



# The Structure of the Urartian Bureaucracy and a New Suggestion for Royal City Rulers\*

## Urartu Bürokrasisi'nin Yapısı ve Krâli Şehir Yöneticilerine Dair Yeni Bir Öneri

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### ABSTRACT

With the Urartu Kingdom, a new settled culture, which was not seen before, emerged in these geographies. The places where this new culture and state structure were most clearly characterised were the royal cities. These cities, which have been identified through archaeological excavations, reflect the mountainous geographical characteristics of a new state authority north of the Taurus Mountains. In addition to the visible reflections of the Urartian material culture, the evaluation of the records on the administrative and bureaucratic structure as a whole provides important clues about the administrative positions and officials in the cities. The fact that Urartian written records are generally uniform texts of royal propaganda has made it possible to make some determinations only in the details of a few bureaucratic sources. Some "standards" that can be identified in the details of such sources, have enabled new conclusions to be recognised. In this context, especially the governors (<sup>U</sup>EN.NAM), who are known to be the administrators of Urartian provinces, and the title <sup>U</sup>NAM, which we propose as the highest administrators of the royal cities, bring out the dissimilarity of provinces and royal cities not only for material culture but also according to administrative structure.

**Keywords:** Urartian, Bureaucracy, <sup>U</sup>NAM, Royal Cities, Provinces

### ÖZ

Urartu Krallığı ile birlikte söz konusu coğrafyalarda öncesinde görülmeyen yeni bir yerleşik kültür ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu yeni kültürün ve devlet yapısının en belirgin biçimde kendisini gösterdiği yerler ise krâli kentlerdir. Büyük çoğunluğu arkeolojik kazılarla tespit edilmiş olan bu kentler, Torosların kuzeyindeki dağlık coğrafyaya yansıyan yeni bir devlet otoritesinin kendine has niteliklerini yansıtır. Urartu materyal kültürünün kentlerdeki somut yansımalarının yanı sıra idari ve bürokratik yapıya ilişkin kayıtların bir bütün olarak değerlendirilmesi bu şehirlerde bulunan idari mevkiler, kişiler ve bürokrasi hakkında da önemli ipuçları sunar. Urartu yazılı kayıtlarının çoğunlukla tekdüze krâli propaganda metinleri olmasına rağmen az sayıdaki bürokratik kayıtların kimi detaylarında önemli tespitler yapabilmek mümkün olmuştur. Bu türden kaynakların ayrıntılarında belirlenen kimi "standartlar" Urartu Bürokrasisi'ne ilişkin yeni çıkarımlar yapabilmeyi sağlamıştır. Bu kapsamda özellikle Urartu eyaletlerinin yöneticileri olduğu bilinen valiler (<sup>U</sup>EN.NAM) ve krali şehirlerin en üst düzey yöneticileri olarak önerdiğimiz <sup>U</sup>NAM ünvanı, Urartu'da eyaletler ve krâli şehirlerin yapısal olduğu kadar idari açıdan da farklılıklara sahip konumuna ışık tutar.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Urartu, Bürokrasi, <sup>U</sup>NAM, Krali Şehirler, Eyaletler



The Urartian Kingdom, which was established in the middle of the 9th century BC centered in Tušpa (Van), with its settled cultural structure, ensured an “Urartian Transformation” in every aspect in the regions it was influential. The significant change experienced in these wide geographies with Urartu shows itself clearly in architecture and urbanization. This development process resulted in the emergence of more standard and identifiable cultural and political characteristics with Urartu. The core of this cultural and political structure is the royal cities. These cities, with their planned citadels, standard temples, palaces, royal warehouses and lower settlements spread over large areas, emerged with Urartu as a unique and unprecedented new settlement model. In this new city model, we understand that an entire city was built as a result of royal needs and planning.

These royal needs showed themselves most clearly in the 12 Urartian cities known so far, together with the capital Tušpa<sup>1</sup>. These cities are the centers that largely define the Urartian character and culture with their standard features outlined above<sup>2</sup>. It is also necessary to evaluate these cities, whose concrete definitions are possible in terms of archeology, in terms of administrative structure and bureaucratic functions. In this article, it has been tried to present new approaches about the administrative and bureaucratic position of the cities, based on the data provided by written sources, apart from the archaeological definitions of the Urartian royal cities. In order to do this, the written sources, which are the products of the bureaucracy, were evaluated together with the settlements where they were located, and some determinations were made about the functioning of the bureaucracy in details.

### Some Considerations on the Royal Cities and Bureaucracy

In terms of Urartu, the concept of central state gains meaning with the existence of an administrative structure where the the royal cities are in the core. This new process of statehood, which started with Urartu, can be considered as the reflection of the Mesopotamian state tradition, where the settled written culture has a deep rooted history of thousands of years, together with Urartu, to the north of the Southeastern Anatolian Taurus Mountains. This “written culture” is represented in the Urartian Kingdom by numerous royal inscriptions and various bureaucratic documents.

Among the resources on Urartian history, the royal inscriptions on the stones constitute the largest group of resources. However, these royal propaganda texts, in which just

1 These cities, where archaeological excavations were carried out; Tušpa, Anzap, Körzüt, Aznavurtepe, Armavir (*Argištihiñili*), Arinberd (*Erebuni*), Çavuştepe (*Sardurihiñili*), Toprakkale (*Rusañinili Qilbanikai*), Karmir-Blur (<sup>d</sup>IM-ni URU/*Teişebai* URU), Ayaniş (*Rusañinili Eudurukai*), Kef Kalesi (<sup>d</sup>*Haldiei* URU), Bastam (*Rusai* URU.TUR).

2 For the archaeological description of the Urartian city model and settlement typology; Kemalettin Köroğlu, “Urartu: Krallık ve Aşiretler”, *Urartu: Doğu'da Değişim*, ed. Kemalettin Köroğlu-Erkan Konyar, İstanbul 2020, p. 1-35 (Köroğlu 2020); Harun Danişmaz, *Urartu Krallığı Yönetim ve Organizasyon*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara 2020 (Danişmaz 2020).

subjects and regions can change, consist of a large number of stereotyped repetitions and are insufficient in terms of understanding the bureaucratic structure. At this point, although the limited amount of cuneiform clay tablets has critical importance. Such bureaucratic clay inscriptions stand out due to their functional features, unlike royal inscriptions. In order to understand these functional uses, we need to evaluate the relevant sources in detail. For this purpose, in this study, the definition of the bureaucratic resources in question through some of their qualifications allows us to obtain new results regarding bureaucracy and administrative structure.

For now, very few of the bureaucratic clay tablets that give information about the administrative and social structure in Urartu have been unearthed. However, their bureaucratic standards indicate that these few records may be the product of a much older state tradition and part of an extensive collection that has not yet been found<sup>3</sup>. The scarcity of such inscription examples causes the continuation of philological debates about the meaning of many words mentioned in the content<sup>4</sup>. However, it is possible to make some inferences about the administrative structure based on the existing records as a whole and some details.



**Fig. 1:** From Karmir Blur, Belonging to a Senior Office/Scribe<sup>5</sup> (Tablets of sent types)



**Fig. 2:** From Anzaf, Probably Written by a Trainee<sup>6</sup> Scribe<sup>7</sup> (Tablets of not sent types)

Urartian bureaucratic records have some differences at first glance in terms of their features. The presence or absence of seal impression on the tablets is one of these differences. As a matter of fact, the very few Urartian tablets we have can be divided into two different

3 Although we do not have evidence for now, it may have triggered the development of the bureaucracy of the royal cities, which increased in number and began to grow in size, especially with the Minua period. Increasing economic activities in these big cities, which were established at long distances that cannot be reached daily, must have led to an increase in the need for registration and control.

4 Especially for discussions about the Clay of Toprakkale; Mirjo Salvini, “Die urartaische Tontafel VAT 7770 aus Toprakkale”, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 34/1 (2007), p. 37-50; Y. Grekyan, “A Note on the Toprakkale Tablet”, *N.A.B.U.*, Vol. 1 (2016), p. 54-56.

5 CTU CT Kb-4 (CTU CB/CP/CT: M. Salvini, *Corpus Dei Testi Urartei*, Volume IV, Roma 2012).

6 Or inattentive written.

7 CTU CT An-1.

types as sealed and unsealed tablets. For example, a sealed high-level<sup>8</sup> tablets (Fig. 1) and an unsealed daily inventory records (Fig. 2) do not have the same type of function. Just as bullas or royal inscriptions in which used for daily practical needs have very different functions from each other. For this reason, such features must be taken into account when evaluating resources.

Especially the fact that a tablet is sealed assumes a critical meaning in terms of understanding the place, authority and people who sent the tablet and who received it. Unsealed tablets show that the document was not sent from one place to another and that there may be accounting or inventory records related to the city in which it is located.

Table 1. Sealed and Unsealed Tablets (CTU)	
Sealed Tablets	Unsealed Tablets
CB An-1; CT Ba-1; CT Ba-2; CT Ba-3; CT Kb-1; CT Kb-2; CT Kb-3; CT Kb-4; CT Kb-5; CT Kb-6; CT Kb-7; CT Kb-8.	Tuşpa Tablet; CT An-1; CT Ay-1; CT Ba-4; CT Çav-1; CT Çav-2; CT Kb-9; CT Kb-10; CT Kb-11; CT Tk-1; CT Tk-2; CT Tk-3; CT Tk-4; CT TK-5; CT Tk-6.

The tablets, which were found in the royal cities of Urartu and understood to have been sealed and sent, are probably written orders sent to other cities by the high-level bureaucracy working on behalf of the king in the center. For this reason, the cities where they are *in situ* should be the destination of the document and therefore the directive<sup>10</sup>. Unsealed and unsent documents, on the other hand, provide important information about the functioning and duties of the bureaucracy in the city where it is located.

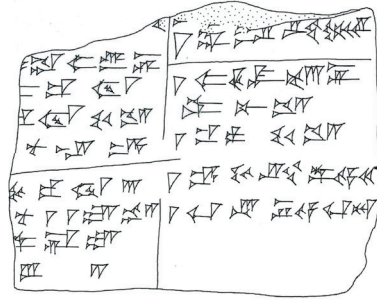


Fig. 3: Clay Tablet from Çavuştepe<sup>9</sup>

8 These are probably documents belong to high-level bureaucracy and in which has been high writing quality.

9 CTU CT Çav-1.

10 An unsealed possibly waste tablet found in the capital Tuşpa is a unique and interesting example in this respect. Kenan Işık, “Van Kalesi Höyüğü Kazılarında Keşfedilen Urartu Yazılı Belgeleri”, *Colloquium Anatolicum*, XIII (2014) (Işık 2014). It is noteworthy that this tablet, which was found in “waste condition”, was written horizontally. Except for the Tuşpa Tablet, all the Urartian tablets found so far were written vertically and “what a coincidence!” that Tuşpa tablet, which was stated to contain some typos in the content, was recovered in a waste condition. In addition, the fact that it is the first unsealed tablet found *in situ* in Tuşpa indicates that the bureaucratic center may be in the capital. For the detail of the discovery of the tablet; Bülent Genç-Erkan Konyar-Armağan Tan, “The Tuşpa Citadel and Mound Excavations, 2010-2019”, *The Archaeology of Anatolia, Volume IV: Recent Discoveries (2018–2020)*, ed. Sharon R. Steadman-Gregory McMahon, Cambridge 2021, p. 194-209; E. Konyar - C. Avcı - D. Yiğitpaşa - A. Tan - H. Tümer, “Eski Van Şehri, Kalesi ve Höyüğü 2014 Yılı Kazı Çalışmaları”, *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 37, No. 2 (2016), p. 573-590.

For example, a exercise tablet<sup>11</sup> shows that writing education<sup>12</sup> may be given in that center<sup>13</sup>. Unsealed documents may be written for inventory records or accounting purposes. Such documents can provide information about the bureaucratic officials in the city in question and the economic functioning. However, unlike the high-level texts that are sealed and sent, such documents do not have an acceptor (address). It could even be argued, based on cursory and primitive cuneiform marks, that some of them might have been written by a “novice scribe” in the relevant city (Fig. 2). In addition, sometimes it can be seen that the tablet surface is used with the content is ordered by drawing horizontal and vertical lines between the lines (Fig. 3).

Although such unsealed documents do not include a person or position to whom they are sent or addressed, they provide important data for understanding the social and bureaucratic structure of the relevant city. These may sometimes be records of a possible tax payment sent to the royal cities<sup>14</sup>, or sometimes a tablet declaring the amount of weapons distributed to the soldiers<sup>15</sup>. All available sources show that functional cuneiform records such as tablets and bulla were kept in Urartian royal cities, also there were people who could understand and respond to written orders sent from the center. Apart from the inscriptions related to architecture, the presence of a group of people who know the script must be mandatory in order to carry out bureaucratic works<sup>16</sup>.

Urartian royal cities are centers where taxes are collected and goods and service activities with economic value are carried out intensively. For this reason, royal cities are the main places that require the use of cuneiform script within the framework of economic and bureaucratic needs. The evidence we have confirming the use of cuneiform for bureaucratic purposes in the relevant city is as follows (Table 2);

11 CTU CT Ay-1.

12 For discussion of the subject, see also; Y. Grekyan, “The Problem of the Origin of the Urartian Scribal School”, *Over the Mountains and Far Away Studies in Near Eastern History and Archaeology Presented to Mirjo Salvini on the Occasion of his 80th Birthday*, ed. P. S. Avetisyan - R. Dan - Y. Grekyan, Oxford 2019, p. 244-262.

13 Although it has been confirmed that writing is taught only in Ayanis for now, it is possible that this education continued in a few cities and capital Tuşpa in which the core region. The cursory writings on the tablets found in Tuşpa (Işık 2014) and Anzaf (Fig. 2) indicate that novice scribes could be found in these cities, just like Ayanis (CTU CT Ay-1).

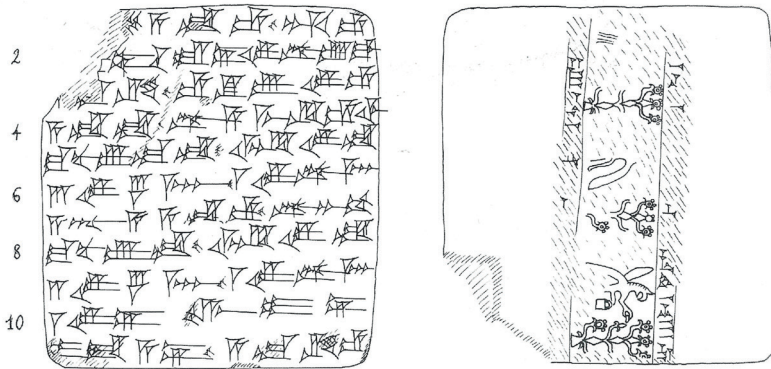
14 CTU CT Kb-10.

15 CTU CT An-1.

16 In particular, engraved “<sup>m</sup>ru. URU.TUR” on the rim of a pithoi found in Bastam is another example that may indicate that there were people who can use writing in daily life (CTU CP Ba-1/3).

<b>Table 2.</b> The Urartian Cities as the Origin of any Bureaucratic Cuneiform Document	
<i>Royal City</i>	<i>Type of Bureaucratic Source</i>
<b>Van Lake Basin</b>	
Tuşpa <sup>17</sup>	Unsealed Tablet, Bulla.
Toprakkale	Unsealed Tablets, Chart of Accounts, Bulla.
Anzaf	Inventory Record, Bulla.
Ayanis	Bulla, Inventory Record, Exercise (School) Tablet.
Çavuştepe	Unsealed Tablets.
<b>Aras Basin</b>	
Karmir-Blur	Unsealed Tablets, Bulla.
Bastam	Unsealed Tablets, Bulla, The Pithos Inscription Written After Baking.

Considering that writing was used as a royal necessity in this period, we can say that Urartian scribes were trained especially in royal cities to carry out bureaucratic work and to have royal inscriptions written, and they were directly related to the state and the kingdom. The most common form of correspondence we encounter in bureaucratic documents is the type of cuneiform tablets sealed with a cylindrical seal. In these documents, we can see that the seals were used vertically or horizontally for the purpose of ending the text and for approval (Fig.4);



**Fig. 4:** An Urartian Tablet from Bastam in which Back Side Sealed Vertically<sup>18</sup>

17 The fact that few bureaucratic documents have been found in the capital so far does not change the possibility that this place could be the administrative center. Probably the source of most bureaucratic documents found in other centers must have been from the capital. Especially the bullas, tablets and inscribed pithoi fragments (Işık 2014), found in the excavation of which we are team members since 2010, in the Van Castle Mound, which is located in the north of Tuşpa Citadel, indicate that bureaucratic works may be carried out in the lower settlements, especially in the capital city. This may explain why there are more bureaucratic records found in the citadels of other Urartian royal settlements, which have a different characteristic from the capital. If the capital city of Tuşpa can be adequately investigated, much more data can be gathered on this subject.

18 CTU CT Ba-2.

This limitation is a bureaucratic practice that can be seen even today in order to prevent subsequent additions to the documents. Except for such Urartian tablets, all of which were found in the royal cities and most of which were sealed by “<sup>LÜ</sup>aşuli”<sup>19</sup>, we can see that the name of the king is directly included in some of the seal impressions unearthed in Ayanis (*Rusaḫinili Eudurukai*). These seal impressions, unlike <sup>LÜ</sup>aşuli, do not have a cylinder seal impression, but have a rectangular stamp seal impression<sup>20</sup>. But <sup>LÜ</sup>aşuli is the official whose seal is on the majority of the tablets, that is, the correspondence. This situation makes us think that these people at the top of the bureaucracy may be running the business as a “chief vizier”<sup>21</sup>. However, the fact that the seal impressions belonging to the kings were found on some bulla and broken clay pieces shows that the king may have sealed some correspondence as an approval authority when necessary<sup>22</sup>. These seal impressions don’t just have to be on tablets. If we consider that the seal impressions belonging to the kings<sup>23</sup> may have sealed the envelopes after the tablets were prepared<sup>24</sup>, thus we may explain why such royal seal impressions have been found in small numbers<sup>25</sup>. However, we see that <sup>LÜ</sup>aşuli, who came after the king, was able to seal some of the commands written with the words of the king<sup>26</sup>.

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- 19 Although the first line can be read on seal impression CTU CT Ba-3 and CTU CT Kb-5, the second line, possibly with <sup>LÜ</sup>aşuli, cannot be read completely, but there is no exception for now. All of the cylindrical seals on the tablets belong to this senior official. For more details on the subject; Ursula Hellwag, “Lu.A.ZUM-li versus Lu.A.NIN-li: some thoughts on the owner of the so-called *Prinzensiegel* at Rusa II’s court”, ed. A. Çilingiroğlu-G. Darbyshire, *Anatolian Iron Ages 5: Proceedings of the Fifth Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquium Held at Van 6-10 August 2001* Ankara 2005, p. 91-98 (Hellwag 2005).
- 20 Although there are no examples found yet, it may be a royal seal on the ring.
- 21 The title of this senior official was read logographically as <sup>LÜ</sup>A.NIN or <sup>LÜ</sup>A.ZUM in the first transliteration. Ursula Seidl, “Die Siegelbilder”, *Bastam I: Ausgrabungen in den urartäischen Anlagen, 1972-1975*, ed. Wolfram Kleiss, Berlin 1979, p. 135-149 (Seidl 1979); Ursula Seidl, “Die Siegelbilder”, *Bastam II: Ausgrabungen in den urartäischen Anlagen 1977-1978*, ed. Wolfram Kleiss, Berlin 1988, p. 145-154; Igor M. Diakonoff, *Urartskij Pisma i Dokumenty (Urartian Letters and Documents) (UPD)*, Izdatel’stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, Moskva 1963; P. E. Zimansky, *Ecology and Empire: The Structure of the Urartian State*, The Oriental Institute Press, Chicago 1985, p. 84-85; Ursula Hellwag, “<Sohn der Königin> lú A.NIN-li oder <Wasserwirtschaftsminister> lú A.ZUM-li? Überlegungen zu einem <fragwürdigen> Amt am urartäischen Königshof”, *Akkadica*, 117 (2000), p. 21-43 (Hellwag 2000); Hellwag 2005, p. 91-98. However, in recent years it has become more widely accepted that it should be read in the phonetic <sup>LÜ</sup>aşuli form and not as a logogram; CTU IV, 212-220; CTU V (M. Salvini, *Corpus Dei Testi Uratei*, Volume V, Paris 2018), p. 378. For a detailed discussion of the subject; Hellwag 2000.
- 22 Altan Çilingiroğlu - M. Salvini, *Ayanis I: Ten Years’ Excavations at Rusaḫinili Eudurukai 1989-1998*, Istituto per gli Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici, Roma 2001: 327-329; Kenan Işık - M. Işık, “Inscribed Bullae and Bone Layer Discovered at the Ayanis Fortress/Van in 2014”, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 42 (2015), p. 142-152; CTU IV Sig. 12-3.
- 23 or an official on behalf of the king.
- 24 CTU IV Sig. 12-3/4; 19-1.
- 25 Apart from Ayanis, it is known that there were similar scenes in Bastam and Toprakkale, and that there were probably different seal impressions belonging to the king; Seidl 1979, p. 138. Probably Urartian kings must have used the citadels in different cities at different times (K. Işık - O. Aras - A.A. Aras, “Inscribed Bullae Found During Excavations on the Northern Slope of Ayanis Fortress in 2015 and a New Urartian Building Name, <sup>†</sup>TAMALP”, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 73 (2021), p. 179-191).
- 26 “LUGAL-še: a-li: *The king says/King’s command*”. CTU CT Ba-1; CTU CT Kb-3; CTU CB An-1; CTU CB Ay-52.

Therefore, we can say that the king is at the top of the state in Urartu, but <sup>LÚ</sup>ašuli is at the head of the bureaucracy and this official carries out the bureaucratic affairs. In addition to this official, it is possible to understand from the records below that there are lower-level civil servants who ensure the execution of bureaucratic and administrative affairs in the royal centers;

Table 3. Sealed Urartian Tablets <sup>27</sup> (Sent <sup>28</sup> or to be sent to <sup>29</sup> )				
Recipient or Addressee Officials <sup>30</sup>	Recipient City <sup>31</sup> (Discovered location)	Seal Impression (Posted by Authority)	During <sup>32</sup> (If Known)	Inscription (CTU)
<sup>LÚ</sup> KAD <sup>LÚ</sup> aru	Anzaf	<sup>LÚ</sup> a-šu-li	-	CB An-1 <sup>33</sup>
<sup>LÚ</sup> NA <sub>4</sub> .DIB <sup>LÚ</sup> É.GAL	Bastam	Rusa (son of Sarduri) <sup>LÚ</sup> a-šu-li	-	CT Ba-1
<sup>LÚ</sup> É.GAL	Bastam	Rusa (son of Sarduri) <sup>LÚ</sup> a-šu-li <sup>1</sup>	-	CT Ba-2
<sup>LÚ</sup> NAM <sup>LÚ</sup> NA <sub>4</sub> .DIB	Bastam	Sarduri (son of Sarduri) [ <sup>LÚ</sup> a-šu-li]?	-	CT Ba-3
<sup>LÚ</sup> É.TIN	Karmir-Blur	Rusa (son of Sarduri)? <sup>34</sup> [ <sup>LÚ</sup> a-šu-li]?	Sarduri (Rusa oğlu)	CT Kb-1

- 27 Some broken fragments were evaluated as belonging to this genre based on the readable content or their condition.
- 28 The sealed ones are implied.
- 29 In particular, the Tušpa tablet is implied. For details of the tablet, see Işık 2014.
- 30 The authorities addressed by the document are given in the order in the document. It is possible to say that this order in Urartian documents has hierarchical meaning especially in the first rows.
- 31 The city where such documents are usually located should be the place where the tablet was delivered. Probably, a copy of the inscriptions sent should also be kept in the capital or in the cities sent. Otherwise it would not be possible to verify. However, no duplicate records have been found so far.
- 32 If its name is mentioned at the entrance of the tablet, we can say that the tablet belongs to that king's period. Although the text on the tablets sometimes begins as "LUGAL-še: a-li-e: The king says/King's command", we can say that the name of the king is not mentioned and the person whose name is mentioned as <sup>LÚ</sup>ašuli is not the king. For details on this subject; Zimansky 1985, p. 84-85; Hellwag 2000; A. Çifçi, *The Socio-Economic Organisation of the Urartian Kingdom*, Brill, Leiden-Boston 2017, p. 289-291 (Çifçi 2017). It is even less common for the king's name to be mentioned at the entrance. Some researchers suggest that <sup>LÚ</sup>ašuli, whose name is mentioned in the stamp at the end of the text, was not a king and that this official could be a legitimate prince or a member of the king's family. For discussions on issue; Zimansky 1985, p. 84-85; Hellwag 2000; Çifçi 2017, p. 289-291.
- 33 This inscription, which is stated to be in the form of a bulla, is like a small tablet in terms of content and size and directly conveys an order to the king: O. Belli - M. Salvini, "Two Clay Documents from Upper Anzaf Fortress near Van", *Studi Micenei ed Egeo- Anatolici*, XLV/2 (2003).
- 34 Unlike Sarduri, son of Rusa, whose name is mentioned as the king at the beginning of the tablet, it is noteworthy that the name of Rusa, son of Sarduri, is on the seal part. Here the assumption comes to the fore that the legitimate prince might be serving as <sup>LÚ</sup>ašuli.



LÚNA <sub>4</sub> .DIB	Karmir-Blur	Rusa (son of Rusa) LÚa-ʃu-li <sup>1</sup> -i	-	CT Kb-2
LÚKÙ LÚMUḪALDIM	Karmir-Blur	Erimena (son of Argiṣti) LÚa-ʃu-li <sup>2</sup> ?	-	CT Kb-3
LÚNA <sub>4</sub> .DIB LÚNA.KAD	Karmir-Blur	Rusa (son of Rusa) LÚa-ʃu-li	-	CT Kb-4
-	Karmir-Blur	Sarduri (son of Sarduri) [LÚa-ʃu-li]?	-	CT Kb-5
LÚNA <sub>4</sub> .DIB	Karmir-Blur	-	-	CT Kb-6 <sup>35</sup>
LÚNAM	Karmir-Blur	LÚa-ʃu-li	-	CT Kb-7 <sup>36</sup>
-	Karmir-Blur	-	-	CT Kb-8 <sup>37</sup>
[LÚ]NAM	Tuṣpa Tablet <sup>38</sup>	-	-	

However, an important point we would like to draw attention to here is that the people or authorities addressed in the cities may change from time to time, regarding the event and the content in such Urartian bureaucratic texts. In addition to the content, the fact that the managers to be addressed were not in the city at that time, caused the issue to become more complicated. It is understood that this situation causes confusion in some researchers. Based on documents such as CT Ba-1, CT Kb-1, CT Kb-2, CT Kb-4 above, some researchers think that the highest level manager of royal cities may be a “LÚNA<sub>4</sub>.DIB: seal holder”. However, in our opinion, this is not entirely true and we will have a new proposal on this subject, which we will discuss in detail below.

### Difference Between Provincial Governors and Royal City Rulers

If we pay attention to the table above (Table 3), it is seen that all of the find places are “Royal Cities” and the authority that sent the document is from LÚaṣuli in the majority. The sending authority is most likely located in the capital city or in one of the royal cities in the Urartian core region. While the data about the city, which is the source of the documents, are so clear, the fact that the addressees in the royal cities they reach differ from time to time must be related to the content of the tablet and the authorized persons in the city at that time. In the directives sent from the center in these correspondences, the authority in the city must be changing, since the authorized interlocutor who is not in the city can not be taken according

35 This tablet, which does not have a stamp on it and a small piece of it was found, is considered in this category due to its similarity with CTU CT Kb-4.

36 It is one of the best preserved Urartian tablets and is sealed by the LÚaṣuli seal.

37 This inscription, a small part of which has survived, has been evaluated in this category because of its similarity in content.

38 This tablet, which is mostly destroyed, must be related to a royal order due to its readable lines. Although there is no seal on it, this tablet, which was found *in situ* by us in 2014, should be a unique example that has not yet been sent and no other example has been encountered. Işık suggested that there may be some mistakes in the tablet; Işık 2014, p. 177.

to periodic special circumstances. As a result of the evaluation of the above-mentioned bureaucratic documents on this subject, it was understood that there was a hierarchical order among the senior officials who were addressed in the Urartian correspondence (Table 4);

**Table 4:** Hierarchical Order among Senior Officials in Bureaucratic Texts in Urartu

Inscription Number (CTU IV)	Priority Status <sup>39</sup>				
	1	2	3	4	5...
CT Ba-3	LÚNAM	LÚNA <sub>4</sub> .DIB			
CT Kb-7	LÚNAM				
CT Ba-1		LÚNA <sub>4</sub> .DIB	LÚÉ.GAL		
CT Kb-4		LÚNA <sub>4</sub> .DIB	LÚNA.KAD		
CT Kb-2		LÚNA <sub>4</sub> .DIB			
CT Ba-2			LÚÉ.GAL		
CB An-1			LÚKAD	LÚa-ru	
CT Kb-3				LÚKÚ	LÚMUḪALDIM
CT Kb-1		LÚNA <sub>4</sub> .DIB		LÚÉ.TIN	

As can be seen from Table 4, LÚNAM (Royal City Manager) and LÚNA<sub>4</sub>.DIB (Bearer of the Seal) should be the highest officials in the administration of royal cities, respectively. Starting from the third order, different people and positions can be mentioned, possibly related to the nature of the subject. It is noteworthy that the hierarchical order takes place unchanged in the first two rows. It is important whether LÚNAM, who we think came first among these administrators, was in the city at that time. For this reason, it shows that the most authoritative addressee, who is addressed in the first place in the documents, can change<sup>40</sup>. So far, it can be seen that LÚNA<sub>4</sub>.DIB before the first LÚNAM or other authorities before LÚNA<sub>4</sub>.DIB was not addressed in any record. Although LÚNAM and LÚNA<sub>4</sub>.DIB are included together in record CT Ba-3 found in Bastam (*Rusai* URU.TUR)<sup>41</sup>, the fact that LÚNAM is in the first place must indicate that it has a more important position in terms of hierarchy. According to this theory, the rulers whose names are mentioned as “Šei[.]” and “Urma” on the tablets CT Ba-3 and CT Kb-7 found in Bastam and Karmir Blur (<sup>d</sup>IM URU/*Teišebaini*) must have been the highest level officials of these cities at that time. These cities and citadels, which are seen as the property of the king in Urartu, are huge state investments that cannot be built for any

39 There appears to be a standard situation for the first two ranks in the hierarchy, which are specifically addressed. The people and positions in the lower ranks are likely to vary depending on the issue.

40 This theory, which is put forward from existing sources, may change with new tablets if discovered. However, it is valid until the contrary is found.

41 URU.TUR: It is mistranslated in the literature as “*Small City of Rusa*”. However, the ideogram TUR is also used to mean “young/new” as addition to “small” (Assyrian: *ṣaḫāru* see. CDA 335). Therefore, it should be transcription as “*New City of Rusa*”. Such an expression must have been used to distinguish it from other cities of Rusa. Sometimes these differences are described as “*the city across the mountain of...*” (e.g.: Ayanis: *Rusaḫinili Eudurikai*, Toprakkale: *Rusaḫinili Qilbanikai*). Therefore Bastam was probably built at least second one among of them, For this reason it was named “*New City of Rusa*”.

governor. At this point, provincial governors (<sup>LÚ</sup>EN.NAM), who are often confused with each other, and “<sup>LÚ</sup>NAM”, which we propose as a new title, should be evaluated differently.<sup>42</sup> In Urartu, provincial governors are those who are in charge of a province with the title <sup>LÚ</sup>EN.NAM, and this position is mentioned together with the ideogram “EN” (lord, owner) denoting a belonging and ownership to the person in question. It can be clearly seen in the examples below that this usage is a conscious choice;



Fig. 5: CTU A 5-8 Ro, Line: 19

However, this title, which is generally mentioned in royal inscriptions<sup>43</sup>, is not very common in tablets. This shows that the provinces should be evaluated in a different position from the cities directly affiliated to the kingdom in terms of bureaucratic structure. In Urartu, the royal cities are places that will not be left to any person’s “belonging” (EN)<sup>44</sup>, but are directly owned by the kingdom and the king. The administration of these places must be carried out by officials appointed from the center or by some princes belonging to the dynasty.

While the provinces probably have some obligations such as collecting taxes, participating in expeditions and ensuring border security in their region, the royal cities have a different position where these taxes are collected and directly form the core of the kingdom. There is no evidence of mutual correspondence with the royal centers or the capital in important Urartian provincial centers such as Altintepe<sup>45</sup> and Kayalıdere<sup>46</sup>, where archaeological excavations have been carried out extensively. However, there are known records of large numbers of deliveries and payments from provinces to royal centers<sup>47</sup>. This one-way bureaucratic relationship means that records are kept in the royal cities and there is no established bureaucracy in the provinces.

42 See also for the difference between <sup>LÚ</sup>NAM and <sup>LÚ</sup>EN.NAM: Mirjo Salvini, “Die urartaische Tontafeln”, *Bastam I: Ausgrabungen in Den Urartäischen Anlagen 1972-1975*, ed. W. Kleiss, Berlin 1979, p. 122; Zimansky 1985, p. 81. Zimansky and Salvini also point to the possibility that these two titles may have been different, but they hesitate to give a clear definition of the rulers of royal cities. See also for the meaning of the word: R. Borger, *Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon*, Münster 2004, p. 277-278 (Borger 2004).

43 CTU A 5-8; CTU A 8-2; CTU A 9-3; 9-18; CTU A 10-1; 10-2. (CTU A (CTU I) - M. Salvini, *Corpus Dei Testi Uratei*, Volume I, Roma 2008.

44 Wolfgang Schramm, *Akkadische Logogramme*, Universitätsverlag Göttingen, Göttingen 2010, p. 44. The mean of the EN ideogram “owner, responsible, lord”. For example; <sup>LÚ</sup>EN.GIŠ.GIGIR: *chariot owner* (SAA VII, 5); <sup>LÚ</sup>EN.URU-MEŠ: *lords of the city* (SAA VII, 58).

45 T. Özgüç, *Altintepe I, Mimarlık Anıtları ve Duvar Resimleri-Architectural Monuments and Wall Paintings*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara 1966; T. Özgüç, *Altintepe II, Mezarlar, Depo Binası ve Fildişi Eserler-Tombs, Storehouse and Ivories*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara 1969.

46 Charles A. Burney, “A First Season of Excavations on the Urartian Citadel of Kayalıdere”, *Anatolian Studies*, 16 (1966), p. 55-111.

47 CTU CB Ay-10.

## A New Suggestion: <sup>L</sup>ÚNAM as ruler for Royal Cities

We know from the royal inscriptions that the Urartians had a tradition of organizing annual military campaigns. These administrators (<sup>L</sup>ÚNAM), who were probably responsible for the administration of the royal cities in times of peace, should have formed the direct central units of the Urartian army with the units under their command in times of war, when needed<sup>48</sup>. In this way, the military units responsible for the security of each city, and therefore the masses living in that city, should have been controlled by the rulers directly subordinate to the king.

However, we can think that <sup>L</sup>ÚNA<sub>4</sub>.DIB (Bearer of the Seal) could be addressed in correspondence during periods when <sup>L</sup>ÚNAM, which we claim to be the highest level managers in royal cities, were not in the city for military campaigns or other reasons<sup>49</sup>. Just like provincial governors, these high-level officials (<sup>L</sup>ÚNAM), whom we can think of as having military identities, should be leaving the administration of the city to <sup>L</sup>ÚNA<sub>4</sub>.DIB when they are not in the cities. This should show that the bureaucratic operation is carried out by <sup>L</sup>ÚNA<sub>4</sub>.DIBs without interruption in the royal cities, just like <sup>L</sup>Úaşli in the center. Thus, during the months-long campaigns of the Urartian troops, economic activities and bureaucracy were operating uninterruptedly in the royal cities.

We do not think that the title <sup>L</sup>ÚNAM mentioned on the two different tablets found in Bastam and Karmir-Blur, which we mentioned above, is an abbreviation. Although it is known that abbreviations can be made in the determinatives or names in some seal impressions, it is not seen that the EN.NAM ideogram is abbreviated. It is understood that this ruler named “Šei[.]”, whose name can be read on the third line of the Bastam tablet, was addressed directly<sup>50</sup>. As can be seen below, it can be seen that there is no break in the part of the tablet with the title after the name, and the <sup>L</sup>ÚNAM determinative and ideogram are fully readable. Therefore, this title that precedes the seal bearer (<sup>L</sup>ÚNA<sub>4</sub>.DIB) must reflect the position of <sup>L</sup>ÚNAM, the city’s highest official;

48 For details of the Urartian army: Armağan Tan, *Urartu Dönemi’nde Bürokrasi ve Toplumsal Yapı*, Istanbul University Institute of Social Sciences, Department of History, branch of Ancient History, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Istanbul 2022, p. 140-192 (Tan 2022). The provincial military units under the command of <sup>L</sup>ÚEN.NAM (Governor) were probably active as Urartian provincial forces and were probably dominantly cavalry. These forces, located more closely to the borders, are sometimes able to engage in prevention and forward military operations suddenly and independent of the central army (SAA V, 88).

49 CTU CT Ba-1; CTU CT Kb-4; CTU CT Kb-2; CTU CT Kb-1.

50 CTU CT Ba-3.

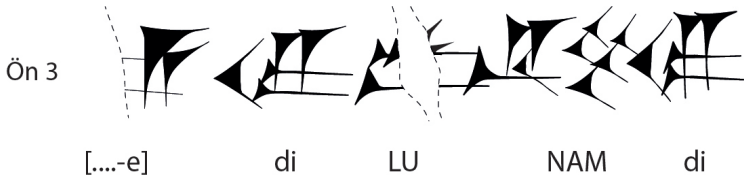


Fig. 6: CTU CT Ba-3, Line: 3

There is a similar phrase in line 2 of another tablet numbered CT Kb-7 found in Karmir-Blur;



Fig. 7: CTU CT Kb-7, Line: 2

It is understood that the official addressed in both tablets, which was sent from the center to the highest official of the royal cities, was people with the title of <sup>LÜ</sup>NAM named “*Urma and Šei[. . .]*”. It is seen that both of these titles, which are in good condition, have a singular directive and dative suffix “-di” at the end of title<sup>51</sup>. Unlike the examples we gave above, the record found in Ayanis, which seems to refer to a provincial governor, is worth mentioning<sup>52</sup>;



Fig. 8: CTU CB Ay-10

Despite some abbreviations encountered in bulla<sup>53</sup> with limited writing surface, it is seen that the ideogram “EN” is clearly written on the bulla<sup>54</sup>. This is another finding that supports

51 G. Wilhelm, “Urartian”, In *The Ancient Languages of Asia Minor*, ed. Roger D. Woodard, Cambridge University, Cambridge 2008, p. 113; CTU V, p. 489.

52 M. Salvini, “Inscriptions on Clay”, *Ayanis I: Ten Years' Excavations at Rusahinili Eiduru-kai 1989-1998*, ed. A. Çilingiroğlu-M. Salvini, Roma 2001, p. 284.

53 There are many bulla seal impressions with abbreviations (CTU CB Ay-1; Ay-2; Ay-3; Ay-14; Ay-16 etc.).

54 The person named *Úraqi* mentioned in the bulla may have been a governor of the ‘*Aza* region in the Aras Basin; I.M. Diakonoff - S.M. Kashkai, *Geographical Names According to Urartian Texts*, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden 1981, p. 99; K. Işık, *Urartu Yazılı Kaynaklarında Geçen Yer Adları ve Lokalizasyonları*, Yüzüncüyıl University, Institute of Social Sciences, Department of Archaeology, Branch of Protohistory and Archeology of Near East, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Van 2015, p. 86-87.

the use of Karmir Blur and Bastam tablets is not an abbreviation or coincidence. As it can be understood from the examples above, there is no abbreviation in the tablets, on the contrary, there is a conscious use. This confirms that the two titles, the provincial governors and the royal city rulers, should be evaluated differently from each other.

Also the syllable NAM could be read at the end of the second line of a partially damaged tablet that was unearthed in the archaeological excavations we carried out in the Van Castle Mound, the lower settlement of Tuşpa in 2014. It has been suggested that this title should be completed as [L<sup>U</sup>EN].NAM due to the unreadable syllables preceding it<sup>55</sup>;



Fig. 9: Tablet from Tuşpa, Line: 2

However, in our view, the title on this tablet found in the capital should be completed as L<sup>U</sup>NAM, as it will be sent directly to any of the royal city, as in the examples mentioned above.. As we explained above, there is no any tablet example with which L<sup>U</sup>EN.NAM are addressed directly. However, L<sup>U</sup>NAMs, who are the rulers of the royal cities, can be the direct subjects of the bureaucracy<sup>56</sup>.

## Conclusions

The limited resources regarding the Urartian bureaucracy cause our information on many issues to be limited. However, it is possible to make some determinations with the help of the limited data available. The fact that even a single example of bureaucratic records that emerged as a result of certain functions has been found should be the result of an older bureaucratic development rather than an exceptional practice. When the available resources are evaluated as a whole from this point of view, it has been possible to better understand the bureaucratic functioning and the state mechanism in Urartu. For this purpose, existing resources can be classified according to some of their qualities.

An issue that should be noted is that almost all of the bureaucratic texts uncovered so far have been found in the royal cities. This indicates an important situation for understanding the administrative and bureaucratic scope of the kingdom in Urartu. All kinds of wealth

55 Işık 2014, p. 176-177.

56 Thus, after Bastam and Karmir Blur, which are associated with L<sup>U</sup>NAM, the royal city ruler, it can be assumed that the third tablet was also found in the capital in an unsent form.

are kept in these royal cities, which are seen as the property of the king and therefore the state. For this reason, we can assume that the need for enrollment of the bureaucracy is mostly maintained in the royal cities and that there is a bureaucratic operation on the basis of controlling the property of the state. We can say that there are officials who know the script and manage the administrative affairs, especially in the royal cities such as Anzaf, Toprakkale (*Rusaḫinili Qilbanikai*), Ayanis (*Rusaḫinili Eudurukai*), Çavuştepe (*Sarduriḫinili*), which are located around the capital, and in all the royal cities further away from the capital, such as Karmir-Blur (<sup>d</sup>IM-ni URU/Teišebaini), Armavir (*Argištiḫinili*) ve Arinberd (*Erebuni*) (Table 3). In the country of Urartu, where the royal cities are understood to be in the core, the provincial centers and other settlements outside these cities have a different position. It is understood that especially the provincial centers may not be involved in a royal bureaucratic operation. These provinces, administered by L<sup>U</sup>EN.NAM (governor), should be economically self-sufficient. Long-term harsh climatic conditions lasting for months make this necessary for the survival of the provincial centers at great distances from each other. Therefore, these partially “autonomous” provincial centers are understood to have a local economic administration in their region<sup>57</sup>. Provincial centers such as Kayalıdere, Erzincan-Altıntepe, Elazığ-Palu, where the inscription of construction and bureaucratic correspondence cannot be found, can be given as examples of such settlements. Although there are many royal elements such as temples and multi-roomed rock tombs, there are no kingdom symbols such as building inscription. These provincial centers, which are planned as local-scale replicas of the royal cities, cannot be compared with the royal cities in terms of size and quality.

The majority of the inscriptions on the bureaucratic system in Urartu aim to protect the assets that are seen as the property of the state and therefore the king. These records, which may be for keeping inventory<sup>58</sup> and the distribution or consumption of various consumables<sup>59</sup>, are also associated with a type of accounting concern. This bureaucratic structure, which requires settled cities and a certain bureaucratic tradition, should probably have been applied until the regression began on the battlefields and until the royal cities lost their function. These royal cities, especially built near the fertile plains with great agricultural potential, clearly reflect that the state has the largest share in terms of production relations with their large storage capacities. The provincial centers, which are different from the royal cities, are far from being at this level and have only a limited capacity to be sufficient their own needs<sup>60</sup>.

The available sources, which are reflections of this bureaucratic structure and enable us to understand its nature, have significant differences in details. Tablets, which differ in quality

57 Royal cities far from the capital should not be recognized as provincial centers. This refers to provincial centers governed by a governor: L<sup>U</sup>EN.NAM.

58 Weapons, animals and even humans.

59 Breads, cereals, etc.

60 However, the safe location or suitable natural conditions of some provincial centers, such as Erzincan-Altıntepe, indicate that some provinces may have advantages or disadvantages.

and function, can be evaluated under two main headings; In the “*High Level*” documents, the texts sent from the capital or another royal center in the central region were sealed by <sup>LÚ</sup>aşuli (Prime Vizier) with a cylinder seal. In such texts, there are no dividing lines between the lines in terms of form. The typeface is of higher quality and must have been written by an expert scribe from a senior office. In terms of content, it often includes disagreements with high-level people and some important administrative orders<sup>61</sup>. However, there are no seals in the “*Lower Level*” texts. Since these records had not be sent anywhere, they did not need to be sealed. From a formal point of view, it is seen that the typeface can sometimes be sloppy and there may be horizontal and vertical separator lines between the lines. These differences indicate that such records may have been written by more inexperienced scribes or sloppy ones. Since there are records that serve a practical purpose related to the city they are in, it shows that there are people who can use writing in the relevant city (Table 2). The subjects they include generally reflect accounting and inventory concerns, and sometimes it can also be a school tablet, possibly showing the training of scribes<sup>62</sup>. However, it should not be ignored that there may be some complicated uses besides this standard uses. For example, while the seal on tablets may have a different meaning, the function and meaning of seal impressions on bulla are different. Also, bullas or other records sometimes can be related to the products received<sup>63</sup> by state, or provided products<sup>64</sup>.

Another important issue is that we try to answer with the help of these determinations regarding the classification of the main sources is which position and people are in the administration of the royal cities. Although we do not know for certain whether these people were chosen from the members of the dynasty or from the officers<sup>65</sup> in charge, we can suggest based on the above data that their titles should be <sup>LÚ</sup>NAM. However, this position should not be confused with governors (<sup>LÚ</sup>EN.NAM), who are provincial administrators. In our opinion, <sup>LÚ</sup>NAM should be accepted as a new bureaucratic position in Urartu who are ruler of royal cities. No any bureaucratic or royal document ever found mentions a <sup>LÚ</sup>EN.NAM (governor) responsible for the administration of royal cities. Governors (<sup>LÚ</sup>EN.NAM) should only serve in the provinces and should not be involved in the administration of the royal cities<sup>66</sup>. Urartian royal cities are very costly and large state investments in terms of their structure<sup>67</sup>. It is not possible for such a large investment to had been built for governors.

61 It is likely that lower-level disputes in the cities could have been resolved by the authorities who were settled there.

62 CTU CT Ay-1.

63 CTU CB Ay-10; CTU CT Kb-10.

64 CTU CB An-1; CTU CT An-1.

65 There is no clue that these rulers, known as <sup>LÚ</sup>NAM, were nobles or princes: *Urma, Şei[. ]* (CTU CT Kb-7; CTU CT Ba-3).

66 For the lexical meaning of the NAM ideogram; Borger 2004: no 134. However, it should not be neglected that concepts and such administrative positions may have their own meanings and specific character in each society to which they belong.

67 For details; Köroğlu 2020. For a comparison of their sizes; Danişmaz 2020, p. 134.



The more magnificent palaces, temples and infrastructure elements found in the newly established cities must have been afforded for the use of only the kings and their families. These cities, which also contain a part of the central army<sup>68</sup>, form the basic dynamic of the Urartian Kingdom. For these reasons, these cities and citadels, which belonged directly to the kings, should probably have been ruled by officials appointed from the center or by princes holding this title. However, among the <sup>LÚ</sup>NAM names (Urma, Šei[...] ) mentioned above and whose names are known, there is no clue that they are princes<sup>69</sup>.

If we look at the Assyrian examples, it is known that eunuchs were generally preferred for the management of the royal cities<sup>70</sup>. In some of the Urartian cities, it is possible that the princes belonging to the dynasty may be administrators at various levels, while in some of them there may be administrators from eunuchs (<sup>LÚ</sup>ŠÁ.RĒŠI) or other civil servants. The limited resources available make it difficult for us to draw clear conclusions about lower-level managers. However, for now, there is no evidence showing that members of the dynasty served at lower levels, except for the <sup>LÚ</sup>ašuli, who is thought to be located in the capital city or a city in the central region.

There is no similar situation in the provinces. These provinces, which were regional Urartian centers, must have been local Urartian dynasties, possibly inherited from father to son, just as in the center of the kingdom. These governors should be buried in their own multi-chambered rock tombs at their provincial headquarters<sup>71</sup>. According to Assyrian sources, these governors, who had ancestry with the Urartian kings, are understood to be the local reflections of the royal lineage in terms of culture. Although these provincial centers, which were “owned” by the governors (<sup>LÚ</sup>EN.NAM), had a different administrative and economic position from the royal cities, they could have Urartian temples<sup>72</sup> built for the gods with standard plans, just like in the royal cities, and could rise to the highest ranks (*turtanu*) in the army because they were of royal descent<sup>73</sup>. While cuneiform writing is widely used on many clay tablets, bullas and pottery found in the royal cities, it is seen that hieroglyphic writing is predominantly preferred especially in the Urartian provincial centers such as Altintepe and

68 SAA V, 86; CTU A 9-3; Tan 2022, p. 145.

69 CTU CT Kb-7; CTU CT Ba-3.

70 A. Kirk Grayson, “Eunuchs in Power. Their Role in the Assyrian Bureaucracy”, *Vom Alten Orient Zum Alten Testament-Festschrift Für Wolfram Freiherrn Von Soden Zum 85. Geburtstag Am 19. Juni 1993*, ed. Manfred Dietrich-Oswald Loretz, Kevelaer, Verlag Butzon & Bercker, 1995, p. 85-98; K. Radner, “Assur Kenti ve Assur Krallığı Tarihine Genel Bakış”, ed. K. Köroğlu - S. F. Adalı, *Assurhular: Dicle'den Toroslar'a Tanrı Assur'un Krallığı*, İstanbul 2020, p. 1-23.

71 Köroğlu 2020, p. 1-35.

72 Without building inscriptions.

73 SAA V, 93.

Kayalıdere, which are known in detail with archaeological excavations<sup>74</sup>. There is little to no cuneiform in provincial centers. But there are clues that hieroglyphic writing may have been learned and used in royal centers such as Ayanis and Toprakkale. This clearly shows that cuneiform writing, and thus bureaucracy, was a characteristic of the “multi-centered” royal cities constructed in Urartu.

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74 Also see for the Urartian hieroglyphic script; Paul Zimansky, “Writing, Writers, and Reading in the Kingdom of Van”, *Margin of Writing, Origins of Cultures*, ed. Seth L. Sander, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago 2006.

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