

# RETHINKING ON THE ANZAF TABLET

## ANZAF TABLETİ ÜZERİNE YENİDEN DÜŞÜNMEK

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### ABSTRACT

At the citadel of Van-Yukarı Anzaf, one of the important royal settlements built during the reign of the Urartian king Minua, during the 2001 archaeological excavations, an unsealed inventory tablet, which has no similar example in Urartian sources so far, was found. In the first publications of this unique tablet, which probably records the amount of weapons distributed, the back side was thought to be the front side. However, according to our new evaluations, it is understood that the beginning of the tablet is the other side. This new update not only led to a change in the content, but also helped to place the Anzaf Tablet in a more meaningful framework within Urartian History and bureaucratic sources. It was observed that this “unit”, consisting of 15 people in total, was mostly sorted according to a hierarchical order within itself. These details observed in the content of the tablet made it possible to make some suggestions about the tablet as a whole. It is thought that there may be an indirect similarity with other bureaucratic correspondences of Urartian and some visual elements found on metal artefacts. In addition, although not directly mentioned in the tablet, it has been suggested that the personnel list mentioned only as an assumption may be about the distribution of weapons belonging to the chariots and the cavalry soldiers accompanying them.

**Keywords:** Urartian, Anzaf Tablet, Bow, Arrow, Weapon list, Chariot, Cavalry.

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## ÖZET

Urartu kralı Minua döneminde inşa edilmiş önemli krali yerleşmelerden birisi olan Van-Yukarı Anzaf sitadeline, 2001 yılı arkeolojik kazılarında şimdiye kadar Urartu kaynakları içerisinde benzer bir örneği olmayan mühürsüz bir envanter tableti bulunmuştur. Muhtemelen belirli kişilere dağıtılan silah miktarlarını kaydetmiş olan bu ünik tabletin ilk yayınlarda ters tarafının ön yüz olduğu düşünülmüştür. Ancak yaptığımız yeni değerlendirmelere göre ise tabletin başlangıcının ve ön yüzünün diğer tarafı olduğu anlaşılmıştır. Bu güncelleme tablet içeriğinin değişmesine yol açtığı gibi Anzaf Tableti'nin Urartu Tarihi ve bürokratik kayıtları içerisinde daha anlamlı bir çerçeveye oturmasını da sağlamıştır. Toplamda 15 kişiden oluşan bu “birliğin” büyük oranda kendi içerisinde hiyerarşik bir düzene göre sıralandığı görülmüştür. Tabletten içeriğinde karşılaşılan bu ayrıntılar tabletin bütünü hakkında bazı önerilerin öne sürülmesini mümkün kılmıştır. Urartu'nun diğer bürokratik yazışmaları ve metal eserler üzerinde karşımıza çıkan bazı görsel öğeler ile de dolaylı bir benzerlik olabileceği düşünülmüştür. Ayrıca tablette doğrudan bahsedilmemiş olsa da sadece bir varsayım olarak bahsi geçen personel listesinin “savaş arabaları” ve süvari gibi farklı türden askerlere ait silahların dağıtımını konu edinmekte olabileceği öne sürülmüştür.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Urartu, Anzaf Tableti, Ok, Yay, Silah Listesi, Savaş Arabası, Süvari.

## INTRODUCTION

Apart from the royal propaganda texts, which are the most numerous among the Urartian historical sources, a small group of tablets and bureaucratic correspondence such as bullae provide important details for the understanding of the administrative and social structure of the Urartian Kingdom. One of these few important records is a tablet number CTU IV: CT An-1<sup>1</sup> found at the Urartian royal settlement of Upper Anzaf, 11 kilometers northeast of the capital city of Tušpa. Following the establishment of the capital city Tušpa by the founder king Sarduri I<sup>2</sup>, new Urartian settlements such as Kalecik (CTU I: A 2-1), Zivistan (CTU I: A 2-2A-G; CTU I: A 2-5) and Lower Anzaf (CTU I: A 2-6A-C; 2-7A-B; 2-8), started to be built around the capital by Išpuini (son of Sarduri I). However, the establishment inscriptions found in the Upper Anzaf citadel and temple date it to the reign of king Minua (son of Išpuini) at the earliest (CTU I: A 5-42A-C; A 5-43). Upper Anzaf,<sup>3</sup> which continued to be used in almost all periods of the Urartian Kingdom, is one of the important settlements where Urartian chronology can be seen in the widest framework.<sup>4</sup>

The Anzaf tablet found during the archaeological excavations at Upper Anzaf in 2001 (Belli & Ceylan, 2003) deals with the amount of weapons found in front of a total of 15 name of men.<sup>5</sup> This tablet has a total of 26 lines, some of which have dividing lines between them. A very small part of the tablet is damaged, but most of it can be read clearly. Following the archaeological excavation report, the contents of the tablet were first published by Salvini and Belli in 2003 (Belli & Salvini, 2003). The tablet, which was subsequently re-published by Salvini in 2012 in the major Urartian corpus CTU IV (CT An-1), is so far a unique example in Urartian sources. Although the content of the tablet does not mention which Urartian king era it belongs to Salvini and Belli implied to Rusa II's period (Belli & Salvini, 2003, p. 152). However, the condition and stratigraphic position of the tablet are insufficient for us to make a clear statement on this issue for now. Nevertheless, some new evaluations of its content, independent of its reign, will lead to some new suggestions about the Urartian bureaucracy, army and administrative structure. For this purpose, we have noticed that there may be some mistakes regarding the order in the first transliteration of the content of

the tablet. As a result of the improvement of these mistakes, it was possible to evaluate the content in a more meaningful context with some new suggestions. However, it should be noted that there are only a few examples of the suggestions we make here, and if more written documents are discovered in the future, it will increase our knowledge on these issues.

## Revision of the Anzaf Tablet

Due to the absence of any entrance template on the tablet, the lines that should have been the front side were assumed to be the back side in the first transliterations (Belli & Salvini, 2003; CTU IV: CT An-1).<sup>6</sup> This mistake affected the overall coherence of the text mentioned in the content and caused the text not to be evaluated correctly. As such inventory records are not sent anywhere, it is not necessary to seal them, and in the Urartian bureaucracy they are usually unsealed.<sup>7</sup> In contrast to such unsealed records in Urartian, it can be argued that tablets sent from higher offices were more elaborately crafted, even taking into account the place where the cylinder seals were to be pressed, and that the space on the tablet was probably carefully utilised by more experienced scribes (CTU IV: CT Ba-1,2; CT Kb-1,2,3,4,7). However, some details of other Urartian bureaucratic records have made it possible to make new assessments about the content of the Anzaf tablet.

**Figure 1.** Anzaf Tablet (Van Museum<sup>8</sup>). / *Anzaf Tableti (Van Müzesi)*



<sup>1</sup> In this study, all inscription numbers are referenced according to the CTU (*Corpus Dei Testi Urartei*).

<sup>2</sup> The Assyrian Sardurburç inscriptions in the capital can be considered as the establishment monuments of the Urartian Kingdom and the capital city of Tušpa (CTU I: A1-1A/B/C/D/E/F).

<sup>3</sup> In 2005, the observations we made during our participation in the archaeological excavation as a team member indicate the existence of a large lower settlement waiting to be uncovered in the Urartian settlement of Anzaf Upper and Lower.

<sup>4</sup> For the datable latest inscriptions on metal artefacts, see; Argišti (son of Rusa), CTU IV: B 11-1; 11-2.

<sup>5</sup> Salvini (Belli & Salvini, 2003) and Grekyan (Grekyan, 2009) suggest that 16 people are mentioned in the tablet. However, there are a total of 15 people on the Anzaf tablet (See Table 4).

<sup>6</sup> For the first short revision offer, see: (Tan, 2023a). Apart from the corrections of the inscription order, this article contains some new suggestions and improvements and new perspectives on the subject.

<sup>7</sup> For details on the Urartian bureaucracy and correspondence types, see: (Tan, 2023b).

<sup>8</sup> I would like to thank the Van Museum for permission to study on the tablet.

<sup>9</sup> According to our new offer, the obverse side should be like this.

The below erroneous transcription order of the Anzaf tablet also leads to some errors in the content. According to the following sequence, the line that is thought to be line 15 should actually be the beginning line of the tablet. Since there is no any introductory form on such tablets and there is no seal impression at the end of the text, the front and back sides of the tablet must have been misperceived.<sup>10</sup> In addition, when considering the content, lines 13 and 14 on the bottom edge of the tablet should be the last lines 25 and 26. The incorrect old ranking given by Salvini, which needs to be updated, is as follows;

**Table 1.** Former Incorrect Sorting. / *Önceki Hatalı Sıralama* (According to Belli & Salvini, 2003<sup>11</sup> and CTU IV: CT An-1)

Obv.	Rev.
1 <sup>m</sup> un-ka-nu-a-di	15 30 GIŞ.GAG.TI 2 GIŞ.BAN
2 30 GIŞ.GAG.TI : 1 GIŞ.BAN	16 <sup>m</sup> a-za-a LÚ.10-li
3 <sup>m</sup> nu-ru-bi-e-di	17 20 GIŞ.GAG.TI : 1 GIŞ.BAN
4 30 GIŞ.GAG.TI : 1 BAN <sup>MEŞ</sup>	18 <sup>m</sup> ur <sub>4</sub> -tú-ú LÚ.DINGIR-i-ni
5 <sup>m</sup> ú-ru-a-di-di	19 30 GIŞ.GAG.TI : 1 GIŞ.BAN
6 22 GIŞ.GAG.TI : 1 GIŞ.BAN	20 <sup>m</sup> iş-pi-li-ú-qu
7 <sup>m</sup> a-ri- <sup>r</sup> lu <sup>1</sup> -tu-qu	21 30 GIŞ.GAG.TI : <sup>m</sup> ki-ka-MAḪ?
8 30 GIŞ.GAG.[T]I <sup>m</sup> ḫu-uš-tú-ú	22 30 GIŞ.GAG.TI : 1 GIŞ.BAN : 1 GIŞ.šú-ri
9 20 GIŞ.GAG.TI : 1 GIŞ.BAN	23 <sup>m</sup> šú-iš? -ḫa-a-di
10 <sup>m</sup> ú-ru-u-e-da-a-di	24 30 GI[Ş.G]AG.TI : 1 GIŞ.BAN
11 20 GIŞ.GAG.TI : <sup>m</sup> ur <sub>4</sub> -di-i	25 <sup>m</sup> ur <sub>4</sub> -di-i-ni-di
12 20 GIŞ.GAG.TI : 1 GIŞ.BAN <sup>m</sup> nu-d[u]	26 30 GIŞ.GAG.TI : 1 GIŞ.BAN
<b>Bottom Edge:</b>	
13 20 GIŞ.GAG.TI : 1 GIŞ.BAN	
14 <sup>m</sup> e-ri-ú-qu-ú	

It is obvious that in general of the tablet begins with cuneiform number signs indicating the amount of weapons, not with man determinative. For this reason, line 15 should be the start, not the line given in the first row above. The correct translation of the tablet should be read starting from the other side contrary to above, which lines is related to each other and between the same lines, should be as follows;

<sup>10</sup> We know that the beginning lines of some sealed Urartian tablets, which transfer royal directives, sometimes mention the name of the king (CTU IV: CT Kb-1), and also some of them begin with the expressions “LUGAL-še a-li-e: *The King says/This is the king's order*” (CTU IV: CT Ba-1; Ba-2; Kb-3; Tk-6). However, in order to understand the writing styles and practices of such Urartian tablets with certainty, a much larger number of tablets need to be discovered.

<sup>11</sup> Belli and Salvini, in (Belli & Salvini, 2003) offered 15-16 for its transcription, although the translation has 14-17.

**Table 2.** The New Transliteration Offer. / *Yeni Transliterasyon Önerisi.*

Obv.	Rev.
1 30 GIŞ.GAG.TI 2 GIŞ.BAN	13 <sup>m</sup> un-ka-nu-a-di
2 <sup>m</sup> a-za-a LÚ.[BAN]	14 30 GIŞ.GAG.TI : 1 GIŞ.BAN
3 20 GIŞ.GAG.TI 1 GIŞ.BAN	15 <sup>m</sup> nu-ru-bi-e-di
4 <sup>m</sup> ur <sub>4</sub> -tú-ú LÚ.DINGIR-i-ni	16 30 GIŞ.GAG.TI : 1 BAN <sup>MEŞ</sup>
5 30 GIŞ.GAG.TI : 1 GIŞ.BAN	17 <sup>m</sup> ú-ru-a-di-di
6 <sup>m</sup> iş-pi-li-ú-qu	18 22 GIŞ.GAG.TI : 1 GIŞ.BAN
7 30 GIŞ.GAG.TI : <sup>m</sup> ki-ka-MAḪ?	19 <sup>m</sup> a- <sup>r</sup> ri-lu <sup>1</sup> -tu-qu
8 30 GIŞ.GAG.TI : 1 GIŞ.BAN : 1 GIŞ.šú-ri	20 30 GIŞ.GAG.TI <sup>m</sup> ḫu-uš-tú-ú
9 <sup>m</sup> šú- <sup>r</sup> iš <sup>1</sup> -ḫa-a-di	21 20 GIŞ.GAG.TI : 1 GIŞ.BAN
10 30 GI[Ş.G]AG.TI : 1 GIŞ.BAN	22 <sup>m</sup> ú-ru-u-e-da-a-di
11 <sup>m</sup> ur <sub>4</sub> -di-i-ni-di	23 20 GIŞ.GAG.TI : <sup>m</sup> ur <sub>4</sub> -di-i
12 30 GIŞ.GAG.TI : 1 GIŞ.BAN	24 20 GIŞ.GAG.TI : 1 GIŞ.BAN <sup>m</sup> nu-d[u]
<b>Bottom Edge:</b>	
	25 20 GIŞ.GAG.TI : 1 GIŞ.BAN
	26 <sup>m</sup> e-ri-ú-qu-ú

**Table 3.** The New Translation Offer. / *Yeni Çeviri Önerisi*

Obv.	Rev.
1 30 arrow 2 bow	13 of Mr. Unkanu
2 of Mr. 'Aza LÚ.[BAN]	14 30 arrow 1 bow
3 20 arrow 1 bow	15 of Mr. Nurubi
4 of Mr. Urtu LÚ.DINGIR/i-ni	16 30 arrow 1 bow(s!)
5 30 arrow 1 bow	17 of Mr. Uruadi
6 of Mr. İşpiliuqu	18 22 arrow 1 bow
7 30 arrow of Mr. Kika-MAḪ	19 of Mr. A <sup>r</sup> ri-lu <sup>1</sup> tuqu
8 30 arrow 1 bow 1 spear	20 30 arrow to Mr. Ḫuštú
9 of Mr. Šú <sup>r</sup> iš <sup>1</sup> ḫa	21 20 arrow 1 bow
10 30 arrow 1 bow	22 of Mr. Urueda
11 of Mr. Urdini	23 20 arrow of Mr. Urđi
12 30 arrow 1 bow	24 20 arrow 1 bow of Mr. Nud[u]
<b>Bottom Edge:</b>	
	25 20 arrow 1 bow
	26 of Mr. Eriuqu

## DISCUSSION AND SUGGESTIONS

Before discussing the content of the tablet, it would be important to consider its status in terms of the Urartian bureaucracy. Urartian bureaucratic records provide important information, especially about the officials who serve in the royal cities. These royal cities were centres where written records were kept for large royal warehouses and where official correspondence was carried out, in other words, where bureaucracy functioned. However, the scarcity of Urartian bureaucratic records so far makes it difficult for researchers to recognise certain correspondence models in examples such as the Anzaf tablet when evaluating the sources. But it can be argued that unsealed tablets such as the Anzaf tablet in Urartian were not written to be sent, and unlike the sealed tablets, they only had the purpose of keeping inventory or accounting records in the city where they were found. Examples of this are found in cities such as Tušpa (Işık, 2014), Toprakkale (CTU IV: CT Tk-1;2;3;4;5), Ayaniş (CTU IV: CT Ay-1), Çavuştepe (CTU IV: CT Çav-1;2), Karmir-Blur (CTU IV: CT Kb-9;10) and Bastam (CTU IV: CT Ba-4).<sup>12</sup> These records seem to contain a wide variety of subjects, such as quantities of weapons (CTU IV: CT An-1), supplies such as leather (CTU IV: CT Kb-10), sometimes a list of personnel, deportees or prisoners (CTU IV: CT Tk-1)<sup>13</sup>, or various accounting records. However, one of these records is much more similar to the Anzaf tablet in terms of its content. Unfortunately, this tablet fragment is mostly broken and cannot be read in its entirety. The content relates to the amount of sheep and the names of persons that follow. The tablet begins with the ideogram “UDU” (sheep) and then, as in the Anzaf tablet, various male names are recorded;

**Table 4.** CTU IV: CT Ba-4 (Another Example of a Bureaucratic Record) / *CTU IV: CT Ba-4 (Benzer bir başka bürokratik kayıt örneği)*

	Transliteration	Translation
1	UDU 1-ḫi ᵐa-ru- [...]	One sheep of Aru [...]
2	UDU 1-ḫi ᵐmi-nu- [...]	One sheep of Minu [...]
3	UDU 1-ḫi ᵐu[1- [...]	One sheep of U[1...]
4	UDU 1-ḫi x[ [...]	One sheep of [...]

However, as in many other bureaucratic records, there is an important situation that draws attention in the Anzaf tablet. The people whose names are mentioned in these Urartian records are often hierarchically ranked according to their status. This situation can be compared with some examples found at Karmir-Blur and Bastam.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Also see; (Tan, 2023b, p. 40).

<sup>13</sup> About the Toprakkale Tablet; (Grekyan, 2016; Salvini, 2007).

<sup>14</sup> See for details; (Tan, 2022a). In addition, the gods that appear in the *Meherkapı* sacrifice list, which has a special place in Urartian inscriptions, are listed in order of importance among themselves (CTU I: A 3-1). This ranking according to the level of importance indicates a hierarchical order in the Urartian writing tradition.

Unlike the Bastam and Karmir-Blur tablets, however, the Anzaf tablet is one of the most preserved and almost completely readable uniq records. When evaluated within this general framework, it is understood that the Anzaf Tablet should be updated again with similar perspectives. As can be seen in Figure 1, the relationship between the people named in the tablet and the weapons distributed is restricted by horizontal lines. Based on this formal characteristic, the above correlation between weapon quantities and persons emerges. As seen in the list, “ ’Aza ”, the most highranking person in this list, was given 2 bows and 30 arrows to his. Therefore, when considered together with the above reasons he must be in the first positions of the list;<sup>15</sup>

**Table 5.** The New Ranking for Anzaf Tablet. / *Anzaf Tableti'nin Yeni Sıralaması*

Hierarchical Order <sup>16</sup>	Weapon and Amount			The new person sequence should be:
	Arrow	Bow	Spear	
1	30	2		ᵐ'Aza
2	20	1		ᵐUrtu
3	30	1		ᵐİşpiliúqu
4	30			ᵐKika.MAḫ <sup>17</sup>
5	30	1	1	ᵐSuişha
6	30	1		ᵐUrdini
7	30	1		ᵐUnkanu
8	30	1		ᵐNuribi
9	30	1		ᵐUruadi
10	22	1		ᵐArlitiqu
11	30			ᵐḪuštú
12	20	1		ᵐUrueda
13	20			ᵐUrdu
14	20	1		ᵐNudu
15	20	1		ᵐEriuqu

According to Salvini; “ ’Aza ”, who held the rank of “decurion” (LÚ.10-li), is located in the middle of the tablet, implies that he was responsible only for persons between rows 1 and 16 (Belli & Salvini, 2003, p. 151). But as a result of our new ranking, this suggestions needs to be updated.

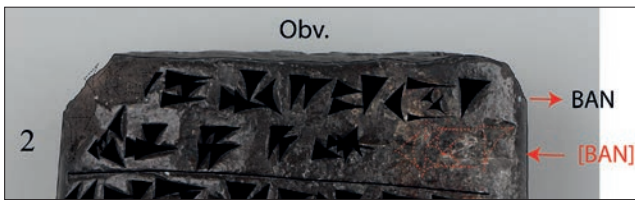
<sup>15</sup> The name of ’Aza also known from another tablet (CTU IV: CT Kb-10) found at Karmir-Blur (Belli & Salvini, 2003, p. 151). It is difficult to say that it is the same person, there may be a similarity in names. But it is possible that he was a high-ranking administrator in any Urartian city, whose location we do not know yet.

<sup>16</sup> According to the new order in which they are located on the tablet.

<sup>17</sup> Means of logogram “MAḫ: great, mighty” (ZL-Borger, 2004 no.91, p. 264; Schramm, 2010, p. 98). Also see for debate it; (Zimansky, 1985, p. 127, Note: 112).

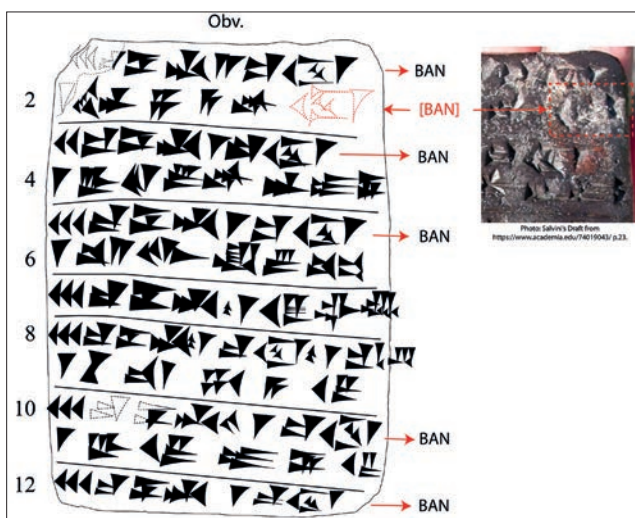
Given that he was written at the start of the tablet, not responsible between lines 1 and 16, it can be suggested that he may be responsible for this entire military unit. This puts an end to some of the debates about the content of the tablet<sup>18</sup> and shows that the distribution and ranking of weapons were in fact according to a hierarchy. Moreover, the cuneiform sign considered to be in second line of “LÚ.10-li”, which Salvini suggests as a new title, are not clearly readable, and this title, which does not appear anywhere in Urartian inscriptions, should be treated with suspicion (Fig.2);

**Figure 2.** Line 1-2 of the Anzaf Tablet. / *Anzaf Tableti 1-2. Satırlar*



Doubt arises from the ambiguous circumstances that we see in the second line. There is not enough space for the “li” (𐎎𐎗) sign to fit as “10-li”. The destruction between the vertical cuneiform mark at the end and the “U” or “10” at the beginning prevents us from recognising this with certainty. However, the space required for the cuneiform to fit is more suitable for the BAN ideogram (See Fig.3). The fact that the first sign of the BAN ideogram also begins with a corner wedge may have caused this confusion. Although uncertain, this is more in keeping with the pattern of weapons distributed in the tablet as a whole, and the title LÚ.BAN (Commander of the archers<sup>19</sup>) may be suggested as a new title.

**Figure 3.** Obverse side drawing of the Anzaf Tablet. / *Anzaf Tableti'nin Ön Yüz Çizimi*



<sup>18</sup> (Belli & Salvini, 2003, p. 152; Grekyan, 2009, p. 111; Konakçı & Baştürk, 2009, p. 185-186). It is more probable to associate the amount of weapons in the tablet with the hierarchy of the officials rather than with the sudden attacks or the process of collapse.

<sup>19</sup> As a suggestion for a new title.

However, even if it is accepted that “10” (𐎎) is readable, this sign can also be read as U, although this is not clear and unreadable. However, the name at the top of the list before the title is clearly readable. According to Urartian records, the existence of a region named “’Aza” is also known from CTU I: A 8-2; 8-3; 8-14; 12-2; CTU IV: CT Kb-10; CB Ay-10. The earliest record of this named region, which contains important Urartian royal centres such as Karmir-Blur and Armavir-Blur and is localised in the Aras Basin, is found in the Argišti’s Horhor annals (CTU I: A 8-3 IV; Işık, 2015, p. 86-87). If the significant person mentioned in the Anzaf tablet gave his name to this region, we can probably relate the tablet to Argišti or earlier, although even if it is a weak possibility. However, the exact dating of the tablet is not yet clear.

The second person mentioned in the list is “Urtu”, who appears to have the title LÚ.DINGIR. In line 3 of the tablet, it clearly shows that this person was given 20 arrows and 1 bow. Firstly published in Belli & Salvini, 2003: as line 18-19 in translation: “To Urtu, the “man of the god(?):30 arrows, 1 bow”. But actually this person must be translated as “20 arrows and 1 bow”, as can be seen in the Table 2 and CTU IV: CT An-1. Salvini also claims that an unknown Urartian word *-ini* could be linked to god if we accept DINGIR as a determinative (Belli & Salvini, 2003, p. 151-152; CTU IV: CT An-1/r.18). But there is no other example of this title in any Urartian inscription. However, unlike the previous one, this title, whose cuneiform signs can be clearly readable (Fig. 1), appears to be a new title (Belli & Salvini, 2003, p. 151). In this context, when the tablet is analysed in its entirety, it may be suggested that he is a “Priest or Priest-in-Chief” assigned to an Urartian city or one of the provinces where royal temples were located. The participation of a priest in such a military unit suggests the need for new perspectives on the content of the tablet. The temples found in Urartian cities, especially in the citadels, indicate that clergy and religious institutions were under state control and were one of the elements of the administrative structure. The presence of a person with this title in this list indicates that Urartian religious institutions may have developed under the control of the state. However, its meaning in relation to the general context of the tablet will be commented on in the conclusions.

The person named “İşpiliúqu” in the third ranking (Line 5-6) of the tablet was given 30 arrows and 1 bow. A similar name is mentioned as seal holder (LÚ.NA<sub>4</sub>.DIB) in the second line of another tablet (CTU IV: CT Ba-1) from Bastam (Belli & Salvini, 2003, p. 150). Whether this is a similarity of name or the same person is not known for certain for now.<sup>20</sup> However, these significant

<sup>20</sup> If this similarity of names refers to the same person, this tablet may be associated with the period of Rusa son of Sarduri, just as Salvini suggested (Belli & Salvini, 2003, p. 150; CTU IV: CT Ba-1).

persons mentioned in the first three ranking of the Anzaf Tablet give some clues as to the composition of the list. Rather than a coincidence, this suggests that the people mentioned in the tablet may reflect the some important officials in charge of one of the royal cities, provincial centres or people gathered together for reasons we don't know why.

“Suišha”, in the fifth row of the tablet (Line 8-9), unlike the others, has an extra spear (GIŠ.šú-ri). The reason for this privilege is currently unknown. Apparently understood the scribe reaches the end of line 12 on the front surface of the tablet, then text continues with the 13th line on the back surface. When writing the tablet, the bottom edge was not used in the middle of the text and continued back side. However, since the back surface of the tablet was also insufficient, lines 25-26 at the end had to be written on the bottom edge.

In line 16, the scribe unlike the others, the ideogram is used with the plural suffix BAN.MEŠ. Also the wood ideogram GIŠ is not written. Looking at the tablet in its overall form, we can conclude that the scribe may have made a scribal mistake here. The fact that the use of the area in which the inscriptions were written on the tablet could not be calculated also points to this inexperience. However, we also know that Urartian scribes sometimes repeated cuneiform syllables or made extra cuneiform signs to complete lines.<sup>21</sup> Or there is also the possibility that an abbreviation has been made, the reason for which we do not know yet.

It is noteworthy that the fourth person named “Kika.MAḤ” is written with a single line. He has only an arrow type weapon. Unlike the others, it is seen that no bow is given. Similar situations are seen in lines 20 and 23, which are written in a single line. (Ḥuštú and Urđi). It is possible to discuss some hypothetical suggestions under the next subtitle together with other details observed in the whole tablet.

### Only as a hypothetical; Could it be an Urartian Guard Corp consisting of chariots and cavalry?

Apart from the specific observations we have made up to this point, I would like to mention an interesting idea that I think should be mentioned, even if it is a weak “hypothesis”. Although this weak suggestion is not the main subject of this article, I think that every thought that arises in the mind should be expressed. Of course, it should be noted that these thoughts remain weak for the time being due to the lack of Urartian written sources. Perhaps new data that will come long after our time will enable others to update the kind of “fanciful ideas” we are doing in this subtitle.

If we pay attention to the Anzaf weapon list in Table 4 above, it is understood that the person named “Kika.MAḤ” hierarchically indicated in the 4th rank (Line 7) was not given any bow. A similar situations can be found for the soldiers named “Ḥuštú” and “Urđi”, who are listed 11th and 13th ranked on the list above. This circumstance may suggest another idea as to why the military unit mentioned on this tablet was recorded together. Apart from this interesting situation, if we ignore the 11th soldier, who was not given any bow, we can see that there is a gradually decreasing number of weapons distributed in a regular hierarchical order. Towards the end of the list, the number of arrows given to soldiers decreases to until 20. The gradually decreasing quantities of weapons towards the bottom lines also provide hierarchical confirmation of our new ordering of the tablet's contents. Apparently, the amount of bows and arrows given is based on a hierarchical importance. However, it seems that the soldiers in the 4th, 11th and 13th rows, who are not given any bow, they have a separate hierarchy within themselves (Kika.MAḤ: 30 arrow, Ḥuštú: 30 arrow, Urđi: 20 arrow).<sup>22</sup> If we ignore the first two “high officials,” there are two different hierarchies in the list;

**Table 6.** Two different hierarchies in the list (According to the amount of weapons). / *Listedeki iki farklı hiyerarşi (Silah miktarlarına göre)*

	First Hierarchy	Second Hierarchy
30	1	30
30	1	1
30	1	20
30	1	
30	1	
30	1	
22	1	
20	1	
20	1	
20	1	

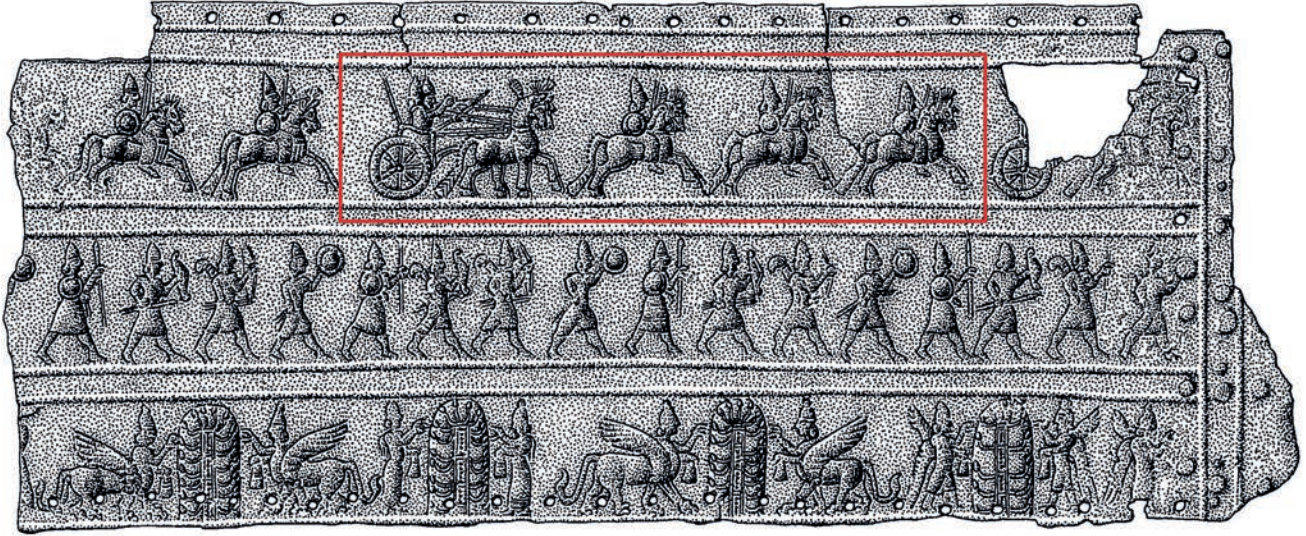
In this regard, the fact that soldiers in the second hierarchy are not given any bows suggests that they may have been different types of soldiers from the others. In this perspective, it may be useful to look at the types of soldiers depicted on Urartian metal artefacts. In many depictions on the belts, there are many examples of the types of soldiers in the Urartian army. It is possible to see the chariots in the upper section of the belt fragment seen below in detail;

<sup>22</sup> In the 4th row Kika.MAḤ should be the highest ranked person, 13th ranked Urđi should have the lowest rank among second hierarchy (He has 20 arrows). Also see footnote 17 for the logogram MAḤ.

<sup>23</sup> Except for the first two “high officials” men.

<sup>21</sup> Rarely “MEŠ”.

**Figure. 4.** A Belt Fragment Showing the Types of Soldiers in the Urartian Army Combined / *Urartu Ordusundaki Asker Türlerinin Bir Arada Gösterildiği Kemer Parçası.* (Kellner, 1991, p.135, Pl. 35/117).



Although it is known that there is a figurative imagery in such depictions, according to the main composition of Urartian bronze artefacts, it is seen that other soldiers escorting the chariot are usually cavalry (PIT.ĤAL.LÚ), sometimes infantryman. But people who depicted on pedestrian next to chariots should be possible on ceremonial occasions and in crowded places. It is probably not possible for such a long-distance deployment and escort team to travel on foot, and those other than the charioteers were escorting the chariots as cavalry. It is possible to see too many reflections confirming this, especially in the images of chariots depicted in their motion (Seidl, 2004, Pl. 9/d-e; 17/a,c,d; 47/a-e);

Just like these, the only soldier type without a bow in their hands in other Urartian soldier depictions are chariot drivers. Apart from chariot drivers, infantry

and cavalry are also depicted as having bows. All these indicators suggest that these three men (who had not been given any bow) may have been drivers of chariots. Although not directly stated on the tablet, the chariot drivers were probably only given arrows and are mentioned in a single line on the tablet (Lines 7, 20, and 23). The horizontal bands between the lines also show this division. Urartian chariots (GIŠ.GIGIR), which are depicted especially on metal artefacts in Urartian, were probably an elite equipment for the use of high ranking persons. The fact that the authorised persons mentioned in the first three places of the Anzaf list and the three people without any bow are found in the 4th, 11th, and 13th places should not be a coincidence. Can we hypothetically suggest that these soldiers named “Kika.MAĤ”, “Ĥuštú” and “Urđi” were chariot drivers provided to the dignitaries at the top of the list?

**Figure. 5.** Chariots Moving with Cavalry / *Süvarilerle Birlikte Hareket Eden Savaş Arabaları.* (Kendall, 1977, p. 33-35; Seidl, 2004, Pl. 48/d).





## CONCLUSIONS

The Anzaf tablet, consisting of 26 lines in total, records the amount of weapons “distributed” to a troop involving 15 men. It is understood that these soldiers had a total of 392 arrows (GIŠ.GAG), 13 bows (GIŠ.BAN), and 1 spear (GIŠ.šú-ri). The first two ranking persons have special titles in the tablet. This may also be related to the fact that they are hierarchically higher than the people at the following lower positions in the list. The third person (Išpiliuqu) does not have any title in the tablet, but he is noteworthy because of his high position in the list. It is also similar to a name found on another tablet from Bastam (CTU IV: CT Ba-1). It is noteworthy that this similar name is also has a high position in the Anzaf list. After these “high-ranking” persons, it is possible to observe a hierarchical sequence in the entire list, according to the amount and position of the distribution of weapons.

In evaluations of the general features of the Anzaf tablet, there are researchers who claim that it is related to a kind of honouring (Çilingiroğlu, 2006, p. 238).<sup>24</sup> It has also been suggested that they may have been involved in the defence of Anzaf and that there may be records of this distribution of arms in the event of a sudden attack (Belli & Salvini, 2003, p. 152; Grekyan, 2009, p. 111; Konakçı & Baştürk, 2009, p. 185-186). However, it does not seem possible to associate it with such “sudden” developments or events.<sup>25</sup> Although it has been possible that this tablet found at Anzaf was written for the purpose of keeping an inventory of weapons, its secondary and indirect purpose is difficult to know with certainty, there may be many different options. However, one of the possibilities a record of this kind could only be a list of weapons distributed from the royal warehouses to high-ranking officials “assigned to a region” and their entourage. These types of “royal gifts”, probably from the royal warehouses in royal cities such as Upper Anzaf, were recorded on this kind of tablet. Apart from archaeological excavations, it is known that there were regional Urartian rulers to whom such inscribed weapon collections belonged in illegal excavations that were probably found in graves belonging to the Urartian period (Konyar et al., 2018; Dezső et al., 2021; also Seidl, 2004). As it is known, writing is a royal symbol in the Urartian, and the monarch. In the Urartian, all inscribed weapons were seen as the property of the king; “*ar-gi-iš-ti-i ú-ri-iš-ḫi*, *mì-nu-a-i ú-ri-iš-ḫi*, *ú-ri-iš-ḫi mīš-pu-ú-i-ni-e-i*, *mdsar<sub>5</sub>-du-ri-i ú-ri-iš-ḫi*”. However, these kind royal items with inscribed may have been given as gifts to some important people and their records may have been kept.<sup>26</sup> However,

it is possible that such tablet records are related to the temple gifts, or perhaps they belong to some of the people who served at Anzaf. Such speculation can of course be increased, but perhaps it will never be possible to know for sure. However, these new suggestions we have made regarding the tablet are important in terms of reflecting new perspectives on Urartian bureaucracy and resources. Of course, new records that may emerge in the future will provide us with more information on these issues.

The misordering in the first publications on the tablet can be understood after now more accurately as a result of the above revision. Thus, it was possible to make some comments on the hierarchical structure and content of the tablet. From this point of view, the hierarchical order of the Anzaf Tablet suggests an interesting hypothetical view. We can make the following interpretation that the Anzaf Tablet includes the top three Urartian officials in a hierarchical order and three “chariot drivers” who do not appear to have been given bows. It should not be a coincidence that the first three people in the list are likely to be senior officials and that the other three people in the 4th, 11th and 13th places are not only owners of arrows. This coherent situation should not be accidental. In order to draw this conclusion, it is sufficient to look at the new hierarchical order that appears on the tablet. In many bureaucratic records, it is observed that there is a similar order and that people at the top of the hierarchy are mentioned in higher ranks.<sup>27</sup> And so assuming that the people who are not given a bow are the drivers, the remaining 9 soldiers, apart from the three important officials, are divided into 3 equal numbers and they could have cavalry escorting the chariots. This leads us to believe that they may have been a combined Urartian guard troop escorting important officials with chariots and cavalry. Neo-Assyrian written sources and artefacts, which are contemporaries of Urartian and similar in many other fields, provide detailed information about Assyrian chariots and its soldiers. According to these records, in addition to the courtiers, high-ranking officials and governors also had their own chariot units.<sup>28</sup> It is possible to think that a similar practices existed in the Urartian Kingdom. Who knows? Perhaps this tablet may be records of weapons distributed to officials assigned to one of the Urartian cities or provinces. But it is clear that we definitely need more evidence in this regard.

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become more meaningful. It is likely that the royal gifts given to these high-ranking Urartians were buried with them in their tombs when they died. Such metal finds, found in graves far from the centre and inscribed with the names of kings, reflect the quality of royal production rather than local craftsmanship and may have reached distant regions as a result of a similar process.

<sup>27</sup> See footnote 13.

<sup>28</sup> For details see (Barnett, 1976; Botta & Flandin, 1849; Noble, 1990; Dezső, 2012, p. 55-145).

<sup>24</sup> With respect to the memory of our honourable professor Altan Çilingiroğlu, who recently sadly lost his life.

<sup>25</sup> These suggestions have been also criticised by Çilingiroğlu; (Çilingiroğlu, 2006, p. 238).

<sup>26</sup> Thus, the metal artefacts found in Urartian tombs in regions far from the capital and inscribed with the names of Urartian kings

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