

## THE BILINGUAL STELE OF RUSA I FROM MOVANA (WEST-AZERBAIJAN, IRAN)

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The recent discovery and the first publication by an Iranian scholar<sup>1</sup> of a new Urartian cuneiform stele provide an important new document for the reconstruction of the earliest history of Iranian Azerbaijan. The stele was found in September 1995 near Movana, West Azerbaijan (fig. 1). Now it is exhibited in the central room of the Museum of Urumiyeh (Urmia), near the stele of Kelišin, which was moved there some years ago from its millenary position on the homonymous pass of the Zagros range. We were able to work on the monument and to analyze the text in the Urumiyeh Museum in May 1997<sup>2</sup>, and to collate it anew in May 2000.

The village of Movana<sup>3</sup> lies some 30 km W of Urumiyeh, ca 20 N of Silvaneh and ca 30 km E from the Turkish frontier. The place where the stele was discovered lies in the fields 1 or 2 km further W of the village. According

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<sup>1</sup> Rasul Bašāš Kanzaq, Qarāʾat-e katibeh-ye sang-e yādbud tāzeh yāb rustā-ye Movā-nā yā sarzamin-e Ārdā va Āšeh (Urumiyeh) [= Reading of the inscription of the stele recently found in the village of Movānā or in the region of Ārdā va Āšeh (Urmia)], *Mirathe-e Farhangi* (Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization Periodical), 15, 1996, 102-109.

<sup>2</sup> We owe the permission to work on the text to the authorities of the *Mirathe-e Farhangi* of Tehran (Mr Kazeruni) and Urumiyeh (Mr Heidari). We wish to thank for their help during our stay in Urumiyeh M. Gorbani, Director of the Museum, B. Kargar, Archaeologist, K. H. Nazlu and E. Pakdanjan. A special mention is due to Arch. M. Foadmarashi, who welcomed us in Urumiyeh and helped us in many ways during those days of concentrated work. Without the encouragement and hospitality of R. Boucharlat, Director of the "Institut Français de Recherche en Iran" (IFRI), or his help in contacts with the Iranian Authorities, before and after our arrival in Tehran, our trip and our work would not have been possible. We also want to mention Mr M. Akbari of the IFRI. Our deepest gratitude goes also to Hamid Khatib Shahidi, Professor at the University of Karaj, who is engaged in extending Urartian studies, for his kind welcome and help. We will support his projects for future research.

<sup>3</sup> In the Dehestan of Tergavar, Baxš of Selvana (Silvaneh), Šahrestan of Urumiyeh; cf. R. B. Kanzaq, *ibid.*

to information provided by the local people it was reemployed in recent times to cover a tomb. We have seen the exact place in the fields west of Movana. Its original position cannot have been very far from this point because of two considerations: 1. the poor nature of its reemployment would exclude transportation over any great distance, and 2. the hole (10 cm in diameter) which pierces the top of the stele (see figs. 8 and 29) seems to have been made in modern times in order to attach a rope so that it could be dragged by oxen. This could partially explain the almost general abrasion of the surface. Only the hoped-for discovery of the stele base may inform us further on its original position.

This stele contains an Urartian-Assyrian bilingual text of the Urartian king Rusa I (ca 730-714 B.C.). It is the third document of this sort to be known after the duplicate stelae of Topzawa and of Mergeh Karvan, which were published some years ago<sup>4</sup>. The new stele of Movana is complete (only the base is missing) and therefore exceeds the fragmentary stelae of Topzawa and Mergeh Karvan in size (see fig. 2). Its measurements are: height 2,73 m, width 68 cm and thickness 34 cm. The relation of its text to the common text of both duplicates of Topzawa and Mergeh Karvan will be discussed below, after the presentation of the text in transcription, and, as far as possible, in translation. Autographic copies (figs. 3-11) and photos<sup>5</sup> (figs. 4-35) complete the documentation.

*Face I – Obverse (Urartian Version) – figs. 3-5, 13-22*

1. [p̄hal]–di–e e–ú–ri<sup>6</sup>
2. [i–n]i NA<sup>4</sup>pu–lu–ú–si
3. [m̄r]u–sa–še m̄D<sup>5</sup>sar<sub>5</sub>–du–ri–ḫi–ni–[še]

<sup>4</sup> M. Salvini, *La bilingue urarteo-assira di Rusa I*, in: P. E. Pecorella, M. Salvini et al., *Tra lo Zagros e l'Urmia. Ricerche storiche ed archeologiche nell'Azerbaigian Iraniano*, Roma 1984, pp. 79-95 (further quoted as *Zagros*). The circumstances of the discovery of the Mergeh Karvan stele and its find place are described by H. Kh. Shahidi, *Narrazione personale della scoperta della stele urartea di Mergeh Karvan*, «SMEA» XL, 1998, 131-142.

<sup>5</sup> All the photographs were taken by us in 1997 and 2000. We wish to thank the authorities of the Museum Urumiyeh and Mr. Ing. Foadmarashi for helping us in this operation.

<sup>6</sup> There is no trace, nor would it appear, space for the sign *e*, indicating the dative. This is usually present in the numerous attestations of the term. There is, however, at least one case in which we must of necessity read *e–ú–ri*. It is the stele of Karahan 1, line 1, see M. Dinçol – E. Kavaklı, *Die neuen urartäischen Inschriften aus der Umgebung von Van* («JKF», Bh 1), Istanbul 1978, 49, and M. Salvini, «SMEA» XXII, 1980, 171: the photograph of Pl. II clearly shows that *ri* is the last sign in the line. Therefore, in this case too the same writing is possible.

4. [ku–g]u–ú–ni ul–gu–ši–ia–ni e–di–[ni]
5. [iš–t]e–di m̄ru–sa–ni m̄D<sup>5</sup>sar<sub>5</sub>–du–ri–[ḫi]
6. [p̄hal]–di–e–i LU<sup>7</sup>[R?]–ri<sup>8</sup>? HÚL? KI D[I?] <sup>7</sup>
7. [p̄hal?]–ri<sup>9</sup>?–še ri<sup>8</sup>?–ri x<sup>9</sup> x du–ri<sup>10</sup>? [x?]
8. [x]–x–du–ú–ni ḫi<sup>11</sup> ri<sup>12</sup>? [x] ti–a–li
9. [x x]–di–ku–ia–n[i? x?]–ri<sup>13</sup>–ri i–[x]
10. [x x] šá<sup>13</sup> DINGIR/ti<sup>14</sup> [x?] <sup>15</sup> bi<sup>1</sup>–di–[ni] ka<sup>16</sup>–a<sup>17</sup>–[x]
11. [x] x di ri<sup>1</sup> x [x?] ni ti x<sup>17</sup> [x] x [x x]
12. [x x] ú–ri<sup>18</sup>–[di?] <sup>19</sup> iš–te<sup>1</sup>–[di? x x x x?]
13. [x x–d]i–ri<sup>20</sup> (–)[x x?] x [x x]–si–ni<sup>21</sup> [x?]
14. [x]–x–ri šú–x<sup>22</sup>–[x x GU<sub>4</sub>]<sup>MES</sup> UDU<sup>MES</sup> [x?]

<sup>7</sup> This sign begins with a triangular wedge, perhaps d[i]. It is impossible to restore the title which follows the already known title of "servant of Ḫaldi". We can only say that the remaining traces prevent any restoration such as that in Topzawa Ur. line 25': see *Zagros*, 87.

<sup>8</sup> *te* is also possible, but the vertical wedge is not certain and the space between the two signs appears too small.

<sup>9</sup> Possibly *e*; cf. M. Salvini, «Belleten» 37, 1973, 283, stone d line 1: *te–ri–e?* [ ].

<sup>10</sup> The traces suggest, on a second viewing, also an *i*.

<sup>11</sup> Possible phonetic reading *ḫi* and *tí*.

<sup>12</sup> There is no Urartian word with these signs.

<sup>13</sup> The possibility of a reading NÍG has to be rejected, because this sign, in all its occurrences, is constantly to be read as the Akkadogram *ŠA*. The only word ending with *šá* is *gu–nu–šá*, a locative of *gunuše* "battle"; but it has no sense here and the trace of the preceding sign does not correspond to a *nu*, but rather to *ba*, *ḫu*, *ri* or *ar*.

<sup>14</sup> Less probable is *ti*; a sequence \**šá–an* is not attested, nor is \**šá–ti*.

<sup>15</sup> There is not enough space for *p̄hal–di*, which would fit very well with the following signs and reconstruct the frequent expression *p̄hal–di bi–di–ni*. We can try to restore a logographic god name, such as *UTU* or *IM*.

<sup>16</sup> If there was a triangular wedge at the left, we would have *UGU*, which would be hapax in Urartian.

<sup>17</sup> If *a*, cf. *ti–a–li* above line 8.

<sup>18</sup> From the photograph this sign seems to be *URU*, but this would mean that the previous word ends with *ú*, whilst the sign following could only be *MES*, of which no trace may be seen.

<sup>19</sup> Given the state of the calcareous stone, punctured in this place, it is likely that there was no sign there.

<sup>20</sup> Probably [p̄hal–d]i–ri<sup>1</sup>–[i]. Perhaps a title followed, as would be indicated by the possible presence in the previous line of the personal pronoun of the first person singular *ište*[di].

<sup>21</sup> This succession of signs is to be found in LU<sup>10</sup>AD–si–ni (UKN 155 G 2, UKN 168, 4) "paternal", or *e–si–ni* "place". The last sign of the line could be the genitive *–i*.

<sup>22</sup> The signs *ri* and *šú* are certain. Before *ri* we could have an *a* and after *šú* the upper horizontal wedge of a possible *si*. We could have two distinct words, the end of the first one and the beginning of a second: ]–ri<sup>1</sup>–ri šú–s[i?–. This could produce a tentative restitution [ḫa?–ri<sup>1</sup>–ri šú–s[i?–ni?]; ḫari "expedition" and šusini "first". But such a sequence is not attested yet.

15. [x]-a-ni<sup>23</sup> a-li [ x x ]<sup>24</sup> i na x<sup>24</sup> [ x x ]  
 16. [<sup>KUR</sup>]a[š]?-šur<sup>25</sup>? ga la<sup>26</sup>/te [x] [<sup>KUR</sup>]bi-a-i-[x-x]<sup>27</sup>  
 17. [x] x a-li ku-[x] x x x [x x]  
 18. [x] x<sup>28</sup>-ú-di<sup>29</sup> <sup>KUR</sup>bi-a-i-[x]-x [x x?]<sup>30</sup>  
 19. [x x?] x-tú-<sup>31</sup>di<sup>31</sup> <sup>KUR</sup>lu-lu<sup>31</sup>-i-<sup>32</sup>na<sup>32</sup>?-n[i]?<sup>32</sup>  
 20. [x x] x ú x [x] x [x] x [x x]  
 21. [x x] x x x [x] a i? [x x x]  
 (lines 22-24 only traces)  
 25. [x x x x] a/<sup>33</sup>e<sup>33</sup> ki [ x x x x x x ]  
 (lines 26-29 only traces)  
 30. [x x x] tú [x x x x x x x]  
 (lines 31-33 only traces)  
 34. [x x x x x x x x] x<sup>34</sup> bi a[ x x ]  
 35. [x x x x] x [x x x] <sup>35</sup>bi<sup>34</sup> bu ni x [x?]  
 36. [x x x] x [x x x] <sup>36</sup>a<sup>35</sup>?-ni a li e [x?]<sup>36</sup>  
 37. [x x x x x] x <sup>37</sup>AD<sup>37</sup>?-si-ni-<sup>38</sup>e<sup>37</sup>?  
 38. [x x x x x x x] i-ú ka-am-[ni]  
 39. [x] a [x] x [x] x e-ú/ki<sup>37</sup> x[ x]

<sup>23</sup> Perhaps [ma]-a-ni.

<sup>24</sup> Possible reading [<sup>KUR</sup>]bi?-<sup>31</sup>a<sup>31</sup>?-i-na-š[e?], cf. CICH 145 = UKN 268 = HchI 121 = KUKN 391 = \*CTU A 12-8, line 7.

<sup>25</sup> Before the shape of a šá we can distinguish the beginning of a single horizontal wedge, i.e. a[š]-šur<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> The sequence ga-la is attested only in the incomprehensible hapax ga-la-zi, UKN 97, 4. In any case there is apparently only one single sign missing, before <sup>KUR</sup>bi-a-i-[-].

<sup>27</sup> Possibly <sup>KUR</sup>bi-a-i-[ni]-[li]<sup>1</sup>, but is not sure.

<sup>28</sup> A vertical wedge is the right end of this sign, perhaps ku?

<sup>29</sup> For a possible restitution cf. a-ú-di UKN 268, 24; UKN 300, 3.

<sup>30</sup> Difficulty in judging the size of lacunae is evident in this case where we may see how the spaces between the individual signs vary greatly: KUR is almost attached to bi, whilst i is quite far from a.

<sup>31</sup> No verbal form is known with this ending. The only possibility would be to give a different value to Labat 381 (AS 221) and to read *ta* instead of *tú*; this would allow us to reconstitute the intransitive verbal form [uš]-ta-di “I marched”, i.e. towards the enemy lands (<sup>KUR</sup>luluina-).

<sup>32</sup> Possible also <sup>KUR</sup>lu-lu<sup>31</sup>-i-<sup>32</sup>na<sup>32</sup>?-ú<sup>31</sup>?, but the context is different, cf. <sup>KUR</sup>lu-lu-i-na-ú na-pa-hi-a-i-di (e.g. UKN II 388 6).

<sup>33</sup> The remnant vertical wedge shows that it is not KUR! We cannot restore here \*<sup>KUR</sup>biainili, we have, more probably, two separate words: x-x-bi a-[-].

<sup>34</sup> Or -q]u.

<sup>35</sup> <sup>35</sup>e<sup>35</sup> or z]a are also possible.

<sup>36</sup> A restitution a-li-e[-ki] would not fit in this context.

<sup>37</sup> We see no trace of the prolongation of the two horizontal wedges, which mark the distinction with ú. But the sequence e-ki<sup>4</sup> is not known elsewhere.

40. [x x] x x a x <sup>40</sup>GU<sup>40</sup>pa-hi-ni<sup>41</sup>[MEŠ]<sup>38</sup>  
 41. [x] x [x] x x <sup>41</sup>e<sup>41</sup>? x [x x x]  
 42. [x x GUŠKIN?] <sup>42</sup>KU<sup>42</sup>?<sup>41</sup>.BABBAR <sup>43</sup>URUDU<sup>43</sup>? [GU<sup>44</sup>MEŠ<sup>44</sup>? x x]<sup>39</sup>  
 43. [x] x x [x] <sup>43</sup>za<sup>43</sup>?<sup>40</sup> x [x x] x [x x]  
 44. [x x] a [x] x [x x x x x x]  
 45. [x x] i? na [x x x x x x x]  
 46. [x x] x x e [x x x x x x]  
 47. [x x x x x x] da x[ x x]  
 48. [x x x x x x] x n[i? x x]  
 49. [x x x x x x x] za i <sup>49</sup>a<sup>49</sup> [x x]  
 50. [x x x x x x x] <sup>50</sup>ur[u]-s[a-x x]  
 51. [x x] x [x x x x x] <sup>51</sup>hal-d[i-x]  
 52. [x] x tú? [ x x x x ] x ia? ni-e-[x]  
 53. [x x] e di [ x x x ] <sup>53</sup>a<sup>53</sup>-al-du-b[i]  
 54. [al?-z]i?-na-i<sup>41</sup> LU[GAL-li? <sup>54</sup>KUR<sup>54</sup>b]i-a-i-<sup>54</sup>na<sup>54</sup> ma-nu-<sup>54</sup>ú<sup>54</sup>?  
 55. [x]-x-e a-i-še-<sup>55</sup>e<sup>55</sup>-i i-[s]i<sup>42</sup>-e-š[i?]<sup>43</sup>  
 56. [<sup>56</sup>URU<sup>56</sup>a]r-di-ni-di ir-ba-la-ni gu-[ni]<sup>44</sup>  
 57. [a?]-še ti-a-<sup>57</sup>hi<sup>57</sup>-e i-e-še šú-si-ni KA[SKAL?]  
 58. [za?-du?]-ú-bi ka-ú-ri šú-ia-še LUGÁL<sup>58</sup>[MEŠ<sup>58</sup>]-[še?]  
 59. [<sup>59</sup>URU<sup>59</sup>a]r-di-ni-di ú-la-di x[ x]  
 60. x-te/la<sup>45</sup> <sup>60</sup>ur-za-na-še É.BÁRA-ni x [x?]<sup>46</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Every attestation of this word is preceded by a numeral, and MEŠ is the most probable restitution.

<sup>39</sup> The complete restitution is possible thanks to the Assyrian version, line 28'. The only completely certain sign is BABBAR.

<sup>40</sup> The traces suggest perhaps ÉRIN<sup>40</sup>[MEŠ]; but it is not supported by the Assyrian version.

<sup>41</sup> This word is attested in UKN II 448 9, UKN II 452 10; Mazgirt/Kaleköy, H.-P. Schäfer, «SMEA» XVIII, 1978, 256, line 4. See also al-zi-ni-e-i in the rock inscription of Kaisaran, UKN 301, line 2.

<sup>42</sup> This word is often attested in the following context: a-li i-si i-ku-ka-ni e-di-ni. See also the stele of Sisian, Rev. 20 i?-si-ni?, published by N. V. Harutjunjan, La nouvelle inscription ourartéenne découverte en Arménie soviétique, in: H. Klengel (Ed.), *Gesellschaft und Kultur im alten Vorderasien*, Berlin 1982, 89-93 (= \*CTU A 11-3).

<sup>43</sup> Could it be a first attestation of a word \*i-si-e-ši, a locative of esi “place”?

<sup>44</sup> Very likely restoration: cf. pa-a-ra-la-a-ni gu-ú-ni in the celebrative text of Minua, «SMEA» 22, 1980, Tab. 1 after p. 168, = \*CTU A 5-2A, line 5.

<sup>45</sup> The text has a clear *te*. We have to search for a bisyllabic word (x-te); but neither the obscure hapax bal-te (UKN 268, 7), nor ú-te fits with the visible trace of a sign ending with a vertical wedge. me-ri-ip-te (UKN II 448 17 // Ayanis, *susi* III 2), unkn. meaning, and uš-ti-ip-te (UKN 155 D 21) “expedition”, are too long for the lacuna. DUB-te would not make sense here. See the commentary below.

<sup>46</sup> The space is small, perhaps there was a logogram here.

61. [i-ku-k]a-ni<sup>47</sup> e-dini<sup>48</sup> sal-mat-ḫi-ni ḫa-ra-ri x?<sup>49</sup>  
(end of the front side)

*Commentary of Face I.*

Line 5 – *ištedi* means “I”, the first person of the personal pronoun, like Akkadian *anaku*; cf. C. Girbal, *Selbständige Pronomina der ersten Person Singular im Urartäischen*, in: *Kulturgeschichten. Altorientalistische Studien für Volkert Haas zum 65. Geburtstag* (hgg. von Th. Richter, D. Prechel, J. Klinger), Saarbrücken 2001 (further quoted as *Fs Haas*), 139-144.

Line 6 – One would expect the phonetic complement *-ra*, of <sup>LÜ</sup>*bura-* “servant, slave”.

Line 8 – Possible restoration of the verbal form at the beginning of the line with following forms: *za-du(-ú)-ni*, *passim*, *i-zi-du(-ú)-ni* HchI 125, obv. 32, Kefkalesi blocks, M. Salvini, «SMEA» XL, 1998, 124; *ú-bar-du-du-ni* UKN 280, 6; 281, 9; *ṭu-bar-du-ni* UKN 276 obv. 21 = HchI 125 obv. 17. Instead of the normal value *ši* of the last sign (IGI = Labat 449), we prefer the rare value *li*, which was first noticed in the Urartian script by K. Balkan, «Anatolia» 5, 1960, 123 (*ši-di-iš-tú-li*, cf. UKN II 374, 4), and that for the following reasons. The word *ti-a-li* can be interpreted as a present form of *ti-* “say”, and can be likened to *ti-a-ni*, which occurs in two texts of Minua, UKN 100, 3 and 124, 2; furthermore, if we read there *ti-a-lí* (Labat 231), as we propose, instead of *\*ti-a-ni*, we could have in all three occurrences *ti=a=li*, a perfect alternative form to *a-li-e* “he says”. A fourth occurrence can perhaps be restored in line 15 here below. König, HchI, p. 78 f. already recognized that *ti-a-ni* is synonymous of the verbal form *a-li-e*.

Line 9 – One could think of a passive form ending in *-uri*, like *agauri*, *kauri*, *šidauri*, *ušturi*, but they are attested so far only in negative sentences. None, by the way, have the repetition of the vowel *i* at the end. As to the very frequent word (<sup>GIS</sup>)*šú-ri(-i)* “weapon”, we do have in some attestations a *scriptio plena* *-ri-i*, but never *\*šú-ú-*. Moreover the context seems to be completely different. It is therefore preferable to separate it from the word

<sup>47</sup> This word must be restored also in Topzawa Ur. 32', following UKN 155 D 53 and E 56.

<sup>48</sup> Topzawa 32' has *-di-ni*; we have consequently to assume for this sign (Labat 465) the value *dini* (AS 270) here and in UKN 155 D 53. See already M. Salvini, «Belleten» 37, 1973, 285.

<sup>49</sup> This sentence interrupts the text, and corresponds to the last line of Topzawa; cf. the translation in *Zagros* 92 and 93. Perhaps there are traces of a sign, but there does not appear to be space for *te-ra-gi*, as in Topzawa.

ending with *ri* and to assume a bisyllabic word at the end of the line: *x]-ú-ri i-[x]*. But a reading *-š[i-x?]* is also possible.

Line 10 – The presence of *bi-di[-ni]* may enable us to reconstruct all the preceding text as a divine name, [<sup>D</sup>]x-šá-ti-[x]; but this would be a *hapax*. A possible restoration at the end of the line is *ka-ʾa¹[-ni]*, for which we can refer to UKN 18, '81, [24], 40: *ka-a-ni URUṭu-uš-[pa-...]*. Recently another attestation has been found on bronze rings from Yukarı Anzaf Kalesi: *ka-n[<sup>URJ</sup>Ua-mu-šá-ni*<sup>50</sup>.

Line 12 – The possibility of integrating *ula[di] ište[di]* “went I” is, in truth, in conflict with contexts like *ištedi uštadi KURPuluadiedi* (UKN 155 E 8) and *ištidi ulḫudi KURManaidi* (UKN 155 B 13), in which the subject (of the intransitive verb) precedes the verb. Otherwise, the verbal form *uladi* is attested without the subject being expressed: *ula=di KUREtiuni=edi* “I went towards / against the land of Etiuni” (UKN 155 F 4). We have, moreover, nominal phrases such as *ištedi Argišṭini Rusaḫi* “I, Argišṭi, son of Rusa” (stele of Sisian, line 15), and *ištedi Rusani Ḫaldiei LUṚ* “I, Rusa, servant of Ḫaldi” (Topzawa, Ur. 24').

Line 16 – Possible restoration [<sup>KUR</sup>aš]-ʾšur¹ or [<sup>KUR</sup>]a[š]-ʾšur¹. But there is no correspondence in the Assyrian version.

Line 17 – Since the word *\*aliku-* does not exist, we could have here the word *ali*; but the relative *ali*, not the verbal form *ali(e)* “he says”. However a sequence *a-li ku-* has not yet been attested before. Since the first visible traces could be restored as a *ḫu*, another theoretical possibility is to restore *[at-ḫ]u-a-li*, a verbal form attested in the three inscriptions of Van Kalesi about the foundation of *taramanili* “fountain” (UKN 92a-c, line 3). However *aṭḫu=ali* is a 3rd pers. sg. of the subject with a plural object and means something like “he founded/excavated” (i. e. these fountains<sup>51</sup>), and the context is of course not the same.

Lines 18/19 – The recurrence of the place names Biainili and Luluinili, closely connected in this stele, can only refer to the context of Topzawa Ur. 29', to which Movana Ur. right side 41'-44' correspond. The suffixes of the two place-names have not, however, been preserved and we do not therefore know what case they are in. The difference, however, lies in the verbal

<sup>50</sup> A. Dinçol – B. Dinçol, Die neuen Inschriften und beschrifteten Bronzefunde aus den Ausgrabungen von den urartäischen Burgen von Anzaf, in: *Studio Historiae Ardens. Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Philo H. J. Houwink ten Cate on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (ed. by Theo P. J. van den Hout and Johan de Roos), Leiden 1995, 23-55 (esp. p. 31).

<sup>51</sup> *taramani=li* is a plurale tantum.

forms, again damaged and difficult to reconstruct, but both with the intransitive suffix *-di*, whilst in the other example we have transitive forms. The only attestation of the form *lului=na=ni*, a plural ablative, is found in the temple inscription of Rusa II at Ayanis, *Ayanis I*, p. 258 = \*CTU A 12-1 VI 10 (with the duplicate of Adilcevaz, UKN II 451 (+) 452 + UKN 278 (+) UKN 300 = \*CTU A 12-4 II 7')<sup>52</sup>: *pa-ru-ú-bi LÚ MUNUS lu<-tú-ni> KUR lu-lu-i-na-ni KUR aš-šur-ri-ni (11) KUR tar-gu-ni KUR e-ti-ú-ni-ni KUR tab-la-ni KUR qa-i-na-ru-ú KUR ha-a-te-e KUR mu-uš-ki-ni KUR ši-lu-qu-ni-ni*. Here, too, the verb is transitive: "I have deported men and women from the enemy lands (that is) from Assur, etc."

Line 35 – The sequence *bi-bu* corresponds to an Akkadian word (*BI-BU*) which occurs only in the Assyrian version of the Kelišin stele, lines 8, 21, 26, 27<sup>53</sup>, while the word *\*qubuni* is not attested.

Line 37 – *LÚ AD?¹-si-ni-e¹?*. The context of this adjective "paternal" is: *i-ú ʰhal-di-še LUGÁL-TÚ-ḫi a-ru-ú-ni na-ḫa-a-di LÚ AD-si-ni e-si-i LUGÁL-TÚ-ḫi-ni* (UKN 155 G 2 and 168, 4) "when Ḫaldi gave me the kingship I set on the paternal place of the kingship (throne)". Note that we have *i-ú* in the following line.

Line 38 – A word *kamni* of unknown meaning is frequently attested: UKN 36, 19 *ka-am-na-ḫi*; Körzüt, line 6, and Karagündüz 28: *ka-am-ni*. UKN 96, 4: *ka-am-ni-ni*. In the 7th century the writing *kam-* prevails, see e.g. Ayanis *susi* III 4 (*kam-ni-ni*), 7 (*kam-ni*), VI 3 (*kam-na-ḫi*) and duplicates (*Ayanis I*, p. 257 f).

Line 42 – The integration is based on varying degrees of certainty regarding the reading of the individual signs. The only completely preserved sign is *BABBAR*, but *KÙ* and *URUDU* are almost completely visible. The correspondence with Assyrian Side III line 29' and the succession of the three signs makes the overall integration extremely probable. Moreover, the context is so badly damaged that it is impossible to establish further correspondence with the Assyrian version.

Line 55 – We can restore the first word of this line either [*ú-i*]-e or [*ú-te*]-e; for the first alternative cf. e.g. UKN 35, 3; for the second one see UKN II 372, 19; 373, 16, and Körzüt («SMEA» XXII, 1980, 155, 168 = \*CTU A 5 2) line 5. K. Balkan translates "niemand", «Anatolia» 5, 1960, 120. *ute aišei* was interpreted as conjunction + adverb "sed numquam" by M. Salvini, «SMEA» XXII, 1980, 158.

Lines 55-56 – The correspondence between lines 55 ff. of Movana and lines 9 ff. Topzawa is out of step. Movana demonstrates that the reconstruction proposed in *Zagros* for Topzawa Urartian Side line 9' is wrong. König, instead, had read almost correctly: [ ] *URU ar-di-ni-di ḫa-ba-la-[ni]*. Lehmann-Haupt (apud König HchI, p. 144 note 3) read at the start of this line 9' of Topzawa *x e i-si*; "es fehlt aber mehr" König noted. In fact, there is a space before and traces of two signs. We therefore have to correct the edition of *Zagros* and transcribe in Topzawa Ur. line 9' [*x x*]-e *i-si?* *URU ar-di¹-ni-¹di ir-ba-la¹-a-[ni]*. In Topzawa the term *gu-ni* has not been preserved; there is no space at the end of line 9' but perhaps there is at the start of line 10'. *irb=alani* is a new form not previously attested of a verb, *irb-* "to pillage, steal, rob" which we only know from the preterite forms. The 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. pl. of the subject, *irb=itu*, is only attested twice: [*mì*]-i *a-li KUR.KUR MES a-še i-ri-bi-tú-ú* (Stele from Karagündüz, Obv. 27)<sup>54</sup>, which is translated "without/but that which the people have pillaged"; *mì-i a-li LÚ A.SI MES a-še ir-bi-tú* (UKN 155 C 45) "without/but that which the soldiers have pillaged". It has, moreover, been integrated in the inscription of Minua from Körzüt, line 4: *LÚ ḫu-ra-a-di-i-na-[še ir-bi-tú-ú]*<sup>55</sup>. The 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing. Preterit of the subject, *irbu=ni*, occurs twice in the tablets: *MUNUS.TUR ir-bu-ni* "has stolen/taken a girl" (UPD 4 Obv. 7); 1 *ANŠE.KUR.RA ir-bu-ú-ni* "has stolen a horse" (UPD 7 Obv. 17). The form *irb=alani* corresponds to the verbal forms *par=alani*, *ḫai=alani* and *qabqaš=ul=alani*, interpreted as forms of the pluperfect tense<sup>56</sup>. It remains, however, problematic to detect the object of this transitive verb and difficult to explain the preceding allative/directive *Ardini=di*.

Line 57 – The beginning of a declarative sentence by means of the personal pronoun "I" requires the formula *Rusaše alie* "Rusa says", but here it is clearly absent. At the beginning of this line there is space for only one sign. The line corresponds only partially to Topzawa Ur. 10'. We have to correct the copy and transcription offered in *Zagros*. Movana shows that König was mostly correct. His transcription of Topzawa line 10' is as follows: [*ar?*]-di-še *ti-a-ḫi i-e-še šu-si-ni-e ša-li-e*<sup>57</sup>. The correspondence with the central part of the line is certain, *ti-a-ḫi-e i-e-še šu-si-ni*. The uncertainty, as always, relates to the two extremities. So, *guni* of Movana is apparently missing in Topzawa, and it is difficult to integrate the word

<sup>54</sup> M. Salvini, *Zagros*, 59, with a different reading from the previous editions, accepted by Harutjunjan, KUKN 35, p. 38 and 41 note 13.

<sup>55</sup> M. Salvini, «SMEA» XXII, 1980, 153 f.

<sup>56</sup> M. Salvini, «SMEA» XXII, 159, and for attestations "Tabella 3" after p. 168.

<sup>57</sup> Naturally, it is necessary to correct to *šú-si-ni-e šá-li-e*.

<sup>52</sup> See the new reconstruction of the text by M. Salvini, in Fs Ch. Burney (forthcoming).

<sup>53</sup> W. C. Benedict, The Urartian-Assyrian Inscription of Kelishin, «JAOS» 81, 1961, 359-385.

which ends with the syllabogram –še. Given that Movana needs only one sign at the start of the line, one may attempt [aʔ]–še. Topzawa, instead, has space for three signs and we may, therefore, integrate the line with [gu–ni aʔ]–še instead of [arʔ]–di–še as proposed by König. But the construction of sentences with *aše* “when” is different; we need verbal forms with –*li*, like *aše ... zaduli, aše ... tanuli* etc.<sup>58</sup>.

Although the correspondence with Topzawa is not exact, we find there in line 12' this formula introducing the episode of Urzana. We wonder whether the sequence *ti a ʔi e* can be referred to the verbal root *tiau*– “to speak” (see UKN, p. 409). An alternative would be to integrate [LUGÁL]–še, as the subject of the verb *tiau*– “to speak”. Verb forms with –*aʔi* are as yet unknown but, given the gaps in the documentation, this is not surprising.

Lines 56-57, therefore, enable us to correct the transcription of Topzawa Side I (Uartian), lines 9'-10', as follows:

(9') [ x x ]–e i–siʔ <sup>10</sup>UR<sup>11</sup>ar–di<sup>12</sup>–ni–<sup>13</sup>di ir–ba–la<sup>14</sup>–a–<sup>15</sup>ni<sup>16</sup>

(10') [gu–ni x]–še ti–a–[ʔi] <sup>17</sup>i–e<sup>18</sup>–še šú–si–<sup>19</sup>ni<sup>20</sup> x x x x

Line 58 – The reason for the restitution [zaʔ–duʔ]–ú–bi is that KASKAL is attested with the verb *zadu*–, cf. Mahmud Abad line 2 («AMI» NF 10, 1977, 125-136, and *Zagros*, 77-78). Even *uštipe*, the Uartian word for KASKAL, has the verb *zadu*–; see UKN 155 D 21. But see also Topzawa Ur. 14' ŠUM–ši za–du–ú–bi “I made sacrifices”. However the Assyrian version line 38' has *ubiluni* “I brought”, so that we can expect another verb, perhaps [pa–ru]–ú–bi, although it means normally “to carry away”, not “to bring”.

The word *kauri* was attested before only in the rock inscription of Sarduri II at Kōmürhan on the Euphrates (UKN 158 = HchI 104), line 7: *ui ainiei LUGÁL ištini kauri* was translated by M. van Loon (Fs. Güterbock, 1974, 188) “there was not any king who from there had crossed over” (i.e. the Euphrates).

šú–ia–še corresponds to Ass. *gab-bi* “all, every, any”, which is preserved only in Mergeh Karvan 13'. This seems to confirm the translation of König, HchI, p. 202, *sub voce* \**su(i)* “alles, ganz, jeder”, while Melikišvili<sup>59</sup> and Harutjunjan<sup>60</sup> translate “vražeskij” (enemy). The two possible translations were proposed by Friedrich<sup>61</sup>, based on the following attestation: KUR.KUR<sup>MES</sup>–ši šú–ia–ši(–e) (UKN 155 E 7, 47) “in allen(?)” oder “in den feindlichen(?) (Ländern)”, whilst Diakonoff proposes

<sup>58</sup> M. Salvini, «AMI» NF 10, 1977, 131 ff.

<sup>59</sup> UKN p. 407; id. USpr, 87, *šui*a– “feindlich”.

<sup>60</sup> «IFŽ» 1966/2, 295: *šui*ani synonym of <sup>KUR</sup>luluini.

<sup>61</sup> J. Friedrich, «ZA» NF VI, 1931, 276 f.

“foreign”, translating KUR.KUR<sup>MES</sup>–di šú–ia–i–di (UKN 171, 9; 172, 9; UKN II 418, 11) “nach den fremden(?) Ländern”<sup>62</sup>. These translations may, however, be justified since, in the Annals of Sarduri, instead of KUR.KUR<sup>MES</sup>–ši šú–ia–ši, we once find <sup>KUR</sup>lu–lu–i–na–ši (UKN 155 F 4) in the same context, and *lulu* means precisely “foreigner, barbarian”. If, instead, we consider the contexts mentioned above in relation to the form *irb=itu* we may deduce a correspondence and interchangeable nature for KUR.KUR<sup>MES</sup>–a–še and <sup>LÚ</sup>A.SI<sup>MES</sup>–še or <sup>LÚ</sup>hu–ra–a–di–i–na–še. König, with fortunate intuition, translated KUR.KUR<sup>MES</sup>–di šú–ia–i–di “in alle<sup>3</sup> Länder”, and hit the nail on the head. The new correspondence with the Assyrian *gabbi*, in fact, obliges us to translate the term *šui*– “all, every, any”. This enables us to link it back to the term *šui*ni (same stem as *šui*–) as König had already so correctly done, HchI p. 202. We must say that also Melikišvili<sup>63</sup>, followed by Meščaninov<sup>64</sup> and, recently, by Harutjunjan<sup>65</sup>, has translated “everything” in a similar way, although separating it from the root *šui*–. Melikišvili's translation, however, was based on a non-existent correspondence between the bilingual text of Topzawa (reproduced in the imaginative Tseretheli edition) and the Assyrian *kullatu*, “all, totality”. *Kullatu* is not to be found in the Topzawa text, but chance has it that the translations in the other contexts are, nonetheless, correct. At this point we propose a comparison with the Hurrian *šui*– “all<sup>66</sup>, every”; see E. Laroche, GLH 240 *šui*– “tout”, with the two stems: the base stem *šui*– “tout, every” and the determinate stem *šui=ni* “tout le, chaque” (all the, each). See also the fragmentary Hurrian text KBo XXXII 31+208 Vs. I 1, 14 šu–u–i(–ma–aš), where šu–u–i is translated “Ganzes, Jedes”<sup>67</sup>. We have, therefore, established with certainty a new Uartian-Hurrian lexical comparison, which had initially been proposed by Diakonoff «VDI» 1956, 2, 67 with the Hurrian *šue* “far, distant” (in his interpretation). He did not keep this, however, in his list in HuU, 76 f.<sup>68</sup>. It is, by now, clear that the stem in

<sup>62</sup> I. M. Diakonoff, HuU, 91.

<sup>63</sup> USpr, 87: “alles, ganz”.

<sup>64</sup> I. I. Meščaninov, *Annotirovannyj slovar' urart'skogo (biajnskogo) jazyka*, Leningrad 1978, 284.

<sup>65</sup> KUKN p. 465.

<sup>66</sup> This meaning was established for the first time by E. A. Speiser, *Introduction to Hurrian*, New Haven 1941, 78 f.

<sup>67</sup> E. Neu, *Das hurritische Epos der Freilassung I. Untersuchungen zu einem hurritisch-hethitisches Textensemble aus Hattuša*, StBoT 32, 1996, 497-498.

<sup>68</sup> But cf. Harutjunjan, in: H. Klengel (Ed.), *Gesellschaft und Kultur im alten Vorderasien*, Berlin 1982, 91: “*šui*ni (en hurrien *šue(ne)* comme on sait, signifie “tout, entier””.

Uartian is, as in Hurrian, *šui-* (determinate *šui=ni*), whilst *šuia-* is the stem of the plural, as is shown by all the attestations. To be thorough, we may also add *šú-ia-ni* KUR *ba-ba-a-<sup>1</sup>na-ni<sup>1</sup>* (*šui=(n)a=ni baba=na=ni*) (UKN II 386, line 5), which Harutjunjan translated as “from the enemy mountains”, whereas the more precise meaning is “from all the mountains” or, better still, “from all the mountainous countries”. Therefore, *šuia-* is the stem of the plural, attested in the locative *šuia=ši* and the ablative *šuia=ni* and, now, in the ergative *šuia=še*. Thus, *šú-ia-še* LUGÁL<sup>[MESI]</sup>[-še?] means “all the kings”. The morpheme of the plural therefore appears as /a/, as was first determined by J. Friedrich<sup>69</sup>. It was, however, later noted that the indicator of the plural before oblique cases was /na/<sup>70</sup>, and that forms such as the genitive plurals *šuraue*, *erelaue* and the dative plural *pilaue* follow a phonetic rule according to which *rin > r(r)* and *lin > l(l)*. This new form now suggests that we broaden the phonetic rule in the sense of an elision of *n* between vowels, or establish that two indicators of the plural exist, /a/ and /na/. This latter is the only one used also with a correlating function. The same situation as applies to *šui=a=ši* may be seen with *ebani=a=ši* (UKN 155 A 19), which is considered to be a plural by König, HchI 180: “in/aus (ihren) Ländern”. See also ‘i(?)–ši-a–ši-e<sup>1</sup>’ (Sisian, Rev. 9) of unknown meaning. It is more doubtful, instead, whether the form *ur-pu-a-ši* (UKN 96: 2,6,7) is a plural.

Line 60 – At the beginning, according to what we may read in Topzawa line 12’, we should have a-li. Instead, the text clearly shows x-te, which does not appear to make sense. We could propose the hypothesis of a scribal error. A variant of the sign *li* shows four horizontal wedges in an inclined position, so that the first half of the signs coincides with a *te*. In conflict with this hypothesis, however, we have the sign *li* in line 15, which shows four perfectly horizontal wedges. Although extremely rare in Urartian epigraphy, the scribe could have been distracted and not have completed the sign. We therefore may consider the possibility of correcting this *li*!

The formula in line 61 interrupts the narrative, which should be taken up again on the right side but, as we shall see, the remaining traces of lines 1-27 do not enable us to recognise any section of a text which corresponds to Topzawa 13’ ff.

<sup>69</sup> «ZA» 39, 1931, 274.

<sup>70</sup> Thus G. Wilhelm, «ZA» 66, 1976, 116 f., following a comment by M. Salvini, «ZA» 61, 1971, 253 note 24.

### Translation of Face I

- 1 “To Haldi, the lord,
- 2 this stele
- 3 Rusa, son of Sarduri,
- 4 has erected for his life.
- 5 I am Rusa, the son of Sarduri,
- 6 the ser[vant] of [god Hal]di . . .”

Between line 7 and 52 it is impossible to give a continuous translation.

- 53 . . . I imposed.
- 54 . . . the ki[ng] is in [B]iainili (= Urartu)
- 55 . . . something in the place(?)
- 56 to Mušašir to pillage . . .
- 57-58 [w]hen I said: I made one expedition (or: I brought in one expedition)
- 58 . . . all the kings
- 59 to Ardini (= Mušašir) I went . . .
- 60 Urzana [closed?] the sanctuary
- 61 From this point on (the text) is incised on the left(?) side.

### Face II – Right Side (prosecution of the Urartian version) – figs. 6-7, 23-28

- 1 [x ]gu-ú[ x]
- 2 [x ]x ni [ x x]
- 3 [x ]x e[ x]
- 4 [x x ] di x[<sup>71</sup>-x?]
- 5 [x x x ] te [ x ]
- 6 [x] x ni a x [ x?]
- 7 [x ]x bu a [ x x]
- 8 [x ]x bi uš? [ x x?]
- 9 [x x ] ni x [ x ]
- 10 [x x x x x ]
- 11 [x x ]x x [ x]
- 12 [x ]za x [ x x]
- 13 [x x x ]‘a’?[ x x]
- 14 [x x ] x x [ x ]
- 15 [x x x ]x ši x
- 16 [ʰh]al?-di-‘e’?
- 17 [x x -d]i? ši [ x ]

<sup>71</sup> *la*, *te* or *li* are possible.

- 18 [x x ]-ma x [ x ]  
 19 [x x ] <sup>m</sup>ru-<sup>r</sup>sa<sup>1</sup>-[x]  
 20 [x x ]<sup>r</sup>gu<sup>1</sup>[ x x ]  
 (30 cm of the text are completely abraded)  
 x+1 [x x ] šá [ x x ]  
 2' [x x ] x [ x x ]  
 3' [x x ] <sup>r</sup>di<sup>1</sup> [ x x ]  
 4' [x x ] ši x [ x ]  
 5' [x x ]<sup>r</sup>i? <sup>72</sup> di [ x ]  
 6' [x x -d]i? [x] x [x]  
 7' [x x ]<sup>MES</sup> x x [ x ]  
 8' [x x ]x i [ x x ]  
 9' [x -n]i? x x [ x ]  
 10' [x x ] <sup>LÚ</sup> [ x x ]  
 11' [(iš-te-d)]i <sup>m</sup>r[(u-sa-ni)]  
 12' [<sup>ḫ</sup>al-di]-e-i [<sup>LÚ</sup>ī(R)]  
 13' [(<sup>LÚ</sup>si)]-e mu-[(ši)]  
 14' [(<sup>LÚ</sup>U)]N<sup>MES</sup>-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[e]  
 15' [<sup>ḫ</sup>al]-di-[ni-ni]  
 16' [ba-]<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-ši-[ni]  
 17' [(a-še)]-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup> gu-n[(u-še)] <sup>73</sup>  
 18' [(ú-i)] gu-[(nu)-še]  
 19' [x? d(i?-r)]a-s[(i-ia<sup>74</sup>-bi)]  
 20' [(a-ru-m)]e <sup>ḫ</sup>[(al-di)-še]  
 21' [e-ia]-<sup>r</sup>ar<sup>1</sup>-[(di-še)]  
 22' [(pi-š)]u-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[(še)]  
 23' [(šú-si)]-na-a [(MU<sup>M</sup>)<sup>ES</sup>]  
 24' [<sup>KUR</sup>bi]-a-i-n[(i-li)]  
 25' [(n)u-(u)]l-du-[(ú-li)]  
 26' [<sup>KUR</sup>l)]u-lu-i-[(ni-l)i]  
 27' [z]i-el-[(du-bi)]  
 28' [(a)]<sup>r</sup>-tú-me DINGI[(R<sup>MES</sup>-še)]  
 29' [(pi)]-šu-[li]  
 30' [(U<sub>4</sub>-ME)<sup>M</sup>]<sup>ES75</sup> U<sub>4</sub>-ME<sup>M</sup>[<sup>ES</sup>]

<sup>72</sup> Or a]r?

<sup>73</sup> The traces of Movana confirm the reading of König, HchI 122 line 28, as opposed to the alternative reading suggested by Salvini, *Zagros*, 87. *aše gunuše ui gunuše dirašiabi* can be translated "when (there is) battle, he does not fear?? the battle".

<sup>74</sup> Or *a*, since there is not enough space for *ia*.

<sup>75</sup> Topzawa: <sup>r</sup>U<sub>4</sub>-ME<sup>1</sup>-li.

31' [(SIG<sub>5</sub> pi)]-šu-ši-[(ni)]

32' [(a-ti-b)]i i[(š-tú)-x] <sup>76</sup>

### Translation of Face II

"(11') I am Rusa, (12') the servant of Haldi, (13') the true shepherd (14') of the peoples (15'-16'); following the command of Haldi (17') when (there was) battle (18'-19') I did not fear the battle. (20') Haldi gave me (21') might (22') and joy. (23') In my years (25') I enlarged (24') the country of Biainili (27'), I oppressed (25') the enemy country. (28') The gods gave me (30') days (29') of joy (31'-32'), a multitude of good days of joy they establ[ished?]"

### Commentary of Face II

Lines 11'-32' of Movana II correspond to 8 lines in Topzawa's Urartian large side (lines 24'-31'). Before that point there is no ascertained correspondence with Topzawa.

Lines 12'-18'. The Movana text, although greatly damaged, enables us to integrate fully the lacunae in Topzawa, lines 25' and 26': (25') [<sup>LÚ</sup>ī]R LÚ-<sup>r</sup>si<sup>1</sup>-e mu-ši <sup>LÚ</sup>UN<sup>MES</sup>-ú-e <sup>ḫ</sup>al-di-[ni-ni] (26') [ba]-<sup>r</sup>ú-ši<sup>1</sup>-[ni] <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-še-e [(gu-n)u]-ú-še ú-i gu-nu-ú-[(še)]. We must, consequently, correct the old transcription in *Zagros*, p. 87.

Lines 21'-32' correspond to Mergeh Karvan, Urartian small side lines 1'-13'; cf. *Zagros* p. 94 fig. 18 b and pl. XVI a: face IV! (Assyrian cursing formula).

Line 21' – The word *ardiše* seems to have two distinct acceptations. One signifies "order": e.g. *teru=ni ardiše* "he established (following) order" (UKN 27, 2, 29). In the other acceptance it is part of a blessing formula, beside concepts like *ulguše* "life", *alsuiše* "greatness", and is always preceded by *e-ia*. Cf. e.g. UKN II 448 5 // Ayanis *susi* temple I 6-7: *ul-gu-še pi-šu-še al-su-i-še e-ia-ar-di-še ar-ni uš-ma-še*. We are now convinced that this is a single word, *e-ia-ar-di-še*, and not two separate words. As shown by I. M. Diakonoff in «AMI» 22, 1989, 97 a conjunction *\*eia* does not exist. Only one variant *e-a-i* of *e-a* exists, cf. the rock inscription of Razliq, line 14<sup>77</sup>. All the editions of Topzawa are to be corrected, including that of Salvini in *Zagros*, 87, 93, who proposed reading [x E]N? "signoria?" ("rule"). Urartian *eiardiše* corresponds in Movana and Topzawa to a couple of Assyrian words, *litu danānu*, both signifying "power".

<sup>76</sup> The restoration follows Topzawa Ur. 31', but even *iš-p[i-]* is possible; it is, however, a hapax legomenon.

<sup>77</sup> B. André-Salvini and M. Salvini, «SMEA» XLI, 1999, 17-32.



Line 23' – *šusina* MU<sup>MES</sup> (see also Topzawa Ur. 28') corresponds to Assyrian *ina libbi* MU<sup>MES</sup>-*ia* (Movana III 56'// Topzawa Ass. 26') "in my years", as translated in *Zagros*, 85 and 93; *šusina* is locative plural. The cursing formula of the temple inscription of Rusa II in Ayanis, Section VIII, line 7 has *aluše šusie tinini tulie* "whoever erases my name" (*Ayanis I*, 258 f.). See now also Chr. Girbal, *Fs Haas*, 142 f. on the adj. possessive *šusi*– "my" and its correspondence with the Hurrian personal pronoun *šu*–.

With line 32' of face II, the Urartian text of Movana ends, but this is not so in Topzawa Ur. 31'. On the inscribed lateral side II, on the stele of Topzawa and, probably, also on that of Mergeh Karvan, the text continued with the cursing formula of which a few, illegible traces remain<sup>78</sup>.

*Face III – Reverse (Assyrian version)*<sup>79</sup> – figs 8-10, 29-31

(the first two or three lines with the beginning of the text are completely abraded)

- 1' [ x x x x ] x [ x x x x x ]  
 2' [ x x x ] x šú [ x x x x x x ]  
 3' [ x x ] ina libbi(ŠĀ) [URU] [x x x ]  
 4' [ x x ] x x x ti-it 'te' x [ x ]  
 5' [ x x x x x ] x a ti i-ir/sa? [ x x ]  
 6' [ x x x x x x ] x [KUR] za-[x-x-x]<sup>80</sup>  
 7' [ x x x x x ] x EN a x x [ x ]  
 8' [ x x x x ] -ni-ia ana EN 'ina libbi<sup>81</sup> pu x [ x ]  
 9' (only traces)  
 10' [ x x x x ] ú x [ x x x x ]  
 11' (only traces)  
 12' [ x x x x x x x ] a-na x [ x ]  
 13' [ x x x x x x x ] 'a'-na šá [ x ]  
 14' [ x x x x ] 'ir'-[ x x ] -si x [ x x ]  
 15' [ x x x x x ] ni x x la/te x [ x x ]  
 16' (only traces)  
 17' (only traces)  
 18' [ x x x x x x ] KÁ<sup>82</sup> [u x x?]  
 19' [ x x x x x x ] x x bi-la-a x

<sup>78</sup> See *Zagros*, 94 f., where the Urartian and Assyrian versions have mistakenly been inverted.

<sup>79</sup> The first 5 or 6 lines are completely lost.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. [URU] za-za-r[u] in line 31'.

<sup>81</sup> Three vertical wedges may clearly be seen, preceded by the beginning of a horizontal wedge; we may have here *ina libbi*.

- 20' (only traces)  
 21' [ x x x x x x ] x ia x sa  
 22' [ x x x x x ] [KUR] ú<sup>82</sup>-ra?-ar?-x [ x ]  
 23' [ x ] x [-n] a<sup>82</sup>-ti-ia x 'ú' ta [ x x ]  
 24' [ x x? ] [KUR] ú-ra-ar-tè gab-b[i?] x  
 25' [ana? <sup>83</sup>ha]l-di-a EN-ia 'ina' 'di' [x?] x x x  
 26' [ x x ] šú ra? x? šá a-na [UGU] i-'a' i-[x-x]  
 27' [ x x ] x KÙ? LUGÁL-ti da x [ x x ]  
 28' [ x ] x e [x] -'ia' i[na] [URU] mu-ša-šir [ x ]  
 29' [ x x ] KÙ.GI(GUŠKIN) KÙ.BABBAR URUDU GU<sup>84</sup> x [ x ]  
 30' [ana] [URU] mu-ša-šir ú-bi-lu-n[i]<sup>83</sup>  
 31' [x] UDU<sup>85</sup> ina libbi(ŠĀ) [URU] za-za-r[u-x?]<sup>85</sup>  
 32' [ŠUM]-šú-nu-t[i]<sup>86</sup> 'ma' -[a?]<sup>87</sup>  
 33' [x? g] ab-bu [ru-sa](-a ) x x x  
 34' [D] hal-di-a EN-šú li<sub>x</sub>(LIŠ)-[x<sup>88</sup> (i)]l-tam-m[u-ú]<sup>89</sup>  
 35' [x] ana-ku DÙG.GA šá ana UGU-ia i-r[e?-ú?]<sup>90</sup>  
 36' [x] x ki-li-ú na!<sup>91</sup> -šir e-q[(u)-ti]<sup>92</sup>  
 37' [x (LUGÁL)]<sup>85</sup> [URU] AD<sup>85</sup>-ia maḥ-ru-ti š[(á) x ]  
 38' [x] x an-ni-e ana [URU] mu-ša-šir la 'ú' -[x ]  
 39' [x] 'a'-na-ku ina libbi(ŠĀ) 1 KASKAL a a<sup>93</sup> ú-bi-l[(u-ni)]  
 40' [x x (gab)] -'bi' LUGÁL<sup>85</sup> ana [URU] mu-ša-šir at-t[a-(r)ad]  
 41' [ x x LU] GÁL<sup>85</sup> IG šá É DINGIR<sup>85</sup> ina IGI-i[(a e)-dil]<sup>94</sup>  
 42' [ù?] (ana [KUR] aš-š)ur ZÁH<sup>85</sup> hal-di-a EN IG<sup>85</sup> [(-šú BAD)]  
 43' [x x ina] libbi(ŠĀ) DÙ-šú<sup>95</sup> EGIR [ur-za-na-a s[(u-qu?)]-x]

<sup>82</sup> Also possibly *ku*.

<sup>83</sup> This line corresponds to Mergeh Karvan, line 2', but not the text of the following two lines.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Mergeh Karvan line 4', but in a different context.

<sup>85</sup> Mergeh Karvan Ass. 5' has in the corresponding position a completely different place name, [URU] ar-ši-qi-el[, perhaps a center in the Zagros mountain; [URU] Zazar[u] was probably a town in the region of modern Movana.

<sup>86</sup> To be read \*aṭṭabaḥšunūti, because the report is in the first person.

<sup>87</sup> The signs are exceptionally widely spaced in this line.

<sup>88</sup> The duplicate of Mergeh Karvan has u-me line 5'. This text shows a clear LIŠ (only one triangular wedge) with the syllabic value li<sub>x</sub> (Labat 377, AS 220).

<sup>89</sup> From this line on the text again duplicates Mergeh Karvan 6' ff.

<sup>90</sup> re'ū "to pasture, to shepherd". See also line 26'.

<sup>91</sup> The sign is *la*, perhaps a mistake of the scribe, as in line 34'.

<sup>92</sup> CAD E 254, eqūtu.

<sup>93</sup> The prohibitive particle *aj* does not make sense here.

<sup>94</sup> It is preferable to di-il because of the space.

<sup>95</sup> Consequently we need to correct the restitution proposed in *Zagros*, 84, of Ass. 13'// 16'. Furthermore, thanks to the preserved correspondence in Topzawa it is now clear that

- 44' [x (e-mu)]-qé<sup>m</sup>ur-za-na-a ana *tāhāzi*(<sup>r</sup>MÈ<sup>1</sup>) elī(UGU)-i[(a na-a)-x]  
 45' [(ina q)ī]-bi-it <sup>ḏ</sup>hal-di-a ana-ku <sup>m</sup>r[(u-s)a-a]  
 46' [ana (šá-)]de-e <sup>KUR</sup>an-da-ru-tú a-t[(a-l)a-ak]  
 47' [GA]Z GAZ <sup>m</sup>rur<sup>1</sup>-za-na-a ina qa-ti [ašbat(DIB)]  
 48' [a(l?-ti?-i?-šú ina)] maš-ka-ni-šú-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>196</sup> ana LUGÁL-t[(i GAR-an)]<sup>97</sup>  
 49' [14/15 (u<sub>4</sub>-me<sup>MES</sup> ina)] lib-bi <sup>URU</sup>mu-ša-šir <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>[(tú-š)īb]  
 50' [UDU.(SISKUR<sup>MES</sup>) x x?] gab-bu<sup>98</sup> ana <sup>URU</sup>mu-ša-šir a-t[(i-q)ī]  
 51' [ana? (<sup>LÚ</sup>UN<sup>MES</sup>)] ina libbi(ŠÁ) <sup>URU</sup>mu-ša-šir a-<sup>r</sup>di<sup>1</sup>-[x x x]  
 52' [x (a-na u<sub>4</sub>-me)<sup>MES</sup>] ana nap-tan e-ru-bu<sup>99</sup> ana-ku <sup>m</sup>[(ru-s)a-a]  
 53' [(<sup>LÚ</sup>IR šá <sup>ḏ</sup>)]hal-di-a <sup>LÚ</sup>SIPA ke-e-nu šá n[išē(UN<sup>MES</sup>)]  
 54' [šá ana? (<sup>ḏ</sup>ha)]l-di-a É qa-ra-bu-ni<sup>100</sup> la a-<sup>r</sup>di<sup>1</sup>-[ru]  
 55' [tú-q(u-u)n-tú <sup>ḏ</sup>hal-di-a li-tú da-[(n)a-nu]  
 56' [x x] SUM-na ina lib-bi MU<sup>MES</sup>-ia <sup>KUR</sup>URI ir-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-[piš]  
 57' [<sup>KUR</sup>KÚR (ú)]-si-iq<sup>101</sup> DINGIR<sup>MES</sup> <sup>r</sup>SUM-nu<sup>1</sup>-ni <sup>r</sup>U<sub>4</sub><sup>MES1</sup> [(šá HUL<sup>102</sup>)]  
 58' [x (x UGU? U<sub>4</sub><sup>MES</sup> šá ḥa-du-ti)]<sup>103</sup>

### Translation of Face III

- (3') [. . .] in the city of [. . .]  
 (6') [. . . . .] . country? of Za-[. . .]  
 (7') [. . . . .] . lord . . . . .  
 (8') [. . . . .] to the lord in . [. . .]  
 (12') [. . . . .] to . [. . .]  
 (13') [. . . . .] to . [. . .]  
 (24') [in] the whole land of Urartu []  
 (25') [to?] Haldi, my lord . . . . .

Urartian za-du-ú-bi (Topz. Ur. 14') is translated by Ass. DÙ-šú, i.e. by a form of epēšu "to perform (a religious practice)" cf. CAD E 229. It must be a 1st person sing.

<sup>96</sup> "To his (former) position"; CAD M I 371-372, maškanu 3c.

<sup>97</sup> Ana šarrūti aštakkan "I installed (him) for kingship (to be king)".

<sup>98</sup> The problematic reading of Topzawa line 20', proposed in *Zagros*, 84, namely \*illute "pure", therefore has to be corrected.

<sup>99</sup> Correct the wrong transcription of Topzawa line 21' in *Zagros*, 84; the copy on p. 82 and the photograph in Pl. XIV b support the new reading.

<sup>100</sup> One has to adopt now the same reading in Topzawa Ass. line 24'.

<sup>101</sup> See CAD S 170 s.v. sâqu 2a.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. supra note on Ur. line 6.

<sup>103</sup> This last line of the Assyrian main text is missing, and the restitution depends only on Topzawa III, line 28'. There is perhaps an expression ana muḥḥi which could have the meaning of "days of joy over days of joy".

- (26') [. . .] . . . what is of my concern (?) (cf. line 35')  
 (27') [. . .] the kingship . . . [. . .]  
 (28') [. . .] in the city of Mušašir [. . .]  
 (29') [. . .] gold, silver, copper and cattle . [. . .]  
 (30') I brought [to] the city of Mušašir.  
 (31') [x] sheep in the city of Zarzar[u]  
 (32') I sacrificed them . [. . .]  
 (33') [. a]ll . Rusa, [. . .]  
 (34') Haldi, his lord, d[ay] heard?  
 (35') [. . .] I gu[ide] well what is of my concern<sup>104</sup>  
 (36') [. . .] the keeper of the consecration?  
 (37') [. the king]s my fathers (ancestors) of [. . .]  
 (38') these [. . .] to the city of Mušašir did not [bring]  
 (39') [. . .] I during one expedition . . . I brought  
 (40') [more then? all the king]s. To the city of Mušašir I came down,  
 (41') [and the k]ing<sup>105</sup> [closed?] the gate of the gods' house  
 (42') and fled to Assyria. Haldi, the lord, re[opened its] gate;  
 (43') [the religious practice?] in the midst (of the temple) I performed.  
 Against Urzana I [. . .]  
 (44') [his? troo]ps Urzana pr[epared] to the battle against me.  
 (45') By order of Haldi I, Rusa,  
 (46') w[ent to the moun]tain of Andarutu  
 (47') [and I de]feated (him). I [took] Urzana with my hand  
 (48') [and I overpowered him.] I [set] him to his (former) position for the  
 (exercise of) the kingship.  
 (49') [14/15 days in] the city of Mušašir I stayed  
 (50') and all [the sacrifices] I sa[crified] to the city of Mušašir.  
 (51') [For the people] in the city of Mušašir . . . [. . .]  
 (52') [. . .] every day for the banquet I entered. I am [Rusa],  
 (53') [the servant of God Ha]ldi, the true shepherd of the pe[ople],  
 (54') [he who] approached to the House (temple) of Haldi, he who does not  
 fear  
 (55') the fight. Haldi gave (to me) might and strength  
 (56') [and joy]. In my years I enlar[ged] the country of Urartu  
 (57') and I constricted [the enemy land]. The gods gave me days [of joy],  
 (58') [. . . days of joy.]"

<sup>104</sup> With the meaning "I am a good shepherd of what has been entrusted to me".

<sup>105</sup> Topzawa Ass. (III) 11' has here the name of Urzana.

*Commentary of Face III*

Line 24' – First occurrence of the writing <sup>KUR</sup>ú-ra-ar-tè. It is perhaps preferable to transcribe *ti<sub>5</sub>* (AS 122).

Line 27' – The mention of the kingship in a general connection with the god Haldi and the city-temple of Mušašir recalls the situation described in Sargon's Eighth Campaign, lines 337-342<sup>106</sup>, namely the ceremonies to acclaim the Urartian kings<sup>107</sup>.

Line 29' – Gold, silver, copper. Rusa probably synthesizes thus, quoting the materials, the offerings of objects in precious metals. This, however, should be compared with the report of the Eighth Campaign, line 352, where great quantities of the same precious metals taken at Mušašir are listed in the same order.

Line 52' – Cf. CAD E 323, s.v. *naptanu* “meal, banquet”: *ūmu ša nap-te-ni ša š[arru adi rabâni] ana nap-te-ni errabu[ni]* on the day of the meal, when the king with the authorities enters for the meal (from a Middle Assyrian royal ritual, MVAG 41/3 60 I 1). We can translate: “They entered for the meal”.

Line 53' – The same title, “Shepherd of the people of Urartu”, is attributed to Rusa in the Eighth Campaign, line 339.

*Face IV – Left side (continuation of the Assyrian Version) – Figs 11, 32-35*

1'-6' (traces)

7' [ x ] ni [ x x x ]

8'-9' (traces)

10' [ x ] x 'a[ x ]

11' [ x ] x qa[ x x ]

12' [ x ] x ši [ x ]

13' [ x ] x 'tim<sup>1</sup>?[ x ]

14' [ x x ] me<sup>108</sup> x[ x ]

15' [ x x ] <sup>MES</sup> 'ti<sup>1</sup> [ x ]

16' [ x ] <sup>m</sup> ur<sup>?</sup> <sup>109</sup> [ x ]

17' [ x x ] la šá[ x ]

18' [ x x ] jaš/ina? x[ x ]

19'-21' traces

22' [ x x ] x hu-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>?[ x ]

23' [ x x x ] ku [ x ]

24' [ x x x ] d[i x ]

25' [ x x ] x x [ x ]

26' [ x x x ] DINGIR x[ x ]

27' [ x x ] GAL [ x ]

28' [ x x ]-šú NUMUN.[NUMUN-šú]

29' [lu-ḥa]l-li-[qu]

30' [ x ] x ana TI [ x ]

31' [ x ] x ḥar-ba [x?]

32' [ú-šá]-te-r[u]

*Commentary of Face IV*

The text of Face IV begins approximately 50 cm from the top, and the last line is on the same level as the 5th line from the bottom of the main Assyrian version (III). Since no more than one or two signs are preserved on each line, no transcription is possible. Some restitutions will be proposed in the commentary with reference to the copy.

Line 28' – ]x-ŠÚ NUMUN[ corresponds to Topzawa 5th line from bottom: ]NUMUN.NUMUN[ and Mergeh Karvan 5th line from bottom: ]x NUMUN-šú x[. We know that the Urartian side text of Topzawa contains the word ar-mu-zi; cf. Lehmann-Haupt apud König, HchI p. 150. This leads to the following restitution of the common text: [x M]U-ŠÚ NUMUN.NUMUN[-ŠÚ]. Compare the Urartian context in UKN 110, 10 ma-ni ar-mu-zi NUMUN.NUMUN <sup>p</sup>[UTU] pi-i-ni, UKN 127 VIII 17: ma-a-ni ar-mu-zi-i NUMUN.NUMUN-ŠÚ <sup>p</sup>UTU-ni pi-e-i-ni, and in UKN 169, 26: ma-ni NUMUN.NUMUN.NUMUN <sup>p</sup>UTU-ni pi-i-ni. From this we may deduce that the first NUMUN corresponds to *armuzi*, thus *armuzi* is the Urartian translation of NUMUN, “seed, descendants”. Proof is provided by the inscription from the *susi* temple of Ayanis, VIII 8-10: tú-ri-ni-ni <sup>p</sup>ḥal-di-še <sup>p</sup>IM-še <sup>p</sup>UTU-ni-še (9) DINGIR<sup>MES</sup>-še ma-a-ni ti-i-ni ar-mu-zi-i ar-mu-zi-gi ar-mu-zi (10) <sup>p</sup>UTU-ni-pi-e-i . . . , “may Haldi, Teišeba, the Sun God and all the gods destroy him, his name, his seed, the seed of his seed, under the sun . . .” (*Ayanis I*, p. 258).

Line 29' – ]x-li[; we propose the restitution [lu-ḥa]l-li-[qu] “may destroy (his name and his seed)”, cf. e.g. RIMA 2, p. 305, line 48-49: MU-šú NUMUN-šú ina KUR lu ú-ḥal-li-qu “(and) destroy his name (and) his seed from the land” (Ashurnasirpal II). Note that Assyrian ina KUR is rendered in

<sup>106</sup> F. Thureau-Dangin, *Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon (714 av. J.-C.)*, Paris 1912 (TCL III); W. Mayer, *Sargons Feldzug gegen Urartu – 714 v. Chr. Text und Übersetzung*, «MDOG» 115, 1983, 65-132.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. M. Salvini, *Bemerkungen über die Thronfolge in Urartu*, in: H. Klengel (Hrsg.), *Gesellschaft und Kultur im alten Vorderasien*, Berlin 1982, 219-227.

<sup>108</sup> Or: ]x ana.

<sup>109</sup> Or: ]x tu[.

Uartian with <sup>u</sup>UTU-ni=pī “under the sun”. This provides a glimpse of the Uartian conception of the earth as the land which is under the light of the sun, that is to say all the visible world.

Line 32' – This is, as in Topzawa and Mergeh Karvan, the very end of the Assyrian text, which reads [ú-šá]-te-r[u] “he made important” (Š Stem of (w)atāru “to make pre-eminent/important”).

It is not possible to restore more of the text of these final lines of the Assyrian text, but we have at least the proof that their content is the cursing formula. Thus, the Assyrian version is the same in all three documents, and we can speak of exact duplicates, with some variants in Movana. This is clear if we consider the main sides of the stelae (Face III), but an important observation has to be made concerning the small Assyrian sides (IV). The identification of the lateral faces of the stele of Mergeh Karvan which was proposed in the former publication<sup>110</sup> is wrong and needs to be corrected. The new text shows that we have to invert the attributions: fig. 18a is the end of the Assyrian version (IV), and fig. 18b of the Uartian one (II).

The final part of the Assyrian small side corresponds to both Mergeh Karvan and Topzawa; cf. *Zagros* resp. p. 94 fig. 18a and p. 95 fig. 19 (= D, Assyrian!). Finally we can say that the Assyrian versions of the stelae of Movana, Topzawa and Mergeh Karvan are almost perfect duplicates.

*Structure of the Movana text in relation to the duplicates of Mergeh Karvan and Topzawa* (for all the duplicates, the same sequence is given of Uartian sides I and II and Assyrian sides III and IV).

A. Movana	B. Topzawa	C. Mergeh Karvan
I 1-54	–	–
I 56-60	I 9'-12'	–
I 61	I 32'	–
II 11'-32'	I 24'-31'	–
II 24'-32'	–	II 4'-13'
III 30'-47'	–	III 2'-20'
III 34'?-56'	III 4'?-26'	–
IV 22'-32'	–	IV 2'-12'
IV 27'-32'	IV 3'-8'	–

<sup>110</sup> *Zagros*, 94 fig. 18.

From this comparison chart we can see that most of the Uartian text of Movana, the initial section, finds no correspondence in the texts of Topzawa and Mergeh Karvan. The Uartian main text, on the obverse large side of Movana, shows its correspondence to Topzawa only from line 56-60 = Topz. lines 9'-12'. The last line of the obverse (line 61), presents the formula [ikuk]ani edini salmathini ḫarari, which occurs with one variant in Topzawa's last line (line 32'), namely: [ikukani] edini salmathi teragi and marks a sort of epigraphic indication, which has nothing to do with the historical contents of the text. Its meaning is more or less: “to be continued on the other side”. See also the end line of the third section of Sarduri's Annals (UKN 155 C 55), which offers a similar formula: *Sarduriš[e alie inuka]ni edini azibi salmathi ḫarari teraie*<sup>111</sup>. A large section of the Topzawa Uartian version, lines 13'-23', has no correspondence with Movana. Only the section with the titles (Topz. 24'-31') has again a precise duplicate in the lower part of Movana's right small side, lines 11'-32'. The upper part of this side does not have any correspondence in Topzawa. It seems that the narration of Urzana's story in the Uartian version is interrupted with the episode of closing the temple door against Rusa. What follows on the small Uartian side of Movana is apparently different from the content of Topzawa side I (Ur.) lines 13'-23' and has no connection with the Assyrian text. The poor traces of this section of Movana (right side, II lines 1-20 + 1'-10') prevents restitutions, so that we cannot know its content. At the moment, we can only note this fact without being able to find an explanation.

As far as the Assyrian versions are concerned, there are two particular points worthy of note.

1. In Movana III 29' Rusa says that he has taken to the sanctuary of Muṣašir gold, silver and copper, clearly objects made of these precious metals. One cannot but think of the list of prey made by Sargon, in particular the gifts of Rusa described in the account of the Eighth Campaign (Sg 8, 358, 403).

2. In Movana III 31' there is mention of the sacrifice of sheep in the city of Zazar[u], otherwise unknown to us. In the corresponding part of the stele from Mergeh Karvan (III 3') the visible traces would appear to attest a country of Au[...]<sup>112</sup>. The Topzawa stele, instead, in the Uartian version (A 4'), at a point which has no clear correspondence with the Assyrian version, cites in its turn a city of Ar-zi-ṣi-qi?-il?<sup>1</sup>. Apart from the uncertainty encountered in all readings of the text, it would seem clear that here we are

<sup>111</sup> This formula has been analyzed by F. W. König, HchI p. 218 ff. On *salmathi* see also M. Salvini, «SMEA» IX, 1969, 16 ff.

<sup>112</sup> *Zagros*, 84.

dealing with three different place names. These variations in the duplicates are understandable if we bear in mind the different geographic positions of the three stelae. It is likely that these are places touched on during Rusa's march towards Muşasir, the geographical and political position of which must have been of some importance.

The fact that the Assyrian version is the same in all three documents enables us to deduce that the three stelae must originally have been of more or less the same height. One could, lastly, imagine, considering only the Urartian text, that at the time when the Movana stele was erected, the political situation had reached the moment when Urzana closed the door of the sanctuary (A I 60). Only after having re-established his protectorate over Muşasir, as we know from Topzawa, did Rusa have also the Assyrian text inscribed on the Movana stele, which corresponds to that of the other two stelae. Therefore, the Movana stele would have been incised in two distinct phases, the Urartian version at the start of the expedition and the Assyrian version once the operation had reached its conclusion. This is, however, clearly only a hypothesis.

### Conclusion

The new text confirms – as regards the relationship between Rusa I and Urzana, king of Muşasir – the reconstruction of events which was proposed in *Zagros*<sup>113</sup>, on the basis of the letters of the Assyrian “Intelligence Service” and the two stelae known at that time. This may be summarised in the following points: in a period shortly before Sargon's Eighth Campaign of 714 B.C., the Urartian army suffered a serious defeat at the hands of a new element on the eastern stage, the Cimmerians (Gimirra)<sup>114</sup>. Urzana himself

<sup>113</sup> See M. Salvini, Chap. I. 4 – “Rusa I e la guerra con l'Assiria nell'area dello Zagros”, 35-51; K. Deller, Chap. II. 8, 97-122 – “Ausgewählte neuassyrische Briefe betreffend Urartu zur Zeit Sargons II.” (then Deller followed by the number of the text); the letters were then republished in the series “State Archives of Assyria” (SAA), Vol. I: S. Parpola, *The Correspondence of Sargon II*, Part I, Helsinki 1987, and Vol. V: G. B. Lanfranchi – S. Parpola, *The Correspondence of Sargon II*, Part II, Helsinki 1990, unfortunately without a list of concordances with Deller.

<sup>114</sup> K. Deller, *Zagros* 102-104: “Nachrichten über die kimmerische Gefahr” (Deller 2.1 = SAA V 145; Deller 2.2 = SAA V 87; Deller 2.3 = SAA V 86; Deller 2.4 = SAA V 114; Deller 2.5 = SAA V 144); 98-101: “Berichte über die den Urartäern von den Kimmeriern zugefügte Niederlage” (Deller 1.1 = SAA V 92; Deller 1.2 = SAA I 31; Deller 1.3 = SAA V 90; Deller 1.4 = SAA V 30; Deller 1.5 = SAA V 173; Deller 1.6 = SAA V 174; Deller 1.7 = SAA I 32). See also the in-depth monograph by A. I. Ivantchik, *Les Cimmériens au Proche-Orient*, OBO 127, Fribourg 1993, chap. I, 19-55: “Les Cimmériens et l'Ourartou à l'époque de Sargon II”.

informs the Assyrians of the outcome of this clash<sup>115</sup> but, on the other hand, goes with his relatives to salute the Urartian king, that is to say Rusa I, as does the king of Hubuškia<sup>116</sup>, probably the same Ianzu who pays tribute to Sargon during the Eighth Campaign (Sg. 8, 306-308). The mention of Urzana, who disappears from the scene after the Eighth Campaign, is proof that the battle or battles with the Cimmerians<sup>117</sup> occurred before 714 B.C. We know, however, that Urzana, crushed between his two powerful neighbours, also visited the Assyrian king, as is stated in a text that describes the stages in his journey to Kalḫu<sup>118</sup>. In our opinion and for our studies, Urzana's letter to the palace herald<sup>119</sup> is very important, from which we see that the king of Muşasir not only regularly performed his role as Assyrian informer but which also makes specific mention of his position as custodian and guarantor of the sanctuary of Haldi. His declaration is symptomatic: “As to what you wrote me: “Nobody may take part in the service without the king's permission” – when the king of Assyria came here, could I hold him back? He did what he did. So how could I hold back this one!” (SAA V 147, Rev. 3-12). “This one” refers here surely to Rusa. So we can identify precisely in one passage of the bilingual stelae (A I 60 = B I 12' 13'; A III 41' = B III 11' = C III 14') the consequences of Assyrian pressure, that is to say, the act of closing the temple in the face of the Urartian king, the immediate cause of Rusa's reaction and his expedition against Muşasir. As already said, this results in the re-establishing of the Urartian protectorate (cf. bilingual stelae). Muşasir and Urzana find themselves once more in the Urartian sphere. This must have been the situation in the summer of the year 714 B.C. when Urzana refuses to pay tribute to Sargon, thus provoking grievous punishment with the sack of the palace and temple and his own political downfall.

We have seen how the original position of the stele cannot have been far from where it was found. The proximity of the passes leading to Turkey indicates which was the Urartian king's road to Muşasir: not one running directly north-south through the region of modern Hakkari, but that diverging to the east, via Yüksekova and the Serow pass, descending to Movana and then running through the Movana-Zeiveh valley down to modern Ushnaviyeh. From there the “sacred road”<sup>120</sup> to the sanctuary of Muşasir ascends the valley of the Godar çay and traverses the Zagros at the

<sup>115</sup> Deller 1.4 = SAA I 30. Also from SAA V 144 we may deduce that Urzana is an informer of the Assyrians.

<sup>116</sup> Deller 1.2 = SAA I 31.

<sup>117</sup> This is Ivantchik's hypothesis, p. 51.

<sup>118</sup> Deller 6.8 = SAA V 136; see also M. Salvini, SAAB XI, 1997, 111 ff.

<sup>119</sup> Deller 5.1 = SAA V 147.

<sup>120</sup> The stages of this itinerary may be seen on the map at fig 1.

3000 m high Kelišin pass to then finally reach Topzawa and the region of Muşaşir.

The new document studied here further confirms the important role played by the lands lying between the Zagros range and Lake Urmia in reconstructing the historical geography of Iranian Azerbaijan in the period of Urartian domination.

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#### RARE ABBREVIATIONS

- Ayanis I* = Altan Çilingiroğlu and Mirjo Salvini, *Ayanis I. Ten Years' Excavations at Rusahinili Eiduru-kai (1989-1998)*, ("Documenta Asiana" VI), Roma 2001.
- Ay susi* = see M. Salvini, Inscription of the *Susi* Temple, in: *Ayanis I*, p. 253-270.
- Bastam I* = Wolfram Kleiss (mit Beiträgen von Peter Calmeyer, Stephan Kroll, Mirjo Salvini, Ursula Seidl, Christine Strauß), *Bastam I. Ausgrabungen in den urartäischen Anlagen 1972-1975* (Teheraner Forschungen IV), Berlin 1979.
- Bastam II* = Wolfram Kleiss (mit Beiträgen von Joachim Boessneck, Maria Hopf, Mostefa Kokabi, Stephan Kroll, Mirjo Salvini, Ursula Seidl, Alfred Selmeier, Ulrich Willerking, Paul Zimansky), *Bastam II. Ausgrabungen in den urartäischen Anlagen 1977-1978* (Teheraner Forschungen V), Berlin 1988.
- CICH = C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Corpus Inscriptionum Chaldicarum*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1928-35.
- \*CTU = M. Salvini, *Corpus dei testi urartei* ( in preparation).
- Deller* = Zagros, Chap. II. 8, 97-122: "Ausgewählte neuassyrische Briefe betreffend Urartu zur Zeit Sargons II."
- HchI = F. W. König, *Handbuch der chaldischen Inschriften*, «AfO», Beiheft 8, Graz 1955-57.
- HuU = I. M. Diakonoff, *Hurrisch und Urartäisch*, München 1971.
- IFŽ = «Istoriko-filologičeskij Žurnal», Erevan.
- Karagündüz stele*, see *Zagros*, 57-62.

- Kelišin stele* = W. C. Benedict, The Urartian-Assyrian Inscription of Kelishin, «JAOS» 81, 1961, 359-385.
- Körzüt text* = M. Salvini, «SMEA» XXII, 1980, 168.
- KUKN = N. V. Arutjunjan, *Korpus urartskich klinoobraznych nadpisej*, Erevan 2001.
- Mergeh Karvan Stele*, see *Zagros*, 79-85.
- Sisian stele* = N. V. Arutjunjan, La nouvelle inscription ourartéenne, in: *Gesellschaft und Kultur im alten Vorderasien* (hgg. von H. Klengel). "Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients" 15, Berlin 1982, 89-93.
- Topzawa stele*, see *Zagros*, 79-95.
- UKN = G. A. Melikišvili, *Urartskie klinoobraznye nadpisi*, Moskva 1960.
- UKN II = G. A. Melikišvili, *Urartskie klinoobraznye nadpisi II. Otkritija i publikacii 1954-1970 gg.*, «VDI» 1971/3, 229-255; 4, 267-293.
- UPD = I. M. D'jakonov, *Urartskie pis'ma i dokumenty*, Moskva-Leningrad 1963.
- Zagros* = P. E. Pecorella, M. Salvini et al., *Tra lo Zagros e l'Urmia. Ricerche storiche ed archeologiche nell'Azerbaijan Iraniano* ("Incunabula Graeca" LXXVIII), Roma 1984.
- USpr = G. A. Melikišvili, *Die urartäische Sprache*, Roma 1971.



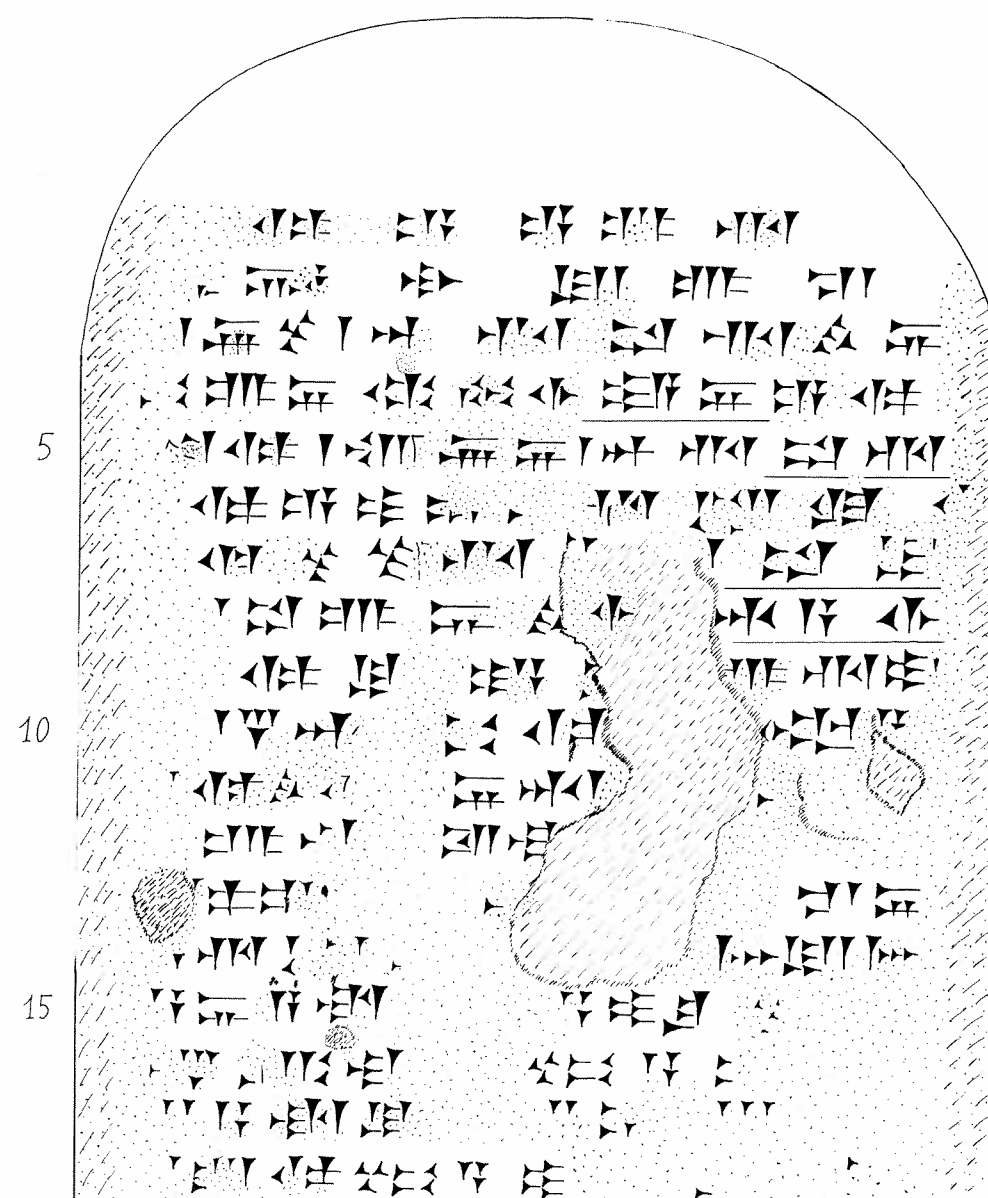


Fig. 3 – Stele of Movana, Obverse, Uartian Text (I), lines 1-18.

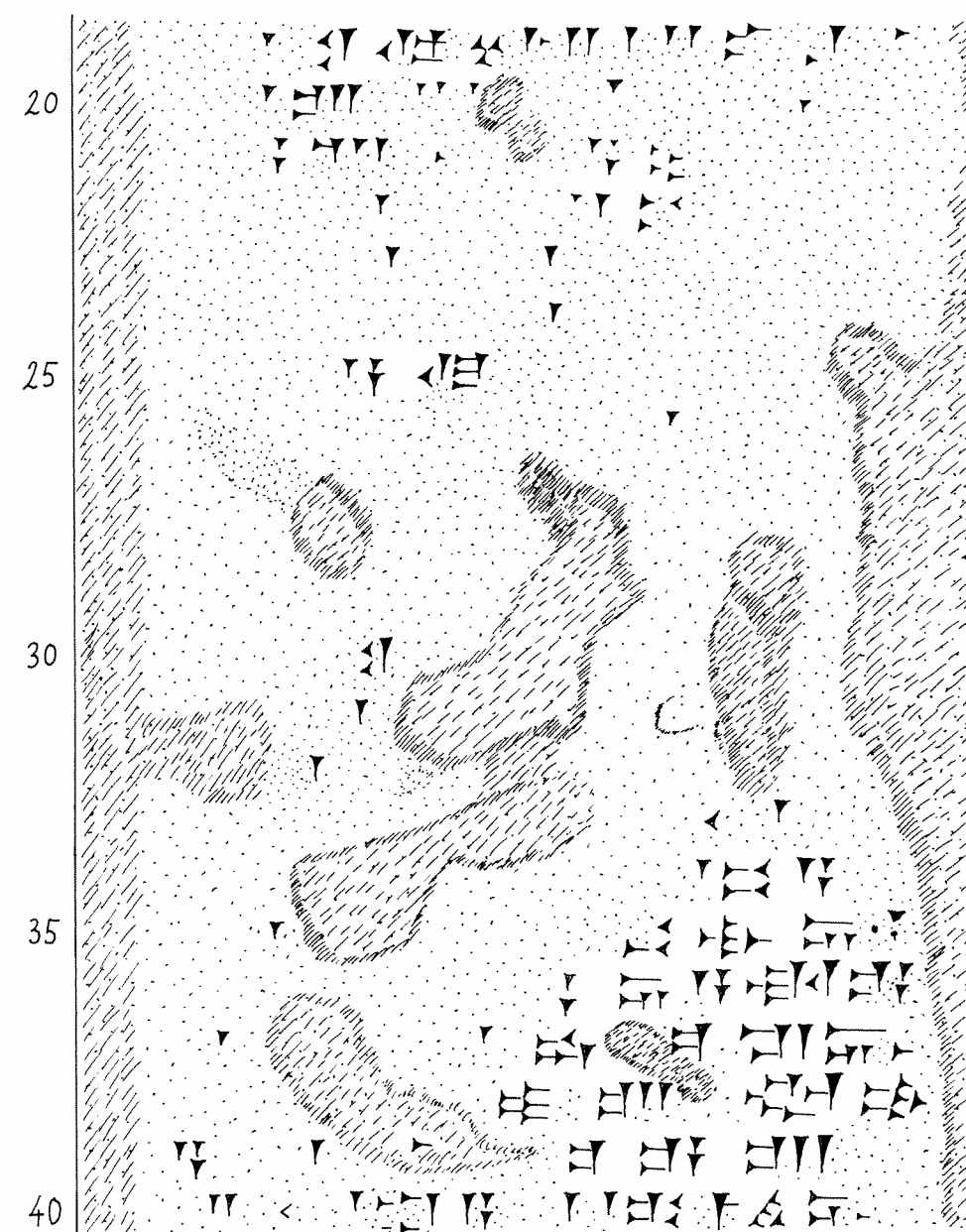


Fig. 4 – Stele of Movana, Obverse, Uartian Text (I), lines 19-40.



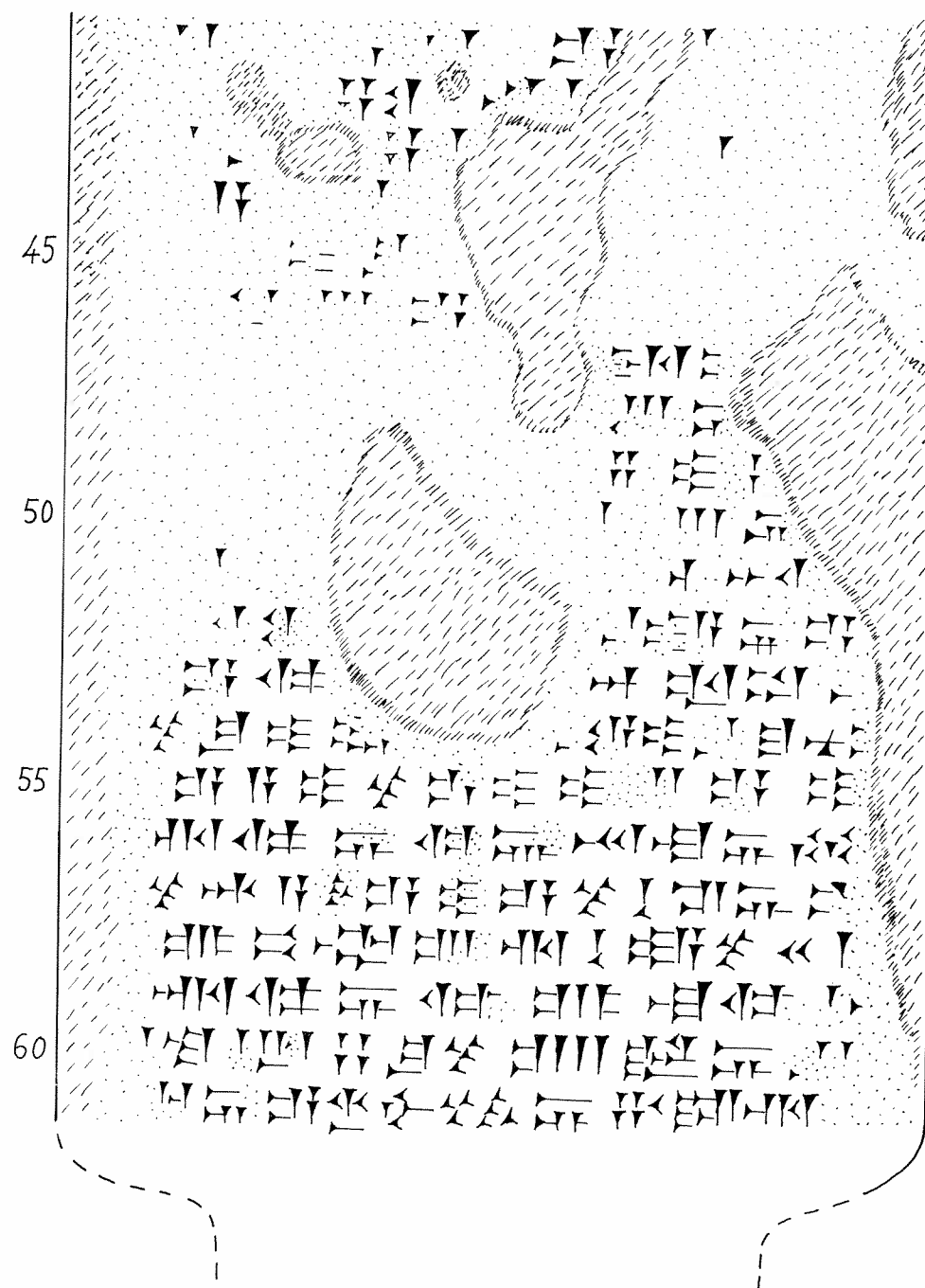


Fig. 5 – Stele of Movana, Obverse, Urartian Text (I), lines 41-61.

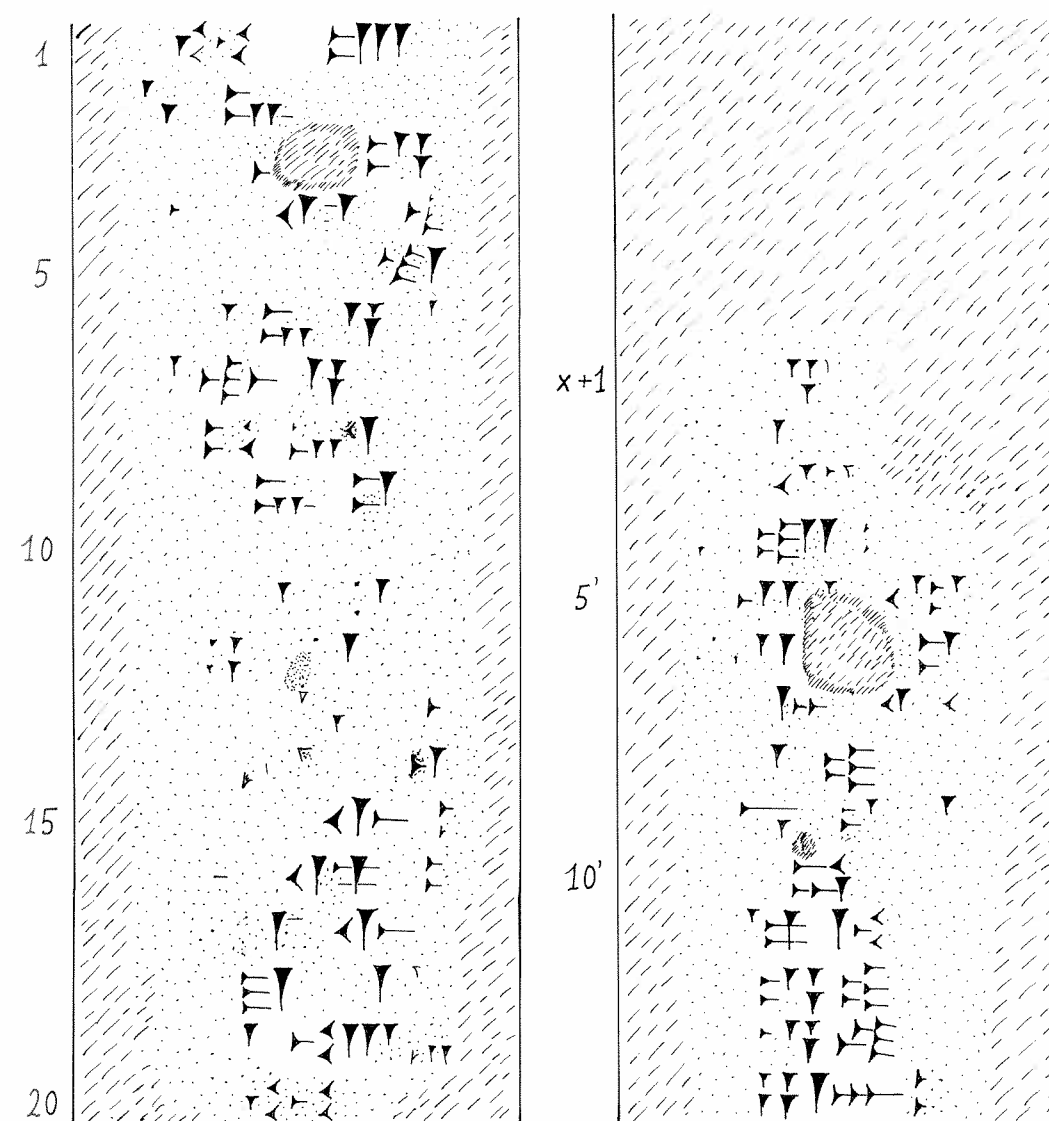


Fig. 6 – Stele of Movana, Right Side, Urartian Text (II), lines 1-20, 1'-14'.

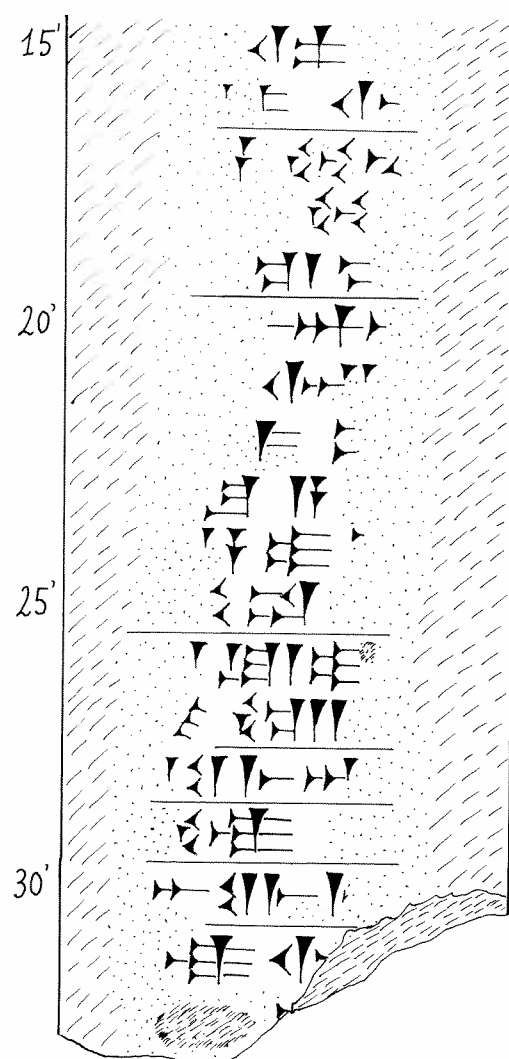


Fig. 7 – Stele of Movana, Right Side, Urartian Text (II), lines 16'-32'.

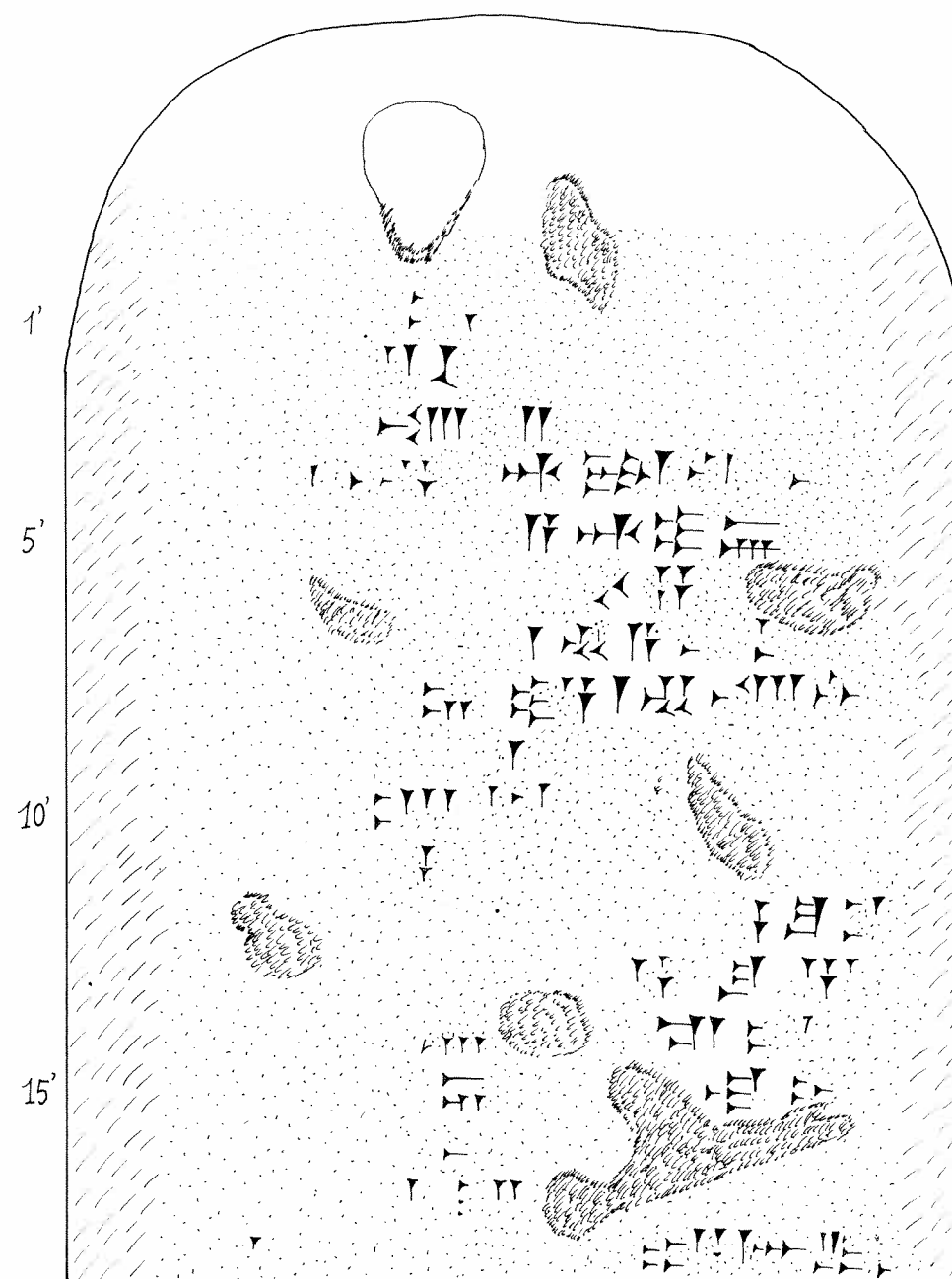


Fig. 8 – Stele of Movana, Reverse, Assyrian Text (III), lines 1'-18'.

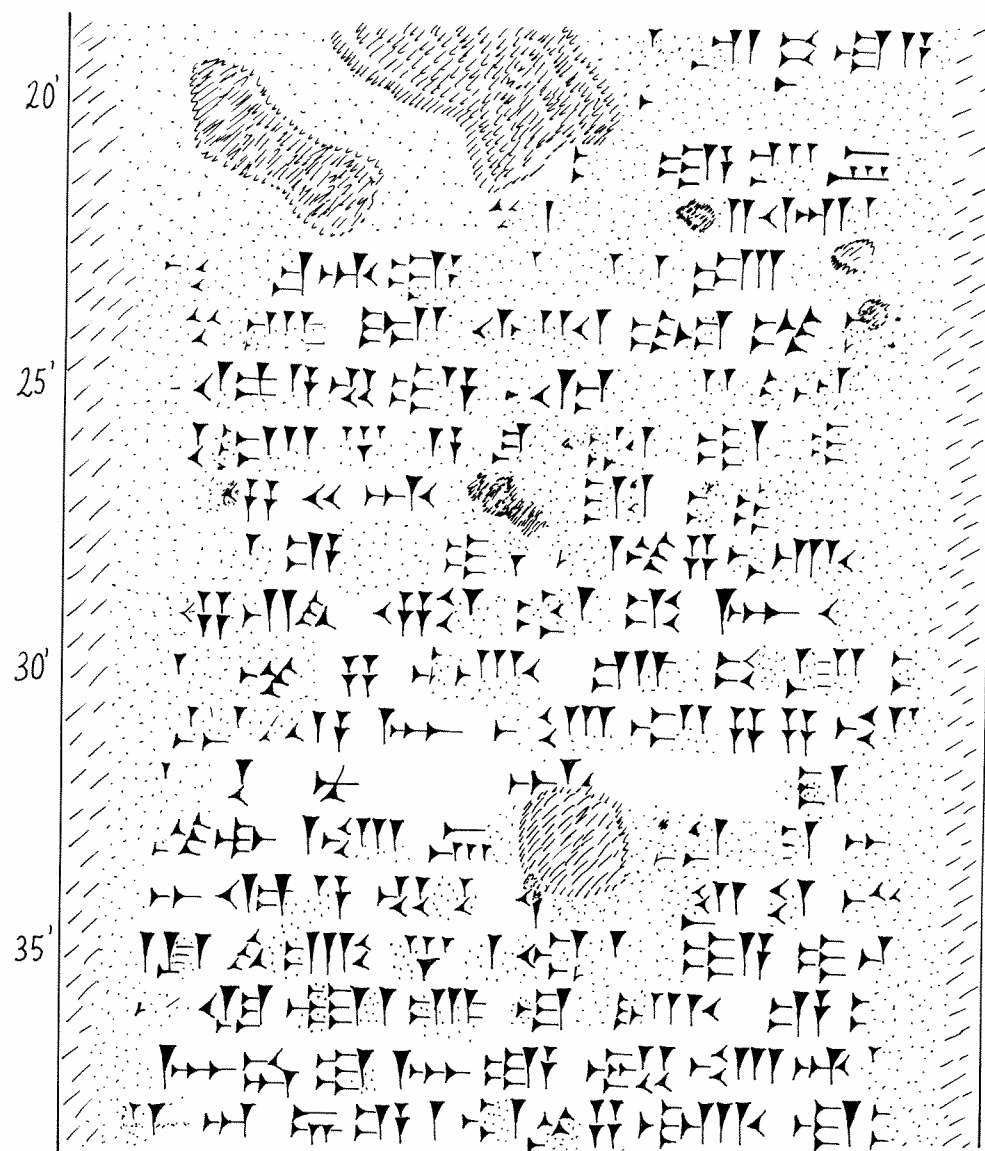


Fig. 9 – Stele of Movana, Reverse, Assyrian Text (III), lines 19'-38'.

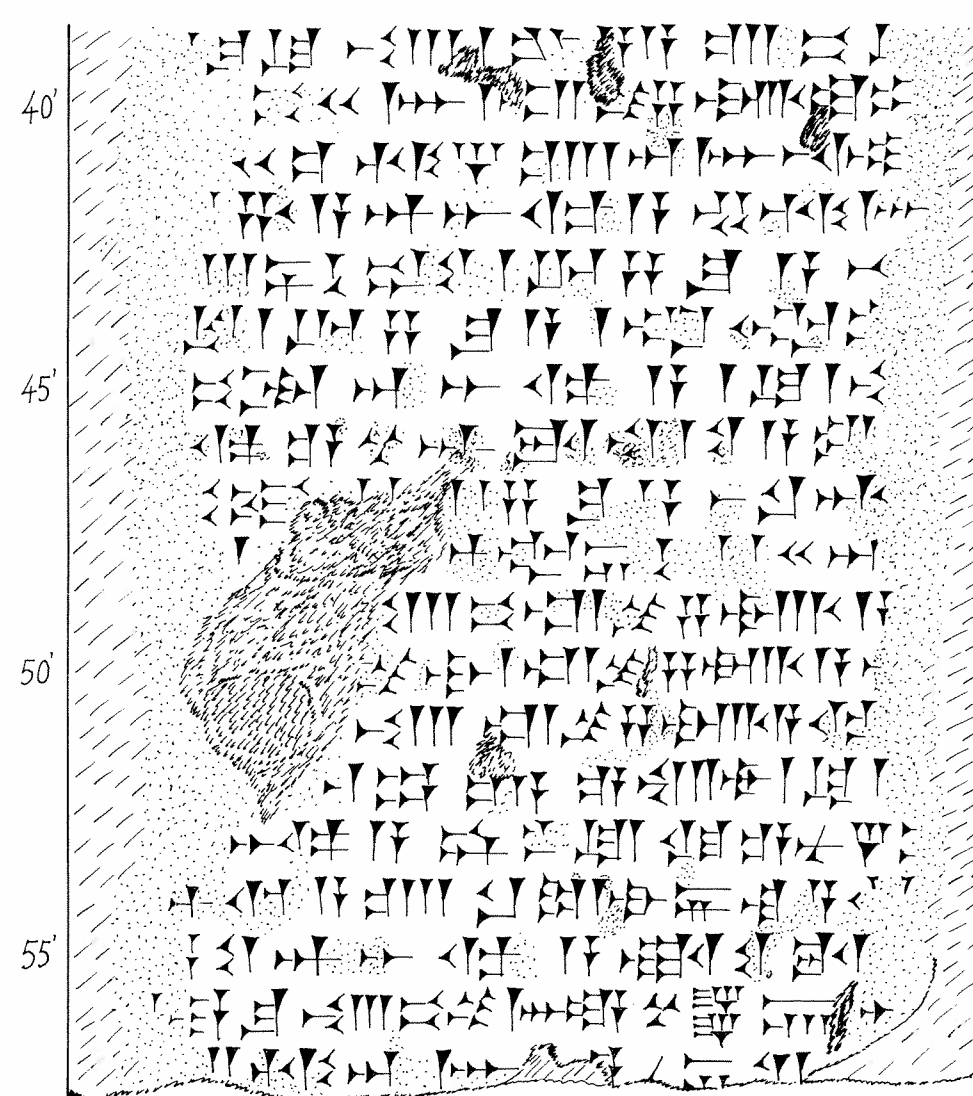


Fig. 10 – Stele of Movana, Reverse, Assyrian Text (III), lines 39'-57'.

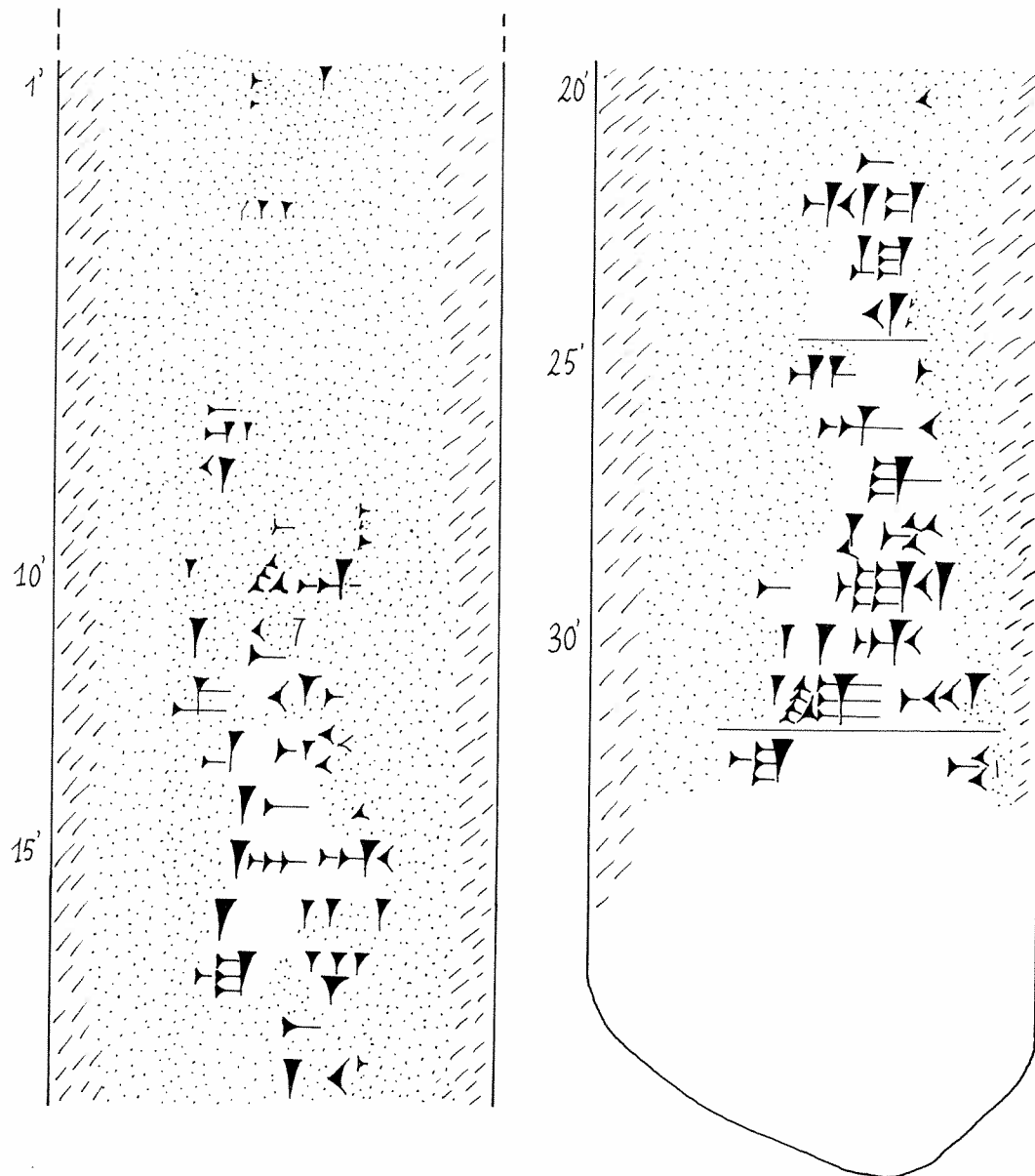


Fig. 11 – Stele of Movana, Left Side, Assyrian Text (IV), lines 1'-32'.



Fig. 12 – Museum of Urumiyeh, the Stele of Movana, face I (Uartian).

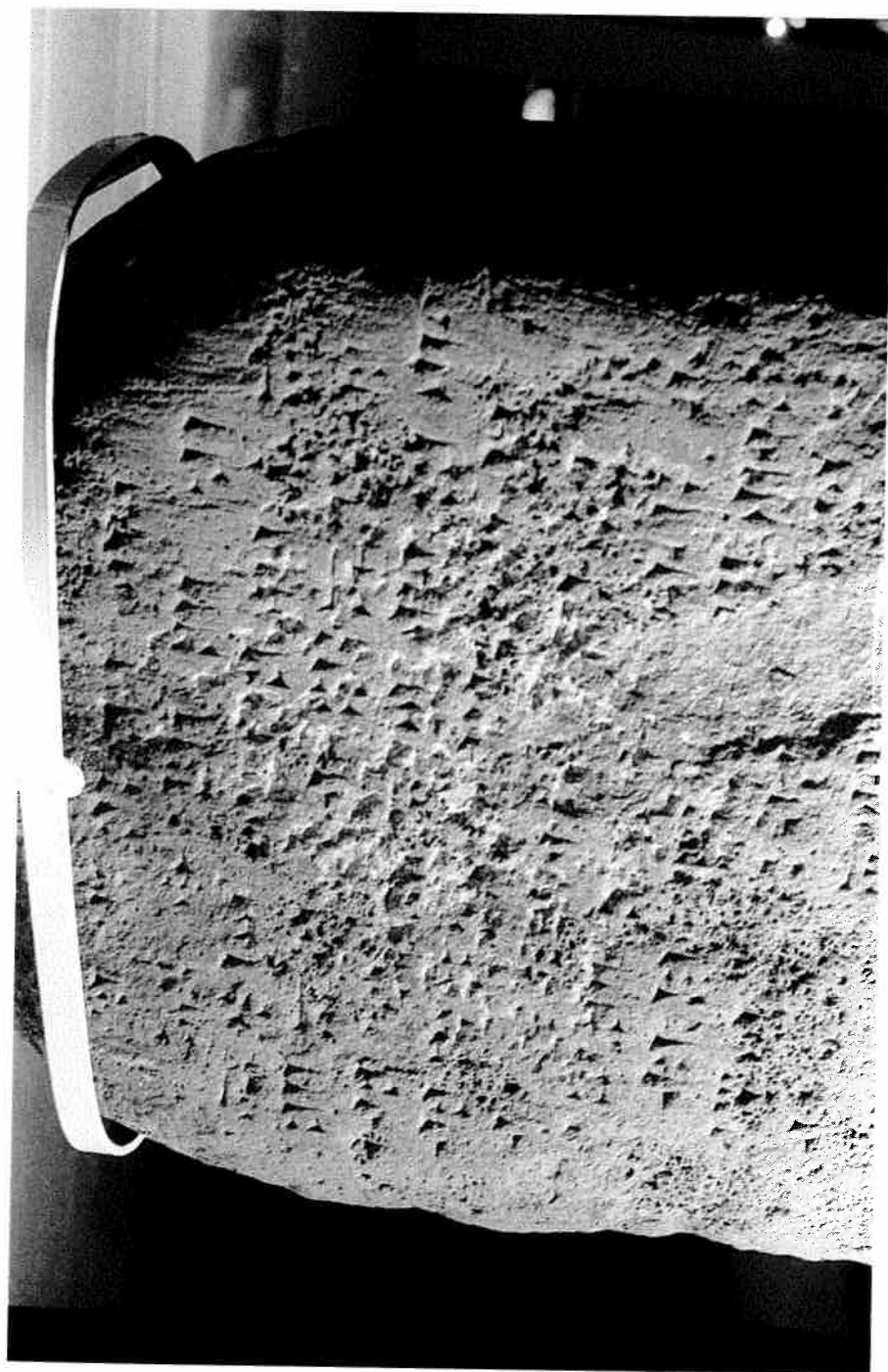


Fig. 13 – Stele of Movana, Obverse, Urartian Text (I), lines 1-11.



Fig. 14 – Stele of Movana, Obverse, Urartian Text (I), lines 3-13.



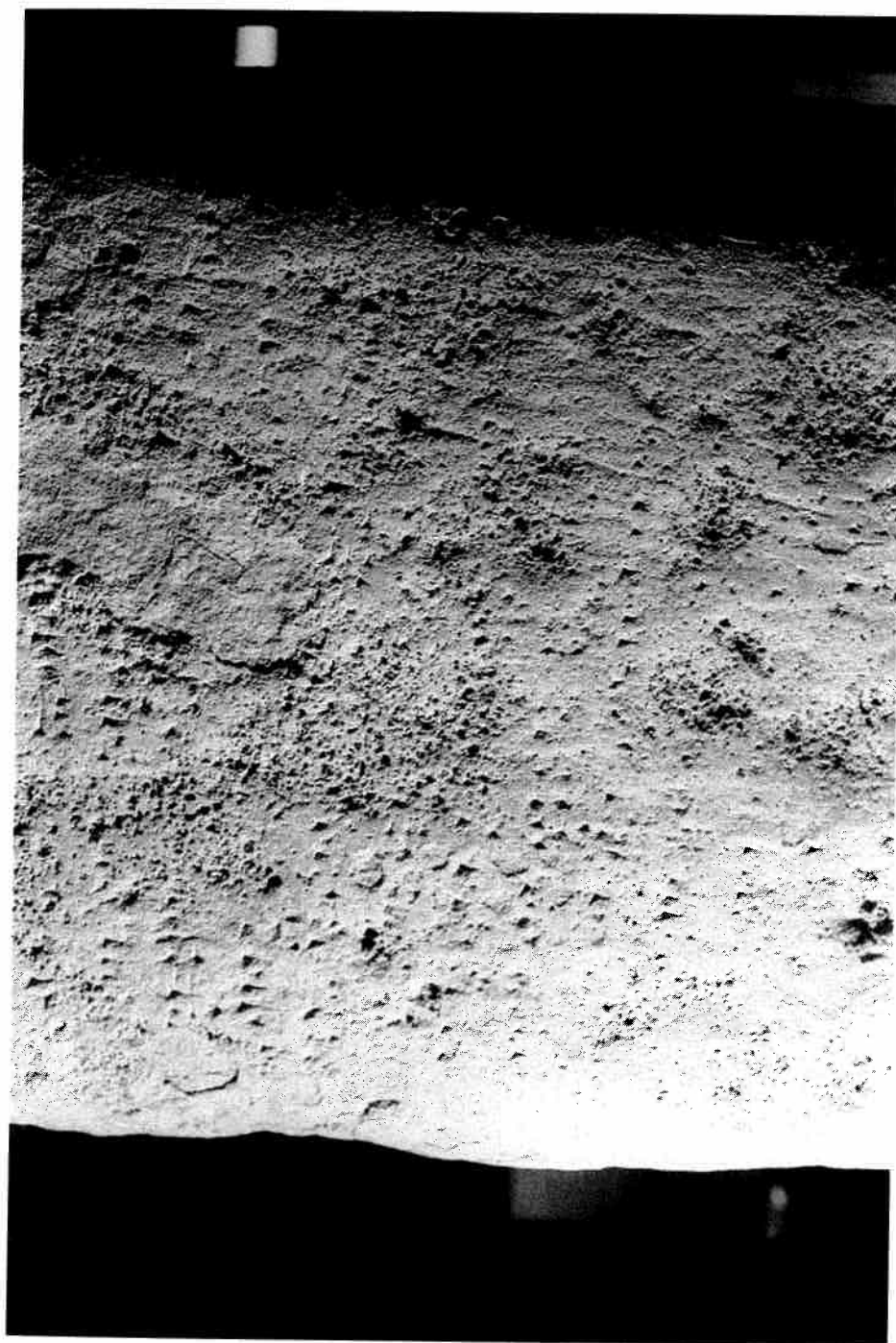


Fig. 15 – Stele of Movana, Obverse, Urartian Text (D), lines 11-22.



Fig. 16 – Stele of Movana, Obverse, Urartian Text (D), lines 23-32.

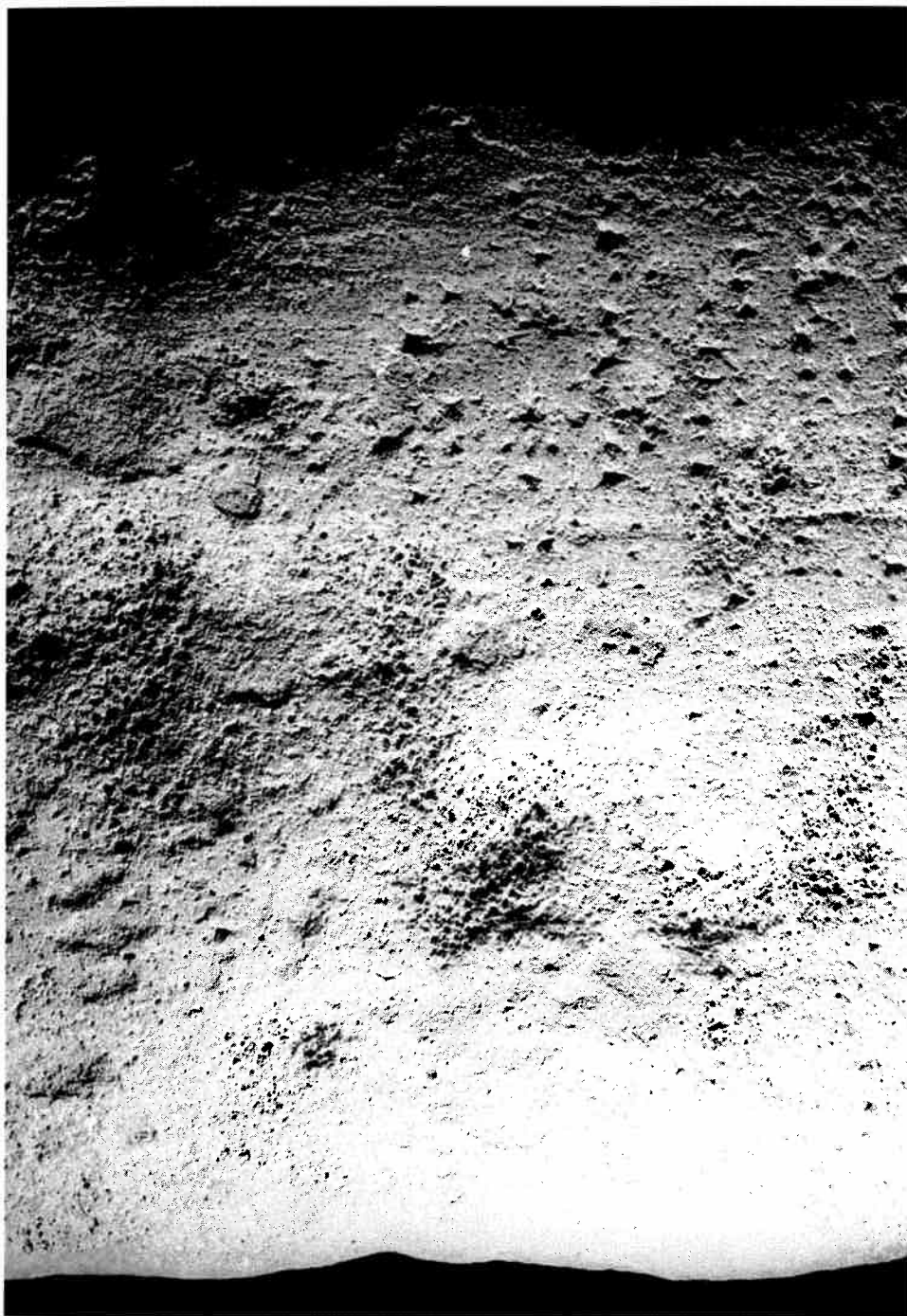


Fig. 17 – Stele of Movana, Obverse, Urartian Text (I), lines 30-38.



Fig. 18 – Stele of Movana, Obverse, Urartian Text (I), lines 37-43.





Fig. 19 – Stele of Movana, Obverse, Urartian Text (I), lines 40-47.

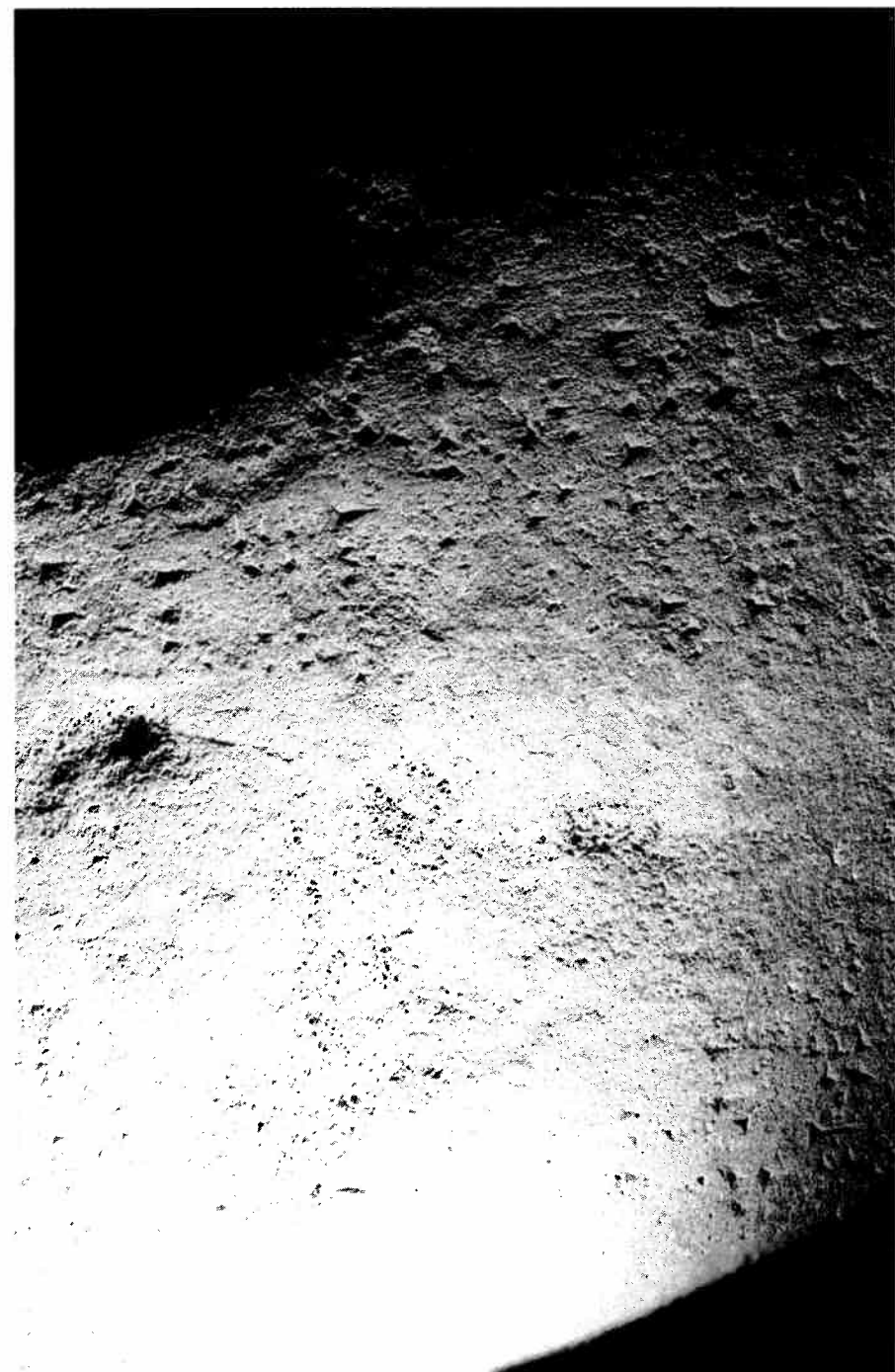


Fig. 20 – Stele of Movana, Obverse, Urartian Text (I), lines 48-54.





Fig. 21 – Stele of Movana, Obverse, Urartian Text (I), lines 53-61.

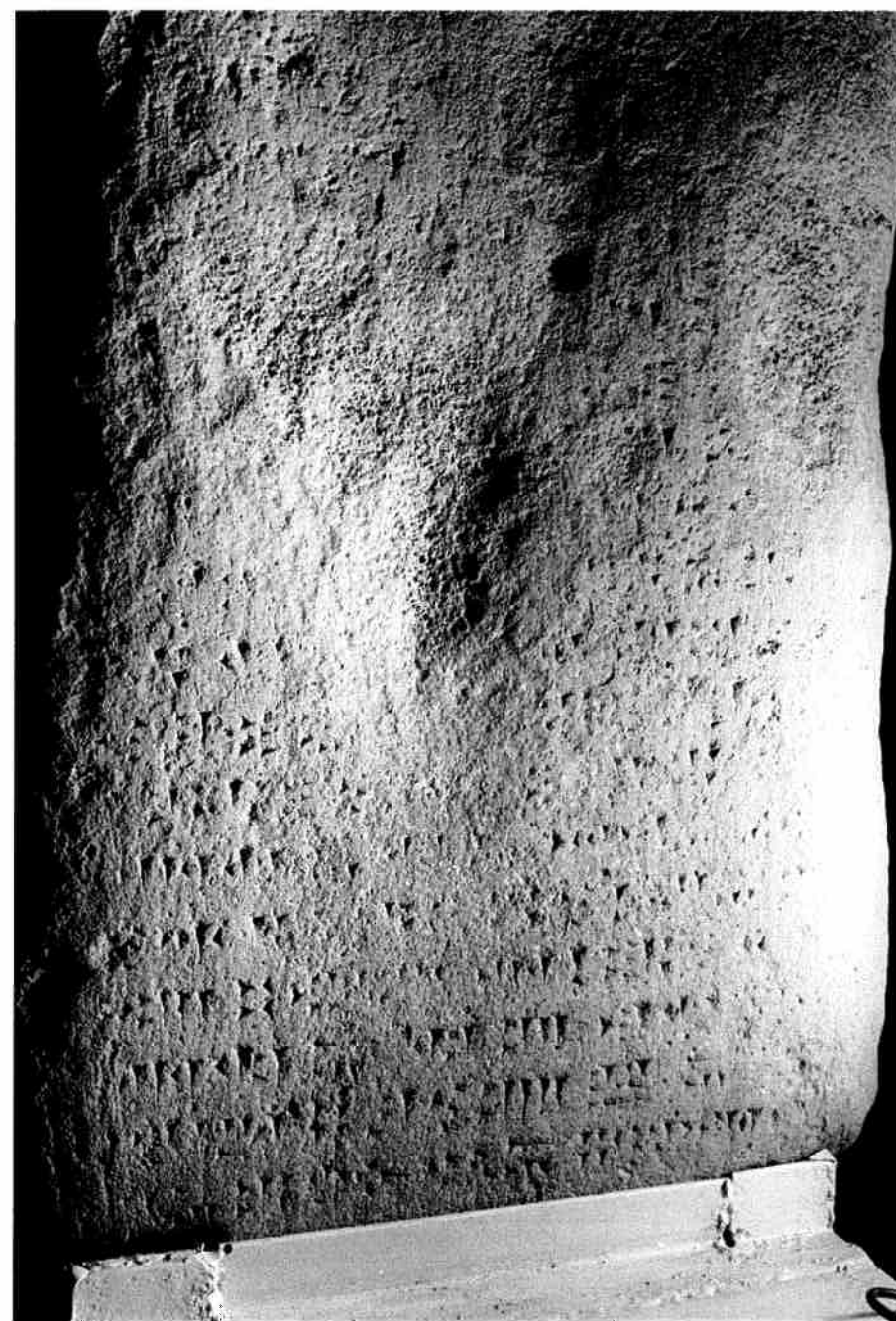


Fig. 22 – Stele of Movana, Obverse, Urartian Text (I), lines 45-61.



Fig. 23 – Stele of Movana, Right Side, Uartian Text (II), lines 1-10.



Fig. 24 – Stele of Movana, Right Side, Uartian Text (II), lines 10-20.



Fig. 25 – Stele of Movana, Right Side, Uartian Text (II), lines x+1-9'.

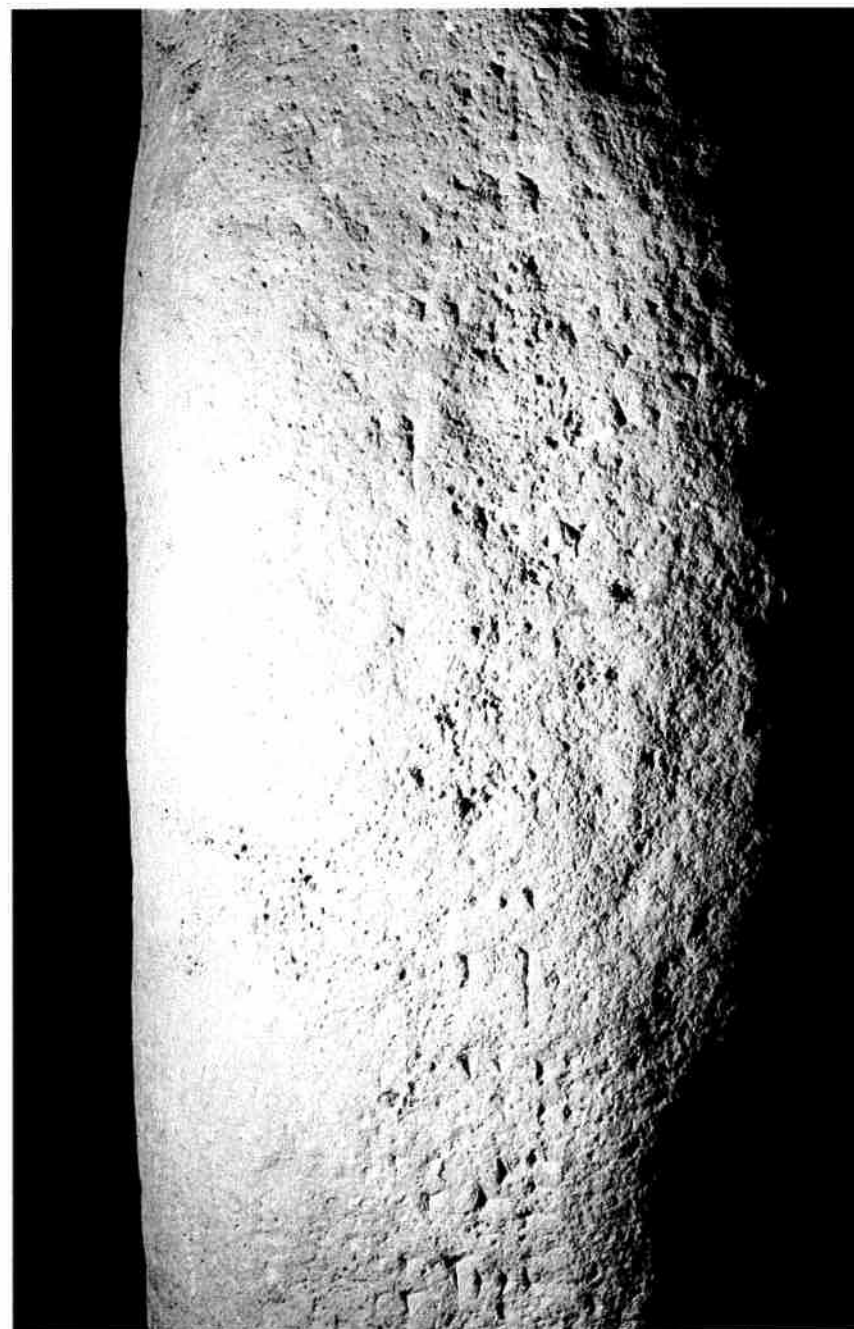


Fig. 26 – Stele of Movana, Right Side, Uartian Text (II), lines 3'-14'.



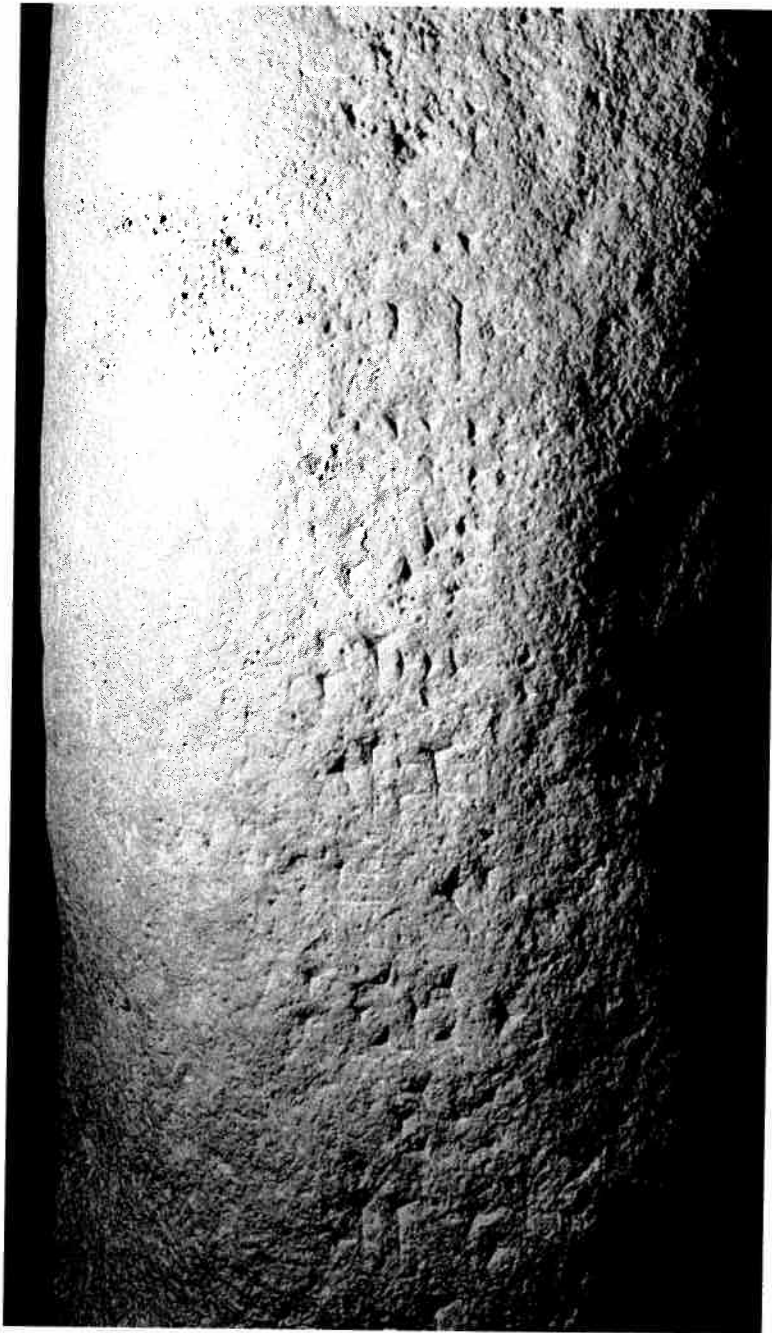


Fig. 27 – Stele of Movana, Right Side, Uartian Text (II), lines 9'-19'.

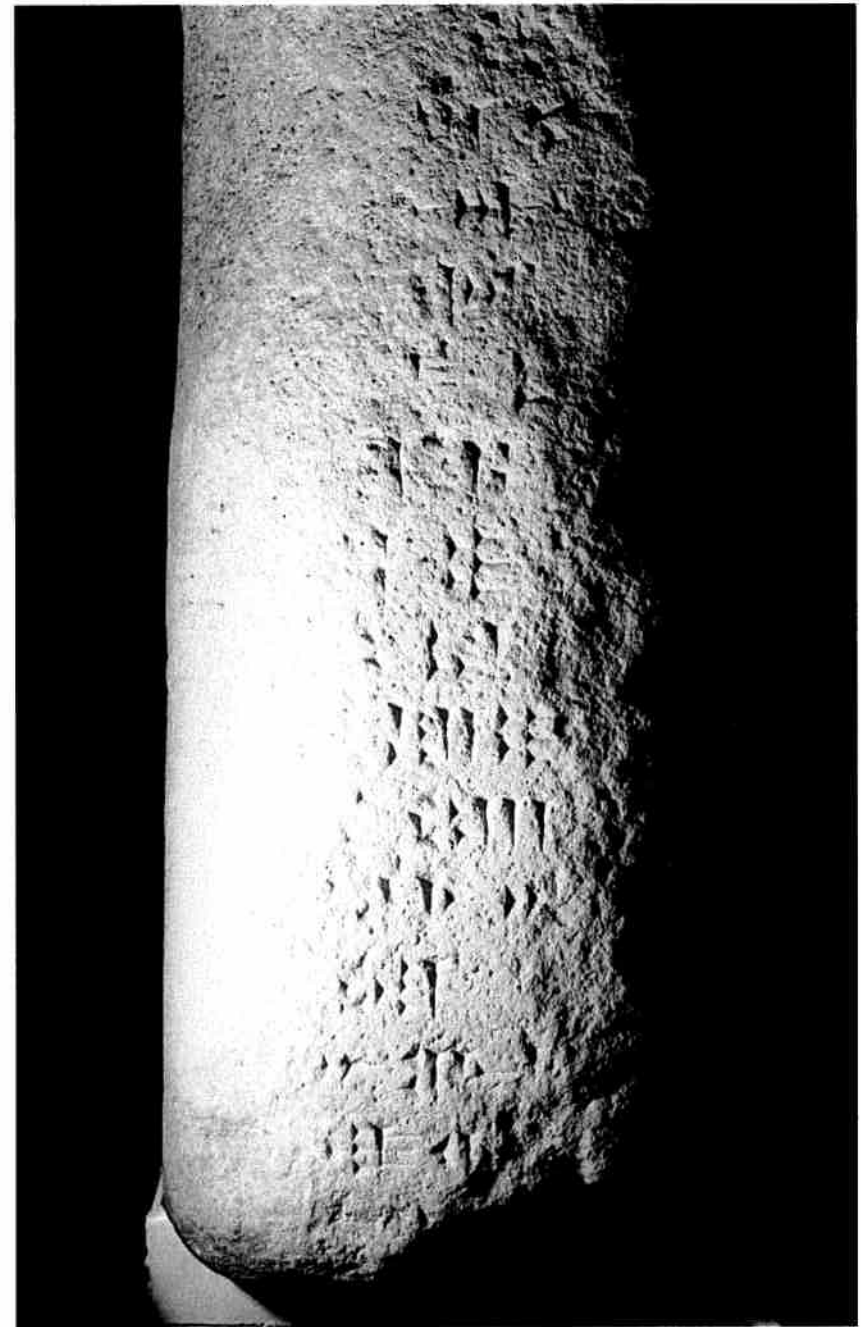


Fig. 28 – Stele of Movana, Right Side, Uartian Text (II), lines 18'-32'.

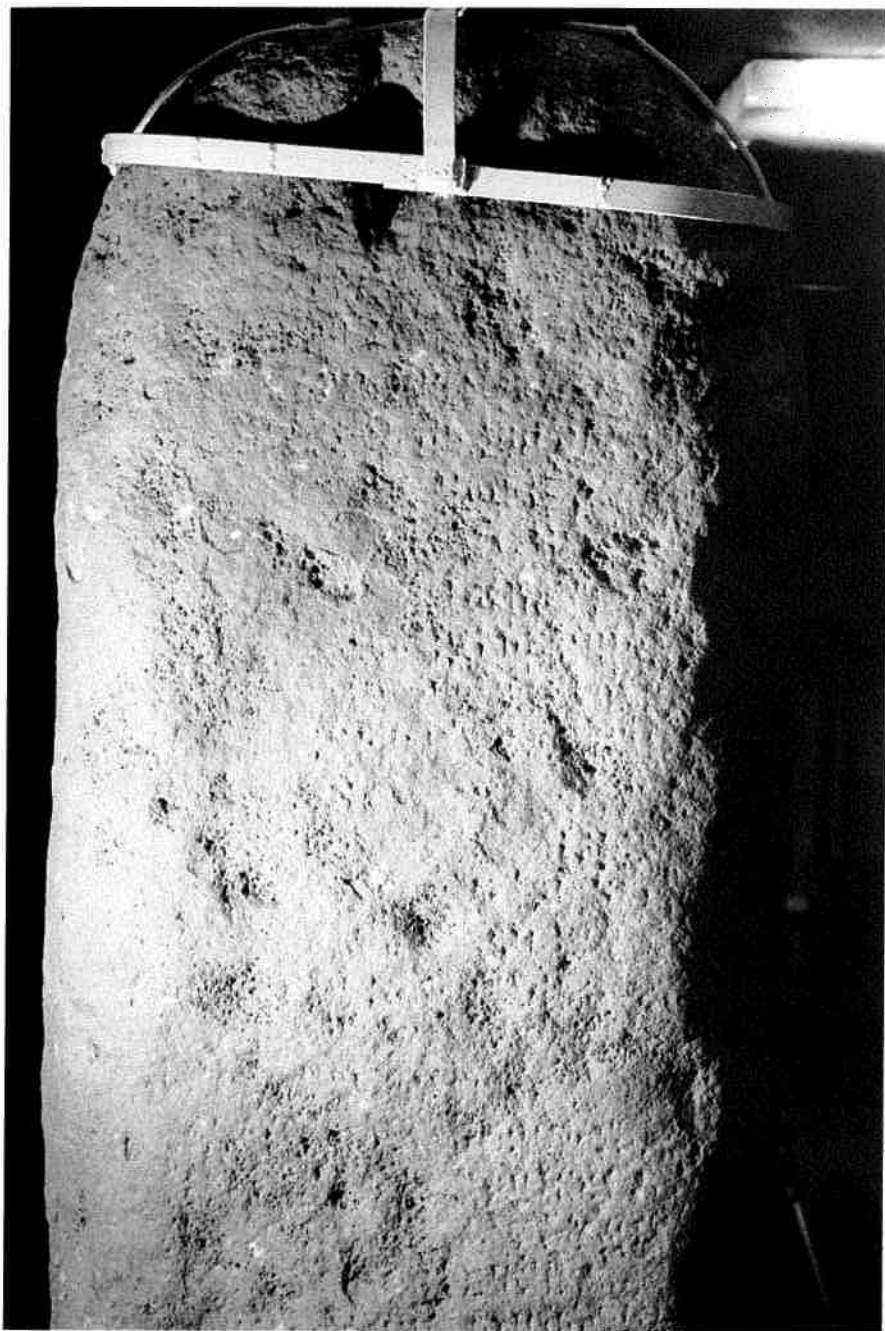


Fig. 29 – Stele of Movana, Reverse, Assyrian Text (III), lines 1'-22'.

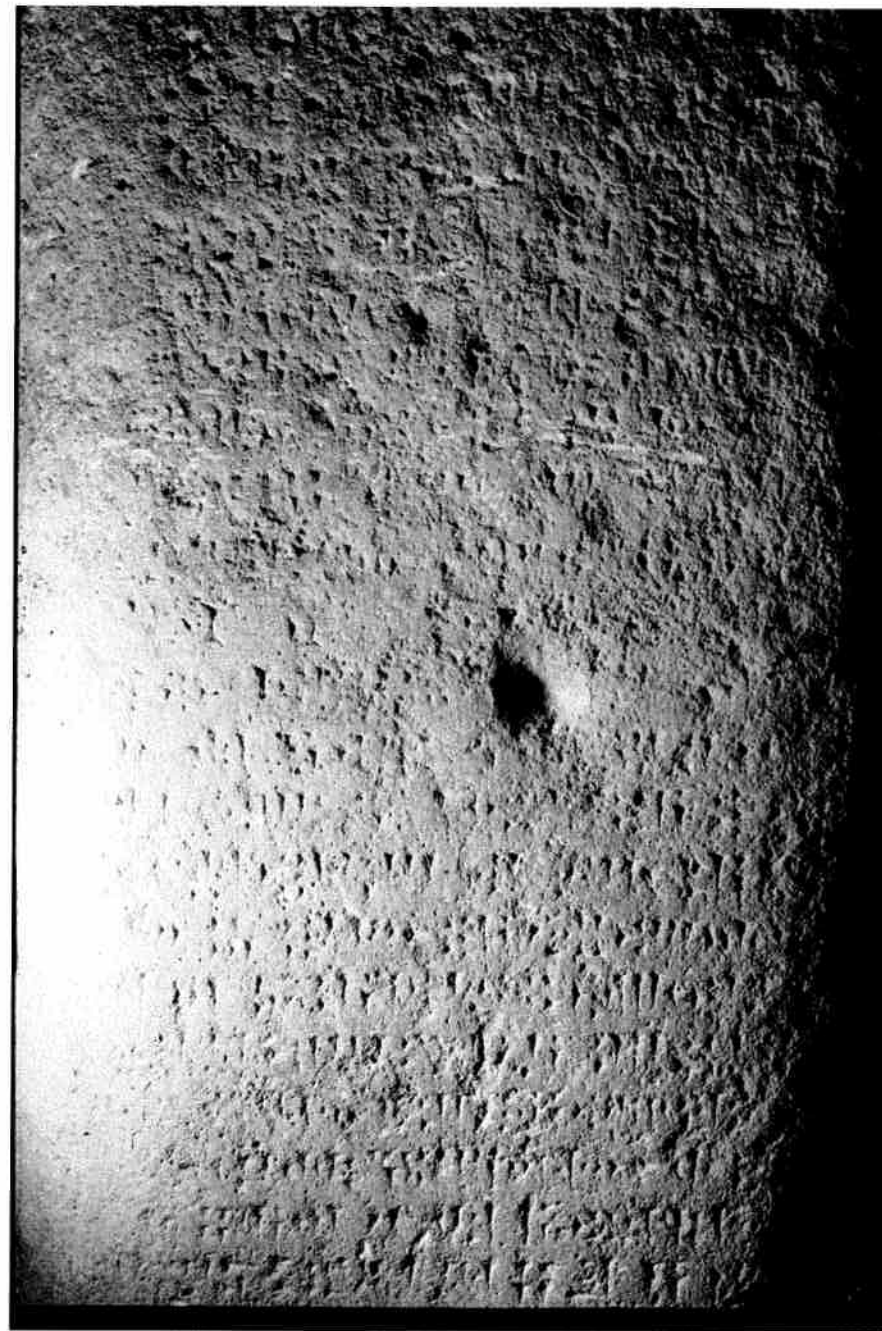


Fig. 30 – Stele of Movana, Reverse, Assyrian Text (III), lines 23'-41'.

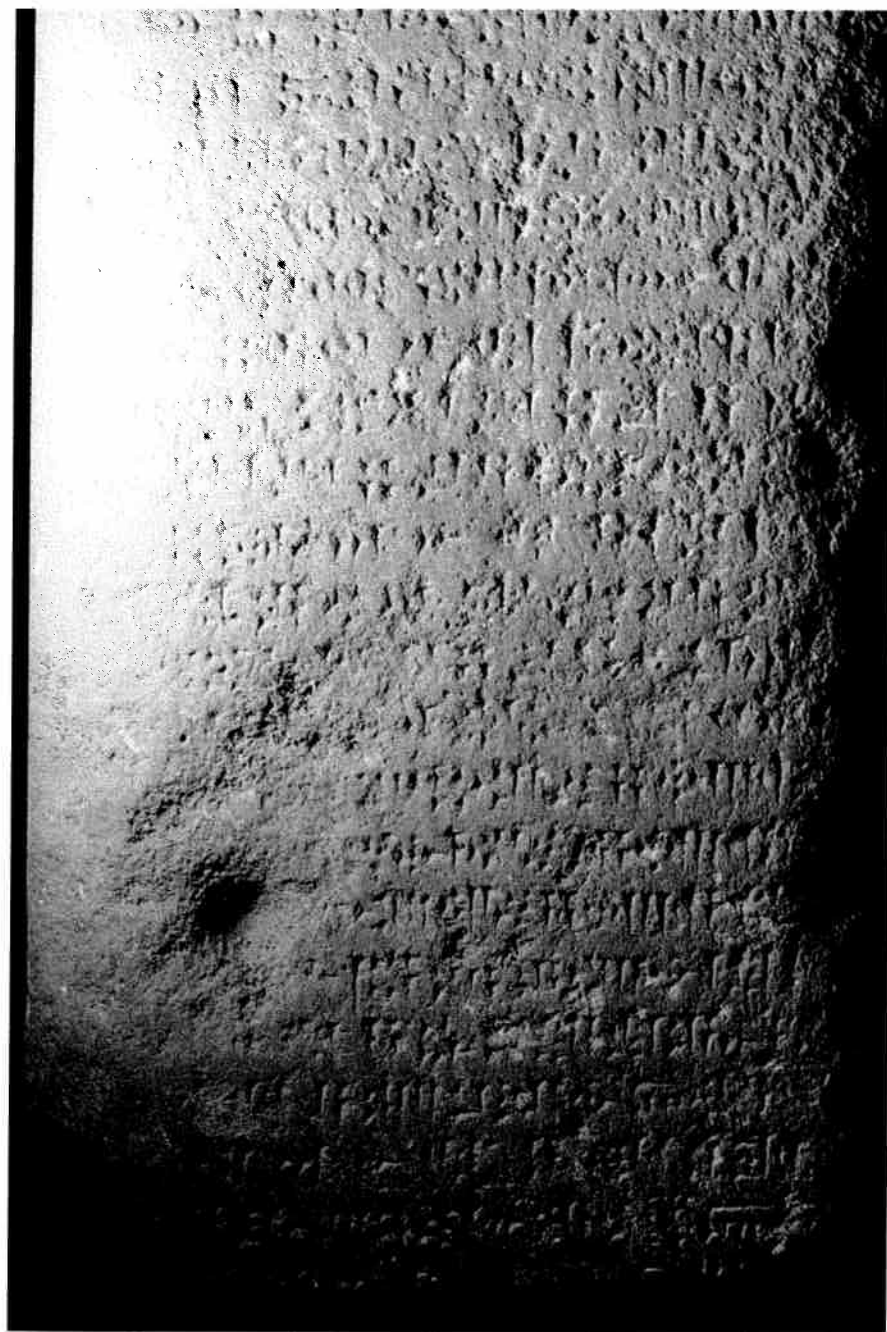


Fig. 31 – Stele of Movana, Reverse, Assyrian Text (III), lines 37'-57'.



Fig. 32 – Stele of Movana, Left Side, Assyrian Text (IV), lines 1'-10'.





Fig. 33 – Stele of Movana, Left Side, Assyrian Text (IV), lines 8'-19'.



Fig. 34 – Stele of Movana, Left Side, Assyrian Text (IV), lines 19'-28'.

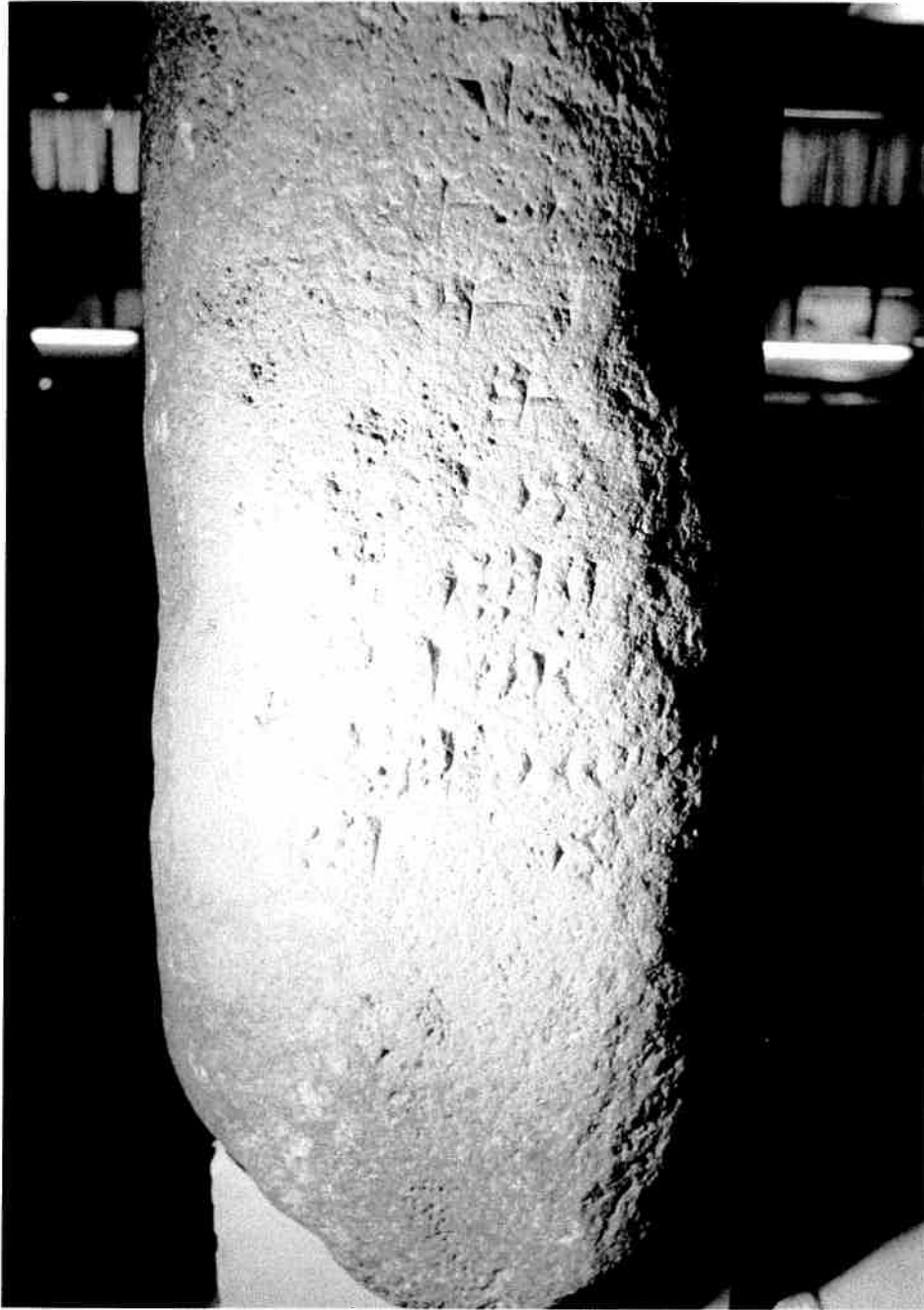


Fig. 35 – Stele of Movana, Left Side, Assyrian Text (IV), lines 24'-32'.