autas (cf. Old Pers. *duvara*, Gr. *θύρα*, Ger. *Tür*, Lat. *foris*, door), namely \*Swag<sup>W</sup>autas beside the passes, at the doors or on the borders. The name of \*Thyrswag<sup>W</sup>autas may also be related with Old Pers. *ihūra* (strong, cf. Avest. *sūra*, Lat. *fortis*), and could therefore indicate a particular strength of the breeders or of the cattle (strong cows or bulls, cf. *Targitaos*).

According to these attribute based etymologies, the name of \*Thyrswag<sup>W</sup>autas may also have originated the shortened form \*Thyras, of which we have several evidences in the populations neighbouring \*Swag<sup>W</sup>autas. In the Persian literature, Central Asia or the area around Caspian Sea is indicated by the term *Tūran* (< \*Thyrān, country of \*Thyras). In the Avesta, \*Thyras are indicated by the name *Tūrya* (*Uštavaitī Gāihā*: Yasna XLVI, 12) and with the adjective *tūranām* (*Kordah Avesta*: Farvardīn Yašt IX, 38); they are enemies of *Aryas*, probably *Gaumatians* opposed to *Sauromatians*. From \*Thyras migrated to the West the name of *Tyras* River (Dniestr) and that of *Tyregetae* (Gr. *Τυρηγέται*; Strabo: VII, 3, 17) or *Tyrangitae* (Gr. *Τυραγγίται*; Ptolemaeus; III, 5, 25) probably come.

However, it is also possible that \*Thyras were initially a population distinct from \*Swag<sup>W</sup>autas, who would have partly forced it to migrate and partly absorbed, originating the hybrid people of \*Thyrswag<sup>W</sup>autas. In this case, \*Thyras could be identified with \*Syras (< \*Sybras) or \*Subaras, which would be pressed by \*Swag<sup>W</sup>autas to the margins of the territory occupied by them, towards Caucasus, Siberia and even to China. Of the phonetic change from *s* to *t* (common in Greek and Armenian), we find several evidences in the \*Subaras territory. We find, for example, *s* changed to *t* in the name of *Tibarenians* (Gr. *Τιβάρηνοι*; Strabo: XII, 3, 28; < \*Subarānas < \*Subarān, inhabitants of the country of \*Subaras), an Anatolian people located on the Black Sea coast and considered the founder of the metallurgy together with the already mentioned neighbouring *Chalybes*. Also in the names of the city of *Tyre* (Akk. *Surru*, Hebr. *Tsor*, Gr. *Τύρος*), we find an alternation of sibilant and dental consonants.

#### *Thyr<sup>W</sup>auanas, Thyrg<sup>W</sup>auas (Tyrsini, Turks, and Huns)*

Both \*Thyras were descendant of \*Suparas or a particular tribe of \*Swag<sup>W</sup>autas, probably they spoke a language just different from that of these peoples. \*Suparas, in fact, had crossbred in Siberia with sinanthropoid peoples, as well as \*Swag<sup>W</sup>autas had done on the border with Siberia and China. \*Thyrswag<sup>W</sup>autas were probably indicated also by the names \*Thyr<sup>W</sup>auanas and \*Thyr<sup>W</sup>auas, from which the forms \*Thyrghunus, \*Thyr<sup>W</sup>auas, \*Thyr<sup>W</sup>unus, \*Thyr<sup>W</sup>uk-, *Huna*, and \*Sunas can be derived, that lead to the names of *Tyrsini*, *Huns*, and *Turks*. Therefore, it is likely that the language of \*Thyras was Proto-Altaiic.

*Huns*, as well as *Turks*, were a people speaking an altaiic language. They were probably generated by a mix of \*Swag<sup>W</sup>autas and sinanthropoid peoples. Known in India under the name *Suni* (De Lorenzo 1981: 374) or *Huna* (cf. Aves. *Hunu* and Gr. *Χόνοιοι*; Ptolemaeus: III, 5; < \*Suna < \*G<sup>W</sup>auanas), they were for Iranic peoples a nation bordering on China. From \*Suna, the exonym of China (cf. Lat. *Sina* o *Sinae*) could then be derived.

*Tyrsini* or *Tyrseii* (*Τυρσηνοί*; Herodotus; I, 94) were a people involved in the great migration of the XII and XIII century BC, probably listed as *Tereš* o *Turša* among the Sea Peoples. Herodotus (ibidem) identifies *Tyrsini* with Lydians and considers them colonizers of the land of *Umbrians*. This Italic region from them was called *Tyrsinia*, namely the Etruria. In fact, from \*Thyr<sup>W</sup>auana and \*Thyr<sup>W</sup>auania (> *Tyrsinia*), as we will better see in the second part of this study, the latinised names *Tarquinus* and *Tarquinia*, through Etr. *Tarchnas* (Keller 1971: 197), can be derived. However,

Italic *Tyrsini*, although relatives of the Anatolian ones, were not mostly colonists of Lydians nor prevalently reached Italy by sea.

It is probable that \*Swag<sup>w</sup>autas in their expansion have separated the mixed people of \*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>auas into two branches. A western branch would have been pressed by \*Swag<sup>w</sup>autas towards Caucasus and Anatolia during the last back flows of \*Subaras in the last centuries of the third millennium BC. In the same period, a north-eastern branch would have instead been pressed to Mongolia and China and later, during the great migration of the XII-XIII century BC, it would have flowed back to the west because of the pressure of Mongolian and Chinese peoples. It is probable that the language of the western branch was still an intermediate form between the language of \*Subaras and \*Swag<sup>w</sup>autas and the Altaic one developed by the north-eastern branch.

The relationship between the names *Tyrsini* and *Tarchnas*, attests the phonetic change from *Thyr* to *Tar* that we find in different geographical names and ethnonyms of the area between Eastern Turkestan and western China. Among them, we can mention the name of the river *Tarim* and the city of *Tarjan* (< \*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>an > \*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>auan; also *Tarpan* from \*Thyrkauan) located in the basin of the same river in the current Chinese province of Xinjiang. Moreover, in the same area, the name of *Fergana* valley (cf. Gr. *θῆρα* <> Lat. *foris*) in current Uzbekistan and Kirghisia can be derived from \*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>aua, while the name of *Kirghisia* (< *Gyrgysia*) itself can be obtained through consonant assimilation from \*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>aus. Finally, the name of *Kazakhs*, of the cities of *Kyzil* (in Kirghisia and in Siberia), and of the cities of *Kashgar* and *Kusha* (or *Kucha*) in Xinjiang can be put in relationship with \*g<sup>w</sup>aus. These names attest to the presence of peoples of cows breeders having an Indo-European origin in the mountainous regions between the grasslands of Massagetae and the Chinese ones.

#### \*G<sup>w</sup>aulg<sup>w</sup>auas, Tartars, and Mongols

It is probable that on the border between \*Swag<sup>w</sup>autas and \*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>auas the terms \*G<sup>w</sup>aulg<sup>w</sup>auas or \*G<sup>w</sup>aulg<sup>w</sup>auas diffused to distinguish the formers, who maintained the original language and customs of the cow breeder people, from the latter. It is possible that also the terms \*G<sup>w</sup>ausg<sup>w</sup>auas and \*G<sup>w</sup>ausg<sup>w</sup>autas were created to the same aim in the same period from the original shorter names \*G<sup>w</sup>auas and \*G<sup>w</sup>autas.

When \*G<sup>w</sup>aulg<sup>w</sup>auas tribes opened a gap separating western from northeastern \*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>auas, they penetrated in southern Russia and settled in the area around the *Volga* River (< \*Waulga < \*G<sup>w</sup>aulg<sup>w</sup>aua), which took name from them. Hence, as a consequence of the great migration of XIII and XII century BC, they were pressed to central and peripheral Europe, where they diffused their name, as we will see, leaving evidences in Celtic, Italic, and relative ethnonyms and toponyms such as, for example, *Volcae. Volsci, Vulci* (< \*G<sup>w</sup>aulg<sup>w</sup>auas) and *Volsini. Felsina* (< Etr. *Velzna* < *G<sup>w</sup>aulg<sup>w</sup>aua*). From \*G<sup>w</sup>aulg<sup>w</sup>auas the names of deities (*Fufluns* < \*Fulfuns), saints and ecclesiastics (*San Galgano*), epic heroes (*Gualgvanus-Gwalchmei-Walwein-Gauvain-Gawain*), characters from the "commedia dell'arte" (*Balanzone*) were derived. Moreover, as we will see, from \*G<sup>w</sup>aulg<sup>w</sup>auas Lat. *vulgus* and Ger. *Volk* comes, while Old. Eng. *theod* and Goth. *thiuda* my be derived from \*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>auas.

It is possible that, similarly to the repetition of the root \*g<sup>w</sup>au in the names \*G<sup>w</sup>aulg<sup>w</sup>auas and \*G<sup>w</sup>aulg<sup>w</sup>auas, the repetition of the root \*thyr were employed to indicate \*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>auas by the name \*Thyrthyras. From such a term, through the attested phonetic change from *thyr* to *tar*, the name of *Tartars* could derive. *Tartars* or *Tatars* were a nomadic tribe confederation speaking an Altaic language and living north of Mongolia in fifth century AD. Related to *Tartars* were *Mongols* (< \*Ma/eng<sup>w</sup>aulas, cow breeders on mountains), whose name, in Chinese *Meng-ku*, (< \*Mengush, mount cow) seems to be connected to the forms \*g<sup>w</sup>aulas and \*g<sup>w</sup>aus.

*Tarhunas, Arzawa, and Sardanas*

Towards the end of the third millennium BC, western \*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>aunas, riding their small horses and leading herds of domesticated cows, arrived in Anatolia and Subartu. Here \*Subaras and \*Hattas, who worshiped the bull to avert its fury, probably considered \*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>aunas as deities who had reduced the savage animal under their control. The eponymous God of the last incomers, the \*Tarhunas (< \*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>hunas < \*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>aunas), was then depicted as riding a bull or a chariot drawn by bulls, to represent the subjugation of the animal. The God Tarhun was also called Taru by \*Hattas, and later Hittites, due to their tendency to let a dental follow a nasal consonant, changed its name also to Tarhuni, Tarhuniwanti, and Tarhunta. Due to the devastating effect of their herds launched against the enemy and to the consideration in which they were taken, \*Tarhunas easily penetrate into \*Subaras and \*Hattas and integrated with them.

Of the arrival of the mixed people of \*Tarhunas in Anatolia we have archaeological evidences. In particular, the found skulls dating back to 2000 BC are more brachycephalic than those of the previous period (Lehmann 1977: 77). This demonstrate the infiltration of sinanthropoid elements in the Anatolian population.

When later \*Swag<sup>w</sup>autas reached Anatolia, \*Tarhunas were pressed to the western and southern coast. We can find traces of them in several geographical names, such as the name of the Taurus Mountains and that of the city of Tarsus. (< \*Targhus < \*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>aus). Other similar Anatolian toponymous and ethnonymous are probably derived from the eastern \*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>aunas, the \*Tyrnsini, who penetrated into Asia Minor towards the end of the second millennium BC.

In the language of the Italic \*Tyrnsini, the Etruscans, as we will see in the second part of this study, the name \*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>auna becomes *Razna* through the intermediate form \*(T)arznas and \*Rznas, from which also the name of the Alpine *Raeti* probably comes. Similarly the name \*G<sup>w</sup>aulg<sup>w</sup>auna becomes *Velzna*. In particular the labiovelar *g<sup>w</sup>* of *g<sup>w</sup>auna* is changed to aspirated dental *z*. Therefore, we can assume that from \*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>aus the name *Arzawa* comes. *Arzawa* were a people who inhabited eastern Anatolia during the second millennium BC. They were related to Luwians, who were settled in southern Anatolia and probably resulted from a mix of \*Tarhunas and \*Swag<sup>w</sup>autas.

Once attested the phonetic change from labiovelar to aspirated dental, we can assume that *g<sup>w</sup>* also changed to not aspirated dental *d*. In this way, from \*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>auna (> \*Tardaunas) we can derive the name \*Sardanas, namely the *Shardana*. *Shardana* or *Sherden* were a people mentioned among the Sea Peoples who fought against the Egyptians at the end of the second millennium BC (Kitchen 1982: 40-41). Since in the same way we can derive the name of the city of *Sardis* (Gr. Σάρδεις) from \*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>aus (> \*Tardaus > \*Sardais), we can suppose that *Shardana* were originally settled in western Anatolia during the second millennium BC.

Since the resultance of the labiovelar in dental is attested in Etruscan and is different from that in the name of \*Tarhunas, we can suppose that \*Arzawa and \*Sardanas belonged to an intermediate branch who reached Anatolia through Thrace after the arrival of \*Tarhunas and before the great migration of eastern \*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>aunas. However, \*Tarhunas, \*Arzawa, and \*Sardanas were probably used by the Anatolian peoples as alternative names to indicate \*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>aunas.

*\*Sargonas*

According to (Uhlir 1979: 10) Semitic-speaking peoples reached Mesopotamia before Sumerians at the beginning of the fourth millennium BC. However they gained the upper hand only in the second half of the third millennium BC, led by King *Sargon*, founder of the city of *Akkad* (Sum. *Agade*, Gr. Ἀχάδ or Ἀγάδ). Since in the same period Anatolia and Subartu were invaded by \*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>aunas, it is logical to think that *Sargon* (< \*Sargona < \*Targauna < \*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>auna) was actually the eponymous leader of a tribe of \*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>aunas that penetrated and was integrated in the Semitic Mesopotamian population. Even if *Sargon* and his people, the \*Sargonas, did not speak a Semitic language, to

administer the kingdom they used Semitic officials and scribes and the language that we know as *Akkadian*, as later Medes and Persians employed Aramaic (or better they used Aramaic written words as ideograms). \**Sargonas* were probably also called \**Sargatas* from \**Thyrg<sup>w</sup>autas*, whence also the name *Akkad* (< \**Sarkhad* < \**Thyrg<sup>w</sup>aut* > Gr. *Ἀρχάδ*) comes, which later was reinterpreted by Sumerian as *Aga-de* (fire crown) and as dedicated to Goddess *Inanna*.

### *Guti*

At the end of the third millennium BC, *Akkadians* were attacked by nomads coming from the mountains north of Mesopotamia, through the territory inhabited by \**Qartas*, probably the ancestor of *Kurds*. *Akkadians* distinguished them as *Guti* or *Gutei* (Toynbee 1977: 102), a name probably derived from Sum. *gud*, ox, or from \**G<sup>w</sup>autas*, cow breeder. It is in fact possible that some tribes of \**Swag<sup>w</sup>autas*, descended through Caucasus on the \**Qartas* territory, clashed, interacted and joined with them against the *Akkadians* to penetrate into the plains of Mesopotamia. *Guti* were first beaten and arrested, but towards 2150 BC they succeeded in conquering Mesopotamia, which they ruled with 21 kings. Defeated by Utu-hengal (or Utu-hegal, or Utukhegal), the Sumerian king founder of the fifth dynasty of Uruk, they partly were integrated in the population of Mesopotamia and partly retreated into the northern mountains where they merged with the neighbouring \**Matas*. *Guti* were probably a part of the migration wave of \**Swag<sup>w</sup>autas* (\**G<sup>w</sup>aulg<sup>w</sup>auanas* and related) that pressed western \**Thyrg<sup>w</sup>auanas* in Anatolia, Subartu, and Mesopotamia. In Mesopotamia they probably merged with \**Sargonas*, since the king considered as the last Gutian was called *Tirigan* (= *Sargon* < \**Thyrg<sup>w</sup>aut*). Such a name had perhaps become synonym of king, as *Tabarna* for Hittites or *Caesar* for Romans, or even simply indicated a man from the \**Sargona* tribe.

### *Canaanites, Gīlites, Jebusites, Hethaeans, Hittites*

It is probable that \**Thyrg<sup>w</sup>auanas* pressed and followed by \**G<sup>w</sup>aulg<sup>w</sup>auanas* ventured as far as the border with Egypt, settling in Syria along the coast and on the mountains. In fact, by comparing Ebr. *Cana'an*, term indicating southern Syria, with the corresponding Gr. *Φοινίκη*, it can be assumed that these two forms derives from \**G<sup>w</sup>auanas*. Such an assumption is based on the fact that the labiovelar *g<sup>w</sup>* is an intermediate form between the Greek labial and the Hebrew velar. Moreover, in the ethnonyms and toponyms having a \**Swag<sup>w</sup>autas* origin, we can find several examples where the labiovelar *g<sup>w</sup>* results in voiceless aspirated labial *f* (cf. \**G<sup>w</sup>aulg<sup>w</sup>auana* > Etr. *Velzna* > Lat. *Felsina*, \**G<sup>w</sup>aulerum* > lat. *Falerii*) and in voiceless velar *k* (cf. \**G<sup>w</sup>autanas* > Lat. *Caudini*, *Cotini*), also aspired (cf. *Thyrg<sup>w</sup>auanas* > Etr. *Tarchnas*), as in the transcription in Greek alphabet *Χαναάν* of Ebr. *Cana'an*.

It is therefore reasonable to assume that \**Swag<sup>w</sup>autas* tribes, indicated by the shorter name \**G<sup>w</sup>auanas* (common for \**Thyrg<sup>w</sup>auanas* and \**G<sup>w</sup>aulg<sup>w</sup>auanas*) penetrated the Syrian territory from them called \**G<sup>w</sup>auanān*, that in Hebrew became *Kn'an* or *Cana'an*. The inhabitants of the land of *Cana'an* were then called *Canaanaeans* or *Canaanites*. In Greek, \**G<sup>w</sup>auana* became \**φοῖνις* and the region was indicated with the characteristic attributive form *φοινική*. The term \**φοῖνις* was later associated to the red color of purple, which *Phoenicians/Canaanites* traded, and to the blood, from which the adjective *φοινός* (blood red). It is likely that the term Gr. *αἷμα-ατος* (blood) has the same origin and constitutes a characteristic double of the Greek language (Villar 2011: 556). We will see in the second part of this study that the term \**G<sup>w</sup>auana* also gives a different result in Greek.

Among the cities located along the Syrian coast, it is probable that *Tyre* (Phoen. *Sūr*, Akk. *Surru*, Hebr. *Tsor*, Gr. *Τύρος*), *Sidon* (Arab. *Šāidā*, Phoen. *Šdn*; Eyp. *Ḍdn*, Gr. *Σιδών*), and *Arvad* (Phoen. *Arwad*, Gr. *Ἀραδος*) were founded by \**Thyrg<sup>w</sup>auanas*/\**Sardanas*/\*(*S*)*arg<sup>w</sup>atas*, while Byblos (Phoen. *Gebeil*, Arab. *Jubayl*) by \**G<sup>w</sup>aulg<sup>w</sup>aulas* (= \**G<sup>w</sup>aulg<sup>w</sup>auanas*) who reached Syria later. The name of *Tyre* was reinterpreted as derived from the Semitic word *sūr/sor* (rock), even if the city was actually rebuilt by King Hiram on two joined rocks only around 1000 BC (Herm 1974: 68).

Also the name of the city of *Tripoli* (Arab. *Ṭarābulus*), in the tradition founded in a tripartite form by *Tyrians*, *Sidonians*, and *Arvadians*, but on a preexisting settlement, could have a *\*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>auanas* (*\*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>aulas* > *\*Ṭarboulos* > *Ṭarābulus*) origin. Though founded by *\*G<sup>w</sup>aulg<sup>w</sup>auanas* who arrived in Syria some time after *\*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>auanas*, the city of *Byblos* had the upper hand over the others until the arrival of the Sea Peoples, which contributed to a more intensive development of the *\*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>auanas* cities.

According to Heron (Herm 1974: 53) the people of these cities originally practiced cabotage, because they did not have ships capable of long voyages offshore until the arrival of the Sea Peoples. It is logical to think that through cabotage *\*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>auanas* on Syrian coast were maintained in contact with those on southern and western Anatolia coasts. The Prophet Ezekiel (Ezekiel: 27, 12) remembers the commercial exchanges between *Tyre* and *Tarsis* (< *\*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>aus* > *Sardis* for *\*Sardanas*, the western Anatolian *\*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>auanas*; see the second part of this study).

The city of *Ashkelon*, on the southern Syria (Palestine) coast, was first mentioned at the beginning of the second millennium BC in the Egyptian Execration Texts of the 11<sup>th</sup> dynasty as *Asqanu* (Pritchard 1969: 254) and later in the Amarna letters (287, 320-2, 370) as *Asqalana*. It was probably founded by a branch of the already mentioned people of *Ascani* (< *\*G<sup>w</sup>ausg<sup>w</sup>auanas*) and *\*Ascali* (< *\*G<sup>w</sup>ausg<sup>w</sup>aulas*), who reached the region as a part of the *\*G<sup>w</sup>aulg<sup>w</sup>auanas* migration wave coming from a place that was called *\*Ascanai*, whence Ebr. *Ashkenaz*. It is logical to think that the people of *Ashkelon*, following the *\*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>auanas* cabotage routes, came into contact with the *Ascani* and *\*Ascali* settled on the northern Aegean coast and maintained cultural and commercial relations with them.

Among the tribes that inhabited the land of *Canaan* before the arrival of Abraham, the Bible mentions *Hethaeans* (Gr. *Ἰεθαιοί*). From these Abraham bought the land to bury his wife Sarah in Hebron (*Genesis*: 23, 3-20). Esau, the grandson of Abraham, married *Hethaeans* women (*Genesis*: 26, 34). The messengers sent by Moses to explore the land of *Canaan* reported that *Hethaeans*, *Jebusites*, and *Amorites* lived in the mountains and *Canaanites* on the sea coast and the banks of the Jordan river (*Numbers*: 13, 26-27). The territory occupied by the *Hethaeans* tribes was then located in the mountains where afterwards arose the kingdoms of Judah and Israel (Lehmann 1977: 13). The term *Heth-aeans* (Gr. *Ἰεθ-αἰοί*, descendants of *Heth*, the son of *Canaan*; *Genesis*, 10, 15) was put in relation to the name *Kheta*, by which in the Amarna letters the Anatolian people we now call *Hittites* is indicated. It is probable that *Heth* and *Kheta* come from *G<sup>w</sup>autas*. Among the *Canaan's* sons, beside *Jebus-aeus* (Gr. *Ἰεβουσαῖος*, also *Jebus* and *Gebus* < *\*G<sup>w</sup>aug<sup>w</sup>aus*) also *Gerges-aeus* (Gr. *Γεργεςαῖος*, also *Gerges*, *Gergash*, and *Girgash* < *\*G<sup>w</sup>aulg<sup>w</sup>aus*) is mentioned in the Bible (*Genesis*, 10, 16). *Jebusites* lived in the city of *Jebus* (identified with Jerusalem) before it was conquered by King David, while *Girgashites* lived in the city of *Gerges* (or *Gergasa*) est of the Sea of Galilee.

Who can then assume that, as well as *Guti* and *Giblites* (people of Byblos), *Jebusites*, *Girgashites*, *Hetaeans*, and the first *Hittites* were a part of the migration wave of *\*G<sup>w</sup>aulg<sup>w</sup>auanas*/*\*G<sup>w</sup>aulg<sup>w</sup>autas* who pressed and followed western *\*Thyrg<sup>w</sup>auanas* in Anatolia, Syria and Mesopotamia at the end of the third millennium BC. During the following centuries, these tribes having a *\*Swag<sup>w</sup>autas* origin assimilated the language of the Semitic peoples who came in successive waves from the Arabian desert and mingled with them.

## EARLY MIGRATIONS IN EUROPA

Pressed by *\*Swag<sup>w</sup>autas*, *\*Hubaras* moved from the Black Sea through the Danube plane to central Europe, where probably settled already in the fourth millennium BC (Fig. 2). Hence they ventured to the peripheral regions, to which later they were forced by the progressive arrival of new incomers. They probably settled for a long time in Central Europe and current France, and later moved also to and Spain, Ireland, Britain, and Italy.

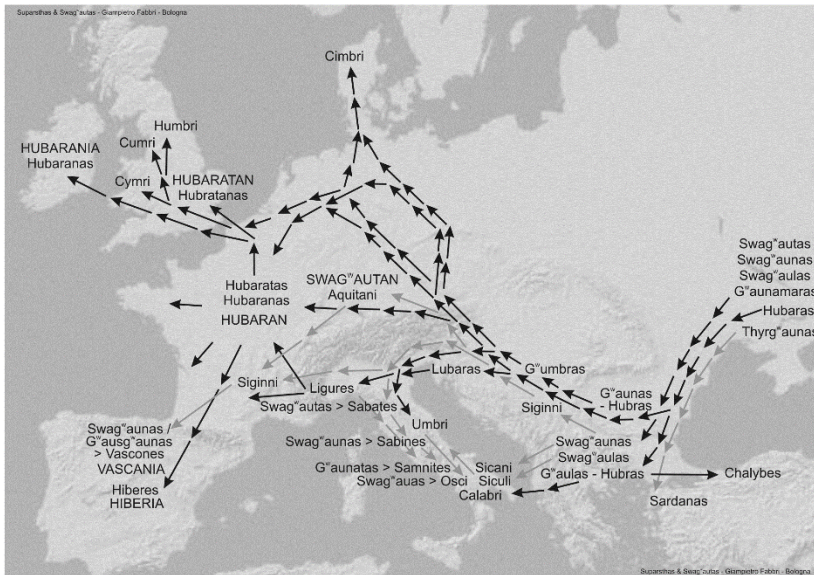


Figure 2 – Migrations in Europe

### *Hubaras, Hubaranas, Hubaratas, and Ligures*

The place where they originally settled was probably called *\*Hubaràn* (country of *\*Hubaras*). In Spain *\*Hubaras* were known as Iberians (Lat. *Hiberi*, Gr. *Ἰβηρες*; Strabo: III, 1, 4). From *\*Hubaràn*, *\*Hubaranas* and *\*Hubaratas* crossed the English Channel and settled respectively in Ireland, *\*Hubarania*, (> Lat. *Hibernia*; Tacitus: *Agricola*, I, 24), and Britain, *\*Hubaratàn* and *\*Hubratàn*. The inhabitants of *\*Hubratàn* were called *\*Hubratanas*, whence Lat. *Britanni* (Caesar: V, 13-14) or Lat. *Brittones* (Nennius: II, 1) and Lat. *Britannia* may come. Probably, the terms *\*Hubaràn*, *\*Hubaranas*, and *\*Hubaratas* were later introduced by mixed peoples of *\*Hubaras* and *\*Swag<sup>W</sup>autas* such as *\*G<sup>W</sup>umbras*.

A branch of *\*Subaras*/*\*Hubaras* probably reached southern France from the Danube plain through northern Italy. They were known as *Ligures* (Iustinus: XLIII, 3). Of the phonetic change from *h/s/t* to *l* we can find an attestation in *Hittites*. Their first historical king was called *Tabarna* (*Tabarnaš*) or *Labarna* (*Labarnaš*). Since the Anatolian coast of Black Sea was inhabited by the already mentioned *Tibareni* (Gr. *Τιβάρηνοι*) related to *\*Subaras* (> *\*Subaràn* > *\*Subaranas* > *\*Tybaranas*), it is logical to assume that the king was called *Tabarna* because he descended from a *\*Subaras* tribe or he fought and submitted *Tibareni* to the Hittite kingdom. Moreover the equivalence of *b* and *g* in the name of *Ligures* is attested in Strabo (Strabo: VII, 3, 7), who calls them *Αλυες* or *Αιβες* in different copies. The transformation *\*Subarana* > *\*Tybarana* > *Tabarna* > *Labarna* then attests that *Ligures* could be relative of *\*Subaras*/*\*Hubaras*. We can find a trace of the passage of *Ligures* through the area between Danube and northern Italy in the Illyrian tribe of *Liburnians*.

From northern Italy, *Ligures* diffused along Tyrrhenian coast to southern Italy. Later they were chased away or absorbed by *\*Swag<sup>W</sup>autas* origin peoples. At the beginning of the second

millennium BC they mingled with \*G<sup>w</sup>umbras and \*Swag<sup>w</sup>autas/\*Swag<sup>w</sup>aunas. From \*G<sup>w</sup>umbras the name *Ambrones* (Gr. Ἀμβρόνως < \*Chambranas < \*G<sup>w</sup>umbrân) derives, that was common to the tribes of *Ligures* and *Cimbri* (see below) according to Plutarch (Plutarchus: Marius, 19, 3-4). Later *Ligures* mingled with \*Sg<sup>w</sup>ytulas (*Italics*) and \*G<sup>w</sup>autas (*Celtics*), who reached Central Europe during the second millennium BC, as we will see in the second part of this study.

In southern Italy we can find traces of \*Hubaras/\*Hubaratas/\*Hubratas in the name of *Bruttii* (also Lat. *Brettii* and Gr. Βρέττιοι). This was an ancient people who lived in southern Italy since the prehistorical age, and had been later subjugated by Oenotrians and Lucanians. In the historical age *Bruttii* spoke an *Oscan* language that probably they assumed from the peoples who settled in southern Italy during the second millennium BC (see below). They also spoke Greek, due to the commercial relationships with Greek colonists. It is probable that they reached Italy from Central Europa in the third millennium BC and were later pressed to the south by new incomers. It is also possible that they come directly from the Balkan area through the Otranto Strait. In the same Italian area inhabited by *Bruttii* we also find evidence of \*Subaras in the names of the cities of *Sybaris* and *Siris* (< \*Subras). These cities were founded respectively by Achean and Ionian colonists probably in territories that still conserved in their names memory of their previous inhabitants

#### *Basques and Aquitanians*

At the end of third millennium BC, \*Swag<sup>w</sup>autas started moving from the Black Sea area to central Europe through successive waves, following the main communication routes consisting in Borysthènes (Dnieper), Tyras (Dniester) and Danube rivers, and overlapping the previous migratory flows of \*Hubaras. The populations that \*Swag<sup>w</sup>autas found in Europe were partly absorbed by them and partly chased away to the most remote regions of the continent.

The \*Swag<sup>w</sup>autas tribes of the first migration waves, even imparting their name and culture, were too few in number, especially in peripheral areas, to pass their language to the local populations to whom they joined. This is probably the case of the fusion with Iberian tribes, who were pressed toward the most marginal regions of France and Spain. *Basques*, for example, even deriving their name from the terms \*G<sup>w</sup>ausg<sup>w</sup>autas and \*G<sup>w</sup>ausg<sup>w</sup>aunas (cf. Bas. *Euskal* and Lat. *Vascones*; from which also \*G<sup>w</sup>ausg<sup>w</sup>aunia > \*Vaskania > Lat. *Hispania*, and also Fr. *Gascogne*, It. *Guascogna*), spoke a language largely different from common Indo-European (Villar 2011: 507), originally spoken by \*Swag<sup>w</sup>autas. The same can be said about *Aquitani*s (Lat. *Aquitani*; Caesar; I,1; Gr. Ἀκνιτανῶι; Strabo: IV, 2, 1) whose name can be derived from \*G<sup>w</sup>ausg<sup>w</sup>autanas.

#### *\*G<sup>w</sup>umbras and \*G<sup>w</sup>alubras*

The first tribes migrated to central Europe that passed to their descendants their Swag<sup>w</sup>autic (Indo-European) language, were probably \*G<sup>w</sup>umbras, who reached the Alpine area around the beginning of the second millennium BC. As we hypothesised, \*G<sup>w</sup>umbras were primitive *Cimmerians* (<\*G<sup>w</sup>aunas \*Hubras, a mix of \*Swag<sup>w</sup>autas and \*Hubaras) or a mixed people of *Cimmerians* and \*Hubaras (<\*G<sup>w</sup>umras \*Hubras <\*G<sup>w</sup>aunamaras \*Hubaras). From central Europe \*Gumbras diffused towards the peripheral zones already occupied by \*Hubaras. Following the flow of Elbe and Rhine rivers, they reached the North Sea coast, whence they ventured in the Danish peninsula and Britain. Crossing the alpine passes, they descended on Italy. Probably, some tribes also reached Italy directly from the Danube area, crossing the narrow Otranto channel, and were indicated, in the southern regions, by the name \*G<sup>w</sup>alubras (< \*G<sup>w</sup>autas \*Hubras), namely *Calabri* (Lat. *Calabri* and Lat. *Calabria*; Plinius: III, 99; Gr. Κάλλιροι; Strabo: VI, 3, 1).

*Cimbri, Cymri, Cumbri and Umbri*

Near the mouth of Elbe river, we find traces of \*G<sup>W</sup>umbras in the name of *Cimbri*. Ptolemy places *Cimbri* (Gr. Κίμβροι) "most northerly of all" in the Danish peninsula, that he calls *Χερσόνησος Κίμβρική* (Ptolemaeus: II, 10). Pliny the Elder (Plinius: IV, 95) citing Philemon mentions a sea called *Morimarusam* (cf. Celt. *mór*, sea, and Celt. *maru*, death) by *Cimbri*, thus attributing a Celtic language to this people. The name of *Cimbri* was probably distorted to \*Ambri (> Lat. *Ambrones*) by \*Thyrz<sup>W</sup>auas due to their tendency to aspire or silence velar consonants, which they passed to their living descendants in Turkey and Tuscany, and also to the Germanic consonant shift.

Beyond the English Channel, in Britain, we find evidence of \*G<sup>W</sup>umbras and *Cimmerians* in the name of *Cymry* or *Cynri* (\*Kynras < \*Kumbras < \*G<sup>W</sup>umbras), endonym of the southern Welsh (*Cymru*) people (Markale 2001: 49). This people is clearly related with *Cumbri*, the northern Welsh people, in turn related to the population located by the *Humber* river. The name of this river was probably derived from *Cumbri* by \*Thyrz<sup>W</sup>auas (> \*Thyrhunaz > *Huns*) around the beginning of the first millennium BC. This could be supported by the legend registered by Geoffrey of Monmouth (Monmouth: II, 1), according to which the name comes from a Hun King fallen into the river.

\*G<sup>W</sup>umbras probably descended on Italy already at the beginning of the second millennium BC, leaving evidence of himself in the name and the language of *Umbri*. As we already mentioned, Pliny the Elder reports the belief that Umbri were the most ancient people of Italy, and that they had been called Ombri (cf. Gr. ὄμβρος, Lat. *imber* or *ymber*, rain) by the Greeks because they survived the great flood (Plinius: III, 112). According to Pliny the Elder many Etruscan cities had been previously inhabited by *Umbri* (Plinius: III, 113). Strabo reports that the *Umbrian* territory was bounded by the Tiber to the west, bordering on that of *Sabines* to the south, and stretched to the city of Ravenna to the north (Strabone: V, 2, 1). The language of *Umbri* was similar to that of *Osci* (< \*G<sup>W</sup>ausg<sup>W</sup>auas), while it had some differences with respect to that of the Latins (Villar 2011: 483), which suggest that the latter have arrived in Italy in a different time.

*Camuni, Euganei, and Ingauni*

Citing the Greek historian Ephorus of Cuma the Aeolian (in Anatolia), Strabo attests the presence of \*G<sup>W</sup>umbras-Cimmerians in Italy also near Avernus Lake and Cuma the Italic (Strabo: V, 4, 5). Moreover, Pliny the Elder mentions a city founded by the *Cimmerians*, located between Avernus and Lucrine Lakes (Plinius: III, 61). Connections with *Cimmerians* have been recognized in Italy in the name of the city of *Comerio* (Celt. *Kunmaer* < \*Gaunamar, cow breeder by the lake) and in the name of *Camuni* (or *Camunni*). Plinius the Elder (Plinius: III, 133-134) includes *Camuni* in the tribes of *Euganei* (Lat. *Euganei-eorum*; Gr. Εὐγενής), whose name can be derived from \*G<sup>W</sup>ausg<sup>W</sup>auas and put in relationship with Ligurian *Ingauni* (Plinius: III, 46) and the already mentioned Iberian *Vascones*.

*\*Swag<sup>W</sup>autas, \*Swag<sup>W</sup>auas, and \*Swag<sup>W</sup>aulas*

The tribes of the migration wave immediately after \*G<sup>W</sup>umbras were probably distinguished under the names \*Swag<sup>W</sup>autas, \*Swag<sup>W</sup>auas, and \*Swag<sup>W</sup>aulas. We can find traces of these names in hydronyms such as *Saona* (< \*Swag<sup>W</sup>aua, French river) and *Sargetia* (< \*Sarmasagetia < \*Sauramata-swag<sup>W</sup>autia, Romanian river), toponyms such as *Sabaudia* (< \*Sawautia < \*Swag<sup>W</sup>autia; Savoy, region of France), *Savona* (< \*Sawona < \*Swag<sup>W</sup>aua; Ligurian town), *Sabatia* (< \*Sawatia < \*Swag<sup>W</sup>autia; areas in Liguria and Lazio), *Szeged* (< \*Swag<sup>W</sup>et < \*Swag<sup>W</sup>autia; Hungarian town), *Sarmizegetusa* (< \*Sarmasagatausa < \*Sauramata-swag<sup>W</sup>autasa; capital of Dacia), *Sargetia* (as the river; currently Dava, Romanian town), *Sicania* (< \*Swag<sup>W</sup>autia; central

part of Sicily), *Sicilia* (< \*Swag<sup>W</sup>aulia; eastern part and later the whole of Sicily), ethnonyms such as *Sabates*, *Sabines*, *Siginni*, *Sequani*, *Sicani*, and *Siculi*.

*Sabines*, *Siginni*, *Sequani*, *Sabates*, and *Sargetae*

*Sabines* (Lat. *Sabini*, Gr. Σαβίνοι: Strabo: V, 3, 1), as well as *Sabelli* and *Samnites*, spoke a language similar *Oscan-Umbrian*. This suggests that these peoples have cohabited for a long time with \*G<sup>W</sup>umbras and have therefore come into the Italian peninsula immediately after these. According to Rix (Rix 1957), the names of *Sabines*, *Sabelli*, and *Samnites* derive from the same more archaic form \*Saj/keni, from which also the name *Safini* comes, which appears on coins minted by the Italic peoples who allied against Latins during the "bellum sociale" in 88 BC (Camana 1987). The names *Sabini* and *Safini* are clearly related to the term \*Swag<sup>W</sup>auanas, from which also the intermediate form \*Saj/keni can be derived. The name of *Samnites* seems more properly derived from the form \*G<sup>W</sup>auana(ta)s, through phonetic changes similar to those of the *Thyrsini* (< \*Thyrg<sup>W</sup>auanas) name: \*G<sup>W</sup>auanas > \*Ghanas > \*Sanas > *Sanni-Sanniti* (cf. -\*g<sup>W</sup>auana > -senal-bona, in the second part of this study). It is in fact probable that Romans initially learned the name of *Samnites* through Campanian Etruscans, but when later they came in direct contact with them, they knew the correct pronunciation \*Khaunas/\*Khauias, by means of which they passed to us the name of *Caudini*.

As we mentioned, *Umbri* and *Sabines* worshiped the goddess *Cupra*, that Romans identified with *Bona Dea* or *Bona Mater*, recognizing the identity between Lat. *bonum* (< \*g<sup>W</sup>auana) and Sab. *caprum* (< \*supra): "cyprum Sabine bonum" (Varro: V, 19). It is evident that the goddess *Cupra*, also known as *Cubra* and *Supra*, was the eponymous of *Umbri-Cumbri-Cimbri* and had properties concerning both abundance (from \*Suparas-\*Hubras) and cow breeding (from \*Swag<sup>W</sup>autas-Cimmerians).

*Siginni* (Gr. Σιγίννοι: Herodotus: V, 9) were a *Scythian* people located in the Danube area. About *Siginni* Herodotus reports that they saw themselves as colonists of Medes, they dressed like them and stretched up to the Adriatic Venetians (Herodotus: V, 9). The historian acknowledges to be unable to explain how Medes had come up to that place. It is probable that at the time of Herodotus, *Siginni* were colonists not of Medes of Media, but of those deported by the Scythians, who had assumed the name of *Sauromatians*, then *Sarmatians*, and were mixed with \*Swag<sup>W</sup>autas or \*Swag<sup>W</sup>auanas who had occupied the Danube area in more remote times. Of the presence of populations derived from the fusion of *Sarmatians* with \*Swag<sup>W</sup>autas between Danube and Vistula rivers, we find evidence in the names of the cited Dacian capital *Sarmizegetusa*, of the *Sargetia* city (now Deva) and river (now Strei) (Dio: LXVIII, 14, 4), and of *Sargeti*, that Ammianus Marcellinus places near Vistula river close to *Arimfei* and *Massagetae* (Marcellinus: XXII, 8, 38).

Herodotus also reports that "the Ligures who dwell in the region inland above Massalia call traders *Siginni*" (Herodotus: V, 9). Therefore, it is probable that *Sequani*, at the time of Caesar a Celtic tribe located by *Saone* (from Goddess *Souconne* < \*Swag<sup>W</sup>auana) river, were originally a colony of *Siginni* who exchanged goods between the Danube area and Gaul.

*Sabates* (Plinius: III, 48 and 132; Gr. Σαβάτοι: Strabo: IV, 6, 1) were a population located between Liguria and Lazio, the probable connection between *Siginni-Sequani* and *Sabines*.

*Sicani*, *Sicels*, and *Ausones*

*Sicani* (Lat. *Sicani*, Gr. Σικανοί: Thucydides: VI, 2, 2; < \*Sakanas < \*Swag<sup>W</sup>auanas or \*Gausg<sup>W</sup>auanas) and *Sicels* (Lat. *Siculi*, Gr. Σικελοί: Thucydides: VI, 2, 4; < \*Sakalas < \*Swag<sup>W</sup>aulas or \*G<sup>W</sup>ausg<sup>W</sup>aulas) possibly arrived in southern Italy through Otranto channel immediately after *Calabri* (< \*G<sup>W</sup>aulas \*Hubras). They were probably known also as \*Askanas or *Ascani* and \*Askalas or \*Ascali (see previous section), and related to *Ausones* and *Osci*. Originally, they settled in the inland of central and southern Italy. Chased away from there by the arrival of

other peoples. *Sicani* migrated directly to Sicily, while *Sicels* first ventured on the Calabrian coast (Strabo: VI, 1, 6), and later settled in eastern Sicily. As we said, some *Sicels* tribes, remembered as *Shakalasha* or *Shekelesh*, probably took part in the raids of the Sea Peoples in Egypt. However, these tribes should be of *Sicels* (\*Swag<sup>w</sup>aulas) who, during the migration from Asia to Italy, stopped in the Balkan area like *Sicani-Siginni* (\*Swag<sup>w</sup>aunas).

*Ausones* (Gr. Ἀσωνες; Strabo: VI, 1, 5) are remembered by historians as a people diffused in central and southern Italy, according to some identifiable with *Osci* or *Opici*, according to others distinct from these (Strabo: V, 4, 3). The name of *Ausones*, like that of *Ascanassi* (Ἀσκανάσι; Josephus: 1, 6, 1) or *Ascani*, with whom they are also identified, can be derived from the term \*G<sup>w</sup>ausg<sup>w</sup>aunas, (or \*Swag<sup>w</sup>aunas) similarly to the name of *Osci* (< \*G<sup>w</sup>ausg<sup>w</sup>aunas). Probably they arrived in Italy shortly after *Iberians* and *Umbri*, interacting with them and leaving memory of himself in toponyms and ethnonyms also in northern Italy and beyond. In fact, we already found connection with \*G<sup>w</sup>ausg<sup>w</sup>aunas in Camuni *Euganei* and Ligures *Ingauni*, as well as in Iberian *Vascones*. We can find an additional trace of \*G<sup>w</sup>ausg<sup>w</sup>aunas in the names of the Swiss city of *Ascona*, located by a lake like the Anatolian *Ascania* (Iznik).

## CONCLUSIONS

In the first part of this study a theory on the diffusion of Indo-European and relative peoples in Asia and Europe has been presented. The name \**Suparsthas* has been reconstructed for the common ancestors who survived the great flood, while the progenitors of the peoples speaking historical Indo-European language have been recognised under the name \**Swag<sup>w</sup>autas* and its variants. Evidences of such ethnonyms and the diffusion theory have been found by analysing the historical attestations of the names and the customs of the ancient Eurasian populations until the beginning of the second millennium BC. Migration waves have been distinguished for \**G<sup>w</sup>ausg<sup>w</sup>aunas*, speaking Proto-Indo-European languages, and for their relative \**Thyrg<sup>w</sup>aunas*, speaking Proto-Altai languages.

In the second part of this study, the heritage of \**Suparsthas* and \**Swag<sup>w</sup>autas* is investigated in the peoples that diffused in Asia and Europe starting from the second millennium BC. All ethnonyms considered in both parts are shown in the name tables reported in the appendix.

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## کاوش‌های مخرب - توپراق کالا

### کاوش‌های مخرب توپراق کالا<sup>۱</sup>

بولنت گنچ<sup>۲</sup>

مترجم دکتر منصور حمدالله‌زاده<sup>۳</sup>

توپراق کالا سایتی است که نقطه شروع باستان‌شناسی اورارتو را تشکیل می‌دهد، اما تاریخ کاوش‌های قبلی و مخرب این سایت را در تاریکی فرو برده است. وجود اقلامی در بازار آثار باستانی که گفته می‌شود از منطقه وان می‌آیند، توجه آستن هنری لایارد را به خود جلب کرد، که منجر به حفاری‌های مختصری در سایت توپراق‌کاله توسط موزه بریتانیا تحت نظر هرمزد رسام در سال ۱۸۷۷ شد و به دنبال آن تحقیقات کوتاه‌تری توسط موزه بریتانیا انجام شد. همچنین ادامه حفاری‌های غیرمجاز نیز ادامه داشته است. کارل فردریش لمان-هاوپت و والدمار بلک بین سال‌های ۱۸۹۸ تا ۱۸۹۹ در اینجا حفاری کرده‌اند، اما تحقیقات انجام‌شده در آرشیو دفتر نخست‌وزیری عثمانی نشان می‌دهد که ادعای آنها مبنی بر کاوش در آنجا غیر واقع بوده است. این مقاله از منابع اولیه بایگانی‌های عثمانی برای بررسی تاریخچه کاوش‌های یکی از نمادین‌ترین مکان‌ها برای آغاز مطالعات اورارتویی استفاده می‌کند و ایجاب می‌کند تا آنچه را که فکر می‌کنیم درباره توپراق‌کاله و منشأ اشیاء مرتبط با آن می‌دانیم، مجدداً مورد ارزیابی قرار دهیم.

**کلید واژه:** اورارتو، توپراق‌کالا، باستان‌شناسی، حفاری غیر مجاز، آناتولی شرقی

<sup>۱</sup> این مقاله بازنشری است از :

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## ARCHAEOLOGY OF DESTRUCTION: TOPRAKKALE

By BÜLENT GENÇ

Toprakkale is the site that constitutes the starting point for the archaeology of Urartu, but the history of the largely destructive early excavations of the site is shrouded in darkness. The presence of items on the antiquities market said to come from the Van region attracted the interest of Austen Henry Layard, which led to brief excavations at the site of Toprakkale by the British Museum under Hormuzd Rassam in 1877, followed by further also brief investigations by K. Kamsarakan as well as continued illegal excavations. It is commonly held that Carl Friedrich Lehmann-Haupt and Waldemar Belck excavated here between 1898-1899, but research performed in the Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister's Office reveals their claim to have excavated there to be fraudulent and empty. This article uses primary source material from Ottoman archives to investigate the excavation history of one of the most iconic sites for the beginnings of Urartian Studies, and compels us to re-evaluate what we think we know about Toprakkale and the provenance of the objects associated with it.

Toprakkale/Rusaḫinili Qilbanikai is located roughly 5 km east of the Van Citadel (*Tūšpa*), the Urartian capital. The limestone natural hill on which the citadel stands is connected to Mount Zimzim behind it (Fig. 1). The citadel is 400 metres long on the north-south axis and 60-70 metres wide. The Urartian name of Toprakkale (*Rusaḫinili Qilbanikai*) is accepted to have derived from a tablet dating to the reign of Rusa (II?), son of Argišti (Lehmann-Haupt 1906: 105, Fig. 77a-b); however, there is an ongoing debate on whether the citadel was built by Rusa son of Argišti, or Rusa son of Erimena.<sup>1</sup>

Toprakkale is a significant site as it is the location of the first archaeological excavations concerning Urartu. Within a century, it is supposed to have been excavated by Dr. Reynolds, Captain Emilius Clayton, Hormuzd Rassam, Carl Ferdinand Friedrich Lehmann-Haupt and Waldemar Belck, Iosif Abgarovich Orbeli and lastly by Afif Erzen. What attracted so many researchers to this site? What is the true relationship between the artefacts that were believed to originate from Toprakkale –and thereby attracted excavators – and the site itself? In this article, by using various documents from the Ottoman Archives, I will explore the Toprakkale excavations from the 1870s onwards, via a re-assessment of the early researchers who worked there and the various excavation periods, and through discussion of the confusion caused by artefacts reported to have originated in Toprakkale<sup>2</sup> (Tables 1-2).

*Toprakkale's Rise to Prominence: the Finds and First Excavations*

*Austen Henry Layard and Hormuzd Rassam.* In a book published in 1874 Garegin V. Srvandztyants mentions finds discovered above Toprakkale, in an area he calls the Zimzim cave, including stones, large pithoi, small pottery, copper (bronze?) chair fragments and a bronze figurine depicting a man sitting on a ram. Srvandztyants states that this bronze statue was taken to Constantinople (Istanbul) by the bishop of Edessa (Srvandztyants 1874: 132-133).<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, in 1877 various bronze artefacts and objects said to have come from Toprakkale began to be sold on the international market. It is widely thought that these artefacts stimulated the interest of Austen Henry Layard, who was employed at the British Embassy in Istanbul at the time (Barnett

<sup>1</sup> Salvini dates the citadel to Rusa, son of Argišti based on written documents found in Toprakkale (Salvini 2006: 117), while Seidl dates it to Rusa, son of Erimena (Seidl 2012: 178). For discussions on Rusa, son of Erimena, see Fuchs 2012: 135-161; Kroll 2012: 183-186; Roaf 2012: 187-216; Hellwig 2012: 227-241; Salvini 2012: 128-133.

<sup>2</sup> I would like to thank Dr. Vural Genç for the transcription of these documents.

<sup>3</sup> I would like to thank Dr. Yervand Grekyan, who kindly shared relevant information in Srvandztyants' book and translated it from the Armenian language.

## کاوش‌های مغرب – توپراق کالا

TABLE 1 The Correspondence about Austen Henry Layard and Hormuzd Rassam

<i>Date of Documents</i>	<i>Archive Numbers</i>
August 6, 1860	HR. MKT. 362/50, 18 Muharrem 1277
August 6, 1860	HR. MKT. 344/44, 18 Muharrem 1277
March 1877	MF. MKT. 46/113, Mart 1293
September 15, 1877	İ. DH. 756/61682, 7 Ramazan 1294
November 22, 1877	MF. MKT. 51/180, 16 Zilkade 1294
December 27, 1877	MF. MKT. 52/75, 21 Zilhicce 1294
December 30, 1877	MF. MKT. 52/75, 21 Zilhicce 1294
February 14, 1878	MF. MKT. 55/11, 2 Şubat 1293
April 20, 1878	MF. MKT. 55/62, 17 Rabıulahir 1295
April 20, 1878	MF. MKT. 55/62, 8 Nisan 1294
April 20, 1878	MF. MKT. 55/87, 17 Rabıulahir 1295
April 20, 1878	MF. MKT. 55/104, 17 Rabıulahir 1295
April 30, 1878	MF. MKT. 55/141, 27 Rabıulahir 1295
May 11, 1878	MF. MKT. 56/49, 9 Cemazeyilevvel 1295
June 18, 1878	MF. MKT. 57/61, 6 Haziran 1294
August 17, 1878	MF. MKT. 57/155, 18 Şaban 1295
October 3, 1878	MF. MKT. 58/43, 6 Şevval 1295
October 17, 1878	MF. MKT. 58/51, 20 Şevval 1295
December 3, 1878	HR. TO. 261/40, 8 Zilhicce 1295
March 9, 1879	MF. MKT. 60/102, 15 Rabıulevvel 1296
August 3, 1879	MF. MKT. 64/37, 14 Şaban 1296
May 6, 1882	MF. MKT. 75/142, 24 Nisan 1298
March 13, 1883	MF. MKT. 79/79, 4 Cemazeyilevvel 1300
March 25, 1884	Y. PRK. EŞA. 4/14, 27 Cemazeyilevvel 1301
January 28, 1886	MF. MKT. 89/89, 16 Kânunusani 1301
November 12, 1888	MF. MKT. 103/42, 8 Rabıulevvel 1306
January 30, 1894	MF. MKT. 201/14, 22 Receb 1311

1950: 3–5; Barnett 1954: 16–19; Piotrovsky 1969: 17). Layard writes in a letter dated August 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1877 to Dr Birch that a man brought him Assyrian bronze artefacts found in the vicinity of Van, which he remarks appear to be fragments of a throne or a chest – one where a figure's arms are folded on his chest with lion claws. He compares artefacts found in Nimrud. He claims that the bronze or copper panel fragments and lion claws are reminiscent of the throne fragments discovered in Nineveh. He also mentions that some of the panel fragments contain Assyrian texts (Barnett 1950: 3–5). It is highly likely that the group of finds Layard purchased in Istanbul and those Srvandztyants mentions are comparable. On visiting Toprakkale Rassam refers to an artificial hill much like those of the Assyrians (Rassam 1897: 130). Rassam had asked both the Pasha of the province and Layard himself for permission to dig it, but was refused. Also Barnett notes that in Rassam's book (Rassam 1897), "the all-important point, the reference to the source of the bronzes, is there discreetly omitted" (Barnett 1950: 5). It appears that the reason why Toprakkale was perceived to be an Assyrian settlement, and its subsequent excavation as such, is due to Austen Henry Layard and Hormuzd Rassam's excavations in Mesopotamia.

It is often mentioned that Layard sent Rassam, with whom he had collaborated in his Assyrian excavations, to Van to investigate the place where the items he purchased came from (Barnett 1950: 3–5; Piotrovsky 1969: 17).<sup>4</sup> Rassam went to Toprakkale in 1877 with a stopover in Van

<sup>4</sup> It must be noted that Layard came to Van in 1849, long before 1877 when he was attracted to the aforementioned bronze objects, and drew the plans of Argišti I's tomb and its main hall (Layard 1853: 389–410). Layard also briefly excavated the Treasure Gate/Anahkız on the northeastern slope of the Van Citadel, based on an excavation permit

that allowed the sharing of finds, in accordance with the regulations of the Ottoman Empire at the time (Layard 1853: 398–399). It would be pertinent to accept that this excavation, about which there is not much detail, is the first in Urartian archaeology.

TABLE 2 The Correspondence about Carl Ferdinand Friedrich Lehmann-Haupt and Waldemar Belck

*Carl Ferdinand Friedrich Lehmann-Haupt and Waldemar Belck*

<i>Date of Documents</i>	<i>Archive Numbers</i>
April 7, 1898	LHR. 358/45, 16 Zilhicce 1315
April 13, 1898	LHR. 358/45, 16 Zilhicce 1315
May 8, 1898	LHR. 358/45, 16 Zilhicce 1315
May 9, 1898	BEO.1122/84128, 20 Zilhicce 1315
May 13, 1898	LHR. 358/45, 16 Zilhicce 1315
May 23, 1898	MF. MKT. 397/1, 2 Muharrem 1316
May 26, 1898	MF. MKT. 397/1, 5 Muharrem 1316
June 11, 1898	BEO. 1142/85587, 24 Muharrem 1316
June 12, 1898	BEO. 1142/85587, 24 Muharrem 1316
July 2, 1898	BEO. 1152/86381, 16 Safer 1316
July 6, 1898	BEO. 1152/86381, 16 Safer 1316
August 2, 1898	BEO. 1171/87788, 18 Rabiulevvel 1316
August 4, 1898	BEO. 1152/86381, 16 Safer 1316
October 23, 1898	DH. MKT. 2122/17, 7 Cemazeyilahir 1316
November 3, 1898	BEO. 1206/90387, 18 Cemazeyilahir 1316
November 15, 1898	DH. MKT. 2134/71, 1 Receb 1316
November 30, 1898	DH. ŞFR. 229/63, 18 Teşrinisani 1314
November 30, 1898	DH. MKT. 2143/16, 19 Receb 1316
December 3, 1898	DH. MKT. 2143/16, 19 Receb 1316
May 2, 1899	MF. MKT. 447/47, 25 Zilhicce 1316
May 2, 1899	MF. MKT. 447/47, 25 Zilhicce 1316
May 4, 1899	DH. MKT. 2197/1, 23 Zilhicce 1316
May 6, 1899	MF. MKT. 447/47, 25 Zilhicce 1316
June 5, 1899	Y. PRK. U.M. 46/54, 25 Muharrem 1317
July 4, 1899	MF. MKT. 447/47, 25 Zilhicce 1316
September 2, 1899	DH. MKT. 2242/130, 28 Rabiulahir 1317
September 2, 1899	DH. MKT. 2197/1, 29 Zilhicce 1316
September 4, 1899	DH. MKT. 2242/130, 28 Rabiulevvel 1317
September 5, 1899	DH. MKT. 2242/130, 28 Rabiulevvel 1317
November 16, 1899	BEO. 1402/105134, 12 Receb 1317
February 11, 1900	DH. MKT. 2304/27, 11 Şevval 1317
February 14, 1900	DH. MKT. 2242/130, 28 Rabiulahir 1317
May 22, 1900	BEO. 1489/11666, 22 Muharrem 1318

(Rassam 1897: 111, 130). He explored Assur (Qalat Şergat), Kalhu (Nimrud) and Balawat (Imgur-Enlil) in 1878-79 and could not return to Van.

In 1879 Captain Emilius Clayton and Dr Reynolds are said to have carried out excavations in Toprakkale on behalf of the British Museum and Rassam is supposed to have continued these in subsequent years (Lehmann-Haupt 1931: 455). Clayton ended his work in Toprakkale after a small-scale excavation during which he found only a few iron spear and arrowheads (Barnett 1950: 19). In 1880 the American missionary Dr Reynolds and the British Vice-consul in Van, Clayton, hastily excavated Toprakkale under the supervision of Rassam<sup>5</sup> on behalf of the British Museum (Barnett 1972: 163). Clayton's letter to Layard, dated May 11<sup>th</sup>, 1880, serves as the first excavation report and site plan of Toprakkale (Barnett 1950: 9-12, Fig. 5; Zimansky 2011: 59-60) (Fig. 1) and is noteworthy in terms of understanding the time of the excavation, locations of finds, and related architectural remains. Clayton says that the excavation in Toprakkale began on March 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1880, in an area he refers to as A - he divides the citadel into two parts (A on the north and B on the south). We understand that he excavated a temple from "the most perfectly hewn blocks of a sort of trap rock of a

<sup>5</sup> Rassam's excavations in 1878-1882 were very significant, however, it is said that he was mostly absent and left it to several trusted men to run the dig (Reade 1993: 56-57).

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Fig. 1 Tuşpa, the capital of Urartu and Toprakkale (A. Tan)

dark grey colour”, his plan drawing, and subsequent excavations. In area B, he refers to rough-cut stone walls as well as ivory and bronze artefacts (Barnett 1950: 9-12, Fig. 5).

Rassam left the responsibility of this excavation to inexperienced people and busied himself with his excavations in Nimrud, Kuyunjik, Balawat, and Assur. However, once the temple was discovered he returned to Van on July 29<sup>th</sup>, 1880 and carried out a short-term excavation in Toprakkale (Rassam 1897: 378; Barnett 1950: 8, 17).

We understand from Rassam’s own words that after the first destruction by Clayton, the second destruction of Toprakkale took place by his initiative. He divided the hill into three and dug tunnels from one end to the other looking for building remains: he perceived mud-brick architecture as rubble and earth, considering only the stone foundations worthy of keeping. The foundation of the temple and the three mosaic-floored rooms discovered on the southern slopes of the hill are worth noting. Other than various finds, the altar in front of the temple, seen in the only photograph of Toprakkale published by Rassam (Fig. 3), was later handed over to the Imperial Museum (Müze-i Hümayun) in Istanbul by Lehmann-Haupt.<sup>6</sup> Rassam refers to a plan when discussing the temple foundation as well as several other details but there is no information about this plan (Rassam 1897: 378). However, his plan of the Haldi temple was found subsequently in the British Museum with several other records in 1951 (Barnett 1954: 3, Fig. 1).<sup>7</sup> The many deficiencies and errors of this very debatable and destructive excavation left aside, scholars have emphasised that it made the first serious contribution to Urartian archaeology (Barnett 1982: 316-317). Nonetheless, it is more pertinent to argue that rather than a significant contribution, Toprakkale created ambiguity and confusion in scholarship on Urartian archaeology. The level of destruction can be identified further by taking into consideration the height of the mud-brick walls immediately behind the temple (Fig. 3). Especially in the vicinity of the Haldi temple, which is said to have been looted previously,<sup>8</sup> shields with cuneiform inscriptions, cauldrons, ivory artefacts,

<sup>6</sup> This altar is displayed in the Ancient Orient (Eski Şark Eserleri) Museum of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums.

<sup>7</sup> There is no written information about this temple, therefore its plan must have been the reason why it was defined as a Haldi temple.

<sup>8</sup> Another document (A) MKT. ÜM. 346/5, dated 4 Şaban 1275/ March 9<sup>th</sup> 1859 and sent to the center by the governor of the province of Van and Hakkari, is also noteworthy; it reports that the local inhabitants unearthed a cave while

mining stones from a mountain called Mount Akköprü at a distance of one hour from the village of Van. It also reports that water pitchers made of red clay were found in this cave, and people nearby started excavations at the spot upon hearing these news. The place was reported to be in a mountain that belonged to the state treasury, and was not the property of anyone of the local people. The document notes that workers, ropes and officials were sent to the area to excavate for five or six days. It emphasizes that the place

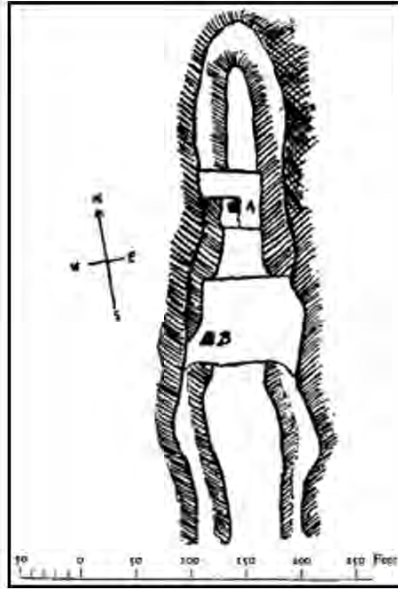


Fig. 2 The sketch of Toprakkale drawn by Clayton (Barnett 1950: 9, Fig. 5)

and bronze throne fragments were discovered (Barnett 1982: 317). The bronze fragments mentioned by Clayton and Rassam, which were thought to belong to a throne, are open to discussion. They are different from those said to have been purchased by Layard.

It is possible that as early as 1860 Layard was aware of finds similar to those he purchased in 1877, which eventually triggered the excavations. At this point, two documents in the Ottoman Archives that are related to Layard are worth mentioning (Table 1). The first is the letter sent by the British Ambassador, Sir Henry Bulwer, to the Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs on June 10th, 1860 (Fig. 4 = Document 1), in which the Ottoman Empire is praised for its contribution to Layard's work at Nimrud. The document also cautions about the protection of several artefacts said to have been discovered in the vicinity of Van, which primarily consist of "a bronze bull one-third of the size of the animal with a human head and a bull's body, one large eagle and two carved snakes". In the letter, it is said that the governor of the province was unaware of the value of these artefacts and had some of them melted to make use of their metal therefore a request is made that an order be sent to him in order to prevent the destruction of these artefacts.

Sublime Port's assistance to Monseieur Layard's research, which unearthed numerous ancient artifacts several years ago, has been appreciated by the British state. I will not hesitate to request the protection of

was visited and inspected and fragments of an ancient water pitcher and some pitchers suitable for use, as well as pithos fragments and badly corroded iron fragments and some remains of an old brick building were found. Based on these remains, the place was said to belong to an ancient small fortress of several houses. The document noted that the excavations could not be completed because of heavy

snow at the time, and that any future finds would be reported. Mount Akköprü mentioned in this document, and the stones, cave and finds such as red pitchers and iron fragments remind one of Toprakkale. Toprakkale was probably excavated for stone blocks and looted since early periods.

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Fig. 3 The excavation of the Haldi temple at Toprakkale (Rassam 1897: 376–377)

some artifacts recently discovered around Van. Since ancient artifacts, consisting mainly of a bull made of bronze at one-third of the size of a bull and with the head of a man, a large eagle, and two serpents with carved surfaces, the value of which was apparently not understood by the governor of the land, the pasha, have reportedly been melted to utilize its metal; such artifacts should not be wasted anymore; an order should be written on this matter and sent to the pasha.<sup>9</sup>

Subsequent to this letter, Seyid Mehmed Emin Ali sent a report to Kenan Pasha, the *kaymakam* (district governor) of Van, on August 6<sup>th</sup>, 1860 / 18 Muharrem 1277, which refers to the ancient artefacts (*Asar-ı Antika*) discovered recently by Layard in Van, stating that they were aware that several of the finds, which included a bronze bull, a large eagle, and two snakes, had been melted for their metal. The letter emphasises the local government's role in the protection of such ancient artefacts and encourages awareness of their value and of their ongoing destruction. The correspondence also states that subsequently discovered ancient artefacts should be safeguarded in a proper place (Fig. 5 = Document 2). These documents demonstrate the Ottoman Empire's approach towards ancient artefacts as early as the 1860s, especially in relation to their preservation.

It has been reported that some of the ancient artifacts that were recently discovered by British Monsieur Layard around Van, which had been left to the government, including a bull, a large eagle and two serpents made of bronze, were melted down to utilize their metal. It is not a right conduct at all for the local government to melt and destroy such ancient artifacts when they should protect them instead, since they do not understand their value. Ancient artifacts should be safeguarded in a proper place from now on.<sup>10</sup>

These two documents thus may suggest that Layard knew of the bronze artefacts discovered in the vicinity of Van in 1860. Especially, the bronze bull, one-third of actual size, is among those found by Layard and left to the government as its share. It is not known, however, where these items were found. Layard, describing his excavation at the Treasure Gate/Anahikiz, does not refer to any finds or artefacts (Layard 1853: 399). The human-headed bull-shaped artefact calls to mind the human-headed and winged bull said to have been found in Toprakkale and purchased by Layard in 1877 (Barnett 1950: 6, Plate 6). Considering that Layard was aware of bronze human-headed bull figurines as early as the 1860s suggests that he did not send Rassam to Toprakkale (Rassam

<sup>9</sup> HR. MKT. 344/44, 18 Muharrem 1277 / August 6<sup>th</sup>, 1860.

<sup>10</sup> HR. MKT. 362/50, 18 Muharrem 1277 / August 6<sup>th</sup>, 1860.



Fig. 4 Document 1 (HR. MKT: 344/44, 18 Muharrem 1277 / August 6<sup>th</sup>, 1860)

1897: 111-130) only because he was curious about the origins of the items he bought in Istanbul. It is suggested that he knew the Van region and its geography well, and had found similar artefacts in Van before. We should especially keep in mind the possibility that Layard formed relationships with various teams in Van in 1849, while he was working there, or that he may have had them supervised.

There is correspondence showing that Rassam planned excavating other areas prior to his arrival in Van in 1877. He had applied for a permit to excavate and research ancient artefacts in the Diyarbekir province on behalf of the British on February 24<sup>th</sup>, 1877 / 10 Safer 1294, but his application was rejected. The reasons cited included that Diyarbekir was a large province consisting of several *kazas* and *livas*, and that the area called Assyria was located between Diyarbekir and Mosul, that Ceziretilarab and Diyarbekir were in opposite directions and quite distant, and that therefore the permit request was against the Law on Ancient Artefacts. The law stated that excavations could be conducted only within villages or districts, and that excavations could not exceed their boundaries,<sup>11</sup> therefore Rassam is primarily asked to define more precisely where he would be excavating.<sup>12</sup> In the correspondence of September 15<sup>th</sup>, 1877 / 7 Ramazan 1294 and November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1877 / 16 Zilkade 1294, the British Ambassador Layard requests a research permit on behalf of Rassam to investigate Nineveh. The permit is granted<sup>13</sup> on the condition that excavated finds should be shared between the government and Rassam, in accordance with the law.<sup>14</sup> Referring to Layard's previous explorations and research in Nineveh, Assyria and Babylon, in the correspondence of December 13<sup>th</sup>, 1877 / 7 Zilhicce 1294 and December 30<sup>th</sup>, 1877 / 21 Zilhicce 1294, a new permit is requested on behalf of the British Museum.<sup>15</sup>

Rassam was granted a permit on February 14<sup>th</sup>, 1878 / 2 Şubat 1293 to explore ancient artefacts in Mosul.<sup>16</sup> A separate order clearly defined the rules to be abided by and the responsibilities of the officials who were to accompany the expedition. It stated in particular that the finds were to be

<sup>11</sup> Article 13 of the Ancient Monuments Act of 1874 states that the excavation area has to be shown on a map and that its boundaries cannot exceed the borders of a village or district (Çal 2003: 263).

<sup>12</sup> MF. MKT: 46/113, March 1293 / March 1877.

<sup>13</sup> İ.DH. 756/61682, 7 Ramazan 1294 / September 15<sup>th</sup>, 1877; MF. MKT: 51/180, 16 Zilkade 1294 / November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1877.

<sup>14</sup> Article 32 of the Ancient Monuments Act of 1874 states that one third of the discovered artefacts are left to the excavator (Çal 1997: 392; Eriş 2012: 29).

<sup>15</sup> MF. MKT: 52/75, 21 Zilhicce 1294 / December 27<sup>th</sup>, 1877; MF. MKT: 52/75, 21 Zilhicce 1294 / December 30<sup>th</sup>, 1877.

<sup>16</sup> MF. MKT: 55/11, 2 Şubat 1293 / February 14<sup>th</sup>, 1878. Rassam, however, states that he began his excavations in

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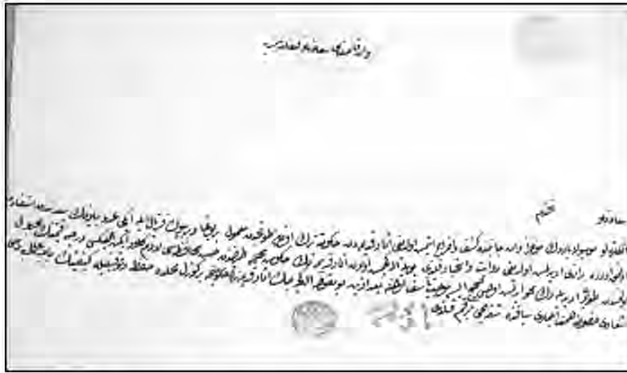


Fig. 5 Document 2 (HR. MKT. 362/50, 18 Muharrem 1277 / August 6<sup>th</sup>, 1860)

recorded in two books. One of each of those artifacts that had duplicates or otherwise could be divided would be left to the Ottoman State. The prices of those artifacts that could not be divided would be defined by the local administration, and shared equally between the Ottoman State and the British Museum. For this reason, one notebook was to be kept by the official, and the other by Rassam so that each item could be recorded daily, in terms of number and type and signed by both parties.<sup>17</sup> A report sent to the priest Sebilyan Efendi, an official who accompanied Rassam, states that Rassam was carrying out research on behalf of the state and that the artifacts which would go to the State Treasury among the artifacts that he would excavate had already been identified, and therefore that he should be distinguished from other researchers and his research and explorations should not be unnecessarily hindered.<sup>18</sup> In a report dated May 11<sup>th</sup>, 1878 / 9 Cemazeyilevvel 1295, concerning staff salaries sent to the Sublime Porte, Rassam is understood to be continuing his excavations in the vicinity of Mosul;<sup>19</sup> however, in a document dated October 17<sup>th</sup>, 1878 / 20 Şevval 1295, it is stated that Rassam had excavated in Mosul<sup>20</sup> and that he was waiting for the renewal of the December 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1878 / 8 Zilhicce 1295 firman, given subsequent to Layard's request.<sup>21</sup> In a telegram sent to the Baghdad province on May 6<sup>th</sup>, 1882 / 24 Nisan 1298, it is noted that the Embassy had reported that Rassam's work was being hindered and that he should be treated in accordance with the firman.<sup>22</sup> Layard in particular expedited bureaucratic processes such as the excavation permits which were necessary for Rassam to carry out excavations and thus enabled him to continue work.

Layard and Rassam conducted excavations in several Assyrian settlements between 1877 and 1882. The prospects for Toprakkale were enhanced when in 1880 the province of Van was included in these excavations. A firman, dated August 16<sup>th</sup>, 1880 / 10 Ramazan 1297 and addressing the governors of Baghdad, Van and Aleppo, granted Rassam the permit on behalf of the British Museum and Layard to explore an extensive region that included also Van. It can be assumed that excavations in Toprakkale began after this date.

Kuyunjik on January 7<sup>th</sup>, 1878: 24 years after he first excavated in Mosul in 1852 1854 (Rassam 1897: 199-200).

<sup>17</sup> MF. MKT. 55/104, 17 Rabiulahir 1295 / April 20<sup>th</sup> 1878; MF. MKT. 55/62, 17 Rabiulahir 1295 / April 20<sup>th</sup> 1878; MF. MKT. 55/62, 8 Nisan 1294 / April 20<sup>th</sup> 1878.

<sup>18</sup> MF. MKT. 55/141, 27 Rabiulahir 1295 / April 30<sup>th</sup> 1878.

<sup>19</sup> MF. MKT. 56/49, 9 Cemazeyilevvel 1295 / May 11<sup>th</sup> 1878. Rassam mentions that artifacts were packed for a long journey to the British Museum starting on May 17<sup>th</sup> 1878 (Rassam 1897: 229).

<sup>20</sup> MF. MKT. 58/51, 20 Şevval 1295 / October 17<sup>th</sup>, 1878.

<sup>21</sup> HR. TO. 261/40, 8 Zilhicce 1295 / December 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1878.

<sup>22</sup> MF. MKT. 75/142, 24 Nisan 1298 / May 6<sup>th</sup>, 1882.

The British Embassy, in a correspondence dated December 15<sup>th</sup>, 1882 / 3 Kanunnevel 1298, applied for the renewal of the permit. The correspondence notes that the firman dated August 16<sup>th</sup>, 1880 / 10 Ramazan 1297 and addressed to the governors of Baghdad, Van and Aleppo, which granted permission to Rassam for research on antiquities on behalf of the British Museum, had expired. Citing the hitherto fruitless communications of the Ambassador in this regard, the letter warns that unless the permit is renewed, this costly excavation will remain unfinished. Subsequent correspondence demonstrates that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Hariciye Nezareti) extended the duration of the permit based on the previous firman, on the condition that related regulations are abided by (Document 3 = Fig. 6).<sup>23</sup>

A letter dated March 25<sup>th</sup>, 1884 / 27 Cemazeyilevvel 1301, however, contains another request for renewal of the firman dated August 16<sup>th</sup>, 1880 / 10 Ramazan 1297, which granted concessions to Layard for the exploration of ancient artefacts in Van, Aleppo and Baghdad. Stating that previous applications to the Sublime Porte had not amounted to any successful result, a new request is put forward for the renewal of Layard's permit and for the issue to be raised with the Sultan.<sup>24</sup>

The renewal of the original permit of 1880 is a constant cause of correspondence between the Embassy and the Sublime Porte. There is a discrepancy, however, between the date of the permit issued to Layard, and the dates when Dr Reynolds and Captain Emilius Clayton, British Vice-Consul –charged with digging Toprakkale by Rassam – began their excavations. We have mentioned that in 1880 Clayton and Reynolds carried out a short-term excavation in Toprakkale under Rassam's supervision as he was digging in various Assyrian settlements (Barnett 1972: 163). Clayton, however, in a letter addressed to Layard on May 11<sup>th</sup>, 1880, states that he began excavating on March 3<sup>rd</sup> but had to stop within a few days owing to a number of factors including weather conditions (Barnett 1950: 9; Zimansky 2011: 59–60). As Clayton mentions, weather conditions would have made it unlikely to be able to excavate Toprakkale in March. The fact that the permit started in August rules out the possibility of earlier excavations and therefore Clayton's starting date becomes disputable.

*K. Kamsarakan.* An illegal excavation was carried out at Toprakkale following Rassam's excavation. The letter Reynolds penned to Birch on June 24<sup>th</sup>, 1884 from Van is significant in terms of the information it provides on this dig and the finds (Barnett 1950: 20–21):

Yesterday a working man who has been doing some excavating on his own hook in the vicinity of the trenches Mr. Rassam opened when here, brought a bronze image in very perfect preservation. The body is that of a lion, with wings, but the rest of the body not feathered. To this is added a human head, shoulders and hands, the latter folded in front. The face is ivory. If you received my former letter containing the description and figures of images for sale here, this resembles one there figured but is a little smaller, about 7 inches (17.7 centimetres) long and 5 inches (12.6 centimetres) high.

Barnett identified the winged sphinx with the body of a lion mentioned in the letter as one of the bronze figurines in the Hermitage (Barnett 1954: 19), which was published by Piotrovsky<sup>25</sup> (Piotrovsky 1967: 28, Fig. 15). Piotrovsky relays an important acquisition recorded by F.G. Bemshtam in the Hermitage archives of 1885:

Sold to me for the Department of Antiquities of the Hermitage for 3,000 roubles the following Assyrian objects, to wit: 1 silver bracelet (with lion heads), 1 similar of bronze but broken, 1 bronze winged lion with human head of alabaster, 1 bronze goat with damaged face, 1 bronze staff end, 1 bronze ring, 1 piece of bronze armour, bronze fragments and several pieces of alabaster. All these found by Mr. K. Kamsarakan at Van on the hill of Toprakkale in 1884.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> MF: MKT. 79/79, 4 Cemazeyilevvel 1300 / March 13<sup>th</sup> 1883.

<sup>24</sup> Y. PRK. EŞA. 4/14, 27 Cemazeyilevvel 1301 / March 25<sup>th</sup> 1884.

<sup>25</sup> For these bronze figurines in the Hermitage Museum see Piotrovsky 1967: 25, Fig. 9; 28, Fig. 14–15; 31, Fig. 18c.

<sup>26</sup> Piotrovsky 1967: 28. The figurines (said to belong to a throne) (Barnett 1950: 43; Seidl 1994: 67–84; Seidl 1996: 185–186) and other finds discovered in Toprakkale have no parallels in other Urartian temples.

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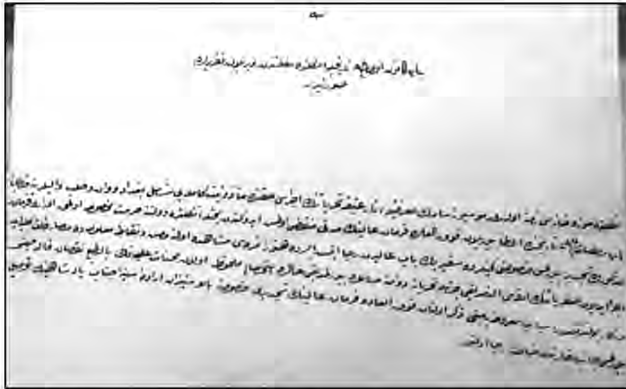


Fig. 6 Document 3 (MF. MKT. 79/79, 4 Cemazeyilevvel 1300 / March 13<sup>th</sup> 1883)

The winged bronze lion with an alabaster human head (inventory no: 16002) is identified as a sphinx, while the bronze goat with a damaged face is considered to be a winged bull (inventory no: 16001) (Barnett 1954: 19). Barnett also states that the identity of one of the people referred to in Reynolds' letter to Birch is likely to be some sort of a special attendant or employee, either Sedrak Devgants<sup>27</sup> or Kamsarakan, the Russian consul in Van. Two photographs of Toprakkale dating to 1881 that we have discovered are extremely significant in this regard. The photograph of Mrs Kamsarakan<sup>28</sup> with Mr. Gaillard, who was the chief of the international telegram service in Van, in front of the Temple of Haldi in Toprakkale demonstrates the Kamsarakan's interest in the site (Figs 7 8).

The "working man" referred to in Reynolds' letter to Birch, dated June 20<sup>th</sup>, 1884, may be associated with Devgants, who himself excavated near Rassam's trenches and unearthed a bronze

<sup>27</sup> In Sedrak Devgants' letters to professor K. Patnakoff, he gives a list of artefacts he found among the ruins of the fortress, which he named "Zem Zenn Cave", and describes their types. For further detail see Barnett 1950: 3 8; Barnett 1954: 16 19; Piotrovsky 1969: 17. It is plausible that Sedrak Devgants was the person who in 1877 sold several "Assyrian artefacts" from Van to Layard in Istanbul. Of these artefacts, considered to be two figurines of a throne, one is a winged bull on its knees and the other is a standing winged bull with a human front. Sedrak Devgants seems to have known of Toprakkale before Reynolds and Clayton's excavations and played a key role in the dispersal of the finds across several countries through the excavations he carried out. It appears as if his friendship with K. Kamsarakan resulted in some finds ending up in Russia. Interesting here is that the artefacts sold to Layard in 1877 as well as the artefacts mentioned in Reynolds' letter to Birch in 1884, and those that Kamsarakan says he found in Toprakkale are all said to belong to a throne. That the Toprakkale artefacts unearthed in 1877 1884 through legal and illicit excavations should all come from a throne presents a highly suspicious situation. In the event that Sedrak Devgants was the person who originally sold the items to Layard, and his relationship with Kamsarakan make the case for the location of the finds all the more problematic. Also, Rassam's own letters attest to the fact

that he knew the Kamsarakans (M. and Madame Komsaragan) (Rassam 1897: 380).

<sup>28</sup> Chantre and Barry 1881: F. 22. Paul Müller-Simonis and Henri Hyvernat, who visited Toprakkale, refer to the location of the site, its construction system and decaying mudbrick, and mention that the excavation was supervised by Chantre and Barry in collaboration with the British. They state that work had ceased but that the trenches were intact. They also mention the photographs, shown to them by Reynolds, of bronze artefacts discovered during the excavation and note Hyvernat's interest in purchasing an attractive piece of bronze shield from Toprakkale. They emphasize Elisee Reclus' mention of Chantre as the supervisor of the Toprakkale excavation. Müller-Simonis and Hyvernat state that they do not know when the excavation was carried out and that Chantre had told them he was unable to continue owing to time constraints (Müller-Simonis - Hyvernat 1892: 193 194). Reclus, on the other hand, defines Toprakkale as an Assyrian fortress with towers and basalt walls, and states that it was discovered by Chantre and Barry (Reclus 1876: 190). Considering that Chantre and Barry discovered the site in 1876, and remembering their two photographs taken in front of the temple at Toprakkale, we can deduce that Chantre and Barry remained interested in the site for a long time.



Fig. 7 Mr. Gaillard and Madam Kamsarakan, in front of Haldi Temple at Toprakkale (Chantre and Barry 1881: F. 22)

statue, which was said to be in pristine condition. He was known to be an antiquities dealer who sold items abroad via places like Astwadzashen<sup>29</sup> and Dzevesdan<sup>30</sup> (Müller 1885: 24; Müller 1886: 158; Piotrovsky 1969: 17). The artefacts Devgants claimed that he found in Toprakkale, his relationship with the Kamsarakans, and the fact that he was selling artefacts, make the context of the archaeological finds rather questionable.

*Carl Ferdinand Friedrich Lehmann-Haupt and Waldemar Belck.* Previous scholarship generally accepts that Lehmann-Haupt and Belck excavated at Toprakkale in 1898-1899 (Barnett 1950: 23; Ögün 1961: 265; Piotrovsky 1969: 19; Sekmen 1990: 30; Wartke 1990: 8; Sevin 2003: 4; Salvini 2006: 18; Koçak 2011: 90-91; Tarhan 2011: 295; Zimansky 2011: 60-61). It is even suggested that they excavated over two consecutive seasons in 1898 and 1899 (Erzen *et al.* 1960b: 5). However, in their report to the Anthropologische und Ethnologische Gesellschaft Berlin, dated October 5<sup>th</sup>, 1898, Lehmann-Haupt and Belck state that they came to Van on September 24<sup>th</sup> (Belck and Lehmann-Haupt 1898: 416). In the same publication, in a report dated December 5<sup>th</sup>, 1898, they state that they reached Van on September 24<sup>th</sup>, 1898, and began preparing for the excavation a week later, on September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1898 (Belck and Lehmann-Haupt 1898: 578-579).<sup>31</sup> In a joint report penned on November 30<sup>th</sup>, 1898, they state that they had been excavating at Toprakkale for almost two months with 80 to 100 workers (Belck - Lehmann-Haupt 1898: 578). In his subsequent publication, however, Lehmann-Haupt gives December 30<sup>th</sup>, 1898 as the starting date of the excavation (Lehmann-Haupt 1931: 457). Considering the incredibly harsh winter conditions in Van, especially from December onwards and continuing well into March, it would have been impossible for them to carry out an excavation during this season. As this rather refutes the

<sup>29</sup> Astwadzashen/Asbaşın is the modern Çavuştepe village (Lehmann-Haupt 1926: 60; Kevorkian - Paboudjian 2012: 539).

<sup>30</sup> Dzevesdan or Dzvisdan/Zevistan is the modern Zivistan/Elmahk village (Kevorkian - Paboudjian 2012: 537). Inscribed column bases of Išpuni were found here (CTU A

2-2A-G), which refer to a building (E) constructed by Išpuni, son of Sarduri.

<sup>31</sup> Belck - Lehmann-Haupt 1898: 579; They state that they began excavating with 20 workers and increased their number quite quickly to 80 and then 100 (they were increasing the number of workers by 20 every two days).

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Fig. 8 Mr. Gaillard sitting on the wall of Haldi Temple at Toprakkale (Chantre and Barry 1881: F. 21)

December date, it would be wrong to suggest that they arrived in Van and began excavating in December (Sekmen 1990: 32; Sevin 2003: 4). It is necessary to study the relevant Ottoman correspondence on Lehmann-Haupt and Belck in order to clarify whether they actually excavated on that date, or whether indeed the excavation had been continuing for two months in December, and for how long they excavated and what the conditions were (Table 2).

We have found various documents concerning the excavations carried out by Lehmann-Haupt and Belck in 1898-1899, including permits, in the Ottoman Archives of the office of the Prime Minister. These documents cover the years between 1898 and 1902, but those that relate to 1898 and 1899 need to be scrutinized separately.

Dated April 7<sup>th</sup>, 1898 / March 26<sup>th</sup>, 1314 the earliest document is written in connection with a telegram sent from the German Embassy regarding Dr. Lehmann and Dr. Belck's impending explorations in Baghdad, Mosul, Van, Mamuretülaziz, Erzurum, Bitlis and Trabzon.

The document was sent to 14 provinces via the Interior, Foreign Affairs and Education ministries (Dâhiliye, Hariciye ve Maarif/Nezareti) and instructed governors to aid Lehmann(-Haupt) and Belck in their pursuits. In the other two letters, dated April 13<sup>th</sup>, 1898 / 21 Zilkade 1315 and May 13<sup>th</sup>, 1898 / 21 Zilhicce 1315<sup>32</sup> and another dated May 9<sup>th</sup>, 1898 / 17 Zilhicce 1315,<sup>33</sup> the same content requesting help regarding the research they would carry out in 7 provinces is reiterated.

In a letter dated May 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1898 / 2 Muharrem 1316, Osman Hamdi Bey, the director of the Imperial Museum, informs the Education Ministry of the nature of this exploration. He emphasizes that Dr. Lehmann and Dr. Belck are allowed to investigate ancient artefacts, the origin of species, and natural sciences, and have the necessary permit to carry out surface surveys in the provinces of Baghdad, Mosul, Van, Bitlis, Mamuretülaziz, Erzurum and Trabzon. He especially notes the reports that were circulating about them intending to excavate, but that unless they met the requirements in the regulation<sup>34</sup> (Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi/Antiquities Law), they

<sup>32</sup> BOA. İHR. 358/45, 16 Zilhicce 1315/8 Mayıs 1898.

<sup>33</sup> BEO. 1122/84128, 20 Zilhicce 1315/12 Mayıs 1898.

<sup>34</sup> As in the regulations of 1869/1 and 1874/7, the 1884/7 regulation also clearly defines the conditions for excavations

(Çal 2003: 259-260). No one was allowed to carry out a survey or excavation of ancient artefacts on Ottoman soil without prior official permit within the scope of the 1884 regulation (Eriş 2012: 39).



Fig. 9 Document 4 (MKT. 397/1, 2 Muharrem 1316/23 Mays 1898)

would not be in a position to do so (Document 4 = Fig. 9).<sup>35</sup> Both the Antiquities Law (Cal 2005: 259-260) and the scope of the research permit granted to Dr Lehmann and Dr Belck clearly illustrates this situation.

Zühdū Pasha, the Education Minister,<sup>36</sup> in his letter dated June 11<sup>th</sup>, 1898 / 21 Muharrem 1316, states that 14 references (*teveccihname*) were sent to provincial governors, instructing them to facilitate Dr Lehmann and Dr Belck's explorations, who were charged by the German government with the investigation of ancient artefacts, the origin of species, and natural sciences, and carrying out surface surveys if necessary, and taking photographs. In view of the reports of their intention to excavate during their trip, it is stressed that this could only be carried out by meeting the conditions of the regulation, and that they only have the authority to carry out surface surveys. Also noted is that in the event that these reports are correct and excavation does take place, the necessary actions should be taken in order to comply with the regulation. The exact same issues are raised in a correspondence with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, dated June 12<sup>th</sup>, 1898 / 22 Muharrem 1316, that also instructs, in order to avoid future problems, all necessary measures to be taken in the event of a possible misuse of permit.<sup>37</sup>

Subsequent correspondence between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education, dating to July 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1898 / 12 Safer 1316, August 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1898 / 14 Rabiulevvel 1316, and August 4<sup>th</sup>, 1898 / 16 Rabiulevvel 1316, reiterate the problems that Dr Lehmann and Dr Belck's intention to excavate might create, and instruct the Ministry of Education to take the necessary actions in advance. A letter from the Ministry of Education on July 6<sup>th</sup>, 1898 / 16 Safer 1316, however, states that Dr. Lehmann and Dr. Belck's aim was to conduct surface surveys and that they would not attempt to excavate, and therefore, no further action was necessary.<sup>38</sup>

The letter from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, dated November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1898 / 18 Cemazeyilahir 1316, presents crucial details on the history of excavations and attempts of excavation. It begins by stating that without an official permit Lehmann and Belck were not entitled to carry out

<sup>35</sup> MKT. 397/1, 2 Muharrem: 1316/23 Mays 1898.

<sup>36</sup> Maarif-i Umumiye Nazari.

<sup>37</sup> BEO. 1142/85587, 24 Muharrem 1316/14 Haziran 1898.

<sup>38</sup> BEO. 1152/86381, 16 Safer 1316/6 Temmuz 1898; BEO. 1171/87788, 18 Rabiulevvel 1316/6 Ağustos 1898.

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investigations on ancient artefacts in the provinces at stake, and that it would be illegal for them to conduct any such pursuits. Referring to a telegram sent by the local Education Accounts Directorate, which informs of two German Doctors who are going to start excavating the following day and that they will be taking the artefacts they would unearth, the letter states that this is against the regulation as well as their permit, and that under no condition should an excavation take place without further instructions (Document 5 = Fig. 10).<sup>39</sup>

The governor of Van, Tahir Pasha, in a letter to the Ministry of Interior on November 30<sup>th</sup>, 1898 / 18 Teşrinisani 1314, shares some information he received from the police department. Using a small gadget that he was carrying on his chest, Dr. Lehmann was taking photographs of Armenian houses, burnt down during a conflict.<sup>40</sup> On another document dated December 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1898 / 19 Receb 1316, there are instructions for Dr Lehmann and Dr Belck to follow, and in the case of an issue this should be reported secretly. The letter also asks about the necessary measures regarding the photographs Dr Lehmann took (Document 6 = Fig. 11).<sup>41</sup>

The governor of Mosul, Hazim Pasha, in a letter to the Ministry of Education on May 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1899 / 20 Nisan 1315, refers to four inscribed stones, which Monsieur Lehmann, had unearthed by himself from the Nimrud ruin, and was in the process of transporting them. In a letter sent to the governorship of Mosul on May 6<sup>th</sup>, 1899 / 25 Zilhicce 1316, it is emphasized that Dr Lehmann and his companion's permit only allows for surface surveys, and as this does not give them the right to excavate or transport artefacts, the governorship is instructed to confiscate the items and keep them under protection at the governorship and send their photographs to the Ministry. The letter specifically emphasizes that excavations are subject to official permits in accordance with the regulation, and therefore excavations without permits should be prohibited. In another letter sent to on May 6<sup>th</sup>, 1899 / 25 Zilhicce 1316, Mehmet Tevfik the Deputy Education Director of Mosul informs the Ministry of Education that Dr Lehmann and his companion had excavated at Nimrud and that four inscribed artefacts were about to be transported, but that the stones were confiscated by the governorship and the actions of these two persons were reported in detail in two telegrams sent to the Minister of Education and the director of the Imperial Museum. A letter sent to the High School (*Mekteb-i İdadî*) Directorate of Mosul on July 4<sup>th</sup>, 1899 / 22 Haziran 1315, gives instructions not to let Dr Lehmann and his companion Belck excavate without a permit, and to inform the local government immediately in case foreigners or locals excavate for artefacts.<sup>42</sup>

In a letter dated September 5<sup>th</sup>, 1899 / 28 Rabiulahir 1317, there are specific instructions not to let anyone excavate for ancient artefacts without a prior permit – based on the information obtained from the governorship of Mosul, which informs about Dr Lehmann and Dr Belck's illicit excavation at Nimrud during which they unearthed four stones and brought them to Mosul.<sup>43</sup>

Lehmann-Haupt's investigations on May 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1899<sup>44</sup> at the Lice-Tigris tunnel is the subject of a ciphered message sent from Diyarbekir on June 5<sup>th</sup>, 1899 / 24 Mayıs 1315, which states that Dr. Lehmann and the Russian consul in Van met at the caves in the vicinity of Lice (Tigris tunnel) and on the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the month, on a Sunday morning, went to Çapakçur (Bingöl), in the *Genç sancak* of the province of Bitlis, and that Dr. Lehmann took photographs and copied the images and inscriptions at the entrances of two caves (Lehmann 1901: 226–244, Fig. 1–4).<sup>45</sup> Another letter reports the departure of Dr Lehmann and Dr. Belck from Van on February 14<sup>th</sup>, 1900 / 2 Şubat 1315, and their arrival in Cizre on March 14<sup>th</sup>, 1900 / 1 Mart 1316, via Gevaş, Karçıkan, Bitlis and Siirt, and states that Dr. Belck returned to Van and Dr. Lehmann travelled to Erzincan, stopping at Midyat, Lice, Palu, Mazgirt, Harput, Malatya, Eğin, and Kemah.<sup>46</sup>

All of the correspondence examined reveals explicitly and recurrently that the permit given to Lehmann-Haupt and Belck was for the investigation of ancient artefacts, the origin of the species,

<sup>39</sup> BEO. 1206/90387, 18 Cemazeyilahir 1316/3 Kasım 1898.

<sup>40</sup> DH. ŞFR. 229/63, 18 Teşrinisani 1314/30 Kasım 1898.

<sup>41</sup> DH. MKT. 2143/16, 19 Receb 1316/3 Aralık 1898.

<sup>42</sup> ME. MKT. 447/77, 25 Zilhicce 1316/6 Mayıs 1899.

<sup>43</sup> DH. MKT. 2242/130, 28 Rabiulahir 1317/5 Eylül 1899.

<sup>44</sup> DH. MKT. 2197/1, 29 Zilhicce 1316/10 Mayıs 1899; DH.

<sup>45</sup> MKT. 2242/130, 28 Rabiulahir 1317/5 Eylül 1899.

<sup>46</sup> For the details of Lehmann-Haupt's Tigris tunnel itinerary see Lehmann-Haupt 1910: 430–462.

<sup>47</sup> Y. PRK. UM, 46/54, 25 Muharrem 1317/5 Haziran 1899.

<sup>48</sup> DH. MKT. 2242/130, 28 Rabiulahir 1317/5 Eylül 1899. For the joint and separate itineraries of Lehmann-Haupt and Belck see (Schachtler 2009: 257–261, Abb. 249).

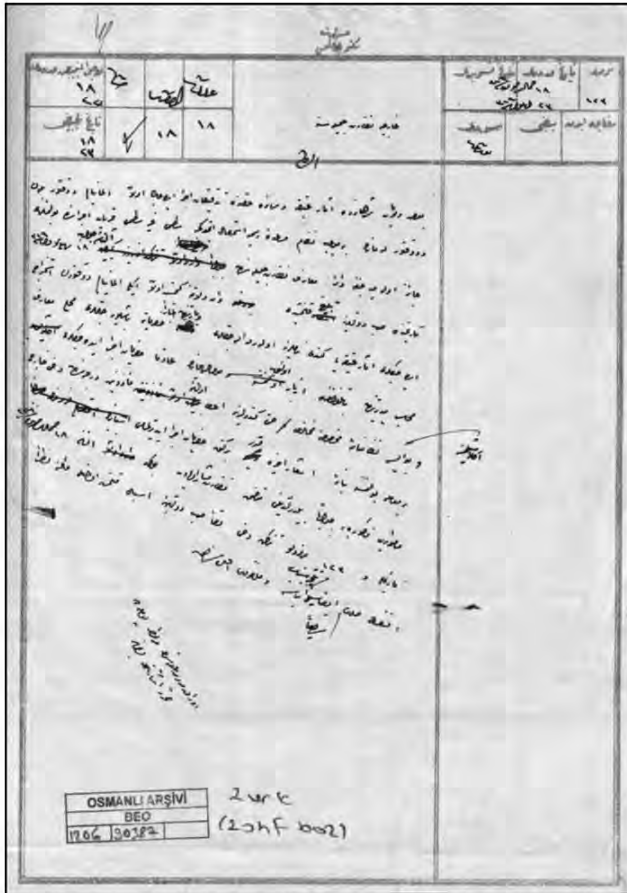


Fig. 10 Document 5 (BEO. 1206/90387, 18 Cemazeyilahir 1316/3 Kasım 1898)

and natural sciences, which if necessary could involve surface surveys and photography, in seven provinces including Baghdad, Mosul, Van, Mamuretülaziz, Erzurum, Bitlis and Trabzon. Lehmann-Haupt and Belck, on the other hand, legitimize their actions in Toprakkale by stating that they interpreted the permit in the sense of “*oberflächlich ausgraben*” (surface excavation) (Belck and Lehmann-Haupt 1898: 578). The documents we have introduced above, however, especially those covering the years of 1898 and 1899, clearly state that the permit they had was actually, in today’s terminology, for surface surveys, that it was under no circumstances an excavation permit, and that any infringement would cause problems. These documents also plainly demonstrate contrary to previous statements (Sevin 2003: 5) the Ottoman State’s interest in

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Fig. 11 Document 6 (DH. MKT. 2143/16, 19 Receb 1316/3 Aralık 1898)

archaeology, excavations and ancient artefacts, and its control mechanisms in distant provinces of the empire.

The dates Lehmann-Haupt and Belck refer to in relation to their excavation need to be revisited based on these documents. In their report dating November 30<sup>th</sup>, 1898, Lehmann-Haupt and Belck mention that they had been excavating for the last two months with up to 80-100 workers, but in the report<sup>47</sup> of November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1898, it is stated that they will begin excavating the following day and doing so would be against the regulation<sup>48</sup> and outside the scope of their

<sup>47</sup> BEO. 1206/90387, 18 Cemazeyilahir 1316/3 Kasım 1898.

<sup>48</sup> For the Ottoman regulations (Asar-ı Atika Nizamnameleri) of 1869, 1874, 1884 and 1906 see (Çal 1997: 391-400; Çal 2003: 234-270; Eniş 2012: 27-33).

permit, and therefore they should not be in any way allowed to excavate. The "following day" in the report should refer to November 4<sup>th</sup>, 1898, in which case it would not have been possible for the explorers to excavate during the previous two months.

It is clear from the correspondence the two explorers were closely followed and periodically reported on by the state officials during their work in the region. In the correspondence of 1898 and 1899, it is specifically noted that they were not allowed to excavate and that the situation should not become a problem. The Ottoman State knew about a small gadget Lehmann-Haupt was carrying on his chest, so it is highly unlikely that it was not aware of an excavation continuing in the midst of Van for almost two months with 80-100 men and had permitted that excavation – and the correspondence above fully reveals the situation. Bearing in mind the fact that Belck was injured near Adilcevaz<sup>49</sup> and that therefore all eyes were on these two explorers make it all the more implausible for them to have been carrying out an excavation at Toprakkale for two months in spite of the various cautions and reports, and therefore the subject remains controversial. Nevertheless, it is still a possibility for them to have performed an illicit excavation through their connections with local people such as Mkrtitsch Maksapetian.<sup>50</sup> We know from the above correspondence that they had indeed carried out an illicit excavation at Nimrud.<sup>51</sup> It is understood that Lehmann-(Haupt) and Belck had been in Nimrud and Diyarbekir from the spring of 1899 onwards, therefore it would not have been possible for them to implement an excavation in Toprakkale.

It is clear that Lehmann-(Haupt) and Belck did not excavate at Toprakkale in 1898-1899 with firmans from Istanbul (Sevin 2003: 4). To infer that their excavations, considered as a significant milestone in the Urartian studies, were performed meticulously, and to define them as the first scientific study on the subject would be erroneous. The site has not provided new or rich data on Urartian culture and history (Salvini 2006: 18). Certain other issues call us to reconsider Lehmann and Belck's activities at Toprakkale, such as the fact that they reveal little on the archaeological context (Zimansky 2011: 60-61), they do not publish an architectural plan, and also the discrepancies surrounding the dates they excavated as well as the lack of an excavation permit. Although many other artefacts were published in subsequent years, they did not publish any plans of the site.<sup>52</sup> The only drawing relevant to Toprakkale is the one where the Van Citadel and its vicinity are depicted (Fig. 12), in which the site is roughly sketched (Lehmann-Haupt 1931: II/2). Barnett finds it peculiar that, like Rassam, Lehmann-Haupt did not publish any plans showing the site or its buildings, and remarks that all the information on Toprakkale relies on a single photograph Rassam published in his book (Rassam 1897: 376; Barnett 1950: 13). Aside from Rassam's plan of the temple, Clayton and Lehmann-Haupt's sketches are far from providing insight into the architectural layout of Toprakkale.

*Iosif Abgarovich Orbeli* It is said that Orbeli excavated at Toprakkale in person in 1912 and discovered various items. Only a short report exists on his work (Barnett 1950: 25-26; Barnett 1982: 318). It is most likely, however, that he began his excavation in 1911. He made his permit application for his explorations in Van on May 15<sup>th</sup>, 1911 / May 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1327 and in a response letter, dated June 1<sup>st</sup>, 1911 / 3 Cemaziyelahir 1329 there are instructions for his work to be facilitated.<sup>53</sup> The short reports on this excavation note the actual date of the excavation.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>49</sup> DH. MKT. 2122/17, 7 Cemaziyelahir 1316/23 Ekim 1898; DH. MKT. 2134/71, 1 Receb 1316/15 Kasım 1898.

<sup>50</sup> Lehmann-Haupt, in his book on his work at Toprakkale, refers to Mkrtitsch Maksapetian as his excavation supervisor (Lehmann-Haupt 1926: 119; Lehmann-Haupt 1931: 469).

<sup>51</sup> MF. MKT. 447/47, 25 Zilhicce 1316/6 Mayıs 1899; DH. MKT. 2242/130, 28 Rabulahir 1317/5 Eylül 1899; DH. MKT. 2197/1, 29 Zilhicce 1316/10 Mayıs 1899.

<sup>52</sup> Baki Ögün states that the temple was excavated during Lehmann-Haupt's work at Toprakkale in 1898 and that a complete plan was drawn (Ögün 1984: 36); however, the whereabouts of this plan remains unknown.

<sup>53</sup> Sent to the Ministry of Interior (Dahiliye Nezareti) from the War Ministry (Harbiye Nazarı) in response to a telegram dated May 15<sup>th</sup>, 1911 / May 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1327. It states that they were informed by the Russian Embassy of Mr. Orbeli, an assistant teacher at Petersburg University, who wished to make explorations in the province of Van. Following correspondence, the Third Army inspectors sent a telegram approving Mr. Orbeli's visit, and stating that this would not be of an issue with the army, they say that they will facilitate his work.

<sup>54</sup> Farnakovski in *Materiali po Arkeologii Rusii*, 1912, Vol. 34; *Zapiski Vostochnago Otdeljena Imperatorskago*

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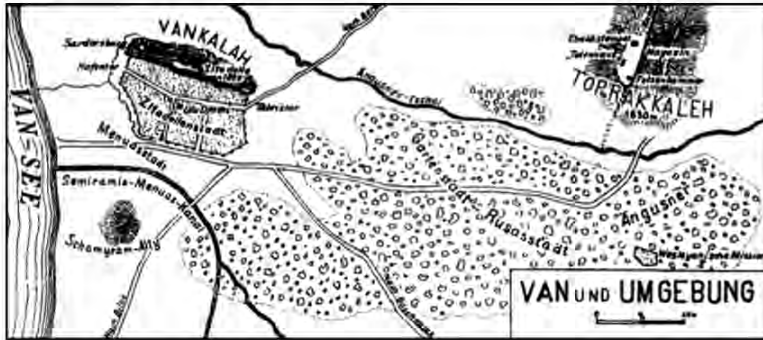


Fig. 12 The sketch of Van Citadel and Toprakkale drawn by Lehmann-Haupt (Lehmann-Haupt 1931: II/2)

*Afif Erzen*. After a long hiatus, a team led by Erzen began excavating at Toprakkale in 1959 (Erzen 1960: 716 718; Erzen, *et al.* 1960: 5 22) and continued until 1963 (Erzen 1961: 526 528; Erzen, *et al.* 1961: 33 35; Erzen 1962: 623 624; Erzen 1963: 541 542; Erzen 1964: 568 572; Erzen 1967: 53 64). Erzen directed a second period of excavations in 1976 77 (Erzen 1977a: 1 59; Erzen 1977b: 58 59; Erzen 1977c: 622 623; Erzen 1978a: 1 15; Erzen 1978b: 539 540; Erzen 1980: 45 58; Erzen 1981: 69 70). By that time, after the excavations of the British and the Germans, there was not much left at the Temple of Haldi, other than several courses of stone (Figs. 13 15).

The early years of the excavation were spent cleaning the rubble and ruins of previous excavations, and surveying the square foundation plan of the Temple of Haldi (13.80m x 13.80m) (Erzen 1962: 402). As with the temple in Aznavurtepe (Boysal 1961: 200 201), 20x20 cm square pits cut 3 4 cm deep into the bedrock were useful in retrieving the ground plan of the temple. Afif Erzen's work concentrated on the temple, a storage building and related chambers. There is no reference to any fortification or palace building.

Excavated five times within a century, it is the subject of another debate as to how much remains of the citadel of Toprakkale, considered to be the start of Urartian archaeology (Figure 14). Contemporary photographs, foundation pits on the bedrock, and some scattered blocks in particular display this situation (Figures 6 8). The lack of a foundation inscription of the citadel makes it all the more difficult and questionable as to when and by whom it was founded.<sup>55</sup> Both

Russkago Archeologicheskago Ochschetva, 1911 12, pp. lxxvii-xxxix.

<sup>55</sup> Excavations at Toprakkale revealed a shield east of the temple about 4m off the eastern foundation (Erzen 1961: 527; Erzen 1967: 62; Resim 20 21). The inscription revealed it was dedicated to Haldi by Rusa, son of Erimena (CTU B 14). Finds on which the names of both Rusa, son of Argišti, and Rusa, son of Erimena are depicted demonstrate that Toprakkale was used by both kings. The name of Rusa, son of Argišti appears on a clay tablet (CTU CT Tk-1) and a plain, undecorated bronze shield (CTU B 12 8). A royal seal impression on a clay bulla (CTU CB Tk-1), linked to Rusa, son of Argišti (Seidl 2012: 177), is about a plough-ox purchased in Arduni. The name of Rusa, son of Erimena, appears on ten bronze shields and fragments (CTU CB 14-1, 14-2, 14-3, 14-4, 14-5, 14-6, 14-7, 14-8, 14-9, 14-11). The name of Rusa, on the other hand, appears on one bronze candelabra (CTU B 12-8), a quiver (CTU B 18-4) and a seal impression (CTU Sig. 19-2). These finds, however, do not provide information on the foundation of Toprakkale.

A clue comes from 25 km east, from the Keşiş Lake. A stele discovered by Belck in 1891 (Belck - Lehmann-Haupt 1892: 122 152) refers to a reservoir named "Lake of Rusa", constructed by the Urartian king Rusa, and by opening canals he brought water to a city called Rusahini (CTU 14-1; Payne 2006: 285 286). A bulla unearthed in Bastam (CTU CB Ba-6) reads "the year Rusa Argišti(-hi) ascended the throne in Rusahini before Mountain Qilba(ni)". These two finds were generally taken as evidence for dating Toprakkale to the period of Rusa, son of Argišti. Therefore, it has been suggested that Rusahini/Toprakkale was founded when Rusai URU.TUR/Bastam was in existence (Salvini 2006: 117). Two stele fragments found in the upper part of the Göveick village, however, complete the Keşiş Lake stele, the inscriptions (CTU A 14-1) on which prove that Toprakkale was founded by Rusa, son of Erimena, whose name also appears on a second stele with a similar text found in Savacı (CTU A 14-2). This king explicitly states that he was the first king to build a canal here but the issue whether he actually was the king who founded



Fig. 13 Toprakkale (K. Işık)

Clayton and Rassam refer to basalt blocks in their descriptions of the temple. Rassam finds it unnecessary to send one to the British Museum, saying they are “bulky” and without any inscriptions (Rassam 1897: 378). Figures 2 4 shows the entrance to the temple and the dispersed stone blocks. The fact that there are no inscribed stones at this location is peculiar when compared with other Urartian temples of other citadels.

#### Conclusion

Architectural fragments of Toprakkale, especially the finds collected in legal and illegal excavations carried out in the 1870s in the Haldi temple, can be found in various museum collections across the world. They attracted attention on the antiquities market from early on, resulting in more excavations, which ultimately contributed to the destruction of the site.

The figurines and fragments, considered to belong to a throne in Toprakkale (Srvandztyants 1874: 132 133; Barnett 1950: 43; Merhav 1991: 254 255; Seidl 1994: 67 84; Seidl 1996: 185 186; Seidl 2004: 44) have no parallels in other Urartian period temples. The finds were dispersed to different locations and their context remains unclear. It is hardly likely that these fragments, some obtained through purchase, would belong to a single throne. Not only the excavations of that period are shady but also the supposition that fragments of the same throne were unearthed by different people in a temple that has been excavated numerous times is rather dubious. They can be decorative pieces of other objects obtained or purchased elsewhere.<sup>56</sup> Uncertainty looms over the

Rusañinili/Toprakkale continues to be discussed (Seidl 2012: 178).

<sup>56</sup>Wartke, who examined the siren in the Berlin Vorderasiatischen Museum, stated that it came to the museum through the London antiquities market and not from Toprakkale (Wartke 1985: 87 100; Salvini 2006: 191). Salvini, on the other hand, states that the siren and bull fragments are quite rare in the Urartu, and writes that the only artefact from a known Urartian archaeological context

originates from a rock tomb in Alişar/Verachram/Shotlu on the shores of the Aras River in Iran (Salvini 2006: 191). These artefacts are known to have been found by local villagers in Alişar, and later passed on to the Hermitage Museum in 1859 (Piotrovsky 1967: 37; Piotrovsky 1969: 15, Pl. 103,105,108). The exact location of where they were discovered and their context are controversial. Artefacts that were purchased by various museums and said to have

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Fig. 14 Toprakkale and foundation beds (K. Işıık)

exact location of where these furniture fragments were discovered, and they hardly seem to belong to a throne (Çilingirođlu 2008: 341-346). It is similarly difficult to envisage Toprakkale,<sup>57</sup> devoid of any inscriptions on the temple (Rassam 1897: 378), as a capital (Burney 1957: 42; Erzen 1967: 53-54; Burney - Lang 1971: 162; Zimansky 2005: 237). In view of the destruction of Muřařır, we should, nevertheless, consider that the Urartian kings may have needed a centre in which to carry out cult rituals and coronation ceremonies much like at the Haldi temple in Muřařır (Sevin 2006: 147; Sevin 2012: 103).

Examination of the excavation periods of Toprakkale reveals conflicting results. The first known excavation in Van is known to have been somewhere other than Toprakkale. Layard, who came to Van in 1849, carried out a short excavation at the Treasure Gate/Analıkız, on the northeastern slope of the Van Citadel (Layard 1853: 398-399) but he does not refer to any finds. We understand from archival documents that Layard knew of "a bronze bull one-third of the size of the animal with a human head and a bull's body, one large eagle and two carved snakes" before 1860 and that he somehow got hold of them in the vicinity of Van. Therefore, Rassam's dispatch to Toprakkale by Layard cannot have been solely on the basis of the purchased bronze artefacts, which demonstrate a striking resemblance to the artefacts said to have been discovered in Toprakkale. Layard's relationship with people like Devgants or Srvandztyants, who collected artefacts in Van, paid for illicit excavations and sold the discovered items abroad, should be kept in mind. Hyvernat's desire to purchase a bronze shield from Toprakkale (Müller-Simonis and Hyvernat 1892: 193-194) further demonstrates that Toprakkale served more as a place to obtain artefacts than an archaeological excavation.

The date of Layard's permit (August 16<sup>th</sup>, 1880) and the date when Dr Reynolds and Captain Emilius Clayton, the British Vice-Consul, who were charged with digging Toprakkale, began their excavations show a discrepancy. In his letter to Layard dated May 11<sup>th</sup>, 1880, Clayton states that

been found in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in places such as Toprakkale and Aliřar need to be re-assessed.

<sup>57</sup>The temples at Kayalıdere and Altıntepe do not have inscriptions either.



Fig. 15 Stones remaining from the temple area (K. Işık)

work began on March 3<sup>rd</sup>, which, in view of the August-dated permit, makes the excavation controversial. The same goes for Lehmann-Haupt and Belck. Reports covering the years 1898 and 1899 (Table 2) establish that their permit was in fact, in today's terminology, a survey permit, and demonstrate that they were allowed to carry out research in Baghdad, Mosul, Van, Mamuretülaziz, Erzurum, Bitlis and Trabzon, but that it was under no condition to be viewed as an excavation permit, and that any violation in that regard would cause problems. It is specifically emphasised that they were not allowed to excavate. It is clear that Lehmann-Haupt and Belck's work in the region had been closely monitored by Ottoman agencies. To think that they excavated close to the centre of Van for two months with about 100 people without the knowledge of the Ottoman State or that the state allowed them to do so is quite improbable. According to the reports of October 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1898 and November 15<sup>th</sup> 1898, the events following Belck's injury near Adilcevaz drew attention to these two researchers. Lehmann-Haupt's various travels in October, including to Keşiş Lake on October 13<sup>th</sup>, 1898 (Lehmann-Haupt 1926: 40), Astwadzaschën/Çavuştepe on October 27<sup>th</sup>, 1898 (Lehmann-Haupt 1926: 60), and further investigations in the same region on October 29<sup>th</sup>-30<sup>th</sup>, 1898 (Lehmann-Haupt 1926: 67-69) demonstrate that he was not in Toprakkale during that month. His investigations on the Minua Canal from November 13<sup>th</sup> onwards also show that he was not present at the site. Lehmann-Haupt continued his surveys during those months. His and Belck's dates do not match one another either. While the report dated November 30<sup>th</sup>, 1898<sup>58</sup> states that the team had been excavating at Toprakkale for two months, another report dated November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1898 gives the next day as the starting day of the excavation. Ottoman documents, on the other hand, emphasise that the situation is a breach of the

<sup>58</sup> November 30<sup>th</sup>, 1898, when Lehmann-Haupt and Belck claim that they had been digging for the last two months in

Toprakkale is the same date as the correspondence of Tahir, the governor of Van, with the Ministry of Interior.

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Antiquities Act (1884 Nizamname) and that they should not be allowed to start an excavation under any circumstances. It remains unclear how they could excavate for two months, in spite of these warnings and reports, Belck's injury and Lehmann-Haupt's travels in the region. The entire issue is controversial.

Other reports covering the months of May, July, and September 1899 state that they had been illegally excavating in Nimrud while possessing only a survey permit, and that this permit did not grant them the uncovering and transportation of artefacts. The local authority was instructed to confiscate the items, and keep them safe at the governorship, and to send their photographs. They were also reminded that excavations were subject to permits and that they should not be allowed to remove artefacts or to excavate without obtaining a permit first. Lehmann-Haupt and Belck's work near Mosul in 1899 does significantly prove their absence from Toprakkale during that period. Their investigations in seven provinces and their illicit excavations were immediately reported or prevented. But the presence of people like Devgants, Maksapetian and Kamsarakan, who collected artefacts in the Van region and put them up for sale on the antiquities market is known. As with Layard, Lehmann-Haupt's relationship with them should be considered.

The complexity that began with the excavation periods of Toprakkale, which was dug by Dr Reynolds, Captain Emilius Clayton, Hormuzd Rassam, Iosif Abgarovich Orbeli and Afif Erzen, continues with the controversy over the finds. It is highly likely that the artefacts believed to be unearthed at Toprakkale created a Toprakkale market, which meant that a diverse range of artefacts unearthed elsewhere in the area began to be sold as Toprakkale goods. This site, considered to be where Urartian archaeology began, has only exacerbated issues relating to the period of Rusa, son of Erimena.

### Abbreviations

HR. MKT.:	Hariciye Nezareti Mektubî Kalemî
BEO.:	Bab-ı Ali Evrak Odası
DH. MKT.:	Dahiliye Nezareti Mektubî Kalemî
DH. ŞFR.:	Dahiliye Nezareti Şifre Kalemî
HR. TO.:	Hariciye Nezareti Tercüme Odası
İ. DH.:	İrade Dahiliye
İ. HR.:	İrade Hariciye
MF. MKT.:	Maarif Nezareti Mektubî Kalemî
Y. PRK. UM.:	Yıldız Perakende Umumi
Y. PRK. EŞA.:	Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Elçilik, Şehbenderlik ve Ataşemilerlik

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