## FRENCH RESEARCHERS OF THE 19<sup>th</sup> CENTURY ON THE ELUCIDATION OF SOME QUESTIONS OF THE HISTORY OF ARMENIA OF THE VAN (ARARAT- URARTU) KINGDOM'S PERIOD

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In French Oriental studies of the 19<sup>th</sup> century a considerable attention was paid to research of ancient and medieval history of Armenia; it was important for development of Armenology. M. Brosset made great contribution to this field juxtaposing Egyptian, Assyrian and Babylonian cuneiform inscriptions' data with some information contained in the medieval Armenian sources (in his translation) relating to ancient history. Along with the Armenian sources' translation M. Brosset researched the works of J.-Fr. Champollion (1790- 1832), J. Oppert (1825-1905), Fr. Lenormant (1837-1883) and others devoted to the studies of the problems of history of the countries of Western Asia and Egypt based on the decipherment of hieroglyphic and cuneiform inscriptions. French orientalists touched also some topics of the history of ancient Armenia.

M. Brosset did not exclude that those works reflecting the primary stage's results of the decipherment of hieroglyphic and cuneiform inscriptions could contain incomprehensible shortcomings. At the same time he considered important a comparison of some historic names with the facts of "Biblical history" and those mentioned by Greek historians.<sup>1</sup>

M. Brosset noted: «In the 17<sup>th</sup> century BC, the period of the XVIII Dynasty the country, mentioned in the Egyptian hierogliphic inscriptions, in the north of Mesopotamia is called *Remene*, and the nation that lives there *Remenen*». According to his opinion, it had to be "the Egyptian name of Armenia and Armenians" ("nom égiptien de l'Arménie et des Arméniens"), because the classical name *Armenia* originated since very early times.<sup>2</sup>

As follows from M. Brosset's interpretation of the military inscriptions of the Annals of Tutmos III on the wall at Karnak Temple<sup>3</sup> the troops of Egyptian pharaoh reached Babylon and Armenia. In the last pepriod of his reign, during his campaignes to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Marie Brosset concentrating attention to the toponyms and royal names which until his time remained unfamiliar, noted that they could become a basis for future discoveries (M. Brosset, Sur l'histoire ancienne de l'Arménie, d'après les textes hiéroglyphiques et cunéiformes. - Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des sciences de St-Pétersbourg, 1871, t. seizième, p. 333).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 334.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Tutmos III (XVI – the mid-XV century BC) was the sixth pharaoh of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt (История Древнего Востока. Зарождение древнейших классовых обществ и первые очаги рабовладельческой цивилизации, ч. II, М., 1988, с. 238):

mountains located to the north of Mesopotamia *les Remenen ou Arméniens* were mentioned as payers of tribute<sup>4</sup>:

According to H. Brugsch, «L'étude des inscriptions historiques nous a appris aujourd'hui, que le nord de ce monde était borné par les montagnes de l'Arménie, appelées les quatre supports du ciel »<sup>5</sup>:

H. de Riancey noted that Seti I (1290-1279 BC), a pharaoh of the Nineteenth Dynasty of Egypt, the son of Ramesses I and the father of Ramesses II (1279-1212 BC), among the taxpayer countries and peoples mentioned also «Arménien ou Remenen», who cut trees in their forests to open paths for is army<sup>6</sup>. H. de Riancey wrote that «grands chefs des Remenen» bowing to the pharaoh and glorifying his valor, said: «Tu apparais comme ton père le soleil et on est vivifié par tes regards». According H. de Riancey's opinion, «L'Arménie fut une des premières à secouer le joug égyptien»<sup>7</sup>.

Fr. Lenormant mentioned «Armenen ou Remenen» among those who rebelled against Ramesses II, noting that the monuments on the banks of the Nile testify as to his victories, as well as the uprisings of the Upper Niles' population. The rebels were joined by Armenia, Assyria, Mesopotamia and other countries<sup>8</sup>:

From the end of the 1880s along with the opinion of identification Remene with Armenia appeared also another opinion about its localization in Lebanon. The main argument for this opinion was a mention of մայրիների in Egyptian sources. P. Guieysse suggesting an alternative decipherment concerning the mentioned inscription, noted: «Grand chiefs of the country of Remenen, bowing to the lord of two regions, praizing his courage, say: «You appear like your father Ra and we get life seeing you». In the section relating to the cutting of trees the researcher reads. «The trees of the country of *Remenen* were cut and taken to the Nile's mouth, as well as for the great sails of Amon that were built in the peaceful and mighty life, as is Ra». About the Remenen's country P. Guieysse noted that «exploitation of trees, most probably of cedars could be profitable only in a coastal part of the neighbouring country. The capital city of the population - «Remenen» of *Liban* (Lebanon) was in a marchy place, coastal side or a site resembling

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> M. Brosset, op. cit., p. 335. Fr. Lenormant, Manuel de l'histoire ancienne de l'Orient, Paris, 1869, t. I, pp. 374, 379, 385. Fr. Tournebize, Histoire politique et religieuse de l'Arménie, Paris, 1900, pp. 15, 16. H. Brugsch, Histoire d'Egypte dès les premiers temps de son existence jusqu'à nos jours, Egypte sous les rois indigènes de Ména jusqu'à Ramses II, lère partie, Leipzig, 1859, p. 104. P. Gaffarel, Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient jusqu'au premier siècle avant notre ère, Paris, 1876, p. 39. Henry et Charles de Riancey, Histoire du monde ou histoire universelle depuis Adam jusqu'au pontificat de Pie IX, t. 2, Paris, 1866, p. 99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> H. Brugsch, op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Fr. Lenormant, op. cit., t. I, p. 399.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> H. de Riancey, Le Monde Ancien: Histoire du monde, d'Adam à Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ, t. 2, Paris, 1865, p. 302.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Fr. Lenormant, op. cit., t. I, p. 409.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> P. Guieysse, Inscription historique de Séti l<sup>er</sup>, Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes, publié sous la direction de G. Maspero, t. 11, Paris, 1889, p. 56.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

a bay of Lake Serbonis, which at present does not exsist in a coastal part of Syria» 11:

In ancient times cedar, owing to its huge hight, was considered to be a tree with wonderful qualities. It was used in building temples, palaces, as well as construction of cult monuments attributing them a certain supernatural power originating from cedar.<sup>12</sup>

Diamantis Panagiotopoupos also researching materials related to the localization of the toponym under discussion, wrote: «The so-called Annals of Thutmos III, the longest monumental inscription known from Egypt, represents a valuable source of information not only for the campaigns of the king in the Syra-Palestinian territory but also for their direct or indirect material outcome within Egypt». Denoting that the Syra-Palestinian region was subdivided into three geographical areas named <code>Dʒnj</code> (Djahy), <code>Rmnn</code> (Remenen) and <code>Rtnw</code> (Retenu)», D.Panagiotopoupos supposed that «all three have a vague meaning and cannot be regarded as territories with strictly defined boundaries... In the context of the Annals, <code>Djahy</code> can be roughly identified with Palestine... <code>Retenu</code>, a name given to a region that appparently extended from Syria to Palestine». As far as it concerns <code>Remenen</code> (here: Remene) he considered it together with Palestanie, noting. "Lebanon /Remenen and Palestine/». It is obvious that the suggestion of D. Panagiotopoupos about the localization of «Remenen» resembles the above mentioned opinion of P. Guieysse. Is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Ibid., р. 56, com. 5. Concerning information about the import of Uшјпի trees into Egypt from a faraway country it's interesting to compare it with information of historical-geographic character related to the mention about the campaigns of Sargon of Akkad (2316-2261 BC) and his grandson Naram-Suen (2236-2200 BC) in Akkadian sources where is mentioned the country-name Armanum (Armani). Analysing the questions related to this problem A.G. Kifishin came to the conclusion that here «we have the oldest mention of Armenia (the 3rd millennium BC), which from the I millennium BC it is mentioned as the country of Arme» (А. Кифишин, Географические воззрения древних шумеров при патеси Гудеа (2162-2137 гг. до н.э.). – «Палестинский сборник», вып. 13 (76), 1965, с. 66, сf. Вяч. Вс. Иванов, Выделение разных хронологических слоев в древнеармянском и проблема первоначальной структуры гимна Вахагну, – ՊԲ<, 1983, № 4, с. 32-33).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> See V. Loret, Etude sur quelques arbres Egyptiens, Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes, t. 11, seconde année, Paris, 1880, p. 62. It's notable that J. de Horrack compared his decipherment of an Egyptian inscription's with information by Diodorus Siculus about Sesoösis (Sesostris) (J. de Horrack, Notice sur le nom égyptien du cèdre, Revue archéologique ou recueil de documents et de mémoires, Paris, 1864, vol. IX, pp. 44-47). Sesoösis «built a ship of cedar wood, which was two hundred and eighty cubits long and plated on the exterior with gold and on the interior with silver. This ship he presented as a votive offering to the god who is held in special reverence in Thebes» (Diodorus Siculus, with in English translation by C. H. Oldfather, books I and II, London, 1960, I. 57.5). As it is noted: «Practically all Greek and Latin writers called him Sesostris, and about him stories gathered as about no other ruler in ancient history with the exception of Alexander the Great. "In Greek times Sesostris had long since become but a legendary figure which cannot be identified with any particular king" (J. H. Breasted, A History of Egypt, from the earliest times to the Persian conquest, New York, 1909, p. 189). But certain facts narrated in connection with him were certainly drawn from memories of the reign of Ramses II of the Nineteenth Dynasty» (The Library of History of Diodorus Siculus published in Vol. I of the Loeb Classical Library edition, 1933 http://goo.gl/30Jlwx).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> D. Panagiotopoupos, Foreigners in Egypt in the Time of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. – see in: Thutmose III: A New Biography, Eric H. Cline, David O'Connor, editors, Michigan, 2005, pp. 371-372.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> *Rmnn* of the original D. Panagiotopoupos deciphered "Remenen". In the above mentioned 19<sup>th</sup> century studies the countryname was used in the form of "Remene".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> D. Panagiotopoupos, op. cit., pp. 373-375.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> P. Guieysse, op. cit., p. 56, com. 5.

Thus, until the mid-70s of the 19th century in French Oriental studies and Armenology dominated the idea of identification of Remene and Remenen with Armenia and Armenians. Later prevailed a supposition of localization of «Remenen» in Lebanon. It may be ascertained that identification of Remene with Armenia had a conceptual significance for the French Armenologists and it keeps its imoprtance for the further research of the problem.

In this context may be considered the mention of Armenia in Jean-François Champollion's study of the question of the trade routs of Egypt, who wrote about «a well known road which just from Memphis leads to Phoenicia from where all other roads lead to Armenia and the Caucasus, as well as via Palmira to Babylon»<sup>17</sup>.

Coming to the problem of identification of Ararat-Urartu with Armenia in French Oriental studies and Armenology of the 19<sup>th</sup> century it is necessary to take into consideration the works by J. Oppert, E. Cavaignac, Fr. Lenormant, M. Brosset, Fr. Tournebize and F. de Saulcy.

J. Oppert wrote that in the Nineveh inscriptions «Urarta literally expresses the name Ararat which signifies Armenia in the biblical texts» («Urarta, ce qui exprime à la lettre le nom Ararat qui signifie l'Arménie dans les textes bibliques»). <sup>18</sup> E. Cavaignac noted in the same way: «le royaume arménien d'Ourartou (Ararat)» <sup>19</sup>:

M. Brosset had followed Fr. Lenormant's chronological concept, according to which Tiglatpalasar ascending the throne on July 2, 930 BC, campaigned many times «dans les montagnes de l'Arménie».<sup>20</sup>

According to Fr. Tournebize, an early mention of Armenia in Assyrian cuneiform sources relates to 1300 BC, the period of the reign of Salmanasar I<sup>21</sup>, and concerning the campaigns of Tiglath-Pileser II<sup>22</sup> there are testimonies of the cuneiform inscriptions of the Elassar<sup>23</sup> palace, from which follows that «he conquered Nairi which was the Assyrian name of a southern part of Armenia ("nom assyrien d'une partie de l'ancienne Arménie méridionale") and it was situated on two slopes of Masius,<sup>24</sup> in the area of the middle stream of the Upper Tigris and the Euphrates»<sup>25</sup>:

In a great inscription of Calakh or Nimroud<sup>26</sup>, according to J. Oppert, it is stated that Sardanapal III in 920 BC was informed that Amika, l'Arménien<sup>27</sup> refused to pay tribute to

<sup>25</sup> Fr. Tournebize, op. cit., p. 16, 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> M. Champollion-Figeac, Egypte ancienne, L'Univers. Histoire et description de tous les peuples, Paris, 1839, p. 206.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> J. Oppert, Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie, Paris, 1863, liv. I, ch. I, com. 2, p. 18. Cf. A. H. Layard, Discoveries in the ruins of Ninveh and Babylon, London, 1853, p. 403.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> E. Cavaignac, Histoire générale de l'antiquité, Paris, 1946, p. 155.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Fr. Lenormant, Manuel de l'histoire ancienne..., t. II, p. 66, 67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Fr. Tournebize, Histoire politique et religieuse de l'Arménie, Paris, 1, p. 16. In accordance with the present day accepted chronology, Salmanasar I reigned in 1274-1245 BC (+/-10) (История Древнего Востока, ч. II, с. 100):

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> In accordance with the present day accepted chronology, Tiglath-Pileser II reigned in 967-935 BC (see: Ռ. Ղազարյան, Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրների պատմության հիմնահարցեր (Ք.ա. IV հազարամյակի վերջ - Ք.ա. I հազարամյակի վերջ), Երևան, 2011, էջ 53)։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Larsa, biblical Elasar in souther Babylonia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Strabo, XI. 12. 3-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>It is located to the south of Nineveh, in the site of modern city of Nemrud on the bank of the Tigris river; in ancient times it was called Calhu (A. Kuhrt, The Ancient Near East, London and New York, vol. I, 1997, p. 362):

him. Sardanapal marched towards the country of Zamua<sup>28</sup>, to the Amika's capital city Zamri.<sup>29</sup>

Fr. Lenormant noted that in 877 BC Salmanasar IV<sup>30</sup> during his 27<sup>th</sup> campaign subdued different parts of Armenia and plundered Van.<sup>31</sup>

M. Brosset noted that in 741 BC «Armenian Sardur (Arménien Sardur) together with Matiel<sup>32</sup> confronted "Tiglatpalasar IV"<sup>33</sup>. In the area of the city of Kumukhi<sup>34</sup> the Assyrian king captured many towns and founded the town of Asurbaza in Armenia»<sup>35</sup>. A contemporary of Sarduri II (764-735 BC)<sup>36</sup> was Tiglath-Pileser III (745-727 BC).<sup>37</sup>

According to Fr. Lenormant, Assyria was destroyed by the Babylonian king and his ally «Median Arbak» (here: Varbak – A.D.) in 789 BC, at the time of "Sardanapal." M. Brosset mentioned Assurbanipa who is mentioned in Greek sources by the name of Sardanapal. He noted that *Sardanapalle guerrier* differs from the other king with the same name during whose reign in 789 BC was destroyed the "Nineveh empire" The data concerning the fall of Nineven, as well as the names of the mentioned kings are fixed by much earlier date than is accepted in historiography, according to which the capital of Assyria Nineveh fell in 612 BC under the blows of the allied forces of Babylon, Media and Armenia. Assyria was finally destroyed in 605 BC. Arbak (Varbak) mentioned by Fr. Lenormant was the king Media Kiaxar and the king of Babylon - Nabopalasar (626-605 BC).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> J. Oppert, op. cit., liv. III, ch. IV, p. 318. J. Oppert while diciphering this inscription of Nirud mentioned "Armenian Amika", while D. Luckenbill diciphered «... Ameka and Arashtua had discontinued the tribute.... (Annals of the kings of Assyria, vol. 1, London, 1902, p. 311, col. II, 50; D. Luckenbill, Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia, Chicago, 1926, p. 151).

 $<sup>^{28}</sup>$  It is mentioned at the time of the invasion of Sargon II into the Van Kingdom (714 BC), when along with neighbouring deistircts he captured Zamua (see <d $^{-}$ П, h. I,  $^{1}$   $^{2}$  325): Zamua was to the north of the Minor Zab (АВИИУ, 1951,  $^{1}$   $^{2}$  2, c. 289, прим. 51):

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> J. Oppert, op. cit., liv. III, ch. IV, pp. 318, 319.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> In accordance with the present day accepted chronology, Salmanasar IV reigned in 782–773 BC. The 877 BC was the 6th year of the reign of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 BC) (A. Kuhrt, op. cit., t. II, p. 479).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Fr. Lenormant, Manuel de l'histoire ancienne..., t. II, p. 72. It means that "Salmanasar" (here Ashurnasirpal) was unable to subjugate Armenia in the whole, because there was resistance by the natives. This fact, probably, caused his 31<sup>st</sup> campaign in 873 BC. According to Fr. Tournebize, these districts had never been comletely subjugated (Fr. Tournebize, op. cit., p. 17):

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> The king of Bit-Agusi in northern Syria (ሩታባ, h. l, ኒo 315):

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> There was no "Tiglatpalasar IV" in the history of Assyrian.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Kumukh, Kummukhu of the Assyrian cuneiform sources corresponds to the country of Commagene mentioned by the ancient sources (АВИИУ - ВДИ, 2(36), 1951, 42., с. 313, прим. 1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> M. Brosset, op. cit., p. 338; J. Oppert, op. cit., liv. III, ch. IV, p. 337. According to a reading by S. Baciev, «Ashurikisha» (see: АВИИУ, с. 313):

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> The confederation formed in the West by Sarduri II attacked Assyria, but in the battle of Arpad (in the north of Syria) (743 BC) the troops of the Van Kingdom and its allies were defeated (<dm, h. I, to 317).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> A. Kuhrt, op. cit., t. II, p. 479, 557. A. Kuhrt mentioned Sarduri II as the founder of Erebuni and Argishtikhinili (Ibid., p. 557), but it is well known that Arghishti I was their founder.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Fr. Lenormant, op. cit., t. II, pp. 77-80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> M. Brosset, op. cit., p. 339.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> История Древнего Востока, М., 1979, с. 166.

In Movses Khorenatsi's "History of Armenia" Kiaxar is mentioned under the name of Varbakes and Assyrian king — Sardanapal. According to Movses Khorenatsi, Haykazun Paruyr Skayordi had been in power in Armenia, participated in the destruction of Assyria (612 BC): According to Movses Khorenatsi, the last of those who lived in the time of the Assyrian kingdom, from the times of Semiramis or Ninos was our Paruyr in the time of Sardanapal. After the fall of the Assyrian kingdom Median king Kiaxar-Varbak crowned Haykazun Paruyr, the son of Skayordi.<sup>41</sup>

Saint-Martin noted that according to Movses Khorenatsi, Paruyr Skayordi was the 36<sup>th</sup> of the descendants of Hayk, i.e. he was Haykazun.<sup>42</sup>

Movses Khorenatsi while writing about patricid Assyrian princes, who flew to Armenia, mentioned «our valiant ancestor Skayordi», 43 i.e. Haykazun Skayordi. M. Brosset considered him among the Armenian kings.44

M. Brosset rightly considering Movses Khorenatsi as the 5<sup>th</sup> century author<sup>45</sup>, noted that the data conveyed by him are the genuine source on the ancient history of Armenia. At the same time, according to M. Brosset, kings with the Armenian names Amika, Sarda, Urzaha are not mentioned in Movses Khorenatsi's work, meanwhile there are the names of several Assyro-Babylonian kings in Tovma Artsruni's work<sup>46</sup>, which are in the basis of the facts mentioned by Fr. Lenormant.<sup>47</sup>

M. Brosset noted, that according to the inscription of Khorsabad (situated in 20 km to the north from Nineveh), «Sargon campaigned to Armenia and subjugated the ruler of Van Iranzou: The latter's son was Aza against whom rebelled Armenian Urzaha. Ulloussoun, the brother and successor of Aza, subdued Urzaha, but Sargon defeated the latter and joined to Assyria the towns of Armenia»<sup>48</sup>: The case in question is the devastating campaign of Sargon II to Armenia in 714 BC.

According to Fr. Lenormant's opinion, *Urtsa, roi d'Arménie*, one of whose vassals was *Ulloussoun of Van.*<sup>49</sup> But Aza, as well as his brother Ulloussoun were not the kings of Van, but of Manna, to the south-east of Lake Urmia who had been appointed by Sargon<sup>50</sup>: The forms of the names Urzaha or Urtsa are the variants of the same name Rusa and, as noted Fr. Lenormant, after his brother's death Ulloussoun «... was reconciled with Rusa and gave him twenty two castles with their garrisons»<sup>51</sup>:

<sup>49</sup> Fr. Lenormant, op. cit., t. II, p. 367.

<sup>41</sup> Մովսէս Խորենացի, Պատմութիւն Հայոց, Երևան, 1991, էջ 64-65, 68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> J. Saint-Martin, op. cit., t. I, p. 283.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Մովսէս խորենացի, էջ 70։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> M. Brosset, op. cit., p. 333.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Deux historiens arméniens: Kiracos de Gantzac, Histoire d'Arménie, Oukhtanès d'Ourha..., p. 3, com. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> The analysis of the data about Assyrian kings contained in the work of Tovma Artsruni (Թովմա Արδրունի, էջ 43) shows that it is a matter of Tiglath-Pileser III, Salmanasar V (726–722 BC) (История Древнего Востока, с. 155-156).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> M. Brosset, op. cit., p. 338.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> ረታጣ, h. l, ţo 324-325:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Fr. Lenormant, op. cit., t. II, p. 91. Rusa I established secret communication with Ulloussoun against Assyria, but Sargon II defeated the king of Manna. In 715 BC Rusa captured 22 castles of Manna, but soon Sargon again attacked and captured that country (<¬¬, h. I, ξ<sub>2</sub> 325):

Fr. Lenormant identified Rusa with Hrachya, the son of Paruyr.<sup>52</sup> As far as the above mentioned information of Movses Khorenatsi about Paruyr Skayordi related to the period of the fall of Assyria, it may be suggested that within the circle of chronological succession of events presented by Lenormant he interlaced the images of Rusa I (735-713 BC), Rusa II (684-645 BC) and Rusa III (629-601 BC).

It is notable that the 19<sup>th</sup> century above-cited Orientalists mentioned by M. Brosset while decyphring Assyrian inscriptions referring to the kings of the Van kingdom by different names, at the same time denoted them with the ethnic indicator, e.g. Amika l'Arménien, Arménien Sardur, Ursa<sup>53</sup>, roi d'Arménie. Fr. Tournebize also mentioning them as Armenian kings, at the same time used as a coutry-name the form Ourarti<sup>54</sup> (Ararat).<sup>55</sup>

The British scholar H. Rawlinson (1810-1895) concerning an Assyrian inscription containing iformation about king *Arama*, noted: «I may here notice, once for all, that there is no doubt whatever about the reading of Ararat, nor its identity with Armenia»<sup>56</sup>:

J. Oppert, H. Rawlinson, Layard H., <sup>57</sup> compared some toponyms mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions describing the Assyrian troops' campaigns to the north with data from the Bible and Movses Khorenatsi's "History of Armenia." E.g. in relation to the "Minni" province name in one inscription, H. Rawlinson noted that it was mentioned also in the Khorsabad and Van inscriptions and corresponded to a kingdom's name in the Jeremiah's prophecy «...summon against her these kingdoms: Ararat, Minni and Ashkenaz... ». <sup>58</sup> With regard to this H. Rawlinson mentioned *Arzeskan* (Archesh), «which was the capital city of Arama, king of Ararat», whom he mentioned among the descendants of Haik. <sup>59</sup> The source of such a notion is Movses Khorenatsi's information about Aram<sup>60</sup> which H. Rawlinson weaved with an information about Arame or Aramu of Archesh (the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century BC). <sup>61</sup>

In the translation of an inscriptions describing the Assyrian troop's campaign H. Rawlinson referred to the invasion of the Assyrians «towards *Armenia*» and identifying

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Fr. Lenormant, op. cit., t., p. 367.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Cf. J. Oppert, op. cit., liv. III, ch. V, p. 354.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> An early form of the toponym *Urartu* in Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions is KUR *ú-rat-ri* (A.Kirk Grayson, Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I (1114–859 BC). - The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Assyrian Periods, vol. 2, Toronto, 2002, A.O. 99. 2, 25). Later, e.g. in the inscriptions of Salmanasar III is read the country-name form "*Urartu*" (ABИИУ, 29, c. 298-299). Ourarti or Ararat see also in: J. - A. Gatteyrias, L'Arménie et les Arméniens, Paris, 1882, pp. 14,15).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Fr. Tournebize, op. cit., p. 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> H. C. Rawlinson, A Commentary on the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria, Including Readings of the Inscription on the Nimrud Obelisk, and a Brief Notice of the Ancient Kings of Nineveh and Babylon, London, 1850, p. 40; cf. G. Smith, Assyrian Discoveries. An Account of Explorations and Discoveries on the Site of Nineveh, during 1873 and 1874, Cambridge, 1875, digitally printed version, 2014, pp. 210, 211, 309.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Layard H., Discoveries in the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon; with travels in Armenia, Kurdistan and the Desert: being the result of a second expedition, John Murray, London, 1853, p. 403.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Jerem., 51. 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> H. Rawlinson, op. cit., p. 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Մովսէս Խորենացի, էջ 19։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> H. Rawlinson, op. cit., p. 46, com. 1:

the hydronym Artseni with jArsevnia» (*Աρωδωί*μ), *Ararat* mentioned as a country-name he compared with Great Armenia and denoted the king as «Asiduri (Sarduri) of Armenia».62

F. de Saulcy mentioned the name of Armenia in the form of Armina<sup>63</sup>, as it is in the threelingual Behistun (Old Persian, Elamit and Babylonian) inscription (Armina/Arminiva=Uraštu). 64 Thus, the study of the ethno-spiritual foundations of Armenian history has been important for historical and philosophical comprehension, which played a certain role in the theoretical elaborations of the French Armenologists. The Haikian/Haikazun (the descendants of Patriarch Haik) genealogy presented in Movses Khorenatsi's "History of Armenia" was considered by Saint-Martin and V. Langlois from the ontological standpoint in historical context by the method of correlation of the biblical and Armenian traditional notions.65

Certain comments on the cuneiform inscriptions of the Van Kingdom in the context of the ancient history of Armenia are of special interest in the works of French Armenologists and other European specialists. They called the language of the inscriptions Vanique (Vannic) or Armeniaque (Armenian)<sup>66</sup>. The significance of Movses Khorenatsi's work<sup>67</sup> in discovery of the Van cuneiform inscriptions<sup>68</sup> is determined by their important place in the historical cultural heritage of Armenia. The comments on the country name Armenia and the ethnic name Armenian, on the basis of the decipherment of the Assyrian and Van cuneiforms are an important contribution by the European and particularly French Armenologists of the 19th century to the studies of the history of the Van (Ararat-Urartu) Kingdom as an integral part of ancient Armenian history.

> Translated from Armenian by S. E. Chraghyan

<sup>63</sup> F. de Saulcy, Recherches analytiques sur les inscriptions cunéiformes du système Médique. - Journal Asiatique, Août-Septembre, t. XIV, 1849, p. 97; cf. M. Brosset, op. cit., p. 339.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> P. Lecoq, Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide, Gallimard, 1997, pp. 139, 246.

<sup>65</sup> J. Saint-Martin, op. cit., t. I, pp. 258, 260-261, 264, Langlois V., Etude sur les sources de l'Histoire d'Arménie de Moïse de Khoren, tiré du Bulletin, t. III, Paris, 1861, pp. 310-312. V. Langlois, Mémoire sur les origines de la culture des lettres en Arménie, Revue de l'Orient et de l'Algérie et des colonies, XIV (juillet à décembre), Paris, 1862.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Cf. A.H.Sayce, The Archaeology of Cuneiform Inscriptions, Second Edition - Revised, London, 1908, pp. 30-31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Մովսէս Խորենացի, էջ 54։

<sup>68</sup> A.Sayce highly appreciated the contribution of Saint-Martin in organization and realization by Schulz (Fr. Ed.Schulz, Mémoire sur le lac de Van et ses environs, Journal Asiatique, Paris, 1840, IIIe série, t. IX) the work of discovery of the Van cuneiform inscriptions (A. H. Sayce, The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van, - The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London, 1882, p. 377)