

## C. F. LEHMANN-HAUPT'S STUDIES ON ASSYRIAN INSCRIPTIONS OF THE ARMENIAN HIGHLAND\*

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### Abstract

*Prominent German orientalist C. F. Lehmann-Haupt explored the Tigris Tunnel during his travels in the Armenian Highland and Northern Mesopotamia from 1898 to 1899.<sup>1</sup> According to him, the kings of Assyria considered this place as the source of the Tigris (or at least one of its sources) and tried to reach it during their campaigns. This was probably conditioned by the circumstance that the waters of the Tigris River, which “flooded the walls” of the Assyrian capitals of Assur, Calah and Nineveh, flowed through the rocks there. According to the inscriptions of the Tigris Tunnel, the sacrifices made by the Assyrian kings in honor of their gods were considered to be dedicated to the god of the river and the spring [9: A.O.102.6 ii 34-40; A.O.102.8: 20-23; A.O.102.14: 67-72; 14: 434].*

**Keywords:** Nairi, Urartu, Assyria, Tigris Tunnel, inscriptions, C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, W. Belck, Tiglathpileser I, Shalmaneser III, campaign.

A. Taylor discovered the inscriptions of the Tigris Tunnel in 1862 [29: 41-42], later it was noticed by engineers K. Sester and E. Naumann. However, unlike C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, they were not experts in the field of Oriental Studies or Assyriology. Since the abovementioned researchers were unable to read the inscriptions on the spot and the copies were distorted, the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (858-824 BC) were attributed to Tukulti-Ninurta II (890-884 BC) and Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 BC) [see in detail 28: 27-30; 20: 309; 14: 434, 439]. The fact that the Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II states in his chronicle that in the second year of his reign at the source of the *Subnat* River he left his image (i.e., the statue) next to the statues of his father Tukulti-Ninurta II as well as Tiglathpileser I, served as an argument [8: A.O. 101.1, I 104-105; 14: 434]. It should be noted that this tributary belonging to the Tigris Basin is called S/Zebene-su by travelers. Due to the fact that there was also an inscription of Tiglathpileser I along with his depiction in a relief in the Tigris Tunnel, and the names of the rivers Subnat and Zebene-su (Zibene) are similar to each other, they were erroneously identified. Due to these factors, the inscrip-

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<sup>1</sup> The left auxiliary tributary of the Arghana is the Zibene (Dibene). A natural tunnel passes through not far from the source, which thanks to C. F. Lehmann-Haupt's research has come to be known as the Tigris Tunnel in scholarly literature. To study it, C. F. Lehmann-Haupt came to Lche (Lice) on 23.05.1899 and then until 02.06.1899 explored the place, spending nine nights in the vicinity of the Tigris Tunnel (see 14: 438). His companion, member of the expedition W. Belck, due to some circumstances, also explored it after C. F. Lehmann-Haupt (see 4: 248).

tions of Tukulti-Ninurta II and Ashurhasirpal II, along with the royal images, were also localized here [28: 20-21; 14: 441-442].

At the end of the 19th century, C. F. Lehmann-Haupt proved in his study that only the inscriptions of Tiglathpileser I and Shalmaneser III exist in the Tigris Tunnel. The scholar identified the Subnat tributary mentioned in the inscriptions in Northern Mesopotamia, placing it near the settlement of Babil [13: 19-22; 14: 442; 18: 51; 3: 238]. This localization proposed by C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, however, remained ignored, and the viewpoint of identifying the Subnat with Zibene continued to be the dominant interpretation in Biainian studies (Uartology).<sup>2</sup>

The earliest inscription in the Tigris Tunnel belongs to Tiglathpileser I (1114-1076 BC) with the image of the king turned to the right.<sup>3</sup> The inscription states that the king who conquered the great sea of Amurru (Mediterranean) and the sea of Nairi (Lake Van) marched to Nairi for *the third* time.<sup>4</sup> It is noteworthy that the expedition of C. F. Lehmann-Haupt managed to find another inscription left by Tiglathpileser I in Khotanlu, near Manazkert. The inscription was left here by the Assyrian king to commemorate his victory after the conquest of the Nairi countries [13: 17-18; 15: 115-117; 8: A. 0.8 7.15].<sup>5</sup> C. F. Lehmann-Haupt's colleague W. Belck, prior to the discovery of this inscription, had identified the place of the battle between the two sides here. According to W. Belck and the follower of the viewpoint of the latter - C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, the route of the Assyrian king passed through the Tigris Tunnel<sup>6</sup>, the mountains stretching between the Tigris and Aratsani (modern Murad), and then Tiglathpileser I fought a victorious battle against the joint Nairi forces near Manazkert, pursuing them as far as Lake Van. From the mention of reaching the Upper Sea (Black Sea) in the inscriptions of Tiglathpileser I [8: A.0.87.1, iv 43 - v 21] C. F. Lehmann-Haupt concludes that the Assyrian army reached Dayaeni during this military campaign. According to them, Dayaeni stretched to the shores of the Black Sea. Based on the identification of the countries of Tunubu and Tunibuni, it is presumed that Tiglathpileser I, leaving his inscription and image in the Tigris Tunnel, carried out religious activities, seeking

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<sup>2</sup> For identification, see [11: 170-171; 8: 61]. Some scholars have identified Subnat with the Eastern Khabur [1: 95].

<sup>3</sup> The inscriptions are located along the stream of the river, at the right end of the tunnel [see 14: 433-434].

<sup>4</sup> K. Radner dates the inscription to the years of 1104-1097 BC, based on the mention of Nairi's third campaign in other inscriptions [see in detail 27: 177, 199].

<sup>5</sup> I. M. Diakonoff considers that the battle against the Nairi "kings" did not take place near Manazkert at all, as the invasion passed through the basin of the Western Euphrates and this inscription proves that Tiglathpileser I passed near Manazkert during this or another campaign [7: 126 note 128].

<sup>6</sup> The second among the Nairi lands mentioned in the description of the campaign is Tunubun, which according to N. Adontz is the Tunibuni (see below) mentioned by Shalmaneser III - the Blue Pass - one of the passes of the Taurus, not far from the Tigris Tunnel [1: 83]. The latter is the central one of the three mountain passes in Shubria leading to Uartu, which, passing through the Byurakn Mountains (modern Bingöl), reaches the valley of the Aratsani [26: 232].

the favor gods and moving north in the direction of Manazkert.<sup>7</sup> Judging by the inscription, it was left at the beginning of the military campaign, mentioning only the geography of the king's previous campaigns. From these two inscriptions left by Tiglathpileser I, it is probable that during his reign Nairi extended from the Taurus to the Aratsani, encompassing at least some parts of the Lake Van basin [24: 88].

### The inscriptions of Tiglathpileser I

In the Tigris Tunnel, the inscription of Tiglathpileser I is followed by an inscription of Shalmaneser III with a depiction of the king.<sup>8</sup> After the introductory part of the inscription, it is mentioned again that the king is the conqueror of the regions from Lake Van to the Mediterranean Sea: the land of the Hittites, Melidu, Dayanu, Sukhmu, the royal city of Arame of Urartu - Arzashku, lands of Gilzanu and Khubushkia from the source of the Tigris to the source of the Euphrates.<sup>9</sup>

In the depths of the tunnel, not far from this inscription, there is another inscription left by Shalmaneser III (*This inscription is attributed to Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III*) [14: 436]. According to this inscription, the king entered through the mountain passes of Enzu<sup>10</sup>, conquered the lands of Sukhmu, Dayaeni and Urartu, passed through the land of Gilzanu, received tribute and, marching against Nairi for the third time, wrote his name at the source of the Tigris.

About 40 meters above the Tigris Tunnel, at the entrance to the upper cave, which was mentioned by C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, Shalmaneser III left two inscriptions, again with the image of the king, who "looks" into the depths of the cave.<sup>11</sup> These two inscriptions of the king are almost identical to the inscriptions of the Tigris Tunnel.

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<sup>7</sup> V. Mayer believes that during this campaign of the third year, the Assyrian army reached as far as the southern regions of Lake Van, and then the campaign continued in the direction of Melid [17: 237; see also and cf. 7: 127, n. 128].

<sup>8</sup> Like the image of the inscription of Tiglathpileser I, it "looks" at the direction of the river stream. Before C. F. Lehmann-Haupt's research, the given inscription was attributed to Tukulti-Ninurta II [13: 31-44; 14: 436, 440-441].

<sup>9</sup> The lines at the bottom of the inscription are bent upwards at the end. Some of the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III found in Assur have such a feature. This circumstance proves that the Assyrian king took this mason with him to the military campaign [14: 441]. As already mentioned, according to the chronicles of Shalmaneser III, after the Tigris Tunnel, the Assyrian army moved forward through the Tunibuni mountain pass, appearing in the area that was under the rule of Arame of Urartu [9: A.0.102.6 iii 34-45, 102.10 iii 26-33a].

<sup>10</sup> Also known as Enzate, Enzite and Alzu, as well as Amadani [27: 184; 11: 256].

<sup>11</sup> According to C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, this image of the king was directed towards the water flowing from the bottom of the cave. It is noteworthy that C. F. Lehmann-Haupt's Kurdish companion showed the footprint of Alexander the Great (Zulkarna) on the way to the upper cave. The ideas about Gilgamesh's immortality in Central Asia in the Hellenistic period were associated with the name of Alexander the Great [19: 22-23]. The examination of the inscription revealed that there are two different inscriptions here and it was left not by Ashurnasirpal II but by Shalmaneser III [14: 440].

Based on the data provided by the inscriptions, C. F. Lehmann-Haupt thinks that Shalmaneser III managed to halt the mountaineers of the Armenian Highland and the Aramaeans, who worked with them, and to prevent the danger hanging over the Assyrian “citadel”. The campaigns against Arame of Urartu preceded the invasions of Damascus, Hamat and their allies. He was inclined to believe that the kings of Biaina always had ties and alliance with enemies of Assyria in the west, especially the Aramaean rulers in northern Syria.<sup>12</sup>

According to C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, Shalmaneser III, before reaching Urartu, had to pass through the regions of the Nairi people at the source of the Tigris. Based on the evidence of entering through the homonymous mountain pass, the researcher localizes the Tigris Tunnel in Enzite.<sup>13</sup> C. F. Lehmann-Haupt also thinks that this important gorge was not defenseless during the campaigns of Tiglathpileser I and Shalmaneser III.<sup>14</sup> The rock-cut fortress<sup>15</sup>, first built by the “Nairi people” and consequently conquered and modified by the Biaina people<sup>16</sup>, used to be above the Tigris Tunnel.

C. F. Lehmann-Haupt had previously tried to explain the existence of four inscriptions of Shalmaneser III in the Tigris Tunnel by the fact that the king had left them during the years of various campaigns. The inscriptions of Shalmaneser III indicate that he reached the region of the sources of the Tigris during the campaign of the 7th year of his reign in 852 BC and the 15th year in 844 BC, and left his images and inscriptions there [9: A.0.102.6, ii 34-40, A.0.102.8, 20'-23'a, 47'b-51, A.0.102.10, ii 26-30, A.0 102.14, 67-72, A.0 102.3; 14: 453].

C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, however, in order to date the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III, assumed that they were located in the tunnel and in the upper cave in

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<sup>12</sup> The hypothesis proposed by M. Salvini, according to which Arame of Urartu could have been an Aramaean, who managed to unite some tribes of the Armenian Highland, creating a defensive chain of fortresses, virtually presents an argument based on C. F. Lehmann-Haupt's viewpoint [25: 26-27].

<sup>13</sup> The researcher considers the road from Lche (Lice) to the Tigris Tunnel to be the entrance leading towards the mountain pass mentioned in the inscription [14: 444]. K. Radner supposes that the Arghana mountain pass is evidenced in the inscription. The Assyrian troops probably moved through the Tigris Tunnel through the Euphrates region and crossed the mountain pass to the north, then south through the Tigris River, returning to their homeland [27: 184, 200].

<sup>14</sup> According to the chronicles of Shalmaneser III, after the Tigris Tunnel, the Assyrian army advanced through the Tunibuni mountain pass, appearing in lands that were under the rule of Arame of Urartu [9: A.0.102.6 iii 34-45, 102.10 iii 26-33a]. The fortress mentioned by C. F. Lehmann-Haupt accordingly controlled this mountain pass.

<sup>15</sup> The permanent Urartian presence here can be assumed only from the years of the reign of Sarduri II.

<sup>16</sup> The author considers among the characteristic features of the Bainian (Urartian) fortresses the presence of rock stairs and the door to the left of the stairs leading to the two small rock-cut rooms. A hole from the left room in the direction of the inscriptions leads to the river. From the other room, the path led the researcher to a rock-cut fortress [14: 444-446]. The research carried out by A. Schachner in the area of the Tigris Tunnel confirms the conjecture of C. F. Lehmann-Haupt: there used to be a fortress here both in the Iron Age and in late antiquity as well as in the Middle Ages, and the scholar attributes the rock stairs to the Post-Urartian period [27: 61-72].

chronological order. According to that, C. F. Lehmann-Haupt considered the inscriptions at the end, which mention Shalmaneser III's campaigns to Nairi for *the third time*, to have been engraved later [14: 455]. When Shalmaneser III marched for the third time, one inscription of his success was not enough, and he left two inscriptions along with those that already existed. The third campaign to Nairi, as mentioned, has its parallels with the inscription of Tiglathpileser I<sup>17</sup>, but the third campaign is related not to the source of the Tigris, but to Nairi. The two "early" inscriptions at the beginning of the upper cave of the tunnel, however, state that the king marched against the Chaldeans for the first time in the 9th year of the reign of Shalmaneser III. Therefore, according to C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, it is groundless to date these inscriptions to the 7th year of the king's reign [14: 453]. As it is mentioned, in the 15th year of his reign, Shalmaneser III marched to Nairi for the 4th time, but the Tigris inscriptions mention the third campaign. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt concluded that Shalmaneser III in the 7th year marched not towards Nairi, but only to the west, outside the Nairi regions, meanwhile having received tribute from Nairi. According to that, C. F. Lehmann-Haupt concludes that the inscriptions at the beginning of the tunnel and cave represent the king's successes in the west and north, which are crowned with the image of the king, and the events already in the Tigris basin and the incursion into Enzitone and the environs of the tunnel are the continuation. This approach in terms of dating the inscriptions did not gain much traction and was actually criticized and refuted at the beginning of the last century.<sup>18</sup> It is noteworthy that this dating was widely used in Soviet Urartology [18: 190-193; 21: 56].

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<sup>17</sup> Shalmaneser III wanted to show his equality by doing so, as he was the only Assyrian king after Tiglathpileser I to initiate a campaign again towards the basins of the Upper Tigris, Aratsani and Lake Van [27: 198-199].

<sup>18</sup> On the occasion of the 7th year of the invasion of Shalmaneser III, however, it is mentioned that the king also had visited the region of the source of the Tigris, which C. F. Lehmann-Haupt mistakenly identified as the tributary of the Arghana. He came to this conclusion by comparing the data reported in the inscriptions of the 7th and 15th years, "the place from where the water flows", "at the source of the Tigris, on the tributary, on the mountain cliff from where its water flows" [9: A.0.102.6, ii 34-40, iii 34-45]. According to C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, only the 15th year of the Tigris Tunnel is mentioned. He also mentions that the events of the 7th year of the Balavat Gates are depicted near a fountain far from the cliffs and depict an inscribed obelisk with the image of the King [14: 455-456]. Other scholars who have touched upon the issue, however suggest that in connection with the events of the 7th year the Tigris Tunnel and the upper cave with a rectangular entrance and a fortress, perhaps even a temple, are pictured. K. Radner considers that the Assyrian king left an obelisk near the Tigris Tunnel, which has not been preserved, and A. Schachner thinks that, since the words "image" and "obelisk" in Assyrian are identical, the image was also edged [6: 55, 58; 27: 199, 220]. E. Unger considers the tunnel "the place from where the water flows", and the upper cave - "at the source of the Tigris... on the mountain cliff". He compares the construction of a statue mentioned in the description of the invasion of 852 and leaving an inscription on it with the images of the Balavat Gate in the inscription of the upper cave and with the image of the king in the Tigris Tunnel. Comparing the inscriptions, E. Unger also concluded that the duplicate inscriptions were engraved by two different stone-cutters. During the 7th year of the campaign of Shalmaneser III, the image of the king was

### The evidence on the Tigris Tunnel in the Epic of Gilgamesh

C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, following his companion W. Belck also suggests that before the tunnel was formed, there used to be a lake upstream [5: 459; 16: 802]. It is the reflection of this geological situation that underlies Pliny's account [20: 330]. It is noteworthy that according to Pliny, the Tigris originates from a spring in the plain called Elegos<sup>19</sup>, and then flows into a lake called Aretisa, without mixing with the latter.<sup>20</sup> Crossing the Taurus, it enters a cave and, at the bottom of the mountain, exits to the opposite side at Zoranda, then, passing through Lake Tospitis (Van), flows again downstream. According to C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, this report testifies to the two underground sections of the upstream of the Tigris. The idea of belonging to a single water system of the two underground streams of the Tigris, as later C. F. Lehmann-Haupt assumed, was reflected in the Babylonian version of the epic of Gilgamesh [16: 803-804]. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt thinks that the Mashu Mountains mentioned in the epic are the ancient name of the Taurus [16: 799-800; 31: 42-43]. Gilgamesh passes through the gates of these mountains in darkness<sup>21</sup> and finds himself in the garden of gods. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt suggests that the Mashu Mountains and the dark route are not in a fairy-tale land, but in Armenia, linked to the Tigris Tunnel. The Tigris Tunnel used to be a place of worship. The evidence of this is the obelisk of Naram-Sin found not far from here, near Diyarbakir.<sup>22</sup> It was perceived as the entrance to the underworld, or the underworld itself [2: 263-264]. The Tigris Tunnel was also a natural boundary, thanks to which Shubria

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created in the tunnel, and since the adjacent part of the latter was not convenient, the inscription was a little further away, as shown by the fact that it was made in the upper cave. During the next campaign, the king left the main inscription in the upper cave and added his image in the tunnel, as it was already a duplicate, the inscription was written on an uneven surface without much effort [30: 53-73].

<sup>19</sup> To the south-west of Lake Tsovk, a fortress called Elegia is mentioned [12: 53].

<sup>20</sup> C. F. Lehmann-Haupt notes that Pliny's report is confirmed by E. Huntington's research [10: 593-594]. According to E. Huntington, local Armenians stated that there used to be no lake near Lake Tsovk 500-600 years ago, the river flowed here along the plain, and then the stream became subterranean. The water of Lake Tsovk gradually began to flow to the Tigris until 1879 and the subterranean stream is located in the eastern part of the lake. Since, according to E. Huntington, Lake Tsovk had a subterranean stream or tunnel, the two tunnels of the Tigris were confused by the Assyrians. This information probably dates back much earlier than Pliny, among the Greek travellers and logographers of the 6th-5th cc. BC, who knew much more about the northern parts of Western Asia than the contemporaries of Alexander the Great. The ideas about the Tigris during the reign of Shalmaneser III can be deduced from the information provided by Hecataeus of Miletus. The Eastern and Western Tigris are absorbed into a single water system from which Lake Van is irrigated [22: 460; 14: 459-461].

<sup>21</sup> It is noteworthy that the path of Gilgamesh did not pass over but passed through the mountains and here, unfortunately, the Sumerian ideas had their impact (see *ibid.*).

<sup>22</sup> The researcher came to this conclusion due to the fact that in the tunnel there are many crosses engraved above the inscription of Shalmaneser III, which, according to him, proves that it used to be a place of worship during the Christian period as well. Surprisingly, however, this testimony of C. F. Lehmann-Haupt is far from the truth [14: 462; 16: 799-800; 19: 32-43, 155-156].

maintained its existence during the Assyrian-Urartian conflict [27: 218; 22: 263-264].

Thereby, still at the end of the 19th century, C. F. Lehmann-Haupt stated that there are only the inscriptions of the Assyrian kings Tiglathpileser I and Shalmaneser III together with images of kings in the Tigris Tunnel. He correctly identified the Subnat tributary mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions as the Zibene, in Northern Mesopotamia. His expedition also managed to find the inscription of Tiglathpileser I near Manazkert, thanks to which he traced the route of the Assyrian army's military campaign. It is noteworthy that C. F. Lehmann-Haupt is the first scholar who assumed that the source of the Tigris used to be a sanctuary for the Assyrian kings and are even attested in the epic of Gilgamesh.

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ՎԵՐԱԲԵՐՅԱԼ**

*Վահե Սարգսյան*

**Բանալի բառեր՝** Նաիրի, Ուրարտու, Ասորեստան, Տիգրիսի թունել, արձանագրություն, Կ. Ֆ. Լեման-Հաուպտը, Վ. Բեյք, Թիզլաթապալասար I, Սալմանասար III, արշավանք:

Գերմանացի ականավոր արևելագետ, ուրարտագետ Կ.Ֆ. Լեման-Հաուպտը 1898–1899 թթ. Հայկական լեռնաշխարհում և Հյուսիսային Միջագետքում կատարած իր ճանապարհորդության ժամանակ հետազոտեց նաև Տիգրիսի թունելը: Ըստ հետազոտողի՝ Ասորեստանի արքաներն այդ վայրը համարել են որպես Տիգրիսի ակունքը, կամ ակունքներից մեկը և իրենց արշավանքների ժամանակ ձգտել են հասնել այնտեղ: Դա հավանաբար պայմանավորված էր նաև այն հանգամանքով, որ Ասորեստանի մայրաքաղաքներ Աշշուրի, Կալախի և Նինվեի «պատերը ողողող» Տիգրիս գետի ջրերը այստեղ հոսում էին ժայռերի միջից: Զոհաբերությունները, որոնք ասորեստանյան արքաներն, ըստ արձանագրությունների, կատարում էին իրենց աստվածների պատվին, համարվել են նաև նվիրված գետի և աղբյուրի աստծուն:

Տիգրիսի թունելի արձանագրությունները դեռևս 1862 թ. հայտնաբերել էր Ա. Թեյլորը: Այստեղ այնուհետ հետազոտություններ են կատարել ինժեներ Կ. Սեստերը, Է. Նյումանը: Նրանք, սակայն, ի տարբերություն Կ. Ֆ. Լեման-Հաուպտի, մասնագիտացած չէին արևելագիտության և ասորագիտության ասպարեզում: Վերոնշյալ հետազոտողների՝ արձանագրությունները տեղում ընթերցել չկարողանալու, ինչպես նաև՝ արտապատճենների աղճատված լինելու հանգամանքով պայմանավորված, Սալմանասար III-ի (Ք.ա. 858-824 թթ.) արձանագրությունները վերագրվում էին Թուրույթի-Նինուրտա II-ին (Ք.ա. 890-884 թթ.) և Աշուրնաճիրպալ II-ին (Ք.ա. 883-859 թթ.): Կ.Ֆ. Լեման-Հաուպտն իր հետազոտություններով փաստեց, որ Տիգրիսի թունելում գտնվում են միայն ասորեստանյան արքաներ Թիզլաթապալասար I-ի (Ք.ա. 1114-1076 թթ.) և Սալմանասար III-ի արձանագրությունները՝ արքաների պատկերներով: Ասորեստանյան արձանագրություններում հիշատակվող Սուբնատ վտակը, որը նույնացվում էր Զիբենի հետ, հետազոտողն իրավացիորեն տեղորոշեց Հյուսիսային Միջագետքում: Նրա արշավախմբին հաջողվեց նաև գտնել Թիզլաթապալասար I-ի արձանագրությունը Մանազկերտի մոտ, որի շնորհիվ նաև փաստարկվեց ասորեստանյան բանակի արշավանքի երթուղին: Ուշագրավ է, որ Կ. Ֆ. Լեման-Հաուպտն առաջին հետազոտողն է, ով նաև ենթադրեց, որ Տիգրիսի ակունքները եղել են սրբազան վայր Ասորեստանի արքաների համար և վկայված են անգամ «Գիլգամեշ» էպոսում: