ANADOLU ARAŞTIRMALARI

JAHRBUCH FUR KLEINASIATISCHE FORSCHUNG

**ANADOLU ARAŞTIRMALARI dergisi hakemli bir dergi olup,
yılda bir kez yayınlanmaktadır.**

Yeniden Başlarken

Anadolu Araştırmaları Dergisi kimi kesintiler olmakla birlikte 1955 yılından bu yana İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi tarafından yayınlanmaktadır. Amacı; 1915 yılından beri Eskiçağ derslerinin verildiği İstanbul Üniversitesi'nde Eskiçağ Dönemi kültürleri üzerine çalışan bilim insanlarının Anadolu ve yakın çevresinde oluşan uygarlıklara ait taşınır ve taşınmaz kültür varlıkları ve bölgelerarası kültürel ilişkiler üzerinde yaptıkları yorumların bilim dünyasının değerlendirmesine aktarılmasıydı. Kronolojik olarak da Eski Önasya kültürlerini inceleyen disiplinlerin dikkate aldığı milattan önceki yüzyıllardan Klasik Eskiçağ kültürlerinin ilgi alanına giren dönemleri ve Geç Antik Çağ'ın ve dolayısıyla Eskiçağ'ın bitimi olarak tanımlanan MS 6. yüzyılın sonuna kadar uzanan süreci kapsamaktadır. Dergi'de bu kriterleri taşıyan arkeoloji, filoloji, epigrafi ve nümizmatik alanlarındaki çalışmalarla bu dönemlerin tarihi coğrafyasını konu alan yazılara da yer verilmektedir.

Anadolu Araştırmaları Dergisi bazı sayılarını "Armağan Kitabı" niteliğinde yayınlamıştır. 1965 yılında yayınlanan 2. sayısı 1961 yılında hayatını kaybeden ve Dergi'nin kurucusu olan Eski Önasya Dilleri ve Kültürleri alanında çalışan dilbilimci, tarihçi Helmut Theodor Bossert'e ithaf edilmiştir. Yine 1996 yılında yayımlanan XVI. sayısı Prof. Dr. Afif Erzen'e sunulan yazılardan oluşmaktadır.

Dergi'nin 1976 ile 2006 yılları arasında yayınlanan sayılarında başta Hitit ve Urartu dönemleri olmak üzere Anadolu yerel halklarına ait kültür varlıkları ile Anadolu'da başta İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi ve diğer üniversitelerin öğretim üyeleri tarafından yapılan kazı ve araştırmaların buluntularının değerlendirilerek bilim dünyasına tanıtıldığı görülmektedir.

Bossert'ten sonra Dergi'nin yayın kurulunu oluşturan ve yayına hazırlayan Edebiyat Fakültesi'nin tüm öğretim üyelerine değerli hizmetleri ve verdikleri büyük emek için burada bir kez daha teşekkür ederken Anadolu Eskiçağ Tarihi araştırmalarının farklı disiplinlerde gelişerek ilerlemesinde

büyük katkısı bulunan ve artık maalesef aramızda olmayan değerli Eskiçağ araştırmacıları, yol gösterici bilim insanları Prof. Dr. Uluğ Bahadır Alkım'ı, Prof. Dr. Afif Erzen'i, Prof. Dr. Mustafa Kalaç'ı, Prof. Dr. Oktay Akşit'i ve otuz yıla yakın bir süre Dergi'nin redaksiyon çalışmalarını üstlenen değerli bilim insanı, Önasya dilleri uzmanı, dilbilimci, tarihçi ve her yönden çok kıymetli bir önder olan Prof. Dr. Ali M. Dinçol'u bir kez daha rahmetle anarken değerli hatıraları önünde saygıyla eğiliyoruz. Halen hayatta olan ve yayın kuruluna önceki yıllarda büyük katkılarda bulunmuş olan tüm öğretim üyelerimize de sağlıkla uzun bir ömür dilerken değerli katkıları ve emekleri için tekrar çok teşekkür ediyoruz.

Dergi'nin bu yıldan başlayarak yayınlanacak olan yeni sayılarına Anadolu ve çevre kültürlerinin Eskiçağ dönemleriyle ilgilenen tüm yerli ve yabancı meslektaşlarımızı değerli çalışmalarının sonuçlarını ve yorumlarını içeren makaleleriyle bu sayıda belirtilen yayın ilkeleri çizgisinde katkıda bulunmaya saygılarımızla davet ediyoruz.

<div align="right">Anadolu Araştırmaları Dergisi Yayın Kurulu</div>

İÇİNDEKİLER

THE ROLE OF THE ENSLAVED POPULATIONS IN THE URARTIAN SETTLEMENT POLICY

Can AVCI[*]

Keywords: Assyria, Urartu, Settlement Policy, Enslaved Population, Tribe

The Kingdom of Urartu faced many challenges apart from overcoming geographical difficulties in order to implement its settlement policy in its heartland – the Van Lake Basin. Founding new cities, creating lands suitable for agriculture and securing the necessary population in order to supply its military strength were just some of them. Settling nomadic and seminomadic tribes and securing the manpower that were to build new cities and establish new farmlands also meant economic success for the kingdom that was to follow. The continuity of this success was only possible with a standardized settlement policy. Obtaining the population that were to be settled and their addition into the kingdom meant establishment of new cities and new campaigns. A policy of slave procurement, whose rules were already established by Assyria, was an important factor for obtaining the population Urartu needed. Although it is not known how this enslaved population was treated in the general Urartian population, it is certain that they were part of the production, fought for the kingdom and have taken part in foundation of new cities.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Asur, Urartu, İskân Politikası, Esir Nüfus, Aşiret

Urartu Krallığı, merkezi bölgesi olan Van Gölü Havzası'nda iskân politikasını hayata geçirebilmek için coğrafi zorlukları aşmanın ötesinde birçok sorunla karşılaşmıştır. Kent kurmak, zirai tarım alanları oluşturmak ve askeri gücünü ayakta tutabilmek için gerekli olan nüfusu sağlamak bu sorunlar içerisinde yer almaktadır. Göçebe ve yarı göçebe aşiretlerin iskânı, kurulacak yeni kentlerin inşasında ve açılacak yeni tarım alanlarında çalışacak nüfusun temini krallığın iktisadi anlamda elde edeceği başarıyı da tanımlamaktadır. Bu başarının istikrarlı bir hal alması ise standarları belli bir iskân anlayışı ile mümkündür. İskân ettirilecek kişilerin temini ve krallığa dahil edilmesi yeni kentlerin kurulması ve yeni seferler demektir. Urartu için kuralları Asur tarafından konulmuş bir esir edinme politikası nüfus temininde önemli bir unsurdur. Urartu nüfusu içerisindeki esir nüfusun tam olarak ne şekilde muamele gördüğünü bilemesek bile üretime katıldıkları, krallık için savaştıkları ve yeni kentlerin inşasında görev aldıkları kesindir.

---

[*] Dr., İstanbul Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi Eskiçağ Tarihi Anabilim Dalı, Fatih-İstanbul. e-mail: can.avci@istanbul.edu.tr

The dominant elements of Urartian settlement policy were shaped by geographic conditions, even though it had realized the infrastructure that supported its economic, social and physical objectives in the newly founded royal cities with a careful choice of locations. Although we can speak of a political standardization of a royal settlement, the local settlement conditions of Van Lake Basin caused the primary obstacles the kingdom had to face.

The geographically divided basin is made up of distinct regions that had a direct effect on administration established in the area. Tribes, feudal principalities, petty states and the Kingdom of Urartu were all established in distinct yet close regions; still they had difficulties in communication, and had limited success in establishing a sustainable central administration. It was not easy for the Urartian kings to procure manpower and establish a durable economic system they needed at the beginning, who tried to sustain its central authority with a 200-year-long period of constant control and military mobility.

In order to settle the nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes, the central authority planned new settlements. At the same time, it must have developed policies to prevent them from transhumance activities and their economic benefits. Having a semi-nomadic lifestyle, transhumance activities were made possible by providing these semi-pastoral and semi-agriculturalist tribes security and the elbowroom they need. Although it was difficult for central government to impose its authority over these tribes, their benefit to the kingdom was unquestionable. Apart from the transhumance activities, which contributed cities financially, highland security must have been guaranteed by these tribes. Hence the level of contribution to the conquered populations that were to be settled in cities is still under debate.

The primary factor in choosing the location for the royal cities in relation to agricultural potential of the plains draws attention to procurement of the manpower that will take part in the agricultural activities. Especially the existence of cities founded one after the other in accordance with the settlement policy realized by the

Urartian state shows that the foreign manpower procurement that would become farmers, workers and soldiers for the kingdom posed an important problem. Besides, quick establishment of royal cities and their infrastructure preparation required considerable manpower. This was only possible for Urartu by bringing the tribes in the region under their control and enslaving the population in the newly conquered regions and deporting them to their homeland. There was no difference between looted commodities and slaves, which should be considered as spoils of war, whether it is called "deportation" or "transportation of enslaved population". Still, when their contribution to production and their services to Urartian military are considered, it seems that they covered an important gap thanks to the settlement policy, even though they were not considered as citizens in the modern sense.

Enslaved populations were an important source of income for the states of the ancient times in terms of war economy. Different methods for the same purpose exist throughout the history of war. The first instances of taking the defeated as slaves in order to weaken the enemy and gain considerable manpower (Piotrovsky 1969:69), are known from southern Mesopotamia. Sargon of Akkad's (2334-2279 BC) ideas of expansionism embodied in his wish to become "people's shepherd" (Mumford 2007:37) or the ruler of the world; his attempts to transform a city-state to an empire would have been impossible without the existence of a great and sustainable manpower. This manpower needed to be backed up with a strong economy and the economy should further be supported with more manpower. A strong armed force is required for two connected factors to function properly, as the only way to keep them intact is a strong and efficient economy. Any central authority that cannot maintain this balance would remain stagnated until their collapse. Enslaved peoples can be considered as a commodity, as the Hittites distributed them to soldiers or the Assyrians allotted them between officials and nobles as if they were sheep (Oded 1979:78).

Assyrian enslavement policy was a guideline for the Urartians. Founding new settlements for the slaves mentioned in the inscriptions

dating to the reign of Adad-nirari III (811-783 BC), show direct integration of people considered as spoils of war into economy.

The increase in the number of slaves during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727 BC) meant Assyria's need of new cities in new lands and for that, more soldiers (Oded 1979:5). Transportation of enslaved peoples, whether it is called *exile*, *collective population transfer* or *mass deportation* (Çilingiroğlu 1983; Konakçı 2009), basically it was human transportation (Fig.1).

Types of Assyrian population transfer vary: The first group consists of people of servile status coming from foreign lands (prisoners and their families to be used as manpower, soldiers, artisans, etc.); in the second group are the people transferred to the newly conquered lands from Assyria (Oded 1979: 23-29). Population transfers within the land of Assyria can be said to be a practice to prevent internal threats and secure borders (Oded 1979:41-48). The presence of nobles, bureaucrats, soldiers, craftsmen and slaves among prisoners (Oded 1979:21) shows Assyria's intention to destroy the social structure of the conquered people. On the other hand, it is known that these prisoners were assigned to jobs in accordance to their professions (Oded 1979:25). It is also known that Assyria granted some of them citizenship (Oded 1979:77) and even appointed them in high posts in the bureaucracy (Oded 1979:63), released others and used some others as slaves. We don't have that much detailed information on the Urartian practice, however (Fig.2).

The Urartian practice of resettling war prisoners and their use in agriculture and public works starting with Ispuini-Menua (820-810 BC) (Çilingiroğlu 1983:314), accelerated development and lead scholars of Urartu to call Menua the "architect king" (Sevin 1979: 126-128). The civilian residential structures from Menua's reign that does not meet with the plan and comfort standards of the period, give information about slave settlements.

The state of region where the enslaved and deported people used to live and the Urartian lands that were opened to settling shaped the purpose of the settlement policy. Although existing

cultural patterns affected settlements, central authority's forced settlement policy according to the conditions they impose must have aimed their integration and social and economic incorporation of the lands they settled in into the Kingdom. Moreover, these people are settled in different places, far from each other, probably in order to prevent rebellion (Çilingiroğlu 1983:313).

All our knowledge on enslaved population's integration into Urartian Kingdom comes from Urartian inscriptions. When we chronologically look at examples of slave settlements in these inscriptions, we come across the following situation:

The 10,820 men and 10,670 young male prisoners mentioned in Surp Pogos inscription dating to the reigns of Ispuini and Menua (Payne 2006: 3.1.2- 35-37; CTU I: A 3-4- 132-134) must have been received from the troops of Uietruhi, Lusha and Katarza tribes and the land of Etiuhu. Here it is stated that "10,670 young males were brought to Tushpa." Similar statements exist on Karagündüz Kilisesi inscription, where it is said that "[…]480 men, […]0460 warriors, […]6600 young warriors (women and children?) were taken from the cities of Meshta, Qua, Sharitu and Nigibi and the land of Barshua" (Payne 2006: 3.1.2- 35-37; CTU I: A 3-4- 132-134). The aforementioned people could have been taken as a source of soldiers and manpower; the clarity of the data telling that the first settling took place in the capital Tushpa is remarkable (Fig.3)[1].

Some of the 10[…]55 prisoners mentioned on the top part of Surp Pogos Kilisesi inscription dating from the reign of Menua (810-785/780 BC) were described as groomers, while some others as servants. Prisoners referred to as "men" were conscripted.

---

[1] The rooms at the dwellings located in the lower settlement of Tushpa city are found to be connected to each other. These dwellings have roofless courtyards, whose floor is covered with medium-sized boulders, next to sections like kitchens, cellars and workshops. The houses, whose doors open to the street point to the existence of a more complex and comfortable dwellings (Fig.4), compared to the one constructed for the enslaved population (Konyar 2011; Konyar-Avcı, 2014; Konyar-Avcı-Genç-Akgün-Tan 2013; Konyar-Avcı-Yiğitpaşa-Tan-Tümer 2016.).

"I captured the city of Qalibilia, [...], city of Arpuia of land of Ususua [...], city of Hulmeru, Tushurehi tribe [...], from the region of Marma, city of Eruni [...] city of Qirpununi and land of Uliba and burned it. I captured the land of Dirgu, city of Ishala [...] and burned it. I traveled from the region of Qumenu to the land of Assyria. In this year I have taken prisoners. I made some of them groomers, others servants. I conscripted the men."

On the obverse of the same inscription, 2113 people were said to be taken captive; these prisoners were assigned to skilled and unskilled labor jobs.

With the might of God Haldi, Menua, son of Ishpuini, says: When I campaigned against the land of Mana, I burned this land to the ground. In the same year, I called upon the army and went on a campaign. I captured the city of [...]-ehi, city of Šurišilini, city of Tarhigama, city of [...]-Turani, the Šada'alehi tribe, the western stone on the shores of the River of Mele in the Land of Hatti [...] In this year, I took 2113 people prisoners. I made some of them groomers, others servants. I recruited [...]s to the army." (UKN I: no. 28; I: no. 44; Payne 2006: 61,62- 5.1.1; CTU I: 198-200, A 5-9).

We see the 50,XXX prisoners were used as servants and soldiers on the "Körzüt Kalesi (Uluşar)" inscription,.

Menua, son of Ishpuini, says: God Haldi gave the city of Luhiuni, royal city of Irekuans, which has never been conquered before by anyone, to Menua, son of Ishpuini. I captured the city of Luhiuni. I racketeered from the city of Luhiuni. I made some of the 50,000, X thousand X hundred X people I took and made them servants, and I made some of them soldiers.

Inscriptions dating to the reign of King Menua mentions for the first time that female prisoners were taken to the Urartian Palace/harem.

"With the Might of God Haldi, Menua son of Ishpuini, says: No one brought so much women to the harem of (?) city of Tushpa. Menua son of Ishpuini brought a group of women and men from the cith of Luhiuni to the city of Tushpa. He brought women from the city of Aelia in the land of Diruni and the city of Altuquia from the land of Shiadhini." (Payne 2006: 67, 5.1.6; CTU I: 185-186, A 5-2A).

If we consider the transcription of the frequently mentioned statement "young and old" (Payne 2006: 150-176) in the texts dating from the reign of King Argishti I (785/780-756 BC) are correct, we can conclude that the king enslaved/imprisoned the entire population regardless of age, in order to break any resistance permanently and to meet the increasing demand for soldiers and laborers of the Urartian central government. If, however, we accept the translation as "women and men" (UKN I: 155 A), then we can say that his aim was to increase the population of Urartian state while diminishing the populations of cities and lands he campaigned against.

Argishti I mentions several campaigns in the same year (Payne 2006: 150-176). What they have in common is the expression "… young and old, I deported them all…" (UKN I: 127 2). The following year's planned loot must be discarded, as it is stressed that everyone is enslaved. This account show the greatness of the threat against Urartu. As the statement *"8,656 men, 11,623 young men, 20,279 people in total, are (that) year('s number of prisoners). I made some of them groomers, others I recruited to the army."* indicates that the prisoners were made groomers or soldiers points out that horses were among the spoils of war and they were added to the army, therefore expanding it (Fig.5).

Argishti I's settling of 6600 of the warriors captured during his campaign against the land of Hate in the city of Irebuni he founded (CTU I: 328, A 8-1 Vo), shows that he had the ability to settle the prisoners he took from the west to the easternmost point of his kingdom. Moreover, it seems like that the idea was forcing the enslaved population constructing these new cities, which are far from the center of the kingdom, and using them in their defenses.

The striking point in the inscriptions of Sarduri son of Argishti (Sarduri II, 756-730 BC) is that the soldiers began to take a share from prisoners (Payne 2006:235). The number of captured women during the reign of Sarduri II is over 100,000 (Payne 2006: 208, 210, 211, 213, 216, 223, 230, 234). This is much greater than those of his predecessor's and successor's. The inscriptions include statements such as "I deported this many women", instead of regarding them

as additions to the royal harem. This practice both served as a big and effective punishment and as an attempt increase the servile population. We do not know whether it would provide them a life on equal terms with a free Urartian individual, but the imprisoned women are – from one point of view – deported from their homeland to give birth to individuals such as slaves, laborers and soldiers that are necessary for the continuity of the Urartian state.

As in Assyria, the inscriptions of Rusa I (730-714/3 BC), use the term deporting for the peoples of newly conquered lands. The women and men mentioned on the rock inscription of Rusa I near Tsovinar, who were brought to the land of Biainili (Payne 2006:270) should be regarded as prisoners; here there is a different situation than just moving their own citizens within the country. No surviving inscriptions from the time of Rusa I or that of Argishti son of Rusa (i.e. Argishti II, 713-? BC) mention a deportation or enslavement.

We know that the cities planned under Rusa son of Argishti (685-645 BC), the last great king of the Urartians, have more orderly and better designed lower settlements, as evident from Karmir Blur[2] (Piotrovsky 1969), Bastam (Kleiss 1978:399) and Ayanis (Zimansky-Stone 2004) excavations. In the inscriptions of Rusa son of Argishti, prisoners brought from the lands of Assyria, Targuni, Etiuni, Tablani, Qainaru, Hate, Muşki and Shiluquni were chosen from the craftsmen that would eventually put to work especially in the construction of the city of Rusahinili Eiduru Kai/Ayanis (Salvini 2001: 253-270).

There is no mention of an enslaved population in the inscriptions dating from the reigns of Sarduri son of Rusa (Sarduri III), and Sarduri son of Sarduri (Sarduri IV) either. It seems that following the Urartian abandonment of the Van Lake Basin after the reign of Rusa son of Argishti, no new cities were founded and settlement activities ceased. The population components in settlements are not mentioned in the inscriptions either.

---

[2] Some of the housing types identified with archaeological studies made in Karmir Blur seem to be created with the combination of a few houses. Their doors, facing each other, open to small courtyards instead of streets. Such dwellings are thought to be inhabited by enslaved populations, who were later forced to work on palaces, temples and other construction works (Piotrovsky 1969).

If the inscriptions pointing out class differences[3] are taken into consideration, the control of the conquered communities show that population policies was successfully realized. In the simplest terms, this success would have been impossible, not only for Urartu, but for any other community, .without physical oppression or ideological guidance. It is obvious that the Urartian population was raised enough to necessitate a settlement policy. When the enslaved population's contribution to this raise is taken into consideration, it would be easily understood that the primary matter is survival. The sociological equivalent of survival in the region is being crowded. Although Urartu aimed at a high population to realize its settlement policy, the number of the imprisoned people brought from far and wide by Rusa son of Argishti was considerable enough to damage the social structure. It seems like the cities' capacities and their infrastructure were so inadequate that Urartu, at its height, came to a point where it might have lost its dominance.

---

[3] In a line located on a piece of stone found in Bostaniçi Kilisesi, we can see this distinction. *"[...] courtier, slave [...] house, 3,551 rider [...] on the far coast [...]".* Also, in an inscription in Karataş, similiar statements can be seen: *"[...] courtier, slave [...] house, 2,651 rider [...] on the far coast [...]".* (Payne 2006: 319; CTU I: A 18-5). If the tablet that includes courtiers of Toprakkale palace can be thought to be in this category, see Payne 2006:299-300.

ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

CTU I: M. Salvini, *Corpus dei testi urartei, vol. I: Le iscrizioni su pietra e roccia*, *I Testi*, Documenta Asiana VIII, Roma: CNR Istituto di Studi sulle Civiltá dell'Egeo e del Vicino Oriente, 2008.

UKN I: G. A. Melikishvili, *Urartskie Klinoobraznye Nadpisi I*, Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, Moskva, 1960.

Çilingiroğlu, A. 1983
"Urartu'da Toplu Nüfus Aktarımları", *Anadolu Araştırmaları* IX, İstanbul: 311-323.

Kleiss, W. 1978
"Bastam and the East of Urartu", G. Leni- L. B. Zekiyan (eds), *Atti del Primo Simposio Intemazionale di Arte Armena Pergamo*, 2S Ugiugno 1975, Venice, San Lazzaro: 395-402.

Konakçı, E. 2009
"Urartu Krallığı'nın Siyasi ve Ekonomik Yapılanmasında Toplu Nüfus Aktarımları", H. Sağlamtimur- E. Abay- Z. Derin- A. Ü. Erdem- A. Batmaz- F.Dedeoğlu- M. Erdalkıran- M. B. Baştürk- E. Konakçı (eds), *Altan Çilingiroğlu'na Armağan, Yukarı Denizin Kıyısında Urartu Krallığı'na Adanmış Bir Hayat/ Studies in Honour of Altan Çilingiroğlu. A Life Dedicated to Urartu on the Shores of the Upper Sea,* İstanbul: 367-383.

Konyar, E. 2011
"Excavations at the Mound of Van Fortress/Tuspa", *Colloquium Anatolicum* X: 147-166.

Konyar, E.- Avcı, C. 2014
 "Van-Tušpa Excavations 2013", *Colloquium Anatolicum*, XIII:205-228.

 Konyar, E- Avcı, C.- Genç, B.- Akgün, R.G. – Tan, A. 2013
"Excavations at the Van Fortress, the Mound and the Old City of Van in 2012", *Colloquium Anatolicum*, XII:193-210.

Konyar, E- Avcı, C.- Yiğitpaşa, D- Tan, A.- Tümer, H. 2016
"Eski Van Şehri, Kalesi ve Höyüğü 2014 Yılı Kazı Çalışmaları", *37. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*, 2. Cilt, Ankara:573-590.

Mumford, L. 2007
Tarih Boyunca Kent, Kökenleri, Geçirdiği Dönüşümler ve Geleceği, G. Koca- T. Tosun (trans.), İstanbul.

Oded, B. 1979
Mass Deportations and Deportees in the Neo-Assyrian Empire, Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

Page, S. 1968
"A Stela of Adad-nirari III and Nergal-Ereš from Tell Al Rimah", *Iraq***,** Volume 30, No.2, London:139-153.

Payne, M. R. 2006
Urartu Çiviyazılı Belgeler Kataloğu, İstanbul.

Parpola, S. 1972
"A Letter from Šamaš-šumu-ukīn to Esarhaddon", *Iraq*, Volume 34, No. 1, London:21-34.

Piotrovsky, B. B. 1969
The Ancient Civilization of Urartu, J. Hogarth **(**trans.), Cenevre: Nagel.

Reade, J. 1999
British Museum Assyrian Sculpture, Massachusetts.

Salvini, M. 2001
"The Inscriptions of Ayanis-Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic", A. Çilingiroğlu - M. Salvini (eds), *Ayanis I, Ten Years Excavationsat Rusahinili Eidurikai 1989-1998,* Roma: 253-270.

Sevin, V. 1979
"Urartu Krallığı'nın Tarihsel ve Kültürel Gelişimi", İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Eskiçağ Tarihi Ana Bilim Dalı Doçentlik Tezi, İstanbul.

Zimansky, P.E. 1995
"The Urartian Frontier as an Archaelogical Problem", M. Liverani (ed.), *Neo-Assyrian Geography- Quaderni di Geografia Storica*, volume 5, Rome: Universita di Rome:171-180.

Zimansky, P.E- E.C. Stone 2004
"Urartian City Planning at Ayanis." A. Sagona (ed.), *In A View from the Highlands: Archaeological Studies in Honour of Charles Burney,* Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement 12. Louvain: 233-243.
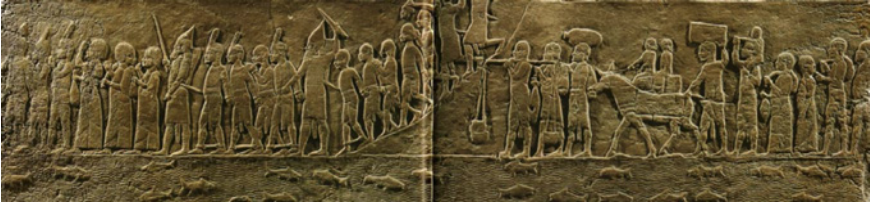
Fig.1- Relief from the Palace of Nineveh from the reign of Assyrian King Ashurbanipal (669-631 BC), shown here are the young men tied up and imprisoned by Assyrian soldiers (645 BC) (Reade 1999: p.87, fig. 104.).

Fig.2- A relief scene showing people, young and old, women and children, deported as prisoners, from the palace of Assyrian King Sennacherib (705-681 BC) (British Museum).

Fig.3- Urartu capital Tushpa (Archive of VANTAM-Afif Erzen).

Fig.4- Tushpa lower settlement. Standard and orderly construction of Urartian residential areas can be seen as an achievement of Urartian settlement policy (Archive of VANTAM-Afif Erzen).

Fig.5- A passage from annals of King Argishti I of Urartu. In the passage situated on the west (left) of the entrance to the rock cut monumental tomb structure south of the Citadel of Tushpa, Argishti I tells about his campaigns on the lands of Mana, Irkiuni and Bushtu. Given here the total number of prisoners are more than 32,500; while some of them were killed, others were carried off back alive (Archive of VANTAM-Afif Erzen).