Levan Gordeziani (Tbilisi)

## TO THE INTERPRETATION OF CTU A 3-4

The earliest texts reflecting the active foreign policy of Urartu to the North, i. e. the Caucasus, can be dated to 820-10 BC, the period of the coregency of Išpuini and Minua. They are CTU A 3-4[1], 3-5[2], 3-6[3], 3-7[4]. The texts presumably give an account of the same Urartian campaign. The first one, which is the largest, includes several interesting expressions, which I find worthwhile to dwell upon.

CTU A 3-4
Ro 1' [x x x x]5 ᵐiš-pu-ú-i-ni-⸢še⸣[6]
2' [ᵐᴰ]sar₅-du-ri-e-ḫi-ni-⸢še⸣
3' [ᵐ]mì-i-nu-ú-[a-še]
4' ᵐiš-pu-ú-i-ni-e-ḫi-ni-[še]
5' [ḫa]-⸢a-i⸣-tú[7] ᵐ⸢lu⸣-ú-šá-[a]

---

[1] A stele from Surb Pogos church in Van = УКН 20, КУКН 3, transliterated according to M. Salvini.

[2] = УКН 21, КУКН 32, a stele from Surb Hovanes church near Van. There is an identical inscription on the reverse side of the stele. It was by miskate published as an independent text and was assigned a separate number in earlier corpora (УКН 22, КУКН 33).

[3] A newly discovered inscription from Pirabat, near Alashkert.

[4] = УКН 23, КУКН 34, Toprak-Kale, near Alashkert, stone inscription.

[5] Possible reconstructions: [ᴰḫal-di-ni-ni al-su-i-ši-ni? uš-ta-li?] (Арутюнян 2001: 31); [ᴰḫal-di-i-e e-ú-ri-i-e] (Меликишвили 1960: 131).

[6] Here and in the following three lines, N. Harutyunyan reconstructs the nominative ending ni, which corresponds to his reconstruction of the initial formula (Арутюнян 2001: 31).

[7] Following C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, G. Melikishvili (Меликишвили 1960: 132) and N. Harutynyan (Арутюнян 2001: 31) reconstruct su-ú-i-du-tú, according to the following lines of the same text: Ro 27, Vo 10.

6′ ᵐka-tar-za-a
7′ [ ]x-i[-x x]x-l[i?][8]
8′ [ku]-ṭi₅-ˈiˈ-[tú] pa-a-ri-[e?]
9′ ᵁᴿᵁa-na-ši-i[-e]
10′ [pa]-ri ᵁ[ᴿᵁ]ma⁹-[(qu-)]ru-tar[-a/za][10]
11′ [x-]x¹¹-nu-bi ᵐú-ˈiˈ-ṭè-ru-[(ḫi)]
12′ [ᵐl]u-ša-a [ᵐ]ka-tar-za-[a]
13′ [bur-g(a-la-l)]i [L]UGAL[(ᴹᴱˢ)]
14′ [(ᴷᵁᴿ)]e-ti-ú-ḫi-[(ni)]e-ˈliˈ
15′ [a(r-nu-ia-li)] uš-ta-[bi]
16′ [ᴰḫal-(di-ni ma-s)]i-ni ᴳᴵˢšú-ri-e
17′ [(ᵐú-i-ṭè-ru-ḫi-ni)]-e-ˈdiˈ
18′ [(ᵐ)]lu-šá-i-[(ni-e-di)]
19′ [(ᵐ)]ka-tar-ˈzaˈ-ni-[e-di]
20′ [ᴷᵁᴿe-ti-ú-ḫ[(i-na-e)]-di ˈLUGALˈ[(ᴹᴱˢ-di)]
21′ [(ᴰ)]ḫal-di-ˈniˈ ku-ru-ni
22′ [ᴰ]ḫal-di-ni ᴳᴵˢšú-ˈriˈ-i ku-ru-ni
23′ [u]š-ta-li ᵐiš-[(pu)]-ú-i-ni-ni
24′ [ᵐᴰsar₅-du-ri-e-[(ḫi)]
25′ [ᵐ]mì-i-[(nu)]-ú-a-ˈniˈ
26′ [ᵐ]iš-pu-ú-i-ni-e-[(ḫi)]
27′ [(s)]u-ú-i-du-tú ᵐú-ˈṭèˈ-ru-[ḫi]
28′ [ᵐ]lu-ú-šá-ˈaˈ ᵐka-ˈtarˈ-za-[(a)]
29′ [(bur)]-ga-ˈlaˈ-li LUGAL-ˈli-liˈ
30′ [ᴷᵁᴿe-[(ti-ú-ḫi)]-ni-l[i]
31′ [(za-)]ši-l[(i)] u-ˈiˈ x x [(i)]p-ḫa-r[(i)]
32′ [(še)]-er-[(tú?¹²)] DUB-te ⁽ᵁᴿ⁾ᵁa-na-ši-i[(-e)]
33′ [(nu-)]na-be i[(š)]-ti-ˈni-niˈ
34′ [x ]LIM 7 ME [20] KU.[(X)]ᴹᴱˢ¹³
35′ [x ]LIM 6 ME 70 ˈᴸᵁˈú-e-di-a-[ni]
36′ [x ]ME 26 ANŠE.KUR.RA[ᴹᴱˢ]
37′ [(10 LIM)] 3 LIM 5 ME 40 ᴳᵁ⁴pa-ḫi-[(ni)]
38′ [20] LIM 7 ME 85 UDUᴹᴱ[ˢ]

8   Here N. Harutyunyan logically reconstructs ᵐú-i-ṭè-ru-ú-ḫi (Арутюнян 2001: 31).
9   [k]u?- (Меликишвили 1960: 132).
10  ta-ra-e (Меликишвили 1960: 132; Арутюнян 2001: 31).
11  ta(?) (Арутюнян 2001: 31, 33).
12  li (Меликишвили 1960: 132; Арутюнян 2001: 31).
13  N. Harutyunyan reconstructs ḪUN.[GÁᴹᴱˢ?] (Арутюнян 2001: 31).

39′ [ka]-am-ni ˹LÚ˺ú-e-di-a-ni
40′ [ʾa]-a-ši-ni-e[(-i)]
41′ [URU]ṭu-uš-pa-˹i˺ ma-a-[(nu)]
42′ [(i)]-ni-ni gu-ur-da-r[i]

Vo 1′ [URU]a-na-ši-i-˹e˺ [(pa-ri URUma-qu-ru-tar)-a/za]
2′ [x-x]-nu-bi ᵐú-tè-ru-ú-[(ḫi)] ᵐ[lu]-˹ú˺-[(ša-a ᵐka-tar-za-a)]
3′ [bur-(g)]a-la-li LUGALᴹᴱˢ KURe-ti-ú-ḫi-ni-[(li)]
4′ [a]r-nu-ia-li uš-ta-a-[bi]
5′ [ᴰḫal]-di-ni ma-si-ni ᴳᴵˢšú-ri-e ᵐú-tè-ru-ḫi-ni-e-[(di)]
6′ ᵐlu-šá-i-ni-e-di ᵐka-tar-za-ni-[e-di]
7′ [KUR]e-ti-ú-ḫi-na-e-di MAN¹⁴ᴹᴱˢ-di ᴰḫal-di-ni ku-ru-[(ni)]
8′ ᴰḫal-di-ni ᴳᴵˢšú-ri-i ku-ru-ni uš-ta-[(li)]
9′ [(ᵐiš)]-pu-ú-i-ni-ni ᵐᴰsar₅-du-ri-ḫi ᵐmì-nu-[(a-ni)]
10′ [(ᵐiš)]-pu-ú-i-ni-ḫi su-ú-i-du-tú ᵐú-tè-[(ru)-ḫi]
11′ [ᵐl]u-ú-šá-a ᵐka-tar-za-a bur-ga-la-li MAN[ᴹᴱˢ]
12′ [KUR]e-ti-ú-ḫi-ni-li za-ši-li [(u-i)]
13′ x x ip-ḫa-ri še-er-˹tú?˺ DUB-[(te)]
14′ [UR(U)]a-na-ši-i-e nu-na-be iš-ti-ni-[(ni) x LIM]
15′ [(7)] ME 20 KU.Xᴹᴱˢ [x] LIM 6 ME 70 LÚ!ú-e-di-[(a)-ni]
16′ [x (ME)] 26 ANŠE.KUR.RAᴹᴱˢ 10 LIM 3 LIM 5 ME 40
17′ [(ᴳᵁ⁴pa)]-ḫi-ni 20 LIM 7 ME 85 UD[(Uᴹᴱˢ)]
18′ [ka-(am)]-ni LÚú-e-d[(i-a-ni)]
19′ [ʾa-(a)]-ši-ni-e-i URUṭu-uš-pa-˹i˺
20′ [(m)]a-a-nu i-ni-ni gu-ur-da-a[(-r)i]
21′ [a]-lu-[še i]-ni ˹DUB˺-te pi-i-tu-l[i-e]
22′ [a]-lu-[še ip]-ḫu-li-[i?-e]
23′ [a-lu-še qi-ú-ra-a ḫi-pu-li-e]
24′ [a-lu-še] Aᴹᴱˢ [ḫu-šú-li-i-e]
25′ [a-lu-še] e-si-ni-e-i [x x x]
26′ [a-l]u-še ᴰUTU-ka-i-ni ˹še-er-du˺-l[i-e]
27′ [a]-lu-še a-i-ni-e-[i i-ni-li du-li-e]
28′ [ti]-i-ú-li-e ˹tú-ú˺-r[i-e]
29′ [a]-lu-še ú-li-e-še ti-i-ú-l[i-e]
30′ [i-e-š]e za-a-du-ú-bi mì-i-ni ᴰḫal-[di-še]
31′ [ᴰI]M ᴰUTU ku-ú-li-tú-ú-ni

---

¹⁴ M. Salvini draws a distinction between two ideograms denoting 'king': LUGAL/LUGÁL and MAN, while G. Melikishvili and N. Harutyunyan use only LUGÁL here and elswhere (Меликишвили 1960: 132; Арутюнян 2001: 31).

32′ [mì-i ti-i]-ni mì-i zi-li-b[i]
33′ [qi-ú-ra]-i-e-di ᴰ[x x x x]
34′ [x x x]-i-e ka-a-r[i(-) x x x]

Obverse: ...[15] Išpuini, the son of Sarduri, Minua, the son of Išpuini, repulsed[16] (the tribes of) Luša,[17] Katarza,[18] [Uiteruḫi?],[19] reached (the city of) Anaše[20] and (the city of) Makurutar(z)a.[21]

...[22] (the tribes of) Uiteruhi,[23] Luša, Katarza. The aiding forces of the kings of (the land of) Etiuhi[24] came to (their) assistance.

Went forth (to battle) (the god) Haldi with his weapon against (the tribes of) Uiteruhi, Luša, Katarza, the kings of (the land of) Etiuhi. Haldi is powerful, Haldi's weapon is powerful.

---

[15] Possible reconstructions: [went forth (to battle) with the power of Haldi] (Арутюнян 2001: 32); [to Haldi, the lord] (Меликишвили 1960: 133).

[16] Salvini reconstructs the verb [ḫa]-ᵗa-iᴸ-tú and translates it accordingly: "conquered" (Salvini 2008: 131, 132). In the same context in Ro 27, Vo 10 the word clearly reads as su-ú-i-du-tú ("repulsed") and this verb is restored here in earlier editions.

[17] A tribe in South Caucasus. According to G. Melikishvili, Luša-Losa can be associated with the name of the Laz (Меликишвили 1959: 113). S. Gabeskiria shared with me his opinion about the plausibility of associating the name with Erusheti.

[18] A tribe in South Caucasus. Its name is identified with Greek Καταρχηνή, Georgian Klarjeti, Armenian Kłarjkh (Меликишвили 1959: 113, 210; Diakonoff, Kashkai 1981: 48; Salvini 1995: 40; Арутюнян 2001: 512).

[19] Here N. Harutyunyan logically reconstructs „Uiteruhi" (Арутюнян 2001: 31, 32). However, in other contexts the names appear in a different order: Uiteruhi, Luša, Katarza.

[20] Presumably, modern Alashkert/Eleşkirt (Меликишвили 1960, 417; Арутюнян 2001, 496), near which the texts were discovered CTU A 3-6, 3-7.

[21] Cf. Меликишвили 1960, 132-134: [up to Great Kukuru], Арутюнян 2001: 31, 33: [up to Great Makuru]. This interpretation is based on the reading ᵁᴿᵁma(/ku)-qu-ru ta-ra-e. Salvini sees it as one word: ᵁᴿᵁma-qu-ru-tar-a/za, and in evidence refers to the place names with the endings -tar-a, -tar-na, -tar-za (Salvini 2008: 131sqq.). Presumably, it was located near modern Alashkert.

[22] N. Harutyunyan reconstructs ta-nu-bi and offers the following translation: „I paved my way (against ... tribes)". However, this interpretation is associated with some contradictions, which the scholar points out himself: the subject and the verb do no agree in number (Арутюнян 2001: 31-33).

[23] A tribe and a country in South Caucasus. The name can be associated with Georgian Ozhrkhe and Βύζηρες of the ancient sources (Меликишвили 1959: 113, 210). Paiteru found in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser may refer to the same tribes (Asatiani 1998: 28).

[24] Etiu(ni/hi) a great union of South Caucasian tribes or a collective name that covered a greater part of the modern Armenian territory.

Went forth (to battle) Išpuini, the son of Sarduri, Minua, the son of Išpuini; repulsed (the tribes of) Uiteruhi, Luša, Katarza, the aiding forces of the kings of (the land of) Etiuhi... Went forth (to battle) Išpuini, the son of Sarduri, Minua, the son of Išpuini; repulsed (the tribes of) Uiteruhi, Luša, Katarza, the aiding forces of the kings of (the land of) Etiuhi... Inscription (the city of) Anaše... from there came: ... thousand 720 men, ... thousand 670 women, ... hundred 26 horses, 13540 (head) of neat cattle, 20785 sheep... Women and men are guarded in (the city of) Tušpa as hostages (?).[25]

Reverse: ...[26] He who will ruin this inscription, who will destroy it, burries it in the earth, throw in water, who will replace it, conceal it away from the sun, who will enforce someone else to do so, telling him „Destroy (the inscriotion)!", the other one, who will say „I have done (this)", may Haldi, the Weather Deity and the Sun Deity[27] leave neither him nor his name or his progeny on the earth.

The text in question describes a successful campaign of the Urartian kings, Išpuini and Minua to the area of modern Alashkert (Eleşkirt), the right bank of the Araxes river. The location of the campaign is attested by two inscriptions (CTU A 3-6, 3-7) found in the region and referring to the same event, as well as by the resemblance of the name of Anaše city with Alashkert.[28]

The Urartians were confronted in the war by the tribes of the Uiteruhi, Luša, Katarza, who were aided by the kings of Etiuhi.

The land of Etiuhi, as mentioned, was a great union of South Caucasian tribes, or their collective name and comprised a greater part of the modern Armenian territory. It is associated with a number of tribes in the Urartian texts.[29]

---

[25] The last phrase is usually left untranslated though part of the words in it are known. For more details, see below.

[26] Lines 1-20 replicate lines 9-42 of the text on the obverse side.

[27] Ḫaldi, the Weather Deity and the Sun Deity were the supreme gods of the Urartian pantheon. The Weather Deity was called Teišeba, and the name of the Sun Deity was Šiuni. Consequently, the majority of scholars translate the list ᵈḪaldi ᵈIM ᵈUTU as „Ḫaldi, Teišeba, Šiuni". But rendering the names of the deities with ideograms is to be understood as an intentional ambiguity aimed at the maximum effect. The Urartians would perceive the triad as their own supreme gods, while the conquered people would interpret it as the unity of the Urartian and local deities and would treat the inscription with more awe (Gordeziani 2009: 59 ff.).

[28] Меликишвили 1960, 417; Арутюнян 2001, 496.

[29] Меликишвили 1960: 426; Diakonoff, Kashkai 1981: 34: Арутюнян 2001: 505.

As concerns the tribes of the Uiteruhi, Luša, Katarza, their location is disputable. Based on the text in question, some scholars locate them in the area of Anaše/Alashkert.[30] According to N. Harutyunyan, Anaše-Alashkert was the city of Uiteruhi and consequently, the country was situated on the right bank of the Araxes river.[31] Here we also come across Katarza, whose identity with Klarjeti is beyond doubt. Thus, the Klarjis and their allies must have been active in an area by far south than the historical territory of Klarjeti. As concerns the following period, Katarza is mentioned in the chronicle of Argišti I (785/80-756 BC) in the context of a campaign against Diauehi (CTU A 8-2 Vo, 35, CTU A 8-3 V, 48) and presumably can be located on the territory of historical Klarjeti. According to the texts of Argišti I and Sarduri II (756-730),[32] Luša and Uiteruhi too must have been found quite far away from the right bank of the Araxes river to the north.[33]

This fact may invite three different theoretical explanations:

1. The tribes beaten by Išpuini and Minua moved to the north as a result of Urartian expansion;

2. The texts refer to the campaigns of the northern tribes to the right bank of the Araxes river;

3. These tribes settled a vast territory from the right bank of the Araxes river to the historical Klarjeti[34] and possibly, even more northenwards.

However, in this case, at the end of the 9th century, Katarza must have been a large and powerful formation, comparable with Urartu of the period. Hence, to this extent, there is no room left on the map for Diauehi, which during the sole reign of Minua (810-785/80) appears to be a very important union in the region. If identified with Daiaeni of the Assyrian texts,[35] it must have been a regional leader throughout several centuries.

Thus, the choice is to be made between the first and the second versions. I believe the text contains indirect hints that may guide us along the two options.

---

[30]  Diakonoff, Kashkai 1981: 48ff.; Арутюнян 2001: 496, 512.

[31]  Арутюнян 2001: 528.

[32]  CTU A 8-2 Vo, A 8-3 I, A 9-3 III.

[33]  Меликишвили 1960: 135, 433, 445, Salvini 1995: 40. See also below.

[34]  Арутюнян 2001: 512.

[35]  Меликишвили 1960: 424; Diakonoff, Kashkai 1981: 26; Salvini 1995: 55; Арутюнян 2001: 503. An assumption has also been made about the identity of Assyrian Daiaeni with Hittite Azzi-Hayasa (Дьяконов 1968: 209 слл.; Kemertelidze 2001: 13; Kavta-radze 2006: 39).

Let us first of all consider the formulae that refer to the Urartian success. As mentioned, M. Salvini reconstructs [ḫa]-<a-i>-tú ("conquered") in the destroyed part of line 5, while later we come across su-ú-i-du-tú ("repulsed").

CTU A 3-6 describes the same event with different formulae:

1 $^D$ ḫal-di-ni uš-ta-b[i m]a-si-ni-e $^{GIŠ}$šú-ri-e ka-ru-ni $^m$lu-ša-a

2 ka-ru-ni $^m$ka-tar-za-a $^D$ḫal-di-ni ku-ru-ni-ni $^D$ḫal-di-ni $^{GIŠ}$šú-ri ku-ru-ni-ni

3 uš-ta-bi $^m$iš-pu-ú-i-ni-ni $^{mD}$sar$_5$-du-ri-e-ḫé $^m$mì-nu-a-ni $^m$iš-pu-ú-i-ni-ḫé

4 za-áš-gu-tú-ú-e $^m$lu-šá-a $^m$ka-tar-za-a ḫa-a-i-tú-ú-e

5 $^{KUR}$šú-ri-li ku-ṭi$_5$-tú pa-ri $^{URU}$a-na-ši-i-e

6 i-šá-a-ni bi-di-a-li at-ḫi-tú-ú-e i-ni ta-ar-ma-a-n[i]

Went forth (to battle) (the god) Haldi with his weapons, defeated Luša, defeated Katarza. Haldi is powerful, Haldi's weapon is powerful.

Went forth (to battle) Išpuini, the son of Sarduri, Minua, the son of Išpuini; slaughtered (the tribes of) Luša, Katarza, conquered the land, reached (the city of) Anaše. Returning from the land, (they) found this spring.

ka-ru-ni ("defeated", "took over"[36]), za-áš-gu-tú-ú-e ("killed", "slaid", "slaughtered"), ḫa-a-i-tú-ú-e ("conquered") are the terms that frequently recur in the Urartian texts. In some cases they may not be understood in their direct sense, but can be regarded as standard structures designating a successful campaign in general. Once again referring to Diauehi, Minua and Argišti describe the wars against the land with the same terms though the outcomes of the campaigns were significantly different.[37] As concerns the verb suidu- ("repulse", "throw out/off"), it is much less common in a warfare context[38] and hence is likely to be more precise. It might be no coincidence that in the given context the verb ḫaiu- ("conquer") too is applied not to the enemy, but to the land, the territory – "slaughtered (the tribes of) Luša, Katarza, conqeured the land...".

The ways of referring to enemies are also worthwhile to consider. In the Urartian texts, ethnopolitical and geographical names are expressed by the formulae $^m$X ("the tribe of X"), $^{URU}$X ("the city of X"), $^{KUR}$X ("the

---

[36]  Or „subordinated to his weapon" (Арутюнян 2001: 35).

[37]  Gordeziani 2010a: 41.

[38]  CTU A5-6, 8-3, 8-6, 8-7, 9-1, 9-3.

land/country of X"), ᵐX KUR-ni ("the land of the X tribe"), ᵁᴿᵁX KUR-ni ("the land of X city"), ᴷᵁᴿX KUR-ni – ("the land of X land").

In my opinion, the formulae were not land/state specific but varied according to the principle of state/land nomination. Thus some territories were called after their principal city, while others were nominated after their inhabitants. The same ethnopolitical unit could be expressed by different formulae depending on the context. ᵐX KUR-ni – "the land of the X (tribe)" and ᴷᵁᴿX – "X (land)" were used when the territory was under the focus, while in the context where the formula ᵐX – "X (tribe)" appears, location was not important or was not implied at all.[39]

This exactly may account for the difference between the above-quoted texts of Išpuini-Minua and the chronicles of Argišti and Sarduri as they refer to ᵐuiṭeruḫi, ᵐluša, ᵐkatarza (CTU A 3-4, 3-5, 3-6, 3-7); ᴷᵁᴿuiṭeruḫi (CTU A 8-2 Vo, 8-3, 9-3 III); ᴷᵁᴿluša (CTU A 8-2 Vo); ᵐkatarzae KUR-nie (CTU A 8-2 Vo, 8-3).

Therefore, in my opinion, the texts of Išpuini and Minua describe the repulse of the raids delivered by the Uiteruhi, Luša, Katarza tribes rather than a campaign in their own territories. The texts of Minua mention neither the tribes nor Anaše city, while in the vicinity of the city an inscription was discovered which refers to the construction of a fortress by Minua (CTU A 3-40).

We could plausibly assume that Minua finally subdued the region and the local tribes. The Urartian expansion northwards continued and victorious inscriptions appear as far as the areas of Erserum and Kars (e. g. CTU A 5-3, 5-4).

In the reign of the following kings, Argišti I and Sarduri II, the Urartian power reached its peak. They conquer modern Armenia and build fortifications there. An isncription describing Argišti's success was also discovered in Hanak, near the Georgian border. Thus, during its campaigns against Diauehi (Tao) and Qulha (Colchis), Urartu again confronted Luša, Katarza and Uiteruhi. During the campaign in the second year of Argišti's reign, all the three tribes appear to be the allies of Diauehi. During the distant campaigns under Argišti and Sarduri, the Urartians reached the settlements of these tribes and even conquered their lands for a while.[40]

---

[39]  Gordeziani 2010b: 98f.
[40]  CTU A 8-3 I text seems to indicate the route of the campaign. It is not difficult to reconstruct the main points of the route: Argišti headed for the north through the Tortomi gorge, then turned to the east towards Iga (near Childiri Lake) and Eriahi (on

I believe that the campaign of the tribes Luša, Katarza and Uiteruhi, the neighbours and allies of Diauehi, to the lands bordering with Urartu is to be considered in the context of Urartu vs Diauehi confrontation. According to the annals (RIMA 2, A.0.87.1) of Tiglath-Pileser I (1115-1077 BC), Daiaeni was a leading power among the Nairi lands. Later, the main adversary of Shalmanasar III (858-824 BC) in the north was the Urartian king Aramu, while King Asia of Daiaeni attempts to establish relations with Shalmaneser (RIMA 3, A.0.102.8).[41] In the Assyrian inscriptions of Sarduri I (circa 840-830), he calls himself "king of Nairi", by which he claims hegemony over the lands of Nairi. The king of Daiaeni-Diauehi must have seen the period of Išpuini's and Minua's coregency as a favourable moment to test the Urartian forces. The invasion of the northern tribes into the area of Anaše can be seen as a raid as well as an attempt to settle the territory.

In support of this interpretation we could attemp to analyze the formula ka-am-ni LÚú-e-di-a-ni ʾa-a-ši-ni-e-i URUṭu-uš-pa-i ma-a-nu i-ni-ni gu-ur-da-ri – "ka-am-ni women and men are in the city of Tupsha i-ni-ni gu-ur-da-ri". Apart from the text in question, it also appears in texts A 3-9,

---

the territory of modern Gyumri). The route is quite logical taking into account the mountainous landsacpe of the region. Luša and Katarza are mentioned among the allies of Diauehi before Eriahi, while Uiteruhi appears after Eriahi here as well as in a different context (CTU A 9-3 III). Argišti was to raid Klarjeti up to Gyumri. Where did he go afterwards – to the north-east or to the south (or south-west), to reach Apuni and Uiteruhi? Both versions are possible theoretically, however, why did Argišti and Sarduri need to raid the territories that have been annexed by Urartu already in the reign of Minua, or why did they drove out captives from there? According to the texts, Apuni and Uiteruhi seem to be quite distant lands. It is no earlier than the reign of Sarduri II that Urartu temporarily conquers Uiteruhi and leaves there its renegate (CTU A 9-3 III). Regrettably, it is not easy to establish the exact localization of the lands only by the study of the routes. Linguistic material can also be of some help. Urartian texts abound in place and ethnic names that later appear in Greek, Armenian and Georgian sources to refer to the tribes and settlements of the region. Though many identifications are disputable, the number of the place names may compel an assumption that Urartu had relations with the more or less developed ethnocutural and political world rather than with separate individual tribes whose location is not identified. While a couple of place names and, moreover, ethnonyms could have plausibly changed their location over centuries, it is less likely to expect a shift of the whole system of place names. Therefore, when attempting to specify the location of the place names found in the Urartian texts, which can be more or less reliably identified with Georgian and Armenian place names attested in other sources, we could take into consideration their later location (Gordeziani 2010a: 42ff.).

[41] Меликишвили 1954: 250; Kavtaradze 2006: 25.

5-2. Though part of the words are known to us, the whole formula is not translated.

According to Diakonoff, kam(a)ni may denote "the previous, earlier referred".[42] The word can be found in various forms (ka-am-ni – A 3-4, 3-9, 5-2; ka-am-ni-ni – A 5-87, 5-88; ka-ma-a-ni – A 9-3, VI; kam-ni, kam-ni-ni – A 12-2) mainly in unlear contexts. In the above-mentioned text, it presumably refers to a certain group of men and women.

There is no translation available for inini gurdari. It must denote a state in which the people mentioned must have found themselves. The phrase follows the description of the Urartians' trophies and presumably refers to the fate of some of the captives.[43]

The deportation of population from a conquered territory and their settlement in distant lands for military or agricultural purposes was a widely applied practice in the ancient east. It is also reflected in the Urartian texts,[44] where in the formula rendering the act of taking captives, the reference to human trophies is normally followed by the phrases "I have slaughtered some and took others alive". However, we also come across the following phrase: "I have added the population to my country" (CTU A 8-2 Vo). In my opinion, a special mention of taking captives to the capital city may imply that they were treated as hostages. Seizing hostage could serve as a lever for giving one's relations with a half beaten enemy a desirable direction. In fact, following the events described in the text, Uiteruhi, Luša and Katarza tribes did not any more pose a threat to the Urartians and even disappeared from their horizon until Urartu itself launched a conquest campaign to the north.

**REFERENCES:**

Арутюнян Н. В., 2001 – Корпус урартских клинообразных надписей, Гитутюн, Ереван 2001 = КУКН.

Asatiani Sh., 1993 – The Onomastics of Historical South-West Georgia in Assyrian and Urartian Sources, Foreign and Georgian Terms for Georgia and the Georgians, Tbilisi, 10-20.

Asatiani Sh., 1998 – South-West Trans-Caucasus at the End of the 2nd Millennium BC according to Assyrian Sources, Caucasian and Near Eastern Studies 9, Tbilisi, 18-33.

---

[42]  Дьяконов 1963: 55; Арутюнян 2001: 451.
[43]  Меликишвили 1960: 135.
[44]  See e. g. CTU A 5-9, 8-1, 8-2, 8-3, 9-3, 9-4, 9-5, 10-2, 11-3, 12-4.

Дьяконов И. М., 1968 – Предистория армянского народа, Ереван.

Diakonoff I. M., Kashkai S. M. 1981 – Geographical Names according to Urartian texts, Wiesbaden.

Gordeziani L., 2009 – To the Interpretation of an Urartian Formula, Caucasian and Near Eastern Studies 13, Tbilisi, 59-62.

Gordeziani L., 2010a – Tao-Klarjeti in Urartian Texts, Cultural-Historical Researches, Tbilisi, 36-45 *(in Georgian)*.

Gordeziani L., 2010b – Some Remarks on Designations of Tao-Klarjeti in Urartian Texts, International Conference Tao-Klarjeti, Tbilisi, 97-99 *(in Georgian)*.

Kavtaradze G., 2006 – The Issues of the Developement of Georgian Statehood, Tbilisi *(in Georgian)*.

Kemertelidze T., 2001 – the Ethnic Identity of the South-West trans-Caucasian Population in the Late Bronze Age, The Essays of Academician Shalva Amiranashvili State Museum of Art, Tbilisi, 11-15 *(in Georgian)*.

Меликишвили Г. А., 1954 – Наири-Урарту, Тбилиси, 7.

Меликишвили Г. А., 1959 – К истории древней Грузии, Тбилиси.

Меликишвили Г. А., 1960 – Урартские клинообразные надписи, Наука, Москва 1960 = УКН.

Salvini M., 1995 – Geschichte und Kultur der Urartäer, Darmstadt.

Salvini M., 2008 – Corpus dei testi urartei, CNR, Istituto di studi sulle civilità dell'Egeo e del Vicino Oriente, Roma 2008 = CTU.