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Urartian Art

Its Distinctive Traits in the Light of New Excavations

By
Maurits Nanning van Loon

Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten
Leiden
1966

UITGAVEN VAN HET
NEDERLANDS HISTORISCH-ARCHAEOLOGISCH INSTITUUT TE ISTANBUL

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A. A. KAMPMAN et MACHTELD J. MELLINK

XX

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PREFACE

The Western world owes its knowledge of Urartian art mostly to scholars like Lehmann-Haupt,[1]) Herzfeld,[2]) and Barnett.[3]) Certain remarks of theirs, and some recent articles by Miss Maxwell-Hyslop,[4]) Miss Kantor,[5]) and others, have led to a belief that Urartian art was a complex of various heterogeneous elements. This belief in turn has facilitated the attribution of certain works of art of unknown provenance to Urartian workshops.

In this thesis, I hope to demonstrate that, on the contrary, Urartian art had a very definite character of its own, easily recognizable by a number of distinctive features, and that the number of truly Urartian works of art found outside of Urartian territory is limited.

To prove my point, I will present historical, epigraphical and archaeological evidence as well as evidence obtained from artistic analysis. In view of the significance of the individual objects for this artistic analysis, I have not relegated their description to a separate catalogue. Their descriptions are incorporated into the discussion of Urartian art itself, which I have divided according to the material in which the artist worked.

In expressing my deep gratitude to all those who helped me to collect the material and see it in its cultural and historical context, I should mention first of all my teachers, Professors Edith Porada, Evelyn B. Harrison, and Otto J. Brendel of Columbia University.

Professor Porada not only suggested to me the subject of this thesis, but followed its development step by step, enhancing its scope and interest with countless valuable suggestions.

Among my teachers at other universities, I should gratefully mention Professor Albrecht Goetze of Yale University, who provided important guidance in the linguistic and historic field, and Professors A. Leo Oppenheim, Erica Reiner, and Ignace J. Gelb of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, who introduced

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[1]) C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt* I-II², Berlin, 1910–1931.

[2]) Ernst Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran*, London, 1935; "Khattische und Khaldische Bronzen" in Janus 1 (1921).

[3]) R. D. Barnett. *The British Museum Excavations at Toprak-Kale*, Iraq 12 (1950), pp. 1–43, 16 (1954) pp. 3–22.

[4]) K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop, *Urartian Bronzes in Etruscan Tombs*, Iraq 18 (1956), pp. 150–167.

[5]) Helene J. Kantor, *A Fragment of a Gold Applique from Ziwiye*, JNES 19 (1960), pp. 1–14.

me to the study of ancient Near Eastern languages and under whose guidance I hope to continue my Urartian studies by working on the Urartian inscriptions.

For the opportunity to become acquainted with the general area of Urartu and with the methods by which archaeological evidence is obtained, I am indebted to Professor Robert H. Dyson, Jr., of the Hasanlu Project of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. In working with him and with Dr. T. Cuyler Young, Jr., and Dr. Oscar Muscarella at Hasanlu, I received many stimulating ideas.

Most sincerely I wish to thank Professor Tahsin Özgüç of the University of Ankara for his generosity in letting me see and draw many of the objects found by him, and Dr. Charles A. Burney of the University of Manchester for his kind permission to use his drawing of the Adilcevaz relief.

At the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, Dr. Charles K. Wilkinson, Dr. Vaughn E. Crawford and Mrs. Prudence Oliver Harper assisted me with many kind services and helpful suggestions.

Dr. R. D. Barnett, Keeper of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities at the British Museum, should also be thanked for his stimulating observations and kind interest in my studies.

Finally, I wish to mention the generosity of Professors Machteld J. Mellink of Bryn Mawr College and Helene J. Kantor of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, who made their photographs of Karmir-Blur and Arin-berd available to me through Professor Porada. The latter kindly supplied me with impressions from the Karmir-Blur seals.

A word of heart-felt thanks, finally, to my wife and friends who unselfishly provided the manpower needed to complete this thesis.

MAURITS VAN LOON

New York, March 20, 1964

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London, British Museum	fig. 22; pls. Xa, XIb, XVIIa, XX, XXIIa, XXVIa, XXXIII-XXXIV.
Paris, Marquis de Vogüé	pl. XIa.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAA	Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology
Aegean and Near East	Saul S. Weinberg ed., *The Aegean and the Near East, Studies presented to Hetty Goldman*, Locust Valley, 1956
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
AGS	J. A. Knudtzon, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*, Leipzig, 1893
AJ	Antiquaries' Journal
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
ANET^2	James B. Pritchard ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, 2nd ed., Princeton, 1955
ARAB	Daniel D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* I–II, Chicago, 1926–27
Armenien	C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt* I–II^2, Berlin, 1910–31
AS	Anatolian Studies
Ass. Pal. Reliefs	Richard D. Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs* (London, no date)
Belleten	Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis
CCK	Donald J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings*, London, 1956
Corpus	Committee of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals I: The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library*, by Edith Porada et al., Washington, 1948
ESA	Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua
Hittite Seals	D. G. Hogarth, *Hittite Seals with particular reference to the Ashmolean Collection*, Oxford, 1920

Huitième campagne	François Thureau-Dangin, *Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon*, Paris, 1912
ILN	Illustrated London News
IU	Boris B. Piotrovskii, *Iskusstvo Urartu*. Leningrad, 1962
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
KB I, II, III, *KB* IV	Boris B. Piotrovskii, *Karmir-Blur* I–III, K. L. Ohanesian, *Karmir-Blur* IV: *Arkhitektura Teishebaini* (Akademia Nauk Armanskoi SSR, Arkheologicheskie Raskopki v Armenii), (Karmir-Blur I–III, Karmir-Blur IV: The architecture of Teishebaini, Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR, Archaeological Excavations in Armenia), Erevan, 1950–55.
KBo	*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköy*
Kleinasien	Albrecht Goetze, *Kleinasien* (Iwan von Müller, ed., Handbuch der Altertums-wissenschaft III. 1.3.3.1), Munich, 1957
Kunst Anatoliens	Ekrem Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens von Homer bis Alexander*, Berlin, 1961
Louvre	Musée du Louvre, *Catalogue des cylindres . . . de style oriental*, par Louis J. Delaporte, Paris, 1920–23
MAK	*Materialy po Arkheologii Kavkaza* (Materials on the Archaeology of the Caucasus)
MAR	*Materialy po Arkheologii Rossii* (Materials on the Archaeology of Russia)
Materialien	C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien zur älteren Geschichte Armeniens*, Königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Abhandlungen, Neue Folge 9^3 (1907), pp. 65–124
MDOG	Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, Mitteilungen
MMAB	Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin
OIP	University of Chicago, Oriental Institute, Publications

IR, IIR, IIIR, etc.	H. C. Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* I, II, III etc. (London, 1861–1884)
RA	Revue d'Assyriologie
RCAE	Leroy Waterman, *Royal Correspondance of the Assyrian Empire* (University of Michigan, Studies, Humanistic Series, XVII–XX), Ann Arbor, 1930–36
SA	Sovetskaa Arkheologia (Soviet Archeology)
SV	Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie (Soviet Oriental Studies)
Trésor de Ziwiyè	André Godard, *Le Trésor de Ziwiyè*, Haarlem, 1950
Ugaritica	*Mission de Ras Shamra III, V, VIII, XV: Ugaritica* I–IV, par Claude F. A. Schaeffer (Institut français de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque archéologique 31, 47, 64, 74), Paris 1939–1962
UKN	G. A. Melikishvili, *Urartskie Klinoobraznye Nadpisi* (Urartian Cuneiform Inscriptions), Moscow, 1960. (Numbers quoted are the numbers of the inscriptions)
VDI	Vestnik Drevnei Istorii (Journal of Ancient History)
VR	Anton Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, Berlin, 1940
VT	Boris B. Piotrovskii, *Vanskoe TSarstvo* (The Kingdom of Van), Moscow, 1959
WVDOG	Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie

NOTE

At the request of Dr. Edith Porada, all diacritical marks have been dropped in the transliteration of Russian: *a* stands for *a* or *'a*, *ai* for $\widehat{ai}$ or *ai*, etc. In the transliteration of Turkish names, no distinction is made between *i* and *ı*. In the transliteration of Akkadian names, diacritical marks are included in the first, but dropped from all following mention.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Kings of Urartu		*Kings of Assyria*[1])	
		Assurnasirpal II	(883–859 B.C.)
Aramu	(c. 850–840 B.C.)		
Sarduri I	(c. 840–830 B.C.)	Shalmaneser III	(858–824 B.C.)
Išpuini	(c. 830–810 B.C.)		
Menua	(c. 810–786 B.C.)		
Argišti I	(c. 786–764 B.C.)		
Sarduri II	(c. 764–735 B.C.)		
		Tiglathpileser III	(744–727 B.C.)
Rusa I	(c. 735–714 B.C.)		
		Sargon II	(721–705 B.C.)
Argišti II	(c. 714–685 B.C.)		
		Sennacherib	(704–681 B.C.)
Rusa II	(c. 685–645 B.C.)	Esarhaddon	(680–669 B.C.)
Sarduri III	(c. 645–635 B.C.)	Assurbanipal	(668–627 B.C.)
Erimena	(c. 635–625 B.C.)		
Rusa III	(c. 625–609/585 B.C.)		
Sarduri IV[2])			

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[1]) For the spelling of Assyrian royal names I follow Henri Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, Harmondsworth, 1954. According to the Assyrian system, reigns are counted from the first full year. The year in which a king had died is counted as if belonging entirely to his reign.

[2]) It now seems inevitable to assume another reign, that of Sarduri, son of Sarduri, to have intervened either between Sarduri III and Erimena, or between Rusa III and the downfall of Urartu; *UKN*, supplement no. 69 and I. M. Diakonov, *Urartskie Pisma i Dokumenty* (Moscow, 1963), pp. 28-29.

I. OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF URARTU

A. PERIOD AND REGION

The subject of the present thesis is the culture that flourished in Armenia between 1000 and 500 B.C. This culture has left us some literature of a very formal nature and a considerable body of material remains: architecture, engineering works, and products of craftsmanship, ranging from the functional to the highly ornamental. This material was the cultural expression of a well-defined political body, called the kingdom of Ur'arṭu[1]) by its neighbors, the Assyrians.

The preference of modern scholars for the Assyrian, rather than the native name of the kingdom finds some justification: firstly, the Old Testament – our most traditional source of knowledge about the Near East – refers to this state as the kingdom of '-r-r-t (arbitrarily vocalized as Ararat). In *Genesis* 8 : 4 it is said that the ark of Noah came to rest "upon the mountains of '-r-r-t" (the Vulgate translated this as "super montes Armeniae"). In II *Kings* 19 : 37 and *Isaiah* 37 : 38 the escape of Sennacherib's assassins "into the land of Armenia" (Hebrew: '-r-r-t) is mentioned. In 594 B.C., the prophet Jeremiah foretold the fall of Babylon at the hands of the (foreign) nations. Specifying these, he mentions "the kingdoms of '-r-r-t, M-n-n-i (the Mannaeans) and '-sh-k-n-z (the Scythians)" with "the kings of the Medes". (*Jer.* 51 : 27–28).

Secondly, Mount Ararat (Turkish Ağri, Armenian Mazis) happens to stand at the center of the territory of this ancient kingdom, which was mostly confined to the diamond-shaped area between the four lakes of Van, Urmia, Sevan and Çildir (see map, Fig. 1). The snow-covered, more than 5,000 meter high extinct volcano is by far the most outstanding landmark of the region and the highest mountain of the Near East. It is therefore not surprising that the ancient name of the country, perpetuated in the Bible, came to be identified with it.

The Urartians called their own state Biainili. This term never specifically refers to the capital (then called Ṭuš(u)pa), nor to the region around it, where the majority of the population apparently was concentrated, but instead it is used to denote the whole territory subject to the Urartian king, as opposed to the countries occupied by enemies. Nevertheless, it seems likely that the modern name for that capital,

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[1]) Following Wolfram von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* (Analecta Orientalia 33, Rome, 1952), p. 24, I thus transcribe the spelling Ur-ar-ṭu, found *passim* in *Huitième campagne* and other Assyrian sources.

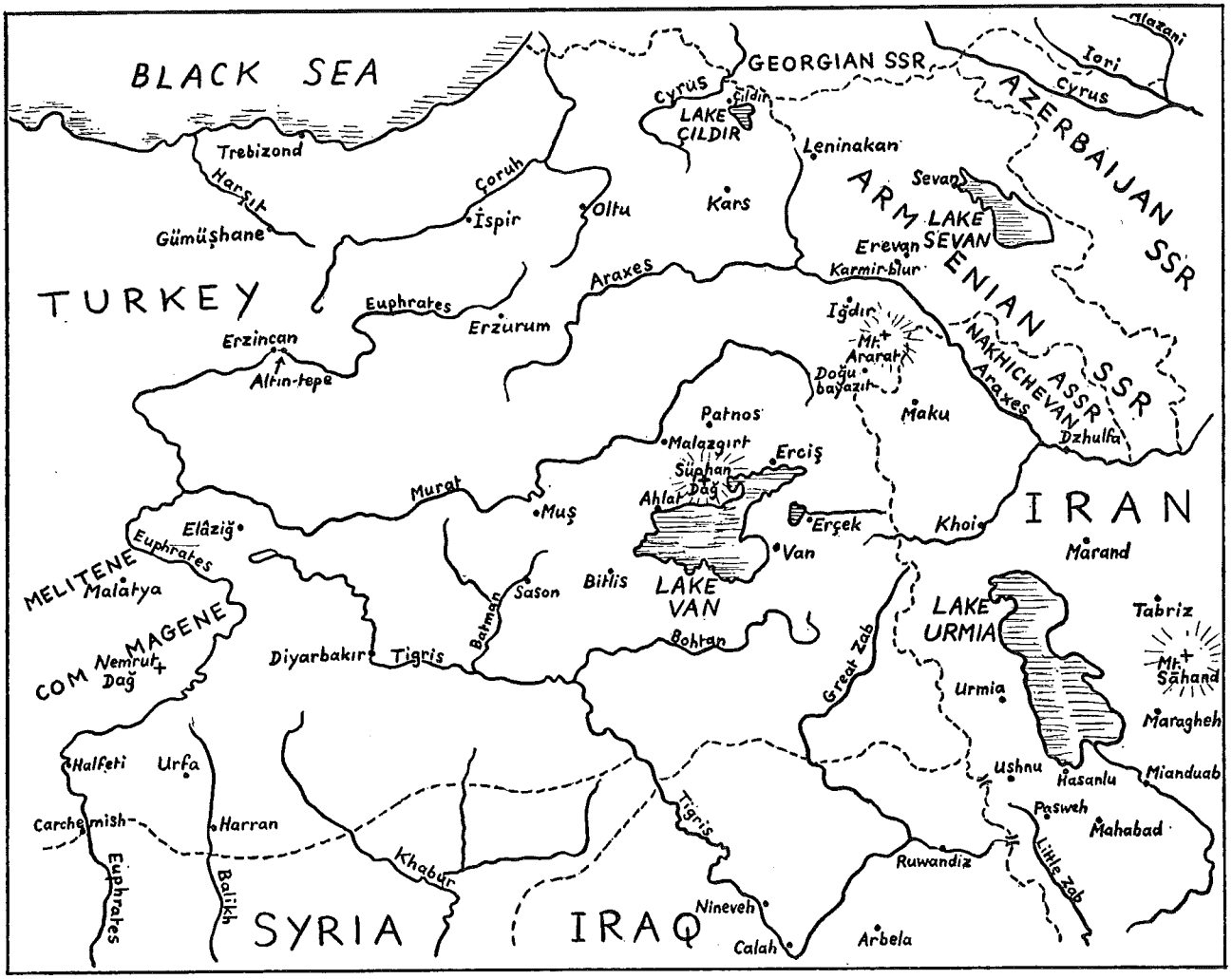

Fig. 1 Map of eastern Turkey and adjoining regions (scale 1 : 4,750,000)

Van, developed out of the name Biainili (locative: Biaina).[2]) "The kingdom of Van" – used, e.g., by B. B. Piotrovskii as the title of his book about the history and culture of Urartu – is therefore a legitimate alternative term for the ancient kingdom.

As the present thesis is principally concerned with isolating native invention from

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[2]) Professor Goetze considers the forms in –ili (which occur as subjects of intransitive/objects of transitive phrases) as the result of declension of the forms in –a, which occur where one expects a locative.

foreign elements in Urartian culture and tracing its influence on neighboring and later cultures, only those parts of its history will be discussed which belong to the realm of fact rather than of speculation and which have a bearing on cultural relations.

B. HURRIAN ORIGINS

In tracing any culture to its origin the most obvious, although not always the most dependable, clue is the language spoken by its bearers.

The Urartian language is known from several hundreds of royal votive and commemorative inscriptions on stone and metal and a few letters on clay tablets in cuneiform script. An as yet undeciphered hieroglyphic script was also in use, mainly for indications of ownership.

The Urartian and Hurrian nations spoke closely related languages and must have sprung from a common ancestor nation in a remote past (say c. 3000 B.C. or earlier).[3] To mention but a few linguistic features, the grammar of both languages rests on the same basic principle: all verbs are either intransitive or passive. Syntactically active processes are expressed by passive constructions, with the syntactical object taking the subject-ending *-n(i)* and the syntactical subject taking the "agent"-ending *-š(e)*, corresponding to our "*by* so-and-so".

Many of the most common words in both languages are identical; e.g.:

ag(u) – "to lead"	baba – "mountain"
ar(u) – "to give"	taršua – "person"
haš(u) – "to hear"	
man(u) – "to be"	
tan(u) – "to do"	

[3]) It is still a debated question, how close or distant the relationship between Urartian and Hurrian actually was. Goetze wrote in *Kleinasien* (1957), p. 194, that "with certainty . . . Urartian is a younger dialect of Hurrian". Against this view, Warren C. Benedict published an article *Urartians and Hurrians* in JAOS 80 (1960), pp. 100–104, in which he elaborated a statement by I. M. Diakonov in a paper, *A Comparative Survey of the Hurrian and Urartian Languages*, read for the XXIV International Congress of Orientalists (1957): "Urartian is not a late dialect of Hurrian, but a separate language derived from one parent with the latter". (Peredneaziatskii Sbornik 1961, pp. 369–423, 598–602). Certainly Urartian cannot have developed directly from the Hurrian language as spoken in North Mesopotamia, North Syria and South Asia Minor in the second millennium B. C., known to us through one coherent text and a number of scattered forms. However, the short Hurrian texts from the same area which date to the third millennium B. C. (see note 10) show features which have remained in Urartian and disappeared in second millennium Hurrian, so that one might say that Urartian is descended from a prehistoric stage of Hurrian.

For Urartian grammar, see *UKN*. For Hurrian grammar, see E. A. Speiser, *Introduction to Hurrian* (American Schools of Oriental Research, Anuals 20), 1940–41.

It is therefore more than likely that also the gods which both peoples had in common were inherited from the ancestor nation: the principal Hurrian god, Tešub('a) ("the Destroyer",[4]) a god of thunder and lightning), corresponds to the second in rank among the Urartian gods, Teišeba. The principal Hurrian goddess, Heba(t), corresponds to the second in rank among Urartian goddesses, Huba.[5]) The Hurrian sun god Šimigi corresponds to the third in rank among the Urartian gods, Šiuini. A striking difference is that the first place in the Urartian pantheon is taken by the god Haldi and his consort 'Arubaini, whose cult center was Ardini (Middle Assyrian Arini, in Muṣri; Neo-Assyrian Muṣaṣir) in the upper Great Zab basin (in the Ardini dialect, they were known as Aldi and Bagbartu).

The second place is occupied by the couple Teišeba-Huba, worshiped at Qumenu (Assyrian Kumme)[6]) in the same region, and only the third place was taken by the pair Šiuini-Ṭušpuea, connected – as her name shows – with the capital Ṭuš(u)pa. (This is the main reason why Melikishvili takes the upper Great Zab basin to be the heartland of Urartu, from where – so he posits – the Urartians spread north, first to the eastern shores of Lake Van and thence in all directions, especially further northward).[7])

The Hurrians, recognizable as a separate group by their language (which is not related to Sumerian, Semitic or Indo-European), appeared already in the third millennium B.C. in north Mesopotamia. They were, however, not the earliest inhabitants there. A still earlier, "Subarian", group, can be recognized from place names etc.[8])

It is quite possible that the invasion which brought the Hurrians to their habitat is to be identified with the invasion which spread the distinctive red-black burnished "Khirbet Kerak" ware from the Kura and Araks basins all the way to Syria in the Early Bronze II period (Amuq H, c. 2700–2500 B.C.) and to Palestine in the Early Bronze III period.[9]) In northeast Mesopotamia, however, where Hurrians are also attested, this ware does not seem to have been found.

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[4]) This tentative interpretation of the name Tešub is given by André Parrot and Jean Nougayrol, *Un document de fondation hurrite*, RA 42 (1948), pp. 1–20, especially pp. 11–13.

[5]) Her name is read thus by Melikishvili, *UKN*, no. 27, line 21. So far it had been read as Baba. The traces on the photograph of a squeeze from the original in C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Corpus Inscriptionum Chaldicarum* (Berlin, 1928–1935), pl. VII, favor the latter reading.

[6]) *ARAB* I, p. 114. Note that in the Hurrian-Hittite myth of Ullikummis the city of the Storm-god is called Kummiya; *ANET*[2], pp. 122–125.

[7]) G. A. Melikishvili, *Nairi-Urartu* (Tiflis, 1954), pp. 150–151.

[8]) Ignace J. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians* (University of Chicago, Oriental Institute, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 22), Chicago, 1944.

[9]) Robert J. Braidwood et al., *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch I* (OIP 61, Chicago, 1960), pp. 518–519, cf. the review of his book by Machteld J. Mellink in Bibliotheca Orientalis 19 (1962), p. 224, who cites other occurrences of this ware.

Early (c. 2340–2280 B.C.) in the Akkad period, the Hurrians were already established all over northern Mesopotamia: Ari-šen called himself "king of Urkeš and Nawar".[10]) Urkeš was in the west, on the Khabur near the present Turkish-Syrian border, Nawar may be in the east, around modern Kirkuk. After Narām-Sīn (c. 2281–2244 B.C.), king of Akkad in the north and Sumer in the south had conquered Subartu (northern Mesopotamia), he adopted the title "king of the four quarters (north, south, east and west)".

In the second millennium B.C., the Hurrians became truly prominent as the main ethnic element in the kingdom of Mitanni (c. 1500–1350 B.C.) in north Mesopotamia and north Syria.[11]) A letter written by one of its kings to the Egyptian court is our main source for the second-millennium stage of the language.[12])

Recent pottery finds at Hasanlu near Lake Urmia indicate that before the middle of the second millennium B.C., this region too was part of the Hurrian cultural area.[13]) Eventually, under the political sway of the kings of Mitanni, Hurrian influence reached from the Kirkuk region in northeast Iraq along the Turkish-Syrian border all the way to the plain of Antakya.

Simultaneously, the Hurrians are attested in Hittite texts since Hattušili I (c. 1650–1630 B.C.) in southeast Asia Minor.[14]) Apparently still a foreign, enemy element for the Old Hittite kingdom, they became one of the most important constituent parts of the nation under the Hittite Empire (c. 1400–1200 B.C.), and their influence was clearly felt in religion, literature, and art of that Empire. Even the members of the dynasty ruling the Hittite Empire seem to have had Hurrian names until they ascended the throne, on which occasion they would adopt a name in the Hittite tradition.[15])

In the concluding chapter it will be shown that certain themes often pictured in Imperial Hittite, Syrian and, later, in Urartian art, for example, gods standing on their mounts and twin bull-men holding up the heavens, were most probably part of the Hurrian tradition.

In spite of geographical proximity, there is no evidence of direct influence of the

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[10]) André Parrot and Jean Nougayrol, *Un document de fondation hurrite*, RA 42 (1948), pp. 1–20.

[11]) Roger T. O'Callaghan, *Aram Naharaim* (Analecta Orientalia 26), Rome, 1948, pp. 51–55.

[12]) E. A. Speiser, *Introduction to Hurrian* (see note 3).

[13]) Robert H. Dyson, Jr., *Hasanlu Discoveries*, 1962. Archaeology 16 (1963), p. 132.

[14]) Previously established just south of the Taurus mountains, among other places, on the west bank of the Euphrates (around modern Gaziantep), they occupied all of the Hittite country except the capital, while Hattusili was campaigning in the west: Heinrich Otten, *Keilschrifttexte*, MDOG 91 (1958), pp. 78–83; Albrecht Goetze, review of KBo X, JCS 16 (1962), p. 27.

[15]) Emmanuel Laroche, in *Ugaritica* III, pp. 118 ff.; Hans G. Güterbock, Cahiers d'histoire mondiale 2 (1954), pp. 388 ff.; Goetze, *Kleinasien*, p. 62, does not think this proves that a new Hurrian dynasty had replaced the Hittite Old Kingdom dynasty.

Hittites of the second millennium B.C. upon the Urartians of the first millennium B.C. Hittite political expansion hardly reached east of the Euphrates: Haiaša and Suhma (the upper Euphrates basin), Išuwa (east of the middle Euphrates), and Alše (between the Murat and the upper Tigris) seem to have been the eastern limits of their horizon.[16])

On the other hand, the areas in south Asia Minor and north Syria which still retained some traces of Hittite culture in the first millennium B.C., were never long enough under Urartian domination to exert a lasting influence on the culture of their masters: Urartian political expansion hardly reached west of the Euphrates, except for a short-lived bridgehead in the Euphrates bend from Malatya to Halfeti (see below).

Such features springing from the Hurrian tradition as the gods standing on their mounts and the bull-men holding up the sky, mentioned above, must have been either borrowed directly from the Hurrians, who surrounded Urartu on the west, south and east, or derived from their common ethnic background.

Hurrian geographical and personal names are widely attested, not only in the west, on the middle Euphrates (see above), but also, in Assyrian sources of the first millennium B.C., in the south, on the upper Tigris and its confluents, the Batman and Bohtan rivers (Šupria and Hubuškia) and in the east on Lake Urmia (the kingdom of Mana).[17])

In the Lake Urmia basin, however, Hurrian names occur side by side with others which seem to belong to a group of languages at home in the Zagros region.

Thus there was ample opportunity, in the five centuries or so preceding their appearance on the historical scene, for the Urartians to borrow ideas from their Hurrian neighbors.

C. PROTOHISTORY OF URARTU

We may survey briefly the period from the 13th to the 9th century B.C., which one might call the protohistory of this region. Except for the distribution of pottery types, our sources for that period are rather limited. They are the annals and historical inscriptions of the kings of Assyria, who from time to time invaded the countries Uruatri and Nairi. The first of these names is obviously the ancestor

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[16]) *Kleinasien*, p. 102, map.

[17]) G. Melikishvili, *Nekotorye voprosy istorii maneiskovo tsarstva* (Some Problems in the History of the Mannaean Kingdom), VDI 1949 I, pp. 57–72. Note that out of seven kings of Mana mentioned in Assyrian sources, only the last (Eri-sinni) has a clearly Hurrian name. Three (Iranzu, Aza, Ullusunu) have names which can be compared to names or titles of rulers in areas adjoining Mana on the west, south and southeast (Hubuškia, Gilzanu, Allabria, Harruna, Namru and the Kassite homeland).

of the geographical term Urartu, attested since Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.). This name may originally have been attached to the upper Great Zab valley (as Melikishvili)[18]) or to the Lake Van basin (as Goetze thinks).[19]) Be that as it may, since the time of Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.) it was used by the Assyrians to denote the kingdom of Van as defined above.

The term Nairi was used by the Assyrians for a group of small countries including the territory of the later Urartian state. In a general sense, it denotes the region where the Tigris and Euphrates originate. Shalmaneser III used the term in two distinct meanings:

1. As the territory ruled by king Kaki(a), who resided at Hubuškia.[20]) This territory, long a buffer state between Urartu and Assyria and corresponding to the modern Bohtan basin, was more commonly known as Hubuškia.[21])

2. As an equivalent of Urartu,[22]) with its capital at Arzašku(n) somewhere north of Lake Van. Arzašku(n) may have been located at Mollakent, near Liz, where there is a large Urartian town site.[23]) The king of Urartu whom Shalmaneser III fought and overcame early in his reign (c. 858–844 B.C.) was named Aramu, or Arame, and resided at Arzašku(n).[24])

It was probably the complete destruction of this capital by Shalmaneser in 856 B.C. and the destruction of additional settlements of Aramu's in 844 B.C. which made possible the rise to power of the new and more formidable dynasty founded by Sarduri I, son of Lutipri (c. 840–830 B.C.). Sarduri I's descendants usually mentioned the title "ruler of Tuš(u)pa" (modern Van) as the last part of their titulary,[25]) and it is natural to assume that this was their domain before Sarduri I extended his power over most of the Nairi countries and founded the kingdom of Urartu.

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[18]) *UKN*, p. 13.

[19]) *Kleinasien*, p. 191.

[20]) *III R*, pls. 7–8, Col. I, line 21, translation in *ARAB* I, p. 213, (campaign of 858 B. C.).

[21]) so Shalmaneser himself, *ibid.*, Col. II, line 64, translation in *ARAB* I, 220, (campaign of 855 B. C.).

[22]) *Ibid.*, p. 220: "I climbed up Mount Eritia. I made a heroic statue of my royal self. I wrote thereon the glory of Assur, my lord, and the power of my might, which I had displayed in the land of *Urartu*. I set it up on Mount Eritia".
But later on in the same campaign, after receiving tribute from Asau, king of Gilzanu (west of Lake Urmia), Shalmaneser reported: "I made a heroic statue of my royal self. I wrote thereon the glory of Assur, the great lord, my lord, and the power of the might which I had displayed in the land of *Nairi*. I set it up in the midst of his city, in his temple."

[23]) Charles A. Burney in AS 7 (1957), pp. 37–53.

[24]) *ARAB* I, pp. 213–241. Note that at the same time there is another ruler named "Arame, son of Gusi" on the west bank of the Euphrates between Commagene and Melitene (*ARAB* I, p. 222). Although these are personal names, one should consider the possibility that they originally meant "the Aramaean". See also note 131.

[25]) *UKN*, list of occurrences on pp. 443–444.

The link between the country (countries) of Nairi and the kings of Urartu residing at Van is established by the inscription of the first king of the line, Sarduri I, who is mentioned in Shalmaneser's campaign of 832 B.C.[26]) On the building blocks of a wall at the foot of the citadel of Van, he called himself "great king, mighty king, king of the universe,[27]) king of (the country of) Nairi".[28]) The titulary was obviously copied from that of the Assyrian kings, and the inscription is in Assyrian, unlike those of his descendants, which are in Urartian (written in Assyrian script of the 9th century B.C.).

All this points to the fact that Sarduri I had founded a new kingdom on the Assyrian pattern not long before.[29])

The additional information that can be gathered from the Assyrian historical inscriptions of the 13th-9th centuries B.C. consists mainly of geographical names, the exact location of which has not yet been established. They seem to confirm,

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[26]) *ARAB* I, p. 208. Shalmaneser called him Seduri.

[27]) The Assyrian title "king of the universe" apparently implies a claim to the former Mitannian domain of Upper Mesopotamia (Heinrich Otten, *Keilschrifttexte*, MDOG 91 (1958). p. 74).
Its Urartian counterpart is LUGAL KUR šú-ra-a-ú-e (Bilingual inscription on the Kel-i Shin, *UKN* no. 19, Urartian text, lines 3 and 18, Assyrian text, lines 2 and 16), which Goetze translates as "king of the land of the Šura". He tentatively equates these to the Subaru, a traditional name for the inhabitants of Upper Mesopotamia (*Kleinasien*, p. 191).
However, in the duplicate inscriptions *UKN* nos. 275–276 KUR šú-ri-[li] appears as a variant for KUR. KUR. MEŠ "(all) the countries". For this reason Melikishvili translates *šuri* as "universe" (*UKN*, p. 408).

[28]) *UKN*, nos. 1–3. I quote this publication of the Urartian inscriptions throughout, as it is on the whole more up to date and more reliable than F.W. König, *Handbuch der chaldischen Inschriften*, AfO Beiheft 8 (1955–1957).

[29]) Although the name of Sarduri I's father, Lutipri, has a Urartian aspect (*lutu* means "woman"), one should perhaps call attention to a few more indications that he may have had a partly Assyrian background:

1. In his name, and that of his later namesakes, the first syllable is always written ^{d}RI, to be read ^{d}MÙŠ "the goddess Ishtar" and to be pronounced, in Neo-Assyrian, Issar. The name Ištar-dūrī, "Ishtar-is-my-wall," occurs in Assyria *Huitième campagne*, p. 66, line 430: one Ištar-dūrī was governor of Arrapha and eponym for 714 B. C. (See also chapter VIII, no. A. 5). The same name Ištar-dūrī is used by Assurbanipal when speaking of Sarduri III (see note 108). In hieroglyphs, the name Sarduri is rendered, from bottom to top: "head of lioness" (the animal of Ishtar) – "castle" – "tree" (VT, pl. XXXVb). However, Melikishvili thinks Sarduri is a Urartian theophoric name, composed of the name of the goddess Sardi (whom he equates to Assyrian Ishtar) and an element *uri*. (*UKN*, p. 440). This view may receive some support from the fact that Tiglathpileser III called Sarduri II "Sar-daurri": *ARAB* I, p. 281.

2. The main god of the Urartian kingdom was Haldi, whose holy city was in the bilingual "neutral zone" of Ardini (Assyrian Musasir) between Urartu and Assyria (*VT*, pp. 220–225. See also *Huitième campagne*, pp. XII-XIII).

or at least do not contradict, the hypothesis that the area was at that time already occupied by people belonging to the Hurrian-Urartian group.

If the cultural heritage of the Urartians contained a basic stock of tradition in common with the Hurrians, it was to a much greater degree indebted to the Assyrians, from whom they borrowed script and literary forms, military and diplomatic practices and artistic motifs and styles, to mention some of the principal items.

The Assyrian influence manifested itself in a different way before and after the establishment of the kingdom of Van c. 840 B.C.: in the period from c. 1274–840 B.C. (from the beginning of the reign of Shalmaneser I to the middle of the reign of Shalmaneser III) the Assyrians met with only scattered resistance on their campaigns through later Urartian territory. In this phase, Assyrian influence was direct, the local inhabitants were helplessly exposed to ruthless depredation at the hands of the Assyrians, but at the same time they probably eagerly absorbed or imitated the amenities of Assyria's higher civilization.

In the second phase, c. 840–612 B.C., Assyria no longer influenced her neighbor directly, but rather provoked Urartu into producing counterparts to all her own achievements.

It is therefore – to mention but one phenomenon – that Urartian art and literature did not partake of the development which Assyrian art and literature underwent after c. 840 B.C.: a drift away from formal grandeur and simplicity, with its emphasis on hierarchy and heroic virtues, and toward more naturalistic, episodic description with emphasis on emotions and human interest.

Instead, Urartu maintained to the end the aesthetic ideals of 9th century B.C. Assyria and passed these on to its successor states, the Median kingdom and the Persian Empire.

An illustration of this continuity in the figurative arts is the way in which lions were portrayed (see chapter IX).

In literature also, the historical inscriptions of the Urartian and, again, later of the Persian kings did not go into the picturesque, secular detail that enlivens Late Assyrian annals. They related only essentials, often introduced by the formula:

"RN (e.g., Argišti, son of Menua) says:"	cf. Old Persian: "Saith RN (e.g., Darius), the King:"

and concluded by the formula:

"RN (e.g., Argišti, son of Menua) says: 'For the god Haldi I performed these feats in one year'."	cf. Old Persian: "Saith RN (e.g., Darius), the King: 'This is what I did; by the favor of Ahuramazda, in one and the same year I did it'."

D. THE RISE OF URARTU AS A GREAT POWER IN THE NEAR EAST

From c. 840 B.C. onward Urartu was dependent on its own resources. For the first century, the emphasis seems to lie on military operations: in imitation of Assyria, Urartu waged depredatory wars on its less single-minded neighbors to the east, west and north.

Of the founder of the dynasty, Sarduri I (c. 840–830 B.C.) we have only the inscriptions at Van mentioned above.

Of the conquests of his son Išpuini (c. 830–810 B.C.) and especially of his grandson Menua (c. 810–786 B.C.) we can judge the extent indirectly from the places where their inscriptions have been found:[30]) these range from the lower Murat basin (around Elâzig) in the west to the Araxes (from Erzurum to Mount Ararat) in the north and to the south shore of Lake Urmia in the southeast.[31])

To the south, Hubuškia (the Bohtan valley) was probably absorbed.[32]) To the southeast, Ardini-Musasir (the upper Great Zab basin), conquered by Tiglath-pileser I of Assyria c. 1100 B.C., had already become independent before Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.).[33]) Now it became part of the Urartian sphere of influence.[34]) Sarduri, son of Išpuini – apparently a younger brother of king Menua (c. 810–786 B.C.) – equipped the temple at Ardini with statuary.[35]) He may have been viceroy of this semi-independent area, which later had its own dynasty, recognizing Urartian suzerainty.[36]) To the east, along the western shore of Lake Urmia, Gilzanu was probably incorporated by Išpuini or Menua.[37]) Further south, the kingdom of Mana seems to have offered tougher resistance, backed up by Assyria, to which it was connected by the Little Zab route. Only parts of Mana were intermittently occupied by Urartu.[38])

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[30]) *Kleinasien*, p. 188.

[31]) *UKN*, nos. 42, 36, 30, 29.

[32]) According to Melikishvili, *UKN*, p. 16. He apparently deduces this indirectly from the fact that Išpuini (c. 830–810 B. C.) and his son Menua (c. 810–786 B. C.) left an inscription further to the southeast (see note 31). Dadi, probably the Hubuškian king of that name, occurs in the 6th (?) campaign of Argišti I (c. 786–764 B.C.) (*UKN*, no. 127, III, line 5).

[33]) *ARAB* I, pp. 83–85, p. 210.

[34]) Bilingual inscription of Išpuini (c. 830–810 B.C.) and his son Menua (c. 810–786 B.C.) on the Kel-i Shin, north of Ruwandiz, Iraq (*UKN*, no. 19).

[35]) *Huitième campagne*, lines 400–401.

[36]) *UKN*, no. 264 (Rusa I, c. 735–714 B. C.).

[37]) According to Melikishvili, *UKN*, p. 16. He apparently deduces this indirectly from the fact that Menua (c. 810–786 B. C.) left an inscription south of Lake Urmia (see note 31). Note that a mountain country named Kulašini occurs in the same line as Dadi, presumably the king of Hubuškia (see note 32).

[38]) Inscription of Menua (c. 810–786 B. C.) at Tashtepe south of Lake Urmia (*UKN*, no. 29). cf. *Huitième campagne*, lines 91, 163.

A number of these Urartian inscriptions date to the end of Išpuini's reign, when his son Menua acted as co-regent. Several of the inscriptions from this co-regency deal with religious subjects.[39]) It seems that the state religion received its established form under these kings. The hierarchy of the many gods making up the Urartian pantheon is expressed by a list of sacrifices to be brought to them.[40])

Only few gods received more than the daily minimum ration of one bull and two sheep: the chief god Haldi received 17 times this minimum, the thunder god Teišeba and the sun god Šiuini each 6 times. The gods Huṭuini, Ua, Nalaini, Šebitu (the Pleiades) and Arsimela each received a double ration.

For goddesses, the daily minimum was one sheep. 'Arubaini (elsewhere called Uarubani) – apparently the consort of Haldi[41]) –, Huba (the equivalent of the Hurrian goddess Hebat) – the consort of Teišeba – and Ṭušpuea – apparently the goddess of the capital and wife of Šiuini – were each to receive one cow in addition to one sheep.

Next in rank among the goddesses came Aui, Aia and Sardi, with one cow each, and Ṣinuiardi and Iphari with two sheep each.

From the reigns of Menua's son Argišti I (c. 786–764 B.C.) and grandson Sarduri II (c. 764–735 B.C.) we have, in addition to scattered inscriptions, a direct historical source in the form of annals, carved into the rock of Van and into stelae which were displaced in later times to other locations in the vicinity.[42])

Under Argišti I and Sarduri II, Urartu thrust out in the west to the great bend of the Euphrates and, intermittently, beyond that area and toward Melitene and Commagene,[43]) cutting off one of the main supply roads by which Assyria obtained the strategically essential iron from the western Taurus (see chapter VI).

King Hilaruada of Melitene was subdued by Argišti I around 783 B.C. and again by Sarduri II in the 750's, and king Kuštašpi of Commagene was subjected by Sarduri II around 745 B.C. For a short time Urartu thus had a bridgehead west of the Euphrates from Malatya to Halpa (modern Halfeti, not Aleppo).[44])

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[39]) *UKN*, nos. 19, 25, 27.

[40]) *UKN*, no. 27.

[41]) At Ardini-Musasir however, the consort of Haldi was called Bagbartu: *Huitième campagne*, lines 368, 385, 423.

[42]) *UKN*, nos. 127–128, 155–156.

[43]) *UKN*, no. 158. *UKN*, no. 155E, lines 36–57.

[44]) Halpa, a "royal city on a lake" – probably a wide part of the Euphrates – was conquered on this Commagenian campaign: *UKN*, no. 155E, line 50. Halpa is mentioned between two other Commagenian royal cities, Uita and Parala. It occurs nowhere else in Urartian texts. The introduction to this section of the annals summarizes the year's events as follows: "The god Haldi went forth with his weapon, he defeated the country of Qumaha (Commagene), subjected it before Sarduri son of Argišti". Nearby Sarduri II lost a great battle against Tiglathpileser III in 743 B.C. (see p. 14 and note 61).

It was in this period that the contacts of Urartu with north Syria were most intensive. To name but one example, the bronze bulls' heads attached to Urartian cauldrons from Altintepe, Toprak-Kale, Ançali near Guşçi, etc. are paralleled (but not duplicated) by one found near Aleppo and another from Tell Rifa'at, and by a number of bronze bulls' heads attached to tripod cauldron-supports from Kourion, Cyprus.[45]) The bronze "sirens", similarly attached, of which examples have been found in Urartu, Phrygia, Greece and Etruria, are so similar in all of these find-spots that they must have come from a common center of manufacture.[46])
In this connection it is worth noting that king Kuštašpi of Commagene sent Sarduri II 1535 bronze basins [47]) around 742 B.C.,[48]) and that the same tomb at Altin-tepe which yielded the bull cauldron also contained bronze vessels inscribed with the name of Urikki, king of Cilicia c. 740–732 B.C.[49])
Argišti I and Sarduri II also embarked on what was in the end to prove the most fruitful of all Urartian ventures: the conquest and subsequent agricultural exploitation of the regions across the Araxes: under Argišti I (c. 786–764 B.C.), Diau(e)hi ("the Land of the Son(s) of Dia(u)", Assyrian Daiaeni) was finally defeated,[50]) and the upper and middle Araxes valley became a major center of building, irrigation and agricultural activity. Sarduri II (c. 764–735 B.C.) added Lakes Çildir and Sevan.[51]) Further advance to the northwest was checked by a new contestant power, Qulha (Greek Colchis).[52])
The first evidence of peaceful engineering works, designed to increase the productivity of the home country by irrigation, dates to the reign of Menua (c. 810–786 B.C.). It is the "Canal of Menua" which led and still leads sweet water over a distance of about 75 km from an abundant (1500 liters per second) spring to the southern edge of Van. (The sodic water of Lake Van is useless for drinking or irrigation).[53]) At fourteen points along the cyclopic retaining walls of this canal, especially near aqueducts leading it over intervening valleys, inscriptions commem-

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[45]) The cauldrons with bull's head attachments are treated at length in chapter VI, section B 4.

[46]) The cauldrons with "siren" attachments are likewise treated at length in chapter VI, section B 4.

[47]) Urartian *kiri*, to be equated to Assyrian *kiuri* "basin": *Huitième campagne*, p. 56, note 1.

[48]) *UKN*, no. 155E, line 56.

[49]) Franz Steinherr, "*Die urartäischen Bronzen von Altintepe*, Anatolia 3 (1958), pp. 97–102.

[50]) *UKN*, no. 128 Bl, lines 17–26 (final subjection of king of Diauehi in 2nd (?) campaign (c. 784 B. C.) of Argišti I). Diauehi probably extended all the way from Erzurum into the Georgian SSR. (*UKN*, p. 424).

[51]) *UKN*, nos. 159–161.

[52]) *UKN*, no. 155C, lines 1–5, D, lines 1–15, pp. 437–438.

[53]) *Armenien* II[1], pp. 95–109.

orating its construction are carved.[54]) At one point, where the surrounding landscape bears traces of terracing, an additional inscription commemorates the laying-out of a vineyard for Menua's daughter Tariria.[55])

A vague memory of the connection between this princess and the canal may account for the popular belief that "queen Semiramis" was responsible for this and many other works from which the area has benefited.

Menua's son Argišti I (c. 786–764 B.C.) claimed that the newly conquered area across the Araxes where he built the city Argištihinili (modern Armavir) had been a desert until he had led four canals from the river and laid out vineyards and orchards.[56]) Traces of one of these canals with an inscription were found 20 km upstream along the Araxes.[57])

In contrast to the legendary queen Semiramis, the historical queen Semiramis, Babylonian-born regent of Assyria from 810 to 806 B.C., did not intervene at all in the affairs of Urartu. Only in a negative sense does she deserve the perpetuation of her memory in Armenian legend:[58]) The reigns of her husband, son and elder grandsons (823–745 B.C.) marked a period of military decline in Assyria, from which the Urartians profited to extend their frontiers.

Several times the Urartian kings of this period claimed, probably with justification, to have defeated the Assyrian army: Argišti I (c. 786–764 B.C.) reported victories over the Assyrian army in his sixth and seventh regnal years, when he operated in the Zab and Lake Urmia areas.[59]) Sarduri II (c. 764–735 B.C.) defeated the Assyrian king Assurnirari V (754–745 B.C.) himself in the upper Tigris basin c. 753 B.C.[60])

E. MILITARY REVERSALS AND RESULTING SHIFT IN ASPIRATIONS

The period c. 744–715 B.C. saw the renewal of Assyrian expansion. In spite of the support of a number of south Anatolian and north Syrian vassals, who rallied around Urartu before the greater danger coming from Assyria, Sarduri II steadily lost ground. In 743 B.C. Tiglathpileser III of Assyria (744–727 B.C.)

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[54]) *UKN*, nos. 43–56.

[55]) *UKN*, no. 111.

[56]) *UKN*, no. 137.

[57]) *UKN*, no. 136.

[58]) Moses of Chorene I. 15–19. (German translation by M. Lauer, Regensburg, 1869).

[59]) *UKN*, no. 127 II, lines 52, 57, III, lines 21, 25, 31.

[60]) *UKN*, no. 156 DI and DII, line 8.

defeated Sarduri and his allies in Commagene near modern Halfeti.[61]) When Tiglathpileser later advanced all the way to the gates of Tušpa, a palace revolt may have placed Sarduri's son Rusa I (c. 735–714 B.C.) at the head of the state.[62]) The renascence of Assyrian power under Tiglathpileser III seems to have been due to a number of reforms which may have been partly inspired by the example of Urartu. So we see, e.g., that the large administrative districts of Assyria, ruled by hereditary governors (LÚ. GAR.MEŠ = šaknūti) were replaced by smaller precincts administered by government appointees on the Urartian pattern (LÚ. EN. NAM. MEŠ = bēlē pahāti).[63])

Tiglathpileser's son, king Sargon II of Assyria (721–705 B.C.) completed the elimination of Urartu as a rival for hegemony in the Near East.

Any hopes that Urartu might have placed in help from the north Syrian principalities were dashed by their swift subjection, ending with the incorporation of Carchemish into the Assyrian empire in 717 B.C.[64]) In the metal-rich Taurus, Tabal remained a potential ally of Rusa I (as well as of king Midas of Phrygia). After the latter's defeat, Tabal was annihilated and annexed to Assyria as a punishment.[65])

In the same year Sargon began to close in on Urartu from the east. For two years operations were mostly limited to western Iran. There Assyria championed the interests of the kingdom of Mana, while Urartu aided and abetted the Iranian tribes encroaching upon Mana from east and north.[66])

But from behind the Urartian lines Assyrian intelligence officers were collecting

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[61]) *ARAB* I, pp. 272, 281, 292. Urartu's allies were Mati'ilu of Arpad, Sulumal of Melitene, Tarhulara of Gurgum (Maraş) and Kuštašpi of Commagene; cf. also note 44.

[62]) *ARAB* I, pp. 281, 292. Some allusions of Sargon II of Assyria (*Huitième campagne*, lines 277, 404) gave Thureau-Dangin the impression that Rusa I was a usurper. This view is still followed by Thomas Beran in Hartmut Schmökel, ed., *Kulturgeschichte des alten Orient* (Stuttgart, 1961), p. 707, note 8. Melikishvili rejects this view (*UKN*, p. 18), as Rusa I usually called himself "son of Sarduri", but he still envisages Rusa having seized the throne in a palace revolt.

[63]) VT, pp. 86–87. I. M. Diakonov in *Epigrafika Vostoka* (Epigraphy of the East) 4 (1951), pp. 111–112. E. Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches* (Leipzig, 1920), p. 49. The first EN. NAM appears under Menua (c. 810–786 B.C.) *UKN* no. 42A, line 12. Argišti I (c. 786–764 B. C.) replaced four kings of small countries near Diauehi by EN. NAM officials: *UKN*, 128B1, line 17. Rusa I (c. 735–714 B.C.) appointed Urzana as EN. NAM over Ardini (Musasir), *UKN* 264, Urartian text, line 7, and also appointed an EN. NAM at Nor-Baiazet on Lake Sevan, *UKN*, no. 265. cf. also *Huitième campagne*, p. XVI, note 1.

[64]) *ARAB* II, p. 4.

[65]) *ARAB* II, pp. 11, 27. P. Naster, *L'Asie Mineure et l'Assyrie* (Louvain, 1938). p. 43.

[66]) *ARAB* II, pp. 3-8.

information with a view to a much more ambitious military undertaking against Urartu.[67])

What finally tipped the scales in favor of Assyria was the opening up of a "second front": the Cimmerian invasion of Urartu shortly before 714 B.C.

The course of events which brought Cimmerians and Scythians into sudden prominence at widely separated points in the ancient world, may be reconstructed here in some detail:

Probably already in the fourth or early third millennium B.C., Indo-European peoples lived in southeast Russia and south Siberia. They were the first to domesticate the horse.[68]) Around 2400 B.C. they began to expand westward and southward. Two successive waves may have first brought the "Aryans" to India and Mitanni, and then the Iranians to Iran.

The Scythians, the Iranian-speaking tribe which inhabited south Russia in the first millennium B.C., were mentioned for the first time in the Urartian annals c. 774 B.C. with the report of a campaign in the Leninakan area (between Lakes Çildir and Sevan) of Argišti I who "went as far as the country of the Iš-qi-GU-lu". This is confirmed by a short rock inscription at Ganlidzha near Leninakan, saying:

> "Through the greatness of the god Haldi Argišti speaks: 'I have conquered the country of the Sons of Eria, I have conquered the city Erdaniuni as far as the country of the Iš-qi-GU-lu'."[69])

I venture to identify the Iš-qi-yù-lu with the Scythians (the signs GI and GU are used for *ye* and *yu*), who had by this time already penetrated south of the Caucasus, if I am right. It looks as if they had come along the Black Sea and occupied Colchis, i.e. the basin of the river Phasis (modern Rioni), but not yet the much larger Cyrus (modern Kura) basin. The latter basin is mentioned c. 741/740 B.C. Campaigning from the Leninakan area, Sarduri II "found mercy for the country Quriani"[70]) – i.e. he decided against an incursion into the upper Cyrus valley – and went instead to Lake Çildir. Perhaps he realized the value of the Cyrus basin as a buffer area between himself and the Scythians. Conversely, the inhabitants of the area saw the value of good relations with Urartu: "Guriania is a region between Urartu

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[67]) R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian letters* (Chicago, 1892–1914), nos. 144–148, 380–381, 491–492 and passim; translation in *RCAE*.

[68]) Marija Gimbutas. *The Indo-Europeans, Archaeological Problems*, American Anthropologist 65 (1963), pp. 815–836.

[69]) *UKN*, no. 127, col. V, l. 49, no. 133, l. 5. For the values GI = yè and GU = yù in Urartian, see I. M. Diakonov, *Urartskie Pisma i Dokumenty* (Moscow, 1963), pp. 30–31.

[70]) *UKN*, no. 155, face F, l. 6.

and the country of the Cimmerians – it pays tribute to the king of Urartu", so the informer Aššur-rēṣū'a reported to the Assyrian court in the period 735–715 B.C.[71])

It should be made clear from the start that the terms "Cimmerian" and "Scythian" were interchangeable: in Akkadian the name Iškuzai (Ašguzai) occurs only exceptionally.[72]) Gimirrai (Gamir) was the normal designation for "Cimmerians" as well as "Scythians" in Akkadian.[73]) Conversely, an equivalent of "Cimmerians" does not occur in Urartian: most likely Išqiyulu was the common name in Urartian, used alike for west Scythians and east Scythians, as we might call them; the only difference between them seems to have been that the first ("Cimmerian") wave entered western Asia along the *west* side of the Caucasus and operated mostly in Asia Minor, whereas the second ("Scythian") wave came in along the *east* side of the Caucasus and operated principally in Azerbaijan, Kurdistan, Assyria and Syria (cf. Herodotus I. 104, IV. 12). Archaeologically, the two closely related groups are represented respectively by the cemeteries of Samthavro near Mtskheta, Georgian SSR,[74]) and Mingechaur, Azerbaijan SSR.[75])

Perhaps it was Rusa I (c. 735–714 B.C.) himself who provoked the onslaught – as so often in history – by unwisely destroying the buffer states: in a rock inscription on the southwest bank of Lake Sevan, he boasts of having subjected 19 kings on the other side of the lake, i.e. in the middle Cyrus basin.[76])

However that may be, soon afterwards Rusa found the Cimmerians (west Scythians) at his borders. Undaunted, he proceeded to the attack but suffered a major disaster: the Assyrian crown prince Sennacherib, sent north by king Sargon II (721–705 B.C.) to collect and forward intelligence about the internal affairs of Urartu, reported

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[71]) *RCAE*, no. 146.

[72]) Annals of Esarhaddon: *III R*, pls. 15–16, translation in *ARAB* II, p. 207. "I scattered the people of Mannai, intractable Zagros tribes (qu-tu-ú), and I smote with the sword the armies of (?) Išpakai, the Scythian (Ašguzai) – allies who did not save it". (Translation corrected by me). An alternative translation is: ". . . the *spaka* armies from Scythia – allies" etc. *Spaka* is thought to be the Median equivalent of Old Persian *Saka* "Scythian" (Roland G. Kent, *Old Persian Grammar . . .*, American Oriental Series 33, New Haven, 1953, p. 209). See further *AGS* II, nos. 25, 29–30, 35–36, probably also from Esarhaddon's reign.

[73]) e. g. in Old Persian/Babylonian bilingual texts since Darius' inscription at Bīsutūn; cf. Roland G. Kent, *loc. cit.*; *ANET*², p. 316.

[74]) F. Bayern, *Untersuchungen über die ältesten Gräber- und Schätzfunde in Kaukasien*, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie 1885, Supplement, pp. 27–31. A. N. Kalandadze, *Periodizatsia pamatnikov Samthavro* (The Periodization of the Monuments of S.), Kratkie Soobshchenia Inst. Ist. Mat. Kult. 24 (1949), p. 5. See also A. L. Mongait, *Arkheologia v SSSR* (Moscow, 1955), pp. 118–119.

[75]) G. M. Aslanov et al., *Drevnii Mingechaur* (Ancient Mingechaur), Baku, 1959. See also A. L. Mongait, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

[76]) *UKN*, no. 266, 11. 6–12.

to his father that Rusa's whole army had been defeated in Cimmerian territory, three commanders had been killed and their regiments wiped out, and Rusa himself had fled back to Urartu, having lost contact with his general staff.[77])

It was this sudden bloodletting of his archenemy that encouraged Sargon to undertake the ambitious campaign of 714 B.C., which put an end to the aspirations of the Urartian kings outside of their mountain homeland. After unsuccessfully heading a coalition of Urartu, Zikirtu (Sagartia), and Andia at Mount Uauš (modern Sāhand near Tabriz), Rusa hastened back to Tušpa, which Sargon wisely did not try to besiege. Sargon avoided a clash with the Cimmerians and instead plundered the main sanctuary of the Urartians, situated in the theoretically neutral territory of Ardini-Musasir, and carried off the statue of the god Haldi (chapter III, Fig. 5b and chapter VI, Fig. 5a). Hearing of this third calamity, Rusa committed suicide.[78])

As the holy and undefended city of Ardini-Musasir was traditionally a place of worship for Assyrians and Urartians alike, its desecration was an unprecedented step. Toward the end of Sargon's campaign through Urartu, the bulk of the army marched home to Assyria, leaving Sargon behind with his picked soldiers. Apparently Sargon had found himself confronted by some embarrassing situation (perhaps a threat of mutiny), compounded by an eclipse of the moon (October 24, 714 B.C.). Undaunted, Sargon had his astrologer interpret this omen in a favorable sense so as to dispell the misgivings of his soldiers and, Rusa of Urartu having escaped him, he turned upon the defenseless Urzana of Musasir.

Subsequently, Sargon was at pains to justify his action in a "letter to the god Assur", which may have been read before the citizens of the city of Assur.[79]) But apparently this did not quell all misgivings, for already in the following year the statue of Haldi was returned to Musasir.[80])

Sargon annexed Musasir and established Assyrian suzerainty over Hubuškia and Mana, which latter country he restored to its former size.[81]) Mana, however, soon (probably after 680 B.C.) invited the east Scythians under Šaga-DUMU-tar to reinforce its army (see below) and managed to assert its independence from Assyria.[82])

If the military misfortunes of Rusa I set back Urartu for good as a political power, he faithfully followed and passed on to his successors the royal tradition of

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[77]) *RCAE*, nos. 197, 646, 1079. This report was certainly written before 713, and probably before or in 714 B.C.

[78]) H.Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte Sargons* I (1889), p. 177; translation in *ARAB* II, p. 30.

[79]) A. Leo Oppenheim, *The City of Assur in 714 B. C.*, JNES 19 (1960), pp. 133–147.

[80]) Hayim Tadmor, *The Campaigns of Sargon II*, JCS 12 (1958), p. 86.

[81]) *ARAB* II, pp. 10, 28–29.

[82]) *ARAB* II, pp. 161, 207.

developing the country's natural resources. Thanks to this policy Urartian culture not only survived, but continued to flourish inspite of its political isolation.

If we can judge at all by present conditions in Armenia, the land can originally have supported only a sparse population on pasturing and rainfall cultivation of cereals. For more intensive exploitation, it required the planning and construction of irrigation works. Probably by using the great quantity of captives as a work force, many canals were dug, part of which are still in use today. With the help of irrigation the country could employ and support a much larger population in vineyards, orchards, and related processing industries (oil and wine presses, potteries etc.), as well as defraying the cost of administration, defense, religious cults and the royal court. Sooner or later, the Urartian rulers had to wake up to the fact that a well-run economy provides more dependable revenues than the varying successes of military campaigns, and the recognition of this fact is, of course, responsible for the shift of emphasis from conquest (c. 850–750) to development of the economy (c. 700–600 B.C.).

Even so, the large number of sites where Urartian royal inscriptions have been found or remains of fortified citadels of Urartian type have been recognized, does not necessarily mean that the Urartian population was very large. More probably, we have to imagine the country strewn with vast, well-managed royal estates, worked mostly by resettled captives and subjected local inhabitants. At their center stood large fortified storehouse citadels, where the agricultural produce was processed and stored, and an armed garrison stationed to safeguard the neighborhood against revolt or invasion. A temple – in many cases not more than a single-room chapel with exceedingly heavy walls – naturally formed part of such an establishment.

The description of the city of Ulhu (possibly modern Marand northwest of Tabriz) may serve as an illustration of the agronomic improvements undertaken by the Urartian kings. Sargon II of Assyria gives a vivid picture of the city before he destroyed it on his campaign of 714 B.C.:[83])

> "Ulhu was a fortress situated at the foot of Mount Kišpal (in a region) whose people like fish (used to live in a swamp?. Salty water?) they drank but they never had their fill. Rusa (I), the king who ruled them, in his eagerness to help (prayed to Haldi? and the god) showed (him) an outlet for the water. He dug a canal to carry off the flow of the water and . . . he caused water to run in it in abundance like the Euphrates. He drew countless smaller ditches from it and . . . he irrigated the fields. The region

[83]) Bruno Meissner, *Die Eroberung der Stadt Ulhu auf Sargons 8. Feldzug*, ZA 34 (1922), pp. 113–122. Jörgen Laessöe, *The Irrigation System at Ulhu*, JCS 5 (1951), pp. 21–32. Edwin M.Wright, *The Eighth Campaign of Sargon II*, JNES 2 (1943), pp. 173–186, shows that Ulhu may be modern Ula near Shahpur.

> which had been waste and since the days of old (had never produced anything became prosperous) and it poured out fruit and grapes like rain. He made plane trees and *šurathu*-trees, the pride of his palace, (grow there and) spread shade over its meadows as thick as that of a forest, and to its fallow field the *ara(hhu*-song he brought? and) he let his people intone the call of the sweet *alala*-(i.e. harvest-) song. Land enough for 300 *homers* of seed, the pride (?) of the barley goddess, (he planted in . . . The ditches with running water) he caused to murmur, and they increased the yield so that the barley could be sold cheaply. He changed the entire surface of its once unproductive region into meadowland and the fresh grass of spring, fodder and pasture, did not disappear winter or summer. He turned (the whole area) into a fold for horses and cattle herds, and domesticated the camels of his inaccessible country so that they . . . the enclosures. He built a palace as his royal seat for his pleasure on the bank of the stream. He roofed it with juniper beams and thus made it smell sweet. Outside out of it, on Mount Kišter, he made a fortress (called) Sarduri-hurda and this he manned with . . .-*tinai*, the most dependable soldiers of his country.

The successors of Rusa I, if one is to judge by their inscriptions, concentrated almost entirely on such large-scale agronomic works and also on pious works, like the building and furnishing of temples.

Under Rusa II (c. 685–645 B.C.) Urartu witnessed a renaissance, based on a further shift of emphasis from military exploits to economic and administrative activity: implementing the policy initiated by his grandfather and namesake, Rusa II built a new district capital for the middle Araxes valley, named Teišebaini (modern Karmir-Blur near Erevan) to replace the abandoned military center of Er(e)buni (modern Arin-berd near Erevan) and the abandoned economic center of Argištihinili (modern Armavir).

On a stele found in the church of Saint Zvarthnots near Echmiadzin, Armenian SSR, Rusa II reported that this valley had previously been uncultivated, but that he had led a canal out of the Ildarunia river (perhaps the modern Hrazdan or Zangu river) and laid out vineyards, fields of trees and barley and orchards.[84] The artificial outlet of Lake Sevan, which feeds this river during the periodical rises in the level of the lake, may also be due to Rusa II.[85]

It was probably also Rusa II (not Rusa I, as earlier scholars had believed),[86] who created the artificial "Lake of Rusa" about 40 km to the east of Van and the "Canal of Rusa" leading its sweet water to the "vineyards, forests and barley fields"

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[84] *UKN*, no. 281.

[85] *Armenien* I, pp. 163–165.

[86] *Armenien* II[1], pp. 193–194.

at the foot of Toprak-Kale (ancient Rusahinili), which must have been founded at the same time.[87]) This huge hydraulic project is also still functioning and is the mainstay of the "garden city" of Van.

Raids on neighboring countries are mentioned by Rusa II only as a means to populate newly built cities:[88]) women were forcibly imported from Kurdistan and men from Halitu (Pontus),[89]) Muški (Phrygia) and Hate (Cappadocia) (inscription of Rusa II, c. 685–645 B.C.).[90]) It looks as if Urartians and Cimmerians (west Scythians) had arrived at a division of labor, the first concentrating on economic development and the latter using Urartu as a base for raids to the west. Herodotus IV.12 mentions one Cimmerian group having settled near Sinope. A particularly damaging Cimmerian raid on Phrygia had caused king Midas to commit suicide in 696 B.C.[91])

We may conclude the story of the west Scythians ("Cimmerians") before discussing the east Scythians. In 679 B.C., Esarhaddon of Assyria (680–669 B.C.) defeated the west Scythians under king Teušpa in the territory of Hubušna (Hittite Hupišna, modern Ereğli between Tarsus and Konya),[92]) but c. 660 B.C. they attacked Lydia, whose king Gyges looked to Assyria for aid. Assurbanipal was flattered, but gave no material help. Gyges then turned to Egypt, but was defeated and killed when the Cimmerians under king Dugdammei (Greek Lygdamis) took Sardis in 652 B.C.[93])

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[87]) *UKN*, no. 268. Goetze shares this view, which is supported by the absence of inscribed finds antedating Rusa II at Toprak-Kale: *Kleinasien*, p. 198, note 2.

[88]) *UKN*, no. 278.

[89]) See p. 83.

[90]) G. A. Melikishvili, *Fragment urartskoi klinoobraznoi nadpisi iz Adyldzhevaza*. Soobshchenia Akademii Nauk Gruzinskoi SSR 12[2] (1951), pp. 123–127.

[91]) The Urartian court can hardly have had a hand in this raid, as Melikishvili would have it: *Nekotorye voprosy sotsialnoekonomicheskoi istorii Nairi-Urartu* (Some Problems concerning the Social and Economic History of Nairi-Urartu), VDI 1951[4], pp. 22–40. Midas seems to have been an ally of Rusa I: *ARAB* II pp. 11, 27. The largest royal tumulus at Gordion contained many luxuries, but no gold. For the hypothesis that the legendary gold of king Midas had been carried off by the west Scythians, and that Midas was buried in the large tomb he had built earlier in his life, with only the bronze, wooden and textile luxuries that remained, see Ekrem Akurgal, *Chronologie der phrygischen Kunst*, Anatolia 4 (1959), pp. 115–121. The excavators believe the tomb belongs to an earlier generation (perhaps Midas' father Gordias) AJA 62 (1958), p. 154. The timbers of which the tomb chamber was built are dated by tree ring chronology to 726 B. C. and by radiocarbon analysis to 725–700 B. C.

[92]) *ANET*[2], p. 303, V. Scheil, *Le Prisme S d'Assaraddon* (Paris, 1914) and *III R*, pls. 15–16, translation in *ARAB* II, p. 212: "And Teušpa, the Cimmerian, a barbarian (*umman manda*) whose home was far off, I cut down with the sword in the land of Hubušna, together with all his troops". Immediately afterwards, Esarhaddon mentions a campaign in Cilicia.

[93]) Maximilian Streck, Assurbanipal (Leipzig, 1916), "Rassam" cylinder, col. II, lines 111–125; J. M. Aynard, *Le Prisme du Louvre AO 19.939* (Paris, 1957), p. 20. Cf. Herodotus 1.15.

The Cimmerians moved on to the south, destroying Ephesus,[94]) then back to the east to the Taurus, where they finally ran into a superior force: the Assyrians, who defeated them shortly after 640 B.C.[95]) Dugdammei died and was succeeded by his son Sandakšatru.[96]) Thereafter they seem to have disappeared from history. In the meantime the east Scythians had started their intrusion into western Asia. In 681 B.C., when Sennacherib's sons and assassins fled over the Urartian border, it was a local ruler Skaiordi ("the Son of the Scythian") who ceded to one of them part of the Urme-Šupria region, according to 5th-century A.D. Armenian legend (see below). Esarhaddon mentions that his Šupria border was threatened by Rusa II and the Cimmerians.[97]) I would like to believe that this was the first appearance of the east Scythians on the historical scene.

We reach slightly more solid ground with a tablet found at Toprak-Kale[98]) which begins with the following date-formula:

> Year in which from the city of Rusa, son of Argišti, Šaga-DUMU-tar, Son of the king of the Išqiyulu, went to the country of Mana, . . .".

"Šaga-DUMU-tar" may have to be interpreted as being roughly the equivalent of "Son of the Scythian" in an Iranian tongue. It looks as if Rusa II (c. 685–645 B.C.) achieved some diplomatic success important enough to name a regnal year after it. One is inclined to interpret it as follows: Rusa may have rid himself of the rapacious Scyths by despatching them to the Assyrian protectorate of Mana. The latter perhaps welcomed this addition to its military potential, which it stationed in Kurdistan and through which it could now assert its independence from Assyria.

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[94]) Kallimachos, *Eis Artemin*, L. 251 ff.

[95]) R. Campbell Thompson, *The British Museum Excavations at Nineveh*, Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology 20 (1933), p. 88, lines 138–162. The encounter with Dugdammei was obviously a major event in the later part of Assurbanipal's reign; he devoted no less than 24 lines to it. Dugdammei first appears as an ally of Tabal in the Taurus area, and is then called "king of the accursed people" (LUGAL NUMUN hal-ga-te-i). But the king of Tabal mysteriously came to grief, and his successors submitted to Assyria.

Then "Dugdammei, king of the Scythians and of Kurdistan (LUGAL KUR Sak-a-a u Gu-tu-um KI – translation corrected by me), arrogant, who knew not the feat of Ashur, trusted to his own strength and pitched his camp on the borders of Assyria, to make war and battle". Twice the gods of Assyria intervened: once with fire falling from heaven and once with an affliction of his genitals, which led him and a faithful subject to double suicide.

Assurbanipal commemorated this deliverance by setting up a large limestone inscription in triplicate in the temple of Ishtar at Nineveh.

[96]) *ARAB* II, p. 385.

[97]) J. A. Knudtzon, *AGS* II, no. 48.

[98]) *UKN*, no. 286. New translation in I. M. Diakonov, *Urartskie Pisma i Dokumenty* (Moscow, 1963), pp. 38–39, 80–81. DUMU is a logogram meaning "Son".

Soon, Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.) heard disturbing rumors concerning a certain Kaštariti (an Assyrianization of Median Khšathrita, which in turn is an abbreviation of some name or title containing the element khšathra, "kingship"). This ruler whose stronghold was at Kār-Kaššī,[99]) had organized a coalition between Scythians, Mannaeans and Medes.[100]) These must be the same Scythians who were allies of Mana and whom Esarhaddon defeated in 679 B.C. according to his annals.[101])

By 672 B.C., when the Assyrian army seized Šupria,[102]) Esarhaddon had come to an understanding with Rusa II about the extradition of political refugees.[103]) Also, by 672 B.C. Esarhaddon seems to have been not only in firm control of the Median situation, but actually to have come to rely on Median support for his dynasty, witness the treaties with the Median vassals.[104]) Maybe the negotiations concerning a marriage of Esarhaddon's daughter to Partatua, king of the Scythians,[105]) also date to this period. The introduction of horse-riding as a royal sport at the Assyrian court may be another sign of a temporary rapprochement between Assyrian, Median and Scythian rulers.

The neutrality of the Scythians may have enabled Assurbanipal (668–627 B.C.) to reestablish Assyrian sovereignty over the Mannaeans in 660/659 B.C.[106])

In or shortly after 654 B.C. Rusa II sent a diplomatic mission to the court of Assurbanipal, presumably still on the basis of equality between the two powers.[107])

F. THE LAST YEARS OF THE URARTIAN KINGDOM UNDER ASSYRIAN SUZERAINTY

Since c. 650 B.C., the consolidated Urartian-Cimmerian and Mannaean-Scythian communities felt the pressure of a new and more formidable power in the east: the "mighty Medes". Shortly after 640 B.C., Sarduri III (c. 645–635 B.C.) sent

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[99]) "Dam against the Kassites" – at least as far south as the Kurdistan-Luristan border.

[100]) J. A. Knudtzon, *AGS* II, nos. 1–15; cf. also *RCAE* no. 1237.

[101]) See note 72, and cf. *ANET*², p. 303 for the date.

[102]) *ANET*², p. 303.

[103]) *ARAB* II, p. 236.

[104]) D. J. Wiseman, *The Vassal-treaties of Esarhaddon*, Iraq 20¹ (1958).

[105]) J. A. Knudtzon, *AGS* II, no. 29.

[106]) Streck, *Assurbanipal*, prism "B," col. III, l. 16–101.

[107]) *Ibid.*, pp. CCLXXXVI, 316.

an embassy to king Assurbanipal of Assyria, acknowledging the latter as sovereign.[108])

In the last days of the Assyrian empire we see the strange phenomenon of Urartu allied with Mana and Assyria against Media and Babylonia – to no avail, as the Medes put an end to the Assyrian empire and went on to annex Mana and Urartu between 609 and 585 B.C. Only the northern provinces of Urartu may have maintained themselves a few years longer until they too succumbed to a new wave of Scythians and, perhaps, adjoining Caucasian tribes.

When Cyaxares, king of the Medes (633–584 B.C.), attacked Nineveh for the first time (614 B.C.),[109]) Madyēs, son of Protothyēs (Partatua) came to the help of his cousin, Sīn-šarra-iškun of Assyria (Herodotus I.103). But in 613 the Scythians and Medes joined forces, enabling Cyaxares to take Nineveh in 612 B.C.[110])

From then on – so Julius Lewy would interpret the evidence[111]) – the Scythians took over and began a 28-year reign of terror in western Asia, preventing the Medes from pushing westward until Cyaxares evicted the Scythians from Asia and proceeded to build the Median empire (585 B.C.). (Herodotus I.103–107 has telescoped the events of 613 B.C. and of 585 B.C., according to this interpretation). While the Babylonians operated only to the south of the Zagros and Taurus ranges, and the Medes only to the north (no doubt through an agreement between Nabopolassar and Cyaxares), the Scythians are found operating in both areas: in 610 B.C. they joined the Babylonians in capturing the last Assyrian stronghold, Harran.[112]) The archaeological finds mentioned below indicate that Scythians accompanied Nebuchadnezzar through Syria and Palestine to Ashkelon in 604 B.C.,[113]) to Egypt in 601 B.C.[114]) and on his two conquests of Judah in 597 and 586 B.C.[115]) After that, few Babylonian military ventures are documented.

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[108]) R. Campbell Thompson et al., *The British Museum Excavations at Nineveh*, Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology 20 (1933), p. 87, lines 121–123: "Ishtar-Duri, the king of Urartu, whose royal fathers unto my fathers had sent *brotherhood*," – i.e. had enjoyed a status of equality in relation to Assyria – "then heard the might of the works which the great gods had determined for me, and fear fell upon him and he sent thus: "Peace unto the King, my *Lord*."

[109]) Babylonian chronicle, *ANET*², p. 304; 12th year of Nabopolassar: Cyaxares leads the Medes; 14th year of Nabopolassar: Cyaxares leads the Umman-manda.

[110]) See note 109.

[111]) *Kimmerier und Skythen in Vorderasien*, Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte 6 (Berlin, 1926), pp. 347–349. T. Cuyler Young in his thesis *Protohistoric Western Iran* (University of Pennsylvania, 1963) independently arrived at the same conclusion.

[112]) *ANET*², p. 305.

[113]) *Herodotus* I. 105 and *CCK*, p. 68, lines 15–20.

[114]) *CCK*, p. 70, lines 5–7.

[115]) *CCK*, p. 72, lines 11–13 and *Jeremiah* 52: 12.

To the north of the Zagros-Taurus border, the Scythians in 609 B.C. marched "as far as the district of the city of Urartu", stayed there for some time and plundered it.[116]) This would seem to indicate the conquest and sack of Van itself and surroundings, especially as the Babylonians then proceed to annex the mountainous parts of Urartu in the upper Tigris basin (just south of the eastern Taurus extension) in 608–607 B.C.[117])

One is tempted to connect this Scythian move back into Urartu with a legend reported by the 5th century A.D. Armenian historian Moses of Chorene. According to this legend, the ancestor of the first Armenian kings, Skaiordi ("Son of the Scythian"), is supposed to have ruled as a vassal during the reigns of Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.) and Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.). The elder sons of Sennacherib having fled hither after their patricide, Skaiordi allowed one of them to settle the mountains above Sason.[118])

According to the same Armenian legend, Skaiordi's son Paruir (whose name vaguely recalls that of the Scythian king Partatua, mentioned in Assyrian sources of this period) was a contemporary of Assurbanipal and helped Cyaxares to defeat Assyria, in return for which Cyaxares recognized him as independent king of Armenia.[119]) One is led to the conclusion that Paruir must have been one of the Umman-manda ("barbarian hordes", i.e. Scythians) who fought under Cyaxares in 612–609 B.C., according to the Babylonian chronicle.[120])

The purpose of this gesture of Cyaxares' may actually have been to entice these unruly hordes away from Kurdistan and the Median border.

This interpretation would also solve the problem of several contradictions in Herodotus' story: in I.104 he says the Scythians made themselves masters of all Asia, but in IV.1 he says the Scythians ruled upper Asia for 28 years (upper Asia is specifically Asia Minor east of the Halys). In I.104 he says the Scythians deprived the Medes of their rule, but in I.73 he says Cyaxares at first treated the Scythians kindly.

The solution here proposed is that the Scythians ruled upper Asia = the former territory of Urartu until, for some reason disguised behind the story in Herodotus I.73, they fell out with Cyaxares and made common cause with Alyattes of Lydia

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[116]) *CCK*, p. 62, lines 72–73. *ANET*², p. 305 does not make clear that "the city of Urartu" is mentioned here.

[117]) *CCK*, p. 64, lines 1–11. The passages from Jeremiah quoted on p. 1 indicate that by 594 B. C. Urartu was part of the loosely organized Median Kingdom. For its organization, see Herodotus I, 134.

[118]) Moses of Chorene, *History of Armenia* (German translation by M. Lauer, Regensburg, 1869), book I, ch. 23.

[119]) *Ibid.*, ch. 21.

[120]) *ANET*², pp. 304–305.

(west of the Halys) in 590 B.C. This started the Medo-Lydian war which ended with the establishment of the Halys as the Medo-Lydian border in 585 B.C.[121]) Archaeological evidence permits us to follow the Scythians to some extent in their wanderings. Unmistakably Scythian arrowheads[122]) have been found at Karmir-Blur, not only outside the citadel but also in its magazines, proving that the Urartian government had Scythian mercenaries in its own service.
In addition, such arrow-heads were found e.g. at Haikaberd and Toprak-Kale, at Alişar, at Assur, Kalhu and Nineveh, and from there all the way over Carchemish, Tarsus, al-Mina and Gerar to Northern Egypt. At several of these sites they are dated within narrow margins to c. 600 B.C., e.g. at Carchemish almost surely to the destruction of 604 B.C.[123])
After 585 B.C. there is no more evidence of the Scythians in western Asia, but in the period 575–550 B.C. fall the richest Scythian burials in south Russia, which also show the strongest Near Eastern influence: the Kelermes, Melgunov and Kostromskaia barrows.[124]) These finds fully vindicate Herodotus' report about the Scythians' return to south Russia.[125]) No Scythian burials have been found there dating to the period c. 625–575 B.C., except for one dating to c. 600 at Zukur-Liman on the Taman peninsula, which contained no Scythian material, but a number of Near Eastern bronzes.[126])

G. THE ORIGIN OF THE ARMENIANS

The gap between the all-pervading, enterprising royal family and the inarticulate and basically inert natives may explain why there is no written evidence about a population group which was in all likelihood already strongly represented among

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[121]) *Herodotus*, I. 74.

[122]) T. Sulimirski, *Scythian Antiquities in Western Asia*, Artibus Asiae 17 (1954), pp. 282–318, especially pp. 308–313, cites the evidence for calling these arrowheads Scythian. They were apparently first evolved (as a compromise between the heavy four-winged tanged arrowhead and the light two-winged socketed spearhead) in Transcaucasia in the 8th century B. C. to form light arrows for mounted archers such as the Scythians. These seem to have preferred bronze to iron because it is easier to cast. Only in the 7th or 6th century B.C. did this type of arrowhead spread north of the Caucasus. For a detailed description see p. 187.

[123]) T. Sulimirski, *Scythian Antiquities in Western Asia*, Artibus Asiae 17 (1954), pp. 296 ff.

[124]) Karl Schefold, *Der Skythische Tierstil in Südrussland*, Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua 12 (1938), pp. 1–78, has succeeded in dating the Scythian tomb groups to their respective quarter-centuries on the basis of Greek objects. See also Richard B. Barnett, *Median Art*, Iranica Antiqua 2 (1962), pp. 77–95, especially p. 93.

[125]) *Herodotus*, IV. 1–4.

[126]) See note 124.

the subjects of the Urartian kings: the Armenians, whose own language, related to Greek and Albanian and probably part of an imperfectly known "Thraco-Phrygian" group, is attested since the 5th century A.D.

The geographical name Armenia first appears in the form Armina in the Old Persian inscription of Darius I (521–486 B.C.) at Bisutun, with Urašṭu as the Neo-Babylonian equivalent.[127]) It may perhaps have been derived from 9th century B.C. Aramali = 8th century B.C. Armarili, the name (only mentioned in Assyrian sources) for the region east and northeast of Lake Van.[128]) However, Piotrovskii thinks[129]) it was derived from Urme or Arme, the area between modern Muş and Diyarbakir, including the almost inaccessible Batman basin (Assyrian Šupria) and the upper Tigris basin (Assyrian Ar(i)me).[130])

It is here that some of the Thraco-Phrygian tribes including Kaski (the Kaška of the Hittite records), Muški and, perhaps, also the Urumi had nestled after the migrations of the 12th century B.C.

Tiglathpileser I of Assyria (c. 1115–1077 B.C.) confronted them on the upper Tigris and deported 6,000 Muški and 4,000 Kaski and Urumi from there.[131]) Others must have stayed here and formed Thraco-Phrygian speaking pockets in Urme (cf. Urumi) and Šupria (earlier Subartu), related to groups nearer the Black Sea.

It is in the Batman basin and surroundings that Skaiordi, the ancestor of the first Armenian kings, is supposed to have ruled as a vassal according to the Armenian legend mentioned above.

Skaiordi's son Paruir – so the legend goes – was recognized as an independent king of Armenia by Cyaxares after he had helped Cyaxares to defeat Assyria. Above, I connected this legend with the move of the Scythians into Urartu in 609 B.C. In or before 585 B.C. Urartu proper was incorporated into the Median Empire, but on Urartu's southwestern fringe, the nucleus of the later Armenian state remained as an independent unit – so Piotrovskii surmises.[132])

In the 1930's, Meshchaninov made an ingenious suggestion which would push back

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[127]) Roland G. Kent, *Old Persian Grammar* . . . (New Haven, 1953), p. 171.

[128]) *ARAB* I, p. 220, *Huitième campagne*, lines 269–280.

[129]) VT, pp. 124–127.

[130]) See list of occurrences in *UKN*, pp. 420, 446.

[131]) *ARAB* I, pp. 74–77 (accession year and first year). Some scholars suggest the Urumi mentioned here may have been Aramaeans. According to this hypothesis, a group of nomads from the Syrian desert fringes somehow joined forces with the Kaskaean nomads coming from the North. Such a link-up of heterogeneous landless tribes is not without precedent: the "Sea Peoples" who operated in the eastern Mediterranean in the 12th century B. C. were also of diverse ethnic origin; cf. also note 24.

[132]) VT, p. 127.

the first appearance of the Armenians even further: the father of Rusa III (c. 625–609 B.C.), called Erimena, is not attested outside of the inscriptions of his son, where he appears in the phrase "Rusa, son of Erimena". In analogy to the many other ethnic names formed on the pattern "Son(s) of PN", Meshchaninov took this phrase to give Rusa III's ethnic background, not his father's name.[133]) In this hypothesis, his accession already marked the take-over by the Armenian element of the population, Erimena being identified with Armina. Neither Piotrovskii nor Melikishvili accept this theory and however attractive it may seem, the bulk of the evidence culled from classical and early Armenian sources weighs rather in favor of the alternative derivation of Armina from Arme-Urme.

While on the southwestern fringe of Urartu one group thus may have achieved a short-lived independence at the expense of the moribund kingdom of Van, and given its name to the new nation that was to be called Armenian, another group seems to have asserted itself on the northwestern fringe – around modern Erzincan – and to have given the Armenians their language. The name Hai, by which the Armenians call themselves, may perhaps be connected with the Hittite name for this area: Haiaša.[134]) Certainly the road of penetration of the Thraco-Phrygian tribes like Kaski, Muški and perhaps also the Urumi must have led along the southern shore of the Black Sea, before they veered south into the interior.[135]) Strabo mentions Supiritis (Šupria) and Acilisēnē (the Erzincan area) as being the oldest provinces of Armenia.[136]) They became the nuclei, respectively, of eastern Armenia (Armenia Major) and western Armenia (Armenia Minor). After varying experiences under the Achaemenids and Seleucids, they merged into a unified Armenian state in the 2nd century B.C.

In the Lake Van area, too, the Thraco-Phrygian speaking element had soon come to the fore. In Herodotus' time (c. 450 B.C.) the Urartians (as Alarodioi) are still mentioned as a separate unit,[137]) subject to the Persian Empire but not part of Armenia. Later, the hereditary satraps of this area ("Eastern Armenia") came from a family with the Armenian name of Eruanduni (Greek Orontas, already mentioned

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[133]) I. I. Meshchaninov, *K analizu imeni Erimena* (On the Analysis of the Name E), I Azyk i myshlenie 1 (1933), pp. 37–42. Since then, the name Erimena, Son of A[rgišti II??] has been recognized in the seal impression on a clay tablet from Karmir-Blur; I. M. Diakonov, *Urartskie Pisma i Dokumenty* (Moscow, 1963), p. 57.

[134]) *Kleinasien*, p. 102 and map.

[135]) *Kleinasien*, pp. 178–179, 185.

[136]) Strabo XI. 14: 12.

[137]) Herodotus III, 94: they form the 18th satrapy (distinct from Armenia) with the Matienoi and Saspeires. The latter dwell between the Medes and the Colchians, according to Herodotus I. 104, IV. 37. Later their region is called Hyspiratis, the modern Çoruh basin with its capital at Ispir north of Erzurum.

by Xenophon c. 400 B.C.).[138]) By the beginning of the Christian era Strabo reported that the Armenians only spoke one language.[139]) Nevertheless the modern dialect of Van apparently still had some phonetic peculiarities attributable to the Urartian substratum.[140])

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[138]) *Anabasis* II. 4. 8–9, III. 4. 13, 5. 17, IV. 3. 4.

[139]) *Geography* XI. 14. 5.

[140]) A. S. Garibian, quoted in VT, p. 128.

II. POTTERY

The prehistoric pottery of the Lake Van area can be divided into a number of successive phases. First a handmade gray ware is found at a number of sites. According to Von der Osten, it is of the same type as that found at Alişar in the levels of the Early Chalcolithic.[1]) The exact stratification of this ware has not yet been proved by excavations.

Next comes a ware of the same type as the Halaf ware of northern Syria and northern Mesopotamia (fifth millennium B.C.?). Still later we find a coarse ware, tempered with a mixture of sand and vegetable matter, labeled "Haeckselkeramik" by the German excavators. It comes in two varieties, one very coarse with a reddish brown to tan slip (this ware has also been found on both sides of the Euphrates near the Turkish-Syrian border). The other variety, which appears to be contemporary with the first, has a white slip, upon which bundles of short vertical wavy lines are painted in a thickly applied, mat reddish-brown paint. The Halaf-type ware and the Haeckselkeramik were found in this order in the excavation of the site now known as Tilkitepe and formerly known as Şamiramalti[2]) (fourth millennium B.C.?)

A second handmade gray ware probably followed in chronological order after this sequence, according to Von der Osten[3]) (third to second millennium B.C.?).

The pottery of the Urartian period comes in two varieties: painted ware and red ware, of which the first belongs to the earlier part of the Urartian kingdom. For some time the two wares co-existed, until the latter part of the Urartian period when only the red ware was made.

The general stratification of the Urartian pottery is proved by finds at Van,[4]) Kalecik,[5]) and Toprak-Kale.[6]) On the north slope on the rock of Van a deposit

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[1]) Hans Henning von der Osten, *Die urartäische Töpferei aus Van und die Möglichkeit ihrer Einordnung in die anatolische Keramik*, Orientalia Nova Series 21 (1952), pp. 307–328, 22 (1953), pp. 329–354.

[2]) Edward B. Reilly, *Test Excavations at Tilkitepe* (1937), Türk Tarih Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi 4 (1940), pp. 156–165.

[3]) See note 1.

[4]) Kirsopp Lake, *Vanda yapilan hafriyat*, Türk Tarih Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi 4 (1940), pp. 179–191. H. Otto, *Die amerikanischen Ausgrabungen am Burgfelsen von Van*, AfO 14 (1941), pp. 87–95.

[5]) See note 4.

[6]) *Armenien* II², pp. 467–476, 559–580, *Materialien*, pp. 109–120.

of only painted ware was found immediately below the surface. In an excavation at Kalecik, eight km north of Van, both wares were found in equal quantity. At Toprak-Kale only red ware was found.

The dating of the beginning of the exclusive use of red ware depends on the question which of the kings called Rusa is responsible for the foundation of Rusahinili, the ancient city now known as Toprak-Kale. Scholars of the older generation assumed that this founder was Rusa I (735–714 B.C.).[7]) Melikishvili has suggested that Rusa II (685–645 B.C.) may be responsible.[8]) No inscribed material antedating this latter king was found at Toprak-Kale.

Both the painted and the red wares are made of fine, sand-tempered clay and well fired. The typical shape common to both is a deep bowl with steep sides, which often has horizontal grooves below the rim.[9]) Comparatively few vessels with handles are found.

The painted ware comes in two varieties. One is made of fine, yellowish clay and consists mostly of bowls which are slipped inside and out. The other is made of coarse, reddish clay and consists of round-bellied jars, which are slipped outside only. Both varieties are smoothed. Geometric motifs are applied in a glossy brownish paint. The motifs are placed in horizontal zones on the rims of the bowls or on the shoulders of the jars and consist mostly of pendent loops, lozenges, pendent triangles, and bundles of vertical lines. One jar with trefoil mouth and lug (in the shape of an inverted nose) from Toprak-Kale, 30 cm high, is probably an import.[10]) It has walking water birds between denticulated horizontal bands, painted in thick, mat, purplish-brown paint on a yellowish ground.

The bases of the painted ware are either flat or in the form of a pedestal. Von der Osten sees a loose relationship between this ware and the Phrygian ware which he found at Alişar together with seals inscribed in "Hittite" hieroglyphs. Goetze would date the latter to the period from 1200 to 800 B.C.[11])

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[7]) *Armenien* I, p. 10, followed by, among others, R. D. Barnett in Iraq 12 (1950), pp. 1–43.

[8]) *UKN*, introduction to no. 268. Goetze, *Kleinasien* (1957), p. 198, note 2, had already come to the same conclusion.

[9]) Von der Osten (see note 1), fig. 1.

[10]) *Armenien einst und jetzt* II², p. 570. An imported vessel found out of context at Hasanlu in northwest Iran has the same general scheme of decoration, although actually quite different in detail; ILN Sept. 30, 1961, p. 536, fig. 8.

[11]) Erich F. Schmidt, *The Alishar Hüyük Seasons of 1928 and 1929* I (OIP 19, Chicago, 1932), pp. 213–276.
Hans Henning von der Osten, *The Alishar Hüyük Seasons of 1930–32*² (OIP 29, Chicago, 1937), pp. 287–459.
Kleinasien, p. 187, note 1. Ekrem Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens* (Berlin, 1961), p. 76 would date this ware to the period 775–725 B.C.

Von der Osten considered the appearance of painted pottery in eastern and central Asia Minor during these ancient Near Eastern "Dark Ages" as evidence of an invasion of "Buntkeramiker". Bittel, on the other hand, interpreted it simply as a revival of local traditions dormant during the Hittite Empire.[12])

The study of the historic periods in western Asia has been much bedeviled by attempts to link changing fashions with ethnic movements (such as Von der Osten's attempt, just mentioned, to link the changeover from unpainted to painted pottery around 1200 B.C. to an invasion of "Buntkeramiker"). In reality, such changing fashions are much more likely to have been occasioned by changes of the social structure. Red and black burnished wares, being cheap substitutes for gold and silver ware, are associated in the historic periods in western Asia with strongly stratified societies, in which the taste of a powerful and wealthy court pervaded the culture of the whole country. Folk art was there relegated to backwaters, and all classes imitated court fashions in media within their reach. In times when the central power broke down, we see almost without exception the re-emergence of painted pottery as a favorite medium of the much more unassuming folk art.

It is only the use of painted pottery in court circles that can really be called a foreign element in ancient western Asia during historic periods. (I specifically do not refer to Egypt or Greece, where the use of painted pottery does not seem to have had these social connotations, nor to the long succession of pottery-using cultures which preceded urban civilization in western Asia. If one considers only the prehistoric stages of development, one might even arrive at the conclusion that the use of painted pottery denotes a more prosperous, more sophisticated phase of village culture than that of unpainted pottery).

In support of the above, I may point to the use of painted pottery by the Ubaid culture, followed by the use of red and gray wares in the brilliant "Protoliterate a-b" phase of civilization in south Mesopotamia. The culturally lagging north of Mesopotamia continued to use painted pottery.[13]) In the Protoliterate c-d and Early Dynastic I periods, characterized by a general cultural and probably social breakdown, painted pottery reappeared in the south.[14]) Thereafter, plain wares prevailed until the appearance of the painted luxury pottery known as Nuzu ware about 1500 B.C., which was associated with the foreign Mitannian domination in north Mesopotamia.[15])

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[12]) Kurt Bittel in Istanbuler Mitteilungen 5 (1942), pp. 109 ff.

[13]) Ann L. Perkins, *The Comparative Archeology of Early Mesopotamia* (University of Chicago, Oriental Institute, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 25, Chicago, 1949), pp. 98–164.

[14]) Pinhas Delougaz, *Pottery from the Diyala Region*, OIP 63, Chicago, 1952, pp. 48–51, 60–72.

[15]) Bartel Hrouda, *Die bemahlte Keramik des 2. jahrtausends in Nordmesopotamien und Nordsyrien*, Berlin, 1957, pp. 10–21.

Meanwhile, the decipherment of the "Hittite" hieroglyphs has proved that the people making the painted pottery in level IV at Alişar used on their seals a variant of one of the languages of the Hittite Empire (Luwian), another argument in favor of Bittel's view.

As Urartu emerged from the provincialism of the "Dark Ages" to the status of a centralized monarchy on a par with Assyria, we see the process described above in reverse: in the taste of a more sophisticated younger generation, the garish painted pottery was discarded as belonging to the peasant way of life and replaced by the simpler monochrome pottery, while artistic effort was now applied to works on a larger scale or in more valuable media.

The red ware has finer shapes, more handles, and more variety in the bases, which also include ring bases. Even in the jars the walls are only 6 mm thick. Before firing a slip was applied over the clay. According to Lehmann-Haupt[16]) this slip was made of crushed vessels dissolved in water. This conclusion was reached because the walls of the vessels are not burned red to such a degree as the slip. However, it seems possible that the slip consisted simply of a solution in water of the finest particles of the clay which, in the firing, formed an isolating layer over the surface of the vessel and thus prevented the heat from decarbonizing the walls of the vessels.

Still before firing, the clay was burnished. Pattern-burnishing occurs. The patterns include zigzags, crosshatching, and circles and semicircles connected with strokes and dots (perhaps indicating the capacity), all on a mat background. (Alternatively, the vessels could be polished after firing, or both techniques could be applied successively).

The clay, which must have contained a high percentage of iron, was fired in an oxidizing atmosphere. It has often been remarked that the resultant shiny red surface was an attempt to imitate the appearance of gold or copper vessels. An additional aim may have been to waterproof the vessel, as the climate of Urartu did not require the cooling of beverages.

A discussion of the pottery found at the various Urartian sites may follow.

A representative sample of Urartian pottery was found in the excavations at Toprak-Kale.[17]) In the storehouse at the center of the east side of the citadel, in what may have been the wine cellar, twenty-five jars, each containing 500 to 600 liters were found. In addition, the levels of dumped material along the west central part of the citadel contained some fragments of red polished storage jars and many fragments of large plain-ware storage jars with rope moldings or horizontal bands of impressed chevrons and cuneiform or hieroglyphic notations of the contents. The rims often carried plastic decoration in the shape of bulls being

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[16]) *Armenien* II², p. 577, based on an analysis by R. Kobert.

[17]) See note 6.

Fig. 2 Rim sherd of storage jar, decorated with lion attacking bull, from Toprak-Kale (*Armenien* II², p. 470)

attacked by lions. The bull was represented lying on the rim with his legs folded underneath or hanging down the side of the rim. The lion was shown climbing up the side of the rim, sinking his claws into the bull's legs and his jaws into the bull's belly (Fig. 2).[18]) Detached lions' heads were also found.

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[18]) The unusual position of the lions may be due to their serving as lug-handles, like the bulls' heads mentioned on p. 35. For comparison I may refer to a bronze axe from Van in the British Museum, decorated with a lion attacked by dogs (M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (Oxford, 1922), pl. XIc).

In addition, there were fragments of many smaller red polished-ware jars and bowls, which had hieroglyphic indications of their capacity below the handle and potter's marks on the bottom. The potter's marks consisted of crescents, rosettes, or circles with inscribed crosses or crenelations, and had been stamped into the clay before firing. The shapes consisted of deep or flat bowls, with a diameter of 17 to 25 cm and a height of 4 to 7½ cm, as well as pots, jars and jugs, of which some had lips. The diameter of the neck of a typical polished jug was 10 cm, the width of its handle 2 cm.

The rims are often rolled out. Below the rim one to three horizontal grooves form a simple decoration. More elaborate decorations consist of bands of patterns in relief or incised (e.g., combed) technique, placed below the rim or on the belly. One red polished spouted jug (greatest diameter 14½ cm) had a double groove around the belly and a circle of rays hanging down from the neck to the shoulder, each of which was incised in herringbone fashion.[19]) Alternating with these pendent rays are a few inverted rays, pointing up from the double groove.

The copying of metal prototypes is seen most clearly in those cases where the rivets fixing the handle to the body are imitated in clay, and also in the shape known as *phiale*, in which the bottom and sides of a bowl are decorated with elongated bosses shaped and arranged like the petals of a rosette.[20])

Other types, represented by fewer examples, were boxes with lids, censers, saucer-shaped lamps (often with a vertical partition pierced by two or three slots), communicating double vessels, pot stands, button-base tankards, and long-spouted jugs.

Black polished ware is represented among the Toprak-Kale finds by miniature jugs (height 6–16 mm).

At Van itself, four more wares were found which are contemporary with the painted and red wares:[21]) one, a gray ware which probably continues an old local tradition and is represented by bowls with steep sides or with inverted rims, like those seen in the painted and red wares; the second, a course whitish-red ware; the third a fine white-slipped ware, also painted, but distinguished from the painted Urartian ware by a different paint and different motifs (it is represented by vessels including a basket-handled pot with double spout; this ware was undoubtedly imported); the fourth, a coarse and undistinguished ware, was used for kitchen purposes.

At Karmir-Blur great quantities of pottery were found.[22]) The wine cellars will be

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[19]) *Armenien* II², p. 576.

[20]) Heinz Luschey, *Die Phiale*, Bleicherode am Harz, 1939.

[21]) See note 1.

[22]) *VT*, pp. 189–196.

mentioned in chapter III. In addition, one storeroom contained 1,036 jugs,[23]) and another storeroom 120 vessels of various kinds. The vessels ranged in size from some which held 1,200 liters[24]) to miniature pots 2 cm high. The large storage jars were used not only for liquids but also for grain, in which case the bottoms were pierced for ventilation. They were decorated with rope moldings and impressed triangles. Often this ornament was combined with stamped or incised patterns or with burnishing.

The numerous jugs, all made of the typical Urartian red polished ware, but probably manufactured locally, usually have a lip as in the Greek *oinochoai*. They often have a hieroglyphic stamp below the handle. Other common shapes in the red polished ware are profiled bowls and little communicating double vessels.

Side by side with the red polished ware, a crude local ware of very archaic appearance was found in Karmir-Blur. It is black and consists of wide-mouthed pots, often decorated with combed herringbone patterns or impressed "seed" patterns or waves.

A third ware found at Karmir-Blur is also represented in eastern Transcaucasian graves of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., e.g., near Lori[25]) and near Sevan.[26]) This pottery is black, pattern-burnished, and the handles of the jugs have impressed vertical bands of chevrons.

Some decorated jars from Karmir-Blur deserve special mention. One large, black burnished jar (height 50 cm) was painted, on the inside rim, with two rows of yellow and brown checkers and, on a raised band at the shoulder, with black-dotted brown circles on a cream background, framed by a black line above and brown and black lines below.[27]) In addition, three bulls' heads are modeled in the round at the height of the shoulder, interrupting the band of painting and forming a clear link to the bronze cauldrons with attachments in the form of bulls' heads.[28]) Aside from their decorative effect, such bulls' heads may well have originally had a practical purpose, perhaps to facilitate carrying (Pl. I).

In the northwest corner storeroom, an *askos* was found, painted with zones of circles, checkers, cross-hatching, and rays,[29]) looking at first sight like an import. However, the red polished handle and spout prove that the vessel was manufactured in Urartu.

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[23]) *VT*, pl. XXXI.

[24]) *VT*, pl. XXX.

[25]) At Cheithan-Tagh cemetery: Jacques de Morgan, *Mission scientifique au Caucase* (Paris, 1889), pp. 147–149.

[26]) Excavated by E. A. Lalaian: *VT*, p. 193.

[27]) *VT*, pl. XLIV.

[28]) See chapter VI, p. 103.

[29]) *VT*, p. 191. Wissenschaftliche Annalen 6 (1957), p. 845, fig. 11.

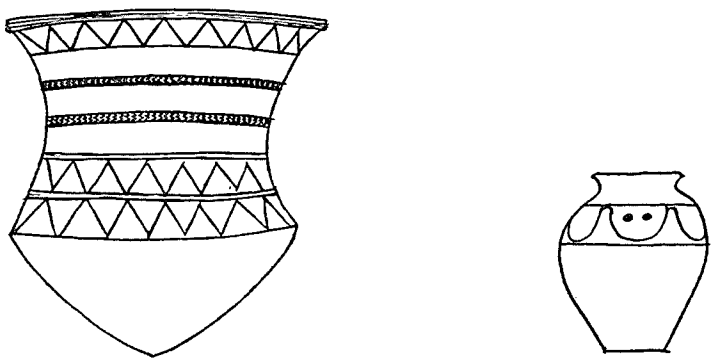

Fig. 3 Left: Red to black burnished vat with white-filled decoration from Patnos in Ankara Museum. Right: Buff ware jar with incised and impressed decoration from Altin-tepe.

Even more unusual in shape are two boot-shaped drinking vessels, found in Karmir-Blur.[30]) One of them is partly painted, like the *askos* just mentioned, with zones of circles, checkers, hatching and zigzags (the latter render the laces). The other is impressed with double rows of little white-filled triangles indicating, no doubt, the seams where the leather parts of the boot are stitched together.
Examples of boot-shaped drinking vessels dating to the same period (or a little earlier) are known from northern Iran.[31])
In several storerooms at Karmir-Blur lids and stoppers of vessels were sometimes still secured by lumps of clay which carried seal impressions.
In a house to the west of the citadel a clay potter's wheel was excavated,[32]) together with an iron hoe for hacking up the clay. In a neighboring room there was a heap of clay.
At least two different potters' workshops functioned at Karmir-Blur, as is proved by the potters' marks below the handles of the jugs and by the different styles of the jugs and storage jars.
Other objects of baked clay found at Karmir-Blur include three figures of bearded genii in fish hoods[33]) from the larger of the two wine cellars. (See Chapter III, p. 57). In their right hands the genii held a staff which has now disappeared but which left a mark in the base. The fish hood was powdered with light blue paint. In the

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[30]) *IU*, pls. XXVIII-XXIX. Guitty Azarpay, *Two Urartian Boot-shaped Vessels*, Artibus Asiae 27 (1964), pp. 61–71.

[31]) exhibition catalogue *Sept mille ans d'art en Iran* (Petit Palais, Paris, 1961–1962), no. 106.

[32]) *KB*, II, p. 86.

[33]) *VT*, fig. 77.

other wine cellar the excavators came across a figurine of a scorpion-man, painted white with black eyes, brown hair and beard, and light blue headdress.[34])
In the temporary structures in the court of the citadel, crude figures of a horse and a bull were found. They may well have been children's toys.
From Patnos comes a large wide-mouthed vessel (diameter c. 80 cm, now on display in the museum at Ankara). It is made of burnished ware fired red in some parts and black in others and is decorated with rows of white-filled triangles (Fig. 3, left). The shape is similar to that of the jar with the bull's heads from Karmir-Blur, mentioned above, and to a 5th-century B. C. vessel from Agreb Tepe near Hasanlu, Iran, JNES 24 (1965), p. 213, fig. 13.
In the storehouse at Altintepe there were two rooms with very large storage jars marked with hieroglyphic notations of volume.
Also at Altintepe was found a buff-ware jar decorated with an incised wavy line and with pairs of holes representing, perhaps, pairs of human eyes (Fig. 3, right).
In red polished ware Altintepe yielded, among other vessels, three footed goblets much like one found at Karmir-Blur. These were found on or near a side bench in the temple at Altintepe.

[34]) *VT*, fig. 78.

III. ARCHITECTURE

A. FORTIFICATION WALLS

Most settlements of the Urartians were surrounded by fortification walls. The settlements usually consist of a citadel built on an eminence like a Greek acropolis, with or without an outer town situated below the acropolis.[1]) For their citadels the Urartians usually chose a mountain spur, to which water could be led through stone or clay pipes from a spring situated higher up. Large fortified cities often also had fortified outposts whose purpose was to guard the water supply. The passes in the various roads leading from the outside world to the Lake Van basin were likewise guarded by fortresses. There seems to have been a differentiation between citadels which were the seat of administration for an agricultural district (URU) and citadels which contained palaces and temples (É.GAL).

The slopes which were not part of the bedrock, but consisted of earth, were reinforced with retaining walls. At Anzaf and at Zivistan there are four parallel retaining walls of cyclopic blocks.[2]) The slopes themselves were sometimes covered with an inclined dressing of stone known as *glacis*. Most fortification walls themselves had no foundations, but rested on steps which were excavated into the bedrock. Rockcut moats served to make mountain spurs into isolated, impregnable fortresses: at Haikaberd, near Astvadzashen (now called Asbaşin), part of Mount Bol was cut off by a 10 m wide moat. A 300 m stretch of the spur was made into fortress I, from where a walled saddle led to fortress II.[3])

The older masonry is "semi-cyclopean", i.e., built of very large blocks, usually of black basalt from Mount Süphan, rarely of limestone. E.g., in the fortress built by king Sarduri I at the northwestern foot of the rock of Van in the middle of the ninth century B.C. stones up to 6 m long and 75 cm high were employed (Pl. II).[4]) These blocks were not quarried locally (the rock of Van consists of lime-marble), but apparently brought from across the lake by ship. The fortress itself probably

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[1]) An enumeration and short description of a number of fortified sites in the Lake Van area is found in C. A. Burney, *Urartian Fortresses and Towns in the Van Region*, AS 7 (1957), pp. 37–53; *Measured Plans of Urartian Fortresses*, AS 10 (1960), pp. 177–196.

[2]) *Armenien* II[1], p. 38; Burney, *loc. cit.* in note 1.

[3]) *Armenien* II[1], p. 60; Burney, *loc. cit.* in note 1. Now being excavated by Prof. Afif Erzen, AS 14 (1964), pp. 22–23; AJA 69 (1965), p. 141.

[4]) AS 7 (1957), pl. IIIa. *Armenien* II[1], pp. 18–25.

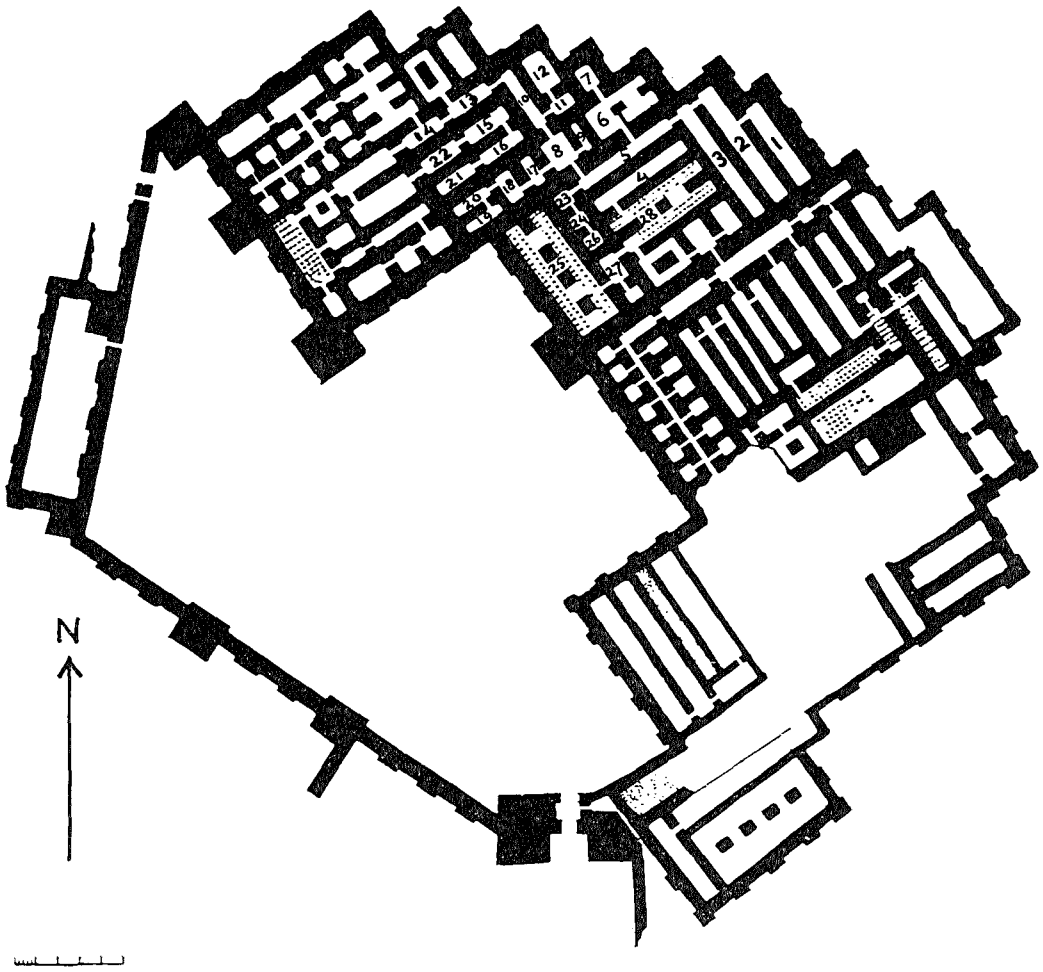

Fig. 4 Plan of citadel of Karmir-Blur (ancient Teišebaini) near Erevan (after *KB* IV, combined with *IU*, fig. 5)

served to protect the harbor. There is a spring near its northwest corner.
The rock of Van itself is 1½km long but very narrow. The only monument on the rock possibly dating to the reign of Sarduri I, is a collapsed niche with remains of an Assyrian inscription concerning sacrifices. Its fortifications, which are still standing and in use in parts, were probably erected by one of Sarduri's successors.[5])
Later masonry is usually of smaller size, using blocks up to 1 m long without mortar, often finely dressed (Pl. III).
The walls of the fortresses are usually between 3 or 4 m thick and often battered, i.e., each course of stones is stepped in 5 to 10 cm behind the course below. The superstructure was often in mud brick, especially in the Araxes valley. Normally there would be buttresses at intervals of about 10 m, projecting 1 m from the line of the walls and about 4 m wide. To judge from bronze models of buildings found at Toprak-Kale, these buttresses supported a projecting parapet crowning the wall (Pl. XXb).[6]) In addition, the fortress at Karmir-Blur, for instance, had projecting square towers, 12 m wide, flanking the main entrance gate and reinforcing a number of other points.
The citadel of Karmir-Blur affords a good insight into typical Urartian fortifications; it has been minutely described in a monograph.[7]) The plan follows the contours of a natural eminence, but there is a striking resemblance to the fortresses at Tashburun and Chatakh: all three have one gate at the northwest, three towers along the west wall, an angle in the southwest, and a second gate in the south (Fig. 4).[8]) On the north and the east the citadel takes advantage of the steep bank of the Hrazdan river. Halfway down this bank there are retaining walls to prevent the undermining of the citadel.
The citadel of Toprak-Kale is situated on a limestone spur of Mount Zimzim, near Van.[9]) The area, measuring 60 by 400 m, drops sharply to east, south, and west, but the steep rocky slopes had been cut into very narrow steps, up to 1 m high, to receive the stone wall foundations.
At the southwest end a subterranean rock-cut spiral staircase of fifty-six steps, lit by three large windows, led down to a huge hall. Outside, a rock-cut channel brought a stream from a spring 1½ km away to within a few meters of an opening near the foot of the staircase. From here on a continuation in wood (the holes for

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[5]) Probably by his son Išpuini (c. 830–810 B. C.) toward the end of the latter's reign. Near the east entrance to the citadel (Tabriz Gate) there is an inscription commemorating the building of a chapel and the bringing of sacrifices to Haldi by Išpuini, Išpuini's son Menua and Menua's son Inušpua, *UKN*, no. 18.

[6]) Iraq 12 (1950), pl. I.

[7]) *KB* IV.

[8]) A. A. Ivanovskii, *Po Zakavkaziu* (Through Transcaucasia), *MAK* 6 (1911), pp. 76–79.

[9]) *Armenien* II², pp. 454–479.

the supporting beams are still visible) must have led the water through the opening into the hall, which contains a basin, 1 m deep, with drain and surrounding benches.

Near the spring was a square mud-brick guard-post, measuring 5 by 5 m.

The center of the citadel was apparently an open square, around which were situated:

1. the temple of Haldi to the northeast (see below),
2. the storehouse to the east (see below),
3. the magazine to the southeast, which contained, among other objects, the bronze candelabrum of king Rusa,[10])
4. the archive (?) to the northwest, bordering on the forecourt of the temple. It contained many charred beams and a few cuneiform and hieroglyphic tablets.
5. what seems to have been a kind of *favissa* to the west.

Lehmann-Haupt called this western sector of the citadel the "terrace of the dead" and believed scores of captives had been slaughtered here as a foundation sacrifice for a terrace. The literary evidence which he adduced is based on a faulty reading of the texts. The material evidence is harder to gainsay: covering the slope in diagonal layers down to the citadel wall (of which four courses of rusticated stone blocks remain), he found quantities of animal and, so he said, human bones without skulls, separated by diagonal layers of clean mud. In the deepest layers there were also great numbers of large broken storage jars with plastic decoration and cuneiform notation of volume, as well as many smaller jars and bowls with hieroglyphic indication of volume and potter's marks. Lehmann-Haupt said he found hardly any undecorated sherds, but one wonders if he sorted them personally (see chapter II). Certainly the finds on this side of the citadel suggest the disposal of the remains of sacrifices in an area especially set aside for this purpose.

At Bağin (Palin) also a rock-cut spiral stairway served as a means of getting water from the river.[11])

Even south of the Taurus range at Egil, near the source of the Tigris, there exists a double-walled fortress on a spur cut off from the adjoining mountain by a rock-cut moat and containing a subterranean staircase of 177 steps leading down to the Tigris.[12]) An inscription accompanying a relief of a royal figure on one face of the moat is unfortunately too weathered to be read, so that we cannot be sure that this is an Urartian construction.

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[10]) Herbert Hoffmann, *King Rusa's Candelabrum*, ILN Nov. 19, 1960, p. 896. The candelabrum is inscribed: "From the magazine (ú-ri-iš-hu-si) of Rusa".

[11]) See note 1.

[12]) *Armenien* II[1], p. 429. For more such stairways see H. H. von der Osten, *Explorations in Hittite Asia Minor* (Oriental Institute Communications 2, Chicago, 1927), pp. 49, 60–63, 68.

B. TEMPLES

The most frequently cited Urartian temple is that of Haldi at Ardini (Assyrian Musasir), known only from a relief in the palace of king Sargon II of Assyria (721–705 B.C.) at Dur-Sharruken (modern Khorsabad, Iraq) (Fig. 5b).[13])

It is not known when this temple was constructed, but in view of its pre-eminent status in the Urartian cult it may have been several centuries old when it was looted by Sargon in 714 B.C.

There is evidence that it already existed in the time of Sarduri, son of king Išpuini (c. 830–810 B.C.).[14]) This Sarduri does not seem to have been king of Urartu. Perhaps he was a younger brother of Menua and reigned at Ardini as viceroy. The temple at Ardini-Musasir will be described first because it seems more closely related to the large temple complex with colonnade found at Erebuni (modern Arin-berd) and dating to about 780 B.C. than to the thick-walled one-room chapels which range in date from about 810 to 609 B.C. and will be discussed afterwards.

The temple of Haldi at Musasir as shown on the relief in the palace of Sargon II is not duplicated by any of the temples excavated in the territory of Urartu. On a high platform, with no visible access, a low wide building is shown. Its gabled roof slopes gently at much the same angle as that of a Greek temple and is crowned by an ornament in the shape of a spear point, which may, however, actually represent a sacred tree (see below, chapter V, page 75). The pediment is covered with a network of crosshatching. It is almost, but not quite triangular: the bottom corners of the triangle are, as it were, cut off so that the sloping sides do not meet the horizontal base. A triangular element above the door seems to repeat the outline of the pediment on a smaller scale. The temple appears to have a porch resting on six heavy pillars. From the relief one cannot judge whether these were engaged or freestanding, or if these were round or square in section. They have no capitals or bases, but are decorated at intervals with triple horizontal bands. The outer pair of pillars has three such bands, the next pair has two such bands, and the inner pair of pillars has no band. Two similar bands are visible on the back wall of the porch between the pillars on both sides, but not between the center pillars.

The shape of this temple finds its nearest parallel in rock sanctuaries in Phrygia.[15])

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[13]) P. E. Botta et E. Flandin, *Monument de Ninive* II (Paris, 1849), pl. 141.

[14]) *Huitième campagne*, lines 400–401; cf. also UKN, no. 19.

[15]) Ekrem Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens* (Berlin, 1961), figs. 52, 53, 67–72. Akurgal dates all these examples to the 6th century B. C., although the decoration is predominantly geometric, without orientalizing or archaic Greek features. One of these monuments, Yazilikaya, near Eskişehir, mentions king Midas, who also occurs in the Assyrian annals from 717 to 709 B.C.
Phrygian rock tombs have similar façades, but instead of niches for cult statues or cult reliefs they

Fig. 5a Sack of Musasir. Soldiers carrying shields and vessels, officials weighing booty, soldiers cutting up statue (*Monuments de Ninive* II, pl. 140)

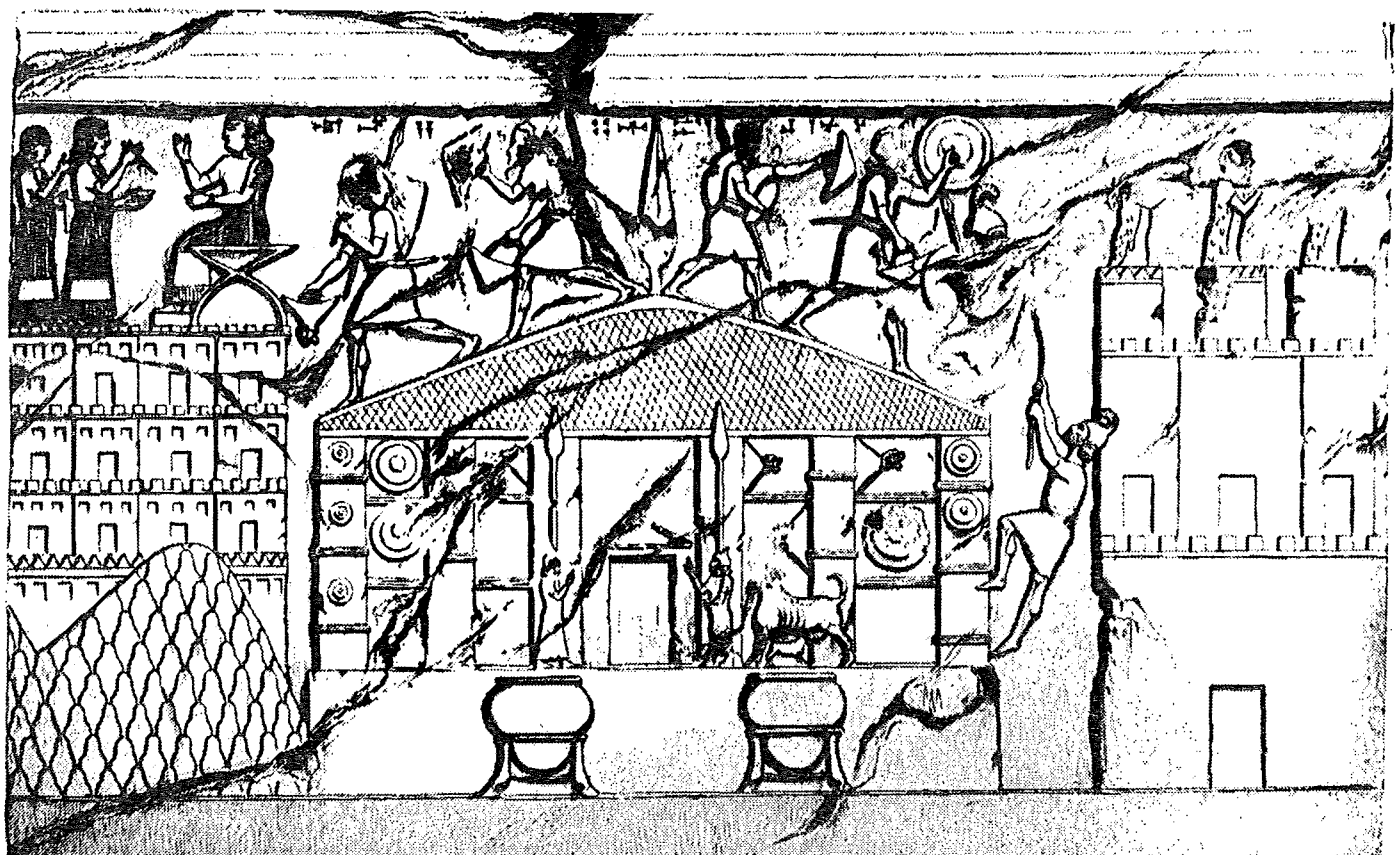

Fig. 5b Engraving after relief in palace of Sargon II of Assyria at Khorsabad (ancient Dur-Sharruken), depicting the temple of Haldi at Ardini-Musasir (P. E. Botta et al., *Monument de Ninive* II, pl. 141)

In Urartu itself most colonnades found outside temples seem to form galleries around their courtyards, but not porches in front of the building itself. The only exception is the temple complex of Arin-berd (Fig. 6),[16] the site of ancient Erebuni, which was founded by Argišti I around 780 B.C. and peopled with captives from the western and southwestern confines of Urartu[17] (one wonders if these people contributed some western Anatolian features to the temple built in this new city). But although the presence of a colonnade *in antis* in front of the façade is attested, the presence of a gabled roof above the same façade is excluded because it forms the long side of the largest room of the temple. The colonnade and its antae were later extended into a thirty-columned reception hall for the satraps of the Persian

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have doorways leading into tomb chambers. Both types of structures obviously imitate the facades of wooden or wood-roofed houses: the Great Tumulus near Gordion actually contains a gabled wooden chamber (AJA 62 (1958), pl. 25, fig. 12, and pl. 23, fig. 13), dated to c. 725–700 B.C. A large megaron-type building in Gordion is therefore thought also to have had a gabled roof (AJA 66 (1962), pl. 43, fig. 13).

The rock sanctuaries show *akroteria* in the shape of double volutes, as found in *poros* limestone at Gordion (AJA 60 (1956), pl. 93, fig. 41) and illustrated in "doodles" scratched near the entrance of a building there (AJA 61 (1957), pl. 90, fig. 12).

[16]) K. L. Ohanesian, *Arin-berd* (*Ganli-tapa*) – *urartskaia krepost* . . . (A.(G.) – *a Urartian Fortress* . . .), *Izvestia Akademii Nauk Armianskoi* SSR (obshchestvennye nauki) 1951[8], pp. 75–88. I. M. Loseva, *Raskopki urartskoi kreposti goroda Irpuni*, (The Excavations of the Urartian Fortress of the City I.) SV 1955[3], pp. 144–150. Since I wrote this, two more Urartian temples have been excavated, one at Çavuştepe (formerly called Haikaberd) near Asbaşin by Professor Afif Erzen (see Machteld J. Mellink, *Archaeology in Asia Minor*, AJA 69 (1965), p. 141) and one at Kayalidere near Muş by Seton Lloyd and Charles A. Burney (to be published shortly in AS). Both are on the "strong-room" plan, as described on p. 49.

As a result, I am now inclined to believe that the structure at Arin-berd, heretofore described as the temple, is a secular building. That the relief showing the temple at Musasir may represent a buttressed building, without columns, has been shown by Wolfram Kleiss, *Zur Rekonstruktion des urartäischen Tempels*, Istanbuler Mitteilungen 13/14 (1963/64), pp. 1–14. One should, perhaps, bear in mind the possibility that Sargon's sculptors used a model from western Asia Minor and that the relief shows no more than a fanciful reconstruction.

In Syria, from where the Urartians borrowed so many ideas, one- or two-roomed temples with very heavy walls existed in the second millennium B.C. (Claude F. A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica I* (Mission de Ras Shamra III, Haut-Commissariat de la République Française en Syrie . . ., Service des Antiquités, Bibliothèque archéologique . . . 31, Paris, 1939), pp. 14–16; Gordon Loud et al., *Megiddo II* (OIP 62, Chicago, 1948), Text, pp. 102–110; two temples newly discovered by Dr. Paolo Matthiae at Tell Mardikh 70 km south of Aleppo may soon add to our knowledge). In Syria, the existence of a second floor, perhaps as a standard feature, is indicated by the existence of staircases in the temples at Alalakh (Sir Leonard Woolley, *Alalakh* (Society of Antiquaries of London, Research Committee, Reports 18, Oxford, 1955), pp. 43–53, 71–87) and by offering stands in the shape of temples (e.g., Herbert G. May, *Material Remains of the Megiddo Cult* (OIP 26, Chicago, 1935), pp. 13–17, pls. XIII-XV; Helmuth Bossert, *Altsyrien* (Tübingen, 1951), p. 340, no. 1167.

[17]) *UKN*, no. 128 A 2, lines 13–22: literally, from the countries of Hate and Şupani.

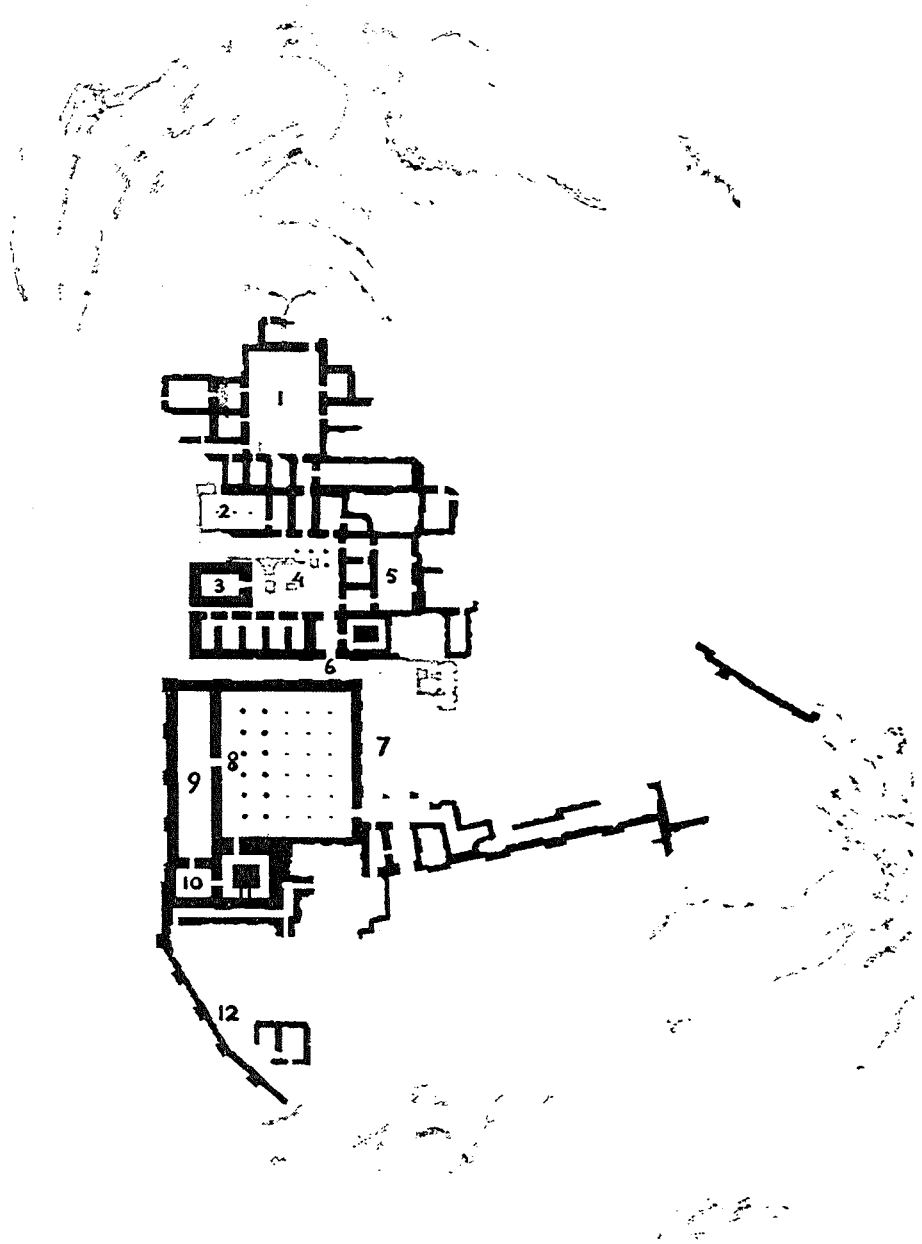

Fig. 6 Plan of temple (bottom) and palace (top) at Arin-berd (second stage of excavation; *SA* 1960[3], p. 289, fig. 1)

Empire. By a difference in the brick size as well as in the ground level, the part dating back to the Urartian period could easily be distinguished.[18])

At the western end of a large square in the center of the citadel (no. 7 on Fig. 6) there was a colonnade (no. 8) consisting of two rows of six columns on simple rectangular stone bases measuring 70 by 60 by 50 cm, and placed 3.80 m from the wall and 4.10 m from each other. The back wall of this porch had a plastered mud bench which covered the basalt substructure. The walls were plastered and painted light blue. Between 3½ and 7 m above the pavement was a frieze of polychrome painting.

In the center of the back wall was the entrance to the largest room of the temple (no. 9), measuring 40 by 8 m. (I shall tentatively call this the antecella). Its western wall formed part of the citadel wall; its longitudinal axis led to the south into a smaller, more or less square room (no. 10), which would seem to have been the cella of the temple. (Note that a person having entered from the court would have to turn 90° to the left in the antecella, in order to face the cella entrance). Both these rooms were elaborately decorated with wall paintings. To the east of the little room which I have tentatively called the cella was a space, of roughly the same size, almost entirely taken up by a solid structure of stamped earth faced with dressed stone blocks below and mud bricks above (no. 11). In the space in which it had been built only a narrow passage, running all around the solid structure, was left free. The building was painted pink with traces of designs in red paint, and the walls of the passage had traces of polychrome painting. In the passage many pink and gray blocks of tufa were found, which had probably fallen from the solid structure. In the north face of this structure there was a small embrasure and opposite it were two parallel doorways which led from the surrounding passage through a wall, 4 m thick, out to the colonnade (no. 8) in front of the entrance to the temple.

In view of the finds made at the chapel in the palace at the same site (see below), it may be doubted whether this double doorway, obstructing the view into the embrasure, was a Urartian feature. More probably it was added at the time of the reconstruction in the Persian period. Accordingly, the later excavation reports show on the plan a single doorway in the axis of the enigmatic solid structure, which the excavators have tentatively labeled a ziggurat but others consider a staircase newel.

Fortress I at Haikaberd (now Asbaşin, see p. 38) contains a double row of six square column bases hewn out of bedrock, with four cisterns in the area enclosed by them. This colonnade, at first believed part of a sacred structure, now proves to be the central court of a palace complex.

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[18]) K. L. Ohanesian, *Raskopki urartskovo goroda Erebuni*, (The Excavations of the Urartian City E). SA 1960[3], pp. 289–296.

One wonders if the abandonment of this very open temple plan and an increased preference for the strong-room plan, seen in the temples to be described below, could possibly have been a direct result of the plundering of the temple of Musasir by king Sargon II of Assyria in 714 B.C., an event which is reported to have driven king Rusa I to suicide.[19])

That the large temple complex at Arin-berd fell into disuse soon after this event is made probable by two facts: the bronze shields which Argišti I and Sarduri II had dedicated to the temple of Haldi at Erebuni (modern Arin-berd) were brought to the much more heavily fortified citadel of Teišebaini (modern Karmir-Blur) nearby,[20]) and when in the Achaemenian period a residence for the satrap of the Matienoi, Saspeires, and Alarodioi (eighteenth satrapy)[21]) was laid out, the chapel of the Urartian palace (of the smaller, strong-room type) was perpetuated as a holy place, whereas the larger temple had apparently long been secularized and was now converted into an *apadana*.

The chapel found in the palace a short distance to the north,[22]) and designated in inscriptions found on the spot as a *susi*, dedicated to the god Iubša,[23]) measures 10 by 13.45 m outside and 5.05 by 8.08 m inside (no. 3 on Fig. 6). It has a single doorway facing east into the outer court (no. 4) of the palace. The chapel rests on a stone socle, the superstructure in mud brick was covered with stucco and painted ocher. Below the cornice there was a polychrome painted frieze inside and out. The façade of this chapel formed the west wall of the outer court of the palace. The north, east, and south walls of this court were also painted and sheltered by a gallery with wooden columns resting on stone column bases. In the Achaemenian period, the palace chapel was converted into a fire temple similar to the one found at Susa:[24]) the columns around the outer palace court (no. 4) were removed, and the greater part of this court was enclosed by a wall and added as forecourt to the chapel. Access to the chapel was complicated by a screen wall built within the forecourt and pierced by two parallel doorways off center in such a way that no sunlight could penetrate directly into the fire temple. Near Patnos, another small temple of Haldi has been excavated; on top of a steep

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[19]) See above, chapter I, p. 17.

[20]) See above, chapter VI, p. 116.

[21]) Herodotus, *History*, III. 94.

[22]) See note 18.

[23]) *UKN*, supplement, nos. 8–9 (p. 451), Melikishvili reads this name as I-ú-ár-šá-a instead of I-ú-ub-šá-a and identifies him with the Luwian god Imarša, who may have been worshiped by the resettled captives from "Hate and Supani" (see note 17). However, in the next line (and throughout the inscription), *ar* (in Argišti) is written with the regular sign, not with the sign *ub* (= ár).

[24]) M. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse* (Paris, 1893), pp. 414–416. K. Erdmann, *Das Iranische Feuerheiligtum* (Leipzig, 1941), pp. 15ff., fig. 2, dating to the end of the Achaemenian period.

hill known as Aznavur-tepe, its single doorway faces south towards the snow-covered volcano now called Mount Süphan (Pl. IV).[25]) Here again the temple consists of a substructure of neatly dressed stones with projecting corner bastions, carrying building inscriptions of king Menua (c. 810–786 B.C.), two outside and six inside (Pl. Va). The mud-brick superstructure of enormous width (about 3 m) is preserved to a considerable height (also about 3 m). The inside of the cella is not wider than the width of the wall. Perhaps owing to the small space available on top of the hill, the court surrounding the temple is narrow and has no gallery, but is encircled by another very heavy mud-brick wall on rough stone foundations. At regular intervals down the steep slope in front of the single entrance of the temple are stone retaining walls, resembling from afar a huge staircase. (Actually, access to the hilltop was by a road wide enough for chariots, winding up the side of the hill to the back of the temple).

At the foot of the hill, still clearly visible in outline, was a walled and towered enclosure with a pond (perhaps the É. GAL of the inscription). Prof. Balkan thinks this is where the temple herds were kept.

Although this strong-room type of temple is hereby attested at an even earlier date than the open-plan temple at Arin-berd, it was duplicated in newly built temples at least as late as Rusa I (c. 735–714 B.C.) and remained in use for religious purposes at least as late as Rusa III (c. 625–609 B.C.).

The temple of Haldi found by the British Museum excavations at Toprak-Kale was unfortunately not well recorded.[26]) To judge by the single extant plan and photograph, it was of the small, heavy-walled type. The lower parts of the front and inside walls were faced with carefully dressed blocks of light gray limestone or black basalt to a height of about half a meter. At the corners, which formed slightly projecting bastions, there was a second course of such blocks, and just inside the single entrance there may have been even a third course. The side walls were faced with rough limestone. The whole building was not more than 13.80 by 13.80 m (25 by 25 cubits of 52½cm) outside and 5.30 by 5.30 m (10 by 10 cubits) inside, the rest of the space being taken up by masonry.[27]) Blocks about 1 m wide and 1½ m high with a doubly recessed center panel must have fallen from the cornice. A large block with a slot in the shape of a modern keyhole, also not found in position, remains enigmatic.

In front of this little temple, which faced southwest, was a forecourt of the same

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[25]) Kemal Balkan, Anatolia 5 (1960), pp. 99–158. Machteld J. Mellink, *Archaeology in Asia Minor*, AJA 67 (1963), pp. 182–183.

[26]) R. D. Barnett, *The British Museum Excavations at Toprak-Kale*, Iraq 12 (1950), pp. 1–43, 16 (1954), pp. 3–22.

[27]) Machteld J. Mellink, *Archaeology in Asia Minor*, AJA 67 (1963), p. 182.

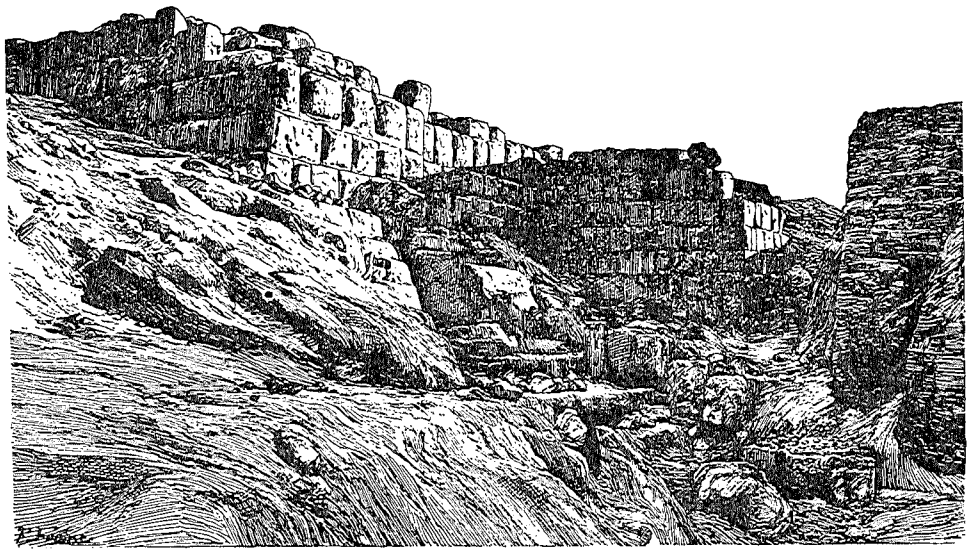

Fig. 7 Rusticated limestone substructure of temple on Toprak-Kale (*Armenien* II², p. 460)

width as the temple itself, and about twice as deep, paved with large slabs of sandstone.

The walls of the temple rested on foundations, up to 4½ m high, of light gray limestone worked in the so-called rusticated style, that is to say that bands along the joins were recessed and smoothed, whereas the center part of the block was left rough (Fig. 7).[28]) At the south corner the bastion's foundation extended forward to the southwest for about 5 m.[29])

Toprak-Kale (ancient Rusahinili) was built by Rusa I (c. 735–714 B.C.) or Rusa II (c. 685–645 B.C.). No material antedating Rusa II was found in the temple, so that one is inclined to attribute the construction of Rusahinili and of its temple to Rusa II rather than to Rusa I.[30])

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[28]) *Armenien* II², p. 458.

[29]) *Armenien* II², p. 460.

[30]) *UKN*, no. 268. In this inscription a king named Rusa recorded the creation of the "City of Rusa" (Rusahinili, to be identified with Toprak-Kale, judging by the direction of the canal), of the artificial "Lake of Rusa" (now Keşiş-Göl), and of a canal bringing water from the lake to this city and to Van. Lehmann-Haupt thought that the inscription *UKN*, no. 267, which mentions "Rusa, son of Sarduri", had originally been part of *UKN*, no. 268 (*Armenien* II¹, pp. 193–194). On the basis of this supposition the foundation of Rusahinili has generally been attributed to Rusa I (c. 735–714 B. C.). However, Melikishvili has found that the signs on the two inscriptions have slightly different shapes, so that they do not seem to belong together after all (*UKN*, pp. 330–331). Rusahinili may therefore equally well have been founded by Rusa II (c. 685–645 B. C.).

Soundings made at the Urartian site of Argištihinili (where the capital of Armenia, Armavir, was later located) have shown that there, too, structures exist with walls four cubits thick, faced on both sides with large, more or less square blocks of black basalt treated in rusticated style (called *bossage* by the excavators).[31])

It has been claimed that the Urartians were the inventors of a number of architectural features which later occur in Persian architecture of the Achaemenian period and which might, of course, have been transmitted by the Median empire, which is situated between the two peoples in both space and time.[32])

One such feature is the use of stones of different colors: white or light gray limestone and black or dark gray basalt. The use of such contrast to vary an otherwise uniform dado or wall face is known from Guzana and Carchemish,[33]) north Syrian sites of the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. From here it would seem to have traveled to eighth-century Gordion,[34]) in Phrygia, and to Rusahinili (modern Toprak-Kale), in Urartu.

During the seventh century a refinement in the use of different-colored stones seems to have been worked out: the use of color to contrast individual structural members. In Ionia, this first occurs at Old Smyrna at the end of the seventh century[35]) (in a later example, the Apollo temple at Phanai, on Chios, white marble columns were placed against a background of blue-gray marble wall blocks).[36]) Although carried out in a different medium, the court façade of the throne room of Nebuchadnezzar II (c. 570 B.C.) at Babylon might be cited as a sign of growing interest in colonnades and color contrasts as decorative devices: the glazed brick composition shows, against a dark blue background, slender yellow columns with light blue proto-Ionic capitals.[37])

In the palace of Cyrus the Great (559–530 B.C.) at Pasargadae a deliberate color contrast was also sought after: for the columns and their bases, blocks of black and white limestone were used in alternation. In the walls built of white limestone, the doors and niches were framed in black limestone.[38]) Although not directly

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[31]) A. S. Uvarov, *Izsledovanie . . . Armavira* (Investigation . . . of Armavir), 5-yi Arkheologicheskii S-ezd, *Trudy predvaritelnykh komitetov* (Moscow, 1882), pp. 439–449.

[32]) Ernst Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran* (Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, London, 1934), p. 17.

[33]) Rudolf Naumann, *Die Architektur Kleinasiens* (Tübingen, 1955), p. 82.

[34]) Rodney S. Young in AJA 60 (1956), p. 260.

[35]) John M. Cook in JHS 72 (1952), p. 105.

[36]) John Boardman, *Chian and Early Ionic Architecture*, Antiquaries' Journal 39 (1959), pp. 170–218. He discusses all aspects of the phenomenon, including its appearance at Pasargadae, which he would ascribe to the influence of the Ionian provinces newly conquered by Cyrus.

[37]) *Ass. Pal. Reliefs*, pls. I, V.

[38]) Edith Porada, *Alt-Iran* (Baden-Baden, 1962), p. 139, pl. on p. 139.

traceable either to a Urartian or to an Ionian example, this device certainly reflects the taste for florid effects in architecture which had developed in the Near East during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.

Another manifestation of this taste is the appearance of rusticated masonry, i.e., of blocks with marginal drafting and central bosses, a technique especially suited to the softer limestone. This fashion apparently originated in Syria in the second millennium: in the thirteenth century B.C. it occurs at Ugarit,[39]) and in the ninth century B.C. it travels from Tyre to Samaria[40]) and to Megiddo.[41]) At Kalhu (modern Nimrud), in Assyria, rusticated masonry was already applied in the quay wall, built in the late ninth century B.C.[42]) and was still in use in the early seventh century B.C., when the Burnt Palace was built.[43]) In the reign of Sennacherib a further refinement of this technique was worked out: the boss was now removed with the help of pickaxes, whose marks were used decoratively. The result is known as marginally drafted, pecked masonry.

The use of pecked masonry soon spread to South Arabia (around 650 B.C.)[44]) and to Iran, where under Cyrus the Great it was applied to the platform now known as Takht-i Madar-i Sulaiman.[45]) As no pecked, only some rusticated masonry has been found in Urartu, this feature cannot be used to support the hypothesis of Urartian influence on Achaemenian architecture.

The strongest argument for this hypothesis may actually prove to lie in the use of monumental porches with elaborate colonnades. We have seen above (p. 47) that at least one temple excavated in Urartu has two rows of six columns *in antis* in front of its entrace façade, and another temple illustrated on an Assyrian relief may represent a variation on the same theme.

The palace and audience hall of Cyrus the Great at Pasargadae have two rows of twenty and fourteen columns respectively *in antis* facing toward the center of the complex of buildings, in addition to double colonnades enclosed by projecting wings of the buildings themselves along the sides facing away from the center of the

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[39]) Claude F. A. Schaeffer in Syria 12 (1931), pl. XII, figs. 1, 3. Same in Syria 13 (1932), pl. XV, fig. 3.

[40]) J. W. Crowfoot et al., *The Buildings at Samaria* (London, 1942), pp. 5 ff., pls. XII, XXXI, XXXII.

[41]) R. S. Lamon et al., *Megiddo I* (OIP 42, Chicago, 1939), figs. 15, 27, 52.

[42]) Max E. L. Mallowan in Iraq 15 (1953), pp. 38 ff.

[43]) Same in Iraq 16 (1954), p. 74.

[44]) Gus W. Van Beek, *Marginally Drafted, Pecked Masonry*, in Richard LeB. Bowen, Jr., et al., *Archaeological Discoveries in South Arabia* (Baltimore, 1958), pp. 287–295. He traces the origin and spread of this fashion, which had a long life in South Arabia.

[45]) Erich F. Schmidt, *Persepolis* I (OIP 68, Chicago, 1953), fig. 7 A; L. Van den Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Iran Ancien* (Leiden, 1959), pls. 24 b-c.

complex.[46]) Only the latter type of colonnade remained in use in the later Achaemenian constructions at nearby Persepolis.

The use of many-columned interior halls, also exemplified in the palace of Cyrus, may go back to a Northwest Iranian prototype of the eighth century B.C.: Burned Buildings I and II at Hasanlu, on Lake Urmia, each had large interior halls with two rows of four wooden columns holding up the roof, which was probably pierced only by an *impluvium* and a smoke hole, each placed between four columns.[47]) As additional posts along the walls may have helped to support a gallery around the sides of the hall, the total effect may not have been very different from that of the Great Megaron at Gordion, also dating to the eighth century B.C.[48])

A temple similar to the temple of Haldi at Toprak-Kale was recently found at Altin-tepe, near Erzincan (Pl. Vb)[49]). It measures 13.90 by 13.90 m outside and 5.20 by 5.20 m (10 by 10 cubits) inside, and its single entrance faces south. The corners form slightly projecting bastions of 8 by 8 cubits, leaving a recessed center panel 10 cubits wide. The walls are faced, inside and out, with three courses of well-dressed light gray stone reaching up to a height of 1.15 m. The top course is very slightly stepped back outside and more considerably inside, forming a bench.

The entrance is 1.15 m wide and approached by two steps set between two cube-shaped pedestals with holes into which some structural members or statues must have fitted with dowels. The corner blocks of the doorway have shallow cutouts in the shape of a double recess, indicating that the mud-brick superstructure was stepped back in this fashion to frame the doorway. In its axis, against the north wall, stood a pedestal faced with dressed stone, measuring 1.45 by 1.95 m and accessible from the left by a stone step. The floor of the cella was of beaten clay. The walls of the cella were painted red and blue, but it was not possible to record the designs.

The temple was surrounded by a court, leaving a space of about 13½ m in front of the temple and 9 m around its sides. This court was encircled by a mud-brick wall about 1.80 m thick on stone foundations, against which on the inside of the court a wooden gallery had been built with columns resting on disk-shaped stone bases. The bases had a diameter of about 60 cm, and the sides were smoothed to a height of 20 cm – the remaining part being hidden below ground level. There were six column bases, about 4½ m apart, along the south wall of the court and

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[46]) Edith Porada, *Alt-Iran* (Baden-Baden, 1962), fig. 75.

[47]) Porada, *op. cit.* in note 46, fig. 63.

[48]) Rodney S. Young in AJA 66 (1962), pl. 43, fig. 13.

[49]) Tahsin Özgüç, *Excavations at Altintepe*, Belleten 25 (1961), pp. 278–279. Machteld Mellink, *Archaeology in Asia Minor*, AJA 67 (1963), p. 181.

four column bases, similarly spaced, along the center of each of the other walls. In front of the entrance to the cella was a stone-edged circular hearth.

The only inscribed object from Altin-tepe (found in a tomb nearby) mentions the name of Argišti II (c. 714–685 B.C.),[50] to whose reign this temple may be tentatively ascribed.

Yet another type of sanctuary is the rock-cut niche, such as exists at a point on the western side of Zimzim Dagh, near Van, now known as the "Gate of Mithra".[51] In this niche, which takes the form of a doubly or triply recessed rectangle, is carved an inscription, enumerating the regular sacrifices to be brought before the various gods of Urartu.

In other parts of Urartu also rock-cut niches, rectangular in shape, were inscribed and perhaps used as open-air sanctuaries.[52] This type of sanctuary, like the temple with sloping roof and gabled porch, is another feature that may be linked to the rock sanctuaries in the kingdom of Phrygia, which adjoined Urartu on the west.[53] In the rock of Van a number of niches, both rectangular and terminating in a semicircle at the top, were cut and used for inscriptions; e.g., Sarduri II cut his annals on the walls of a niche known as Hazine-kapisi, as well as on a stele placed in that niche.[54] The inscriptions in them do not indicate that these niches were used for cult purposes (cf., however, the offering place at Altin-tepe, p. 63).

On the other hand, the Urartian inscriptions contain a number of references to "gates" of the gods having been made for them by the various kings.[55] The "Gate of Mithra" mentioned above is the only niche actually designated as such a set of "gates" by the inscription contained in the niche. In the building inscriptions recently found at Patnos (p. 49) the words "gates of Haldi" would seem to designate the temple itself.

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[50] Tahsin Özgüç, *loc. cit.* in note 49, p. 274.

[51] *Armenien* II[1], p. 59.

[52] "Gate of Ashrut" at Ashotakert: D. H. Müller, *Die Keilinschrift von Aschrut-Darga*, Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften 36 (1888). The niche at Kala near Mazgerd: *Armenien* I, p. 469, terminates in a semicircle above and has a door which leads into a series of rock-cut rooms. I therefore treat it together with the tombs on p. 62.

[53] See note 15. The custom of worshiping gods at rock-cut niches near springs goes back to the second millennium B. C. in western Asia Minor: an example is the niche with a seated goddess on Mount Sipylos, Ekrem Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter* (Munich, 1961), pl. XXIII. Cf. the interpretation of this type of monument by James Mellaart in AS 12 (1962), p. 113.

[54] *UKN*, no. 155. In front of this niche there is a large platform with benches and drainage channels.

[55] *UKN*, p. 378, sub voce KÁ (-li), p. 406, sub voce šeištili.

C. PALACES

The palace at Arin-berd is the most complete one so far excavated in Urartu.[56]) Some details have already been mentioned above in describing the chapel situated along the west side of its outer or public court. As stated before, this court (no. 4 on Fig. 6), measuring 17 by 19 m, was surrounded by a wooden gallery resting on fourteen stone column bases, five along each long side and four along each short side (counting the corner columns in each case). To the east of this court are two parallel spaces of the same length as the eastern side of the court (17 m); the first is subdivided into three rooms, the second may be interpreted as the throne room (no. 5). The placing of a throne-room block at the east of the main court has a long history in Mesopotamia, where it was found as early as the eighteenth century B.C. at Mari.[57])

At Mari the inner throne room was accessible through two doorways, located in the western long wall near the northwestern and southwestern corners of the room. The outer throne room at Mari, on the other hand, was accessible through a single, very wide doorway in the center of the western long wall.

It was this latter system which became current for inner as well as outer throne rooms in Neo-Assyrian palaces, although one or two narrower, subsidiary entrances are often located near the corners in the same wall as the main entrance.[58]) At Erebuni (Arin-berd) however, the throne room had two entrances, located in the western long wall near the northwest and southwest corners of the room, as in the inner throne room at Mari. At Erebuni we find the space which would normally form the outer throne room subdivided into three rooms.

In the eastern long wall of the throne room at Erebuni there were two niches, probably not intended as locations for thrones (as one might think), but rather conceived both for a decorative purpose (to relieve the monotony of the wall) and for a practical purpose (to hold vessels, lamps, etc.), in much the same fashion that still prevails in the Near East today. A similar arrangement is seen at Girik-tepe (see below).

In addition, the eastern long wall of the throne room was decorated with a wall painting of similar type to that found in the palace of Assurnasirpal II at Nimrud (ancient Kalhu).

Near Patnos, at the site known as Girik-tepe, a palace built of mud brick is being

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[56]) See note 18.

[57]) *Mission archéologique de Mari II: Le Palais* (1:) *Architecture*, by André Parrot (Institut français d'archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque archéologique 68, Paris, 1958), plan, rooms 64–65, pl. XXVII-XXXI.

[58]) E. g., in the king's and crown prince's (?) palaces at Dur-Sharruken: Victor Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie* (Paris, 1867–70), pl. 4; Gordon Loud et al., *Khorsabad* II (OIP 40, Chicago, 1938), pl. 75.

excavated.[59]) The large hall of the palace (24 by 7.50 m, oriented east-west) is decorated with doubly recessed niches (a similar decoration of outer and inner reception rooms is seen in the palace known as "Burned Building I" at Hasanlu, near Lake Urmia, on the eastern confines of Urartu). It has three entrances with recessed doorways in the south wall. At least four wooden columns once supported the roof. To the north, a corridor separated the main hall from two kitchens containing hand mills, etc.

At Altin-tepe, also, a palace has been excavated.[60]) Its reception hall measures 44 by 25 m and proves to have had six rows of three columns resting on huge disk-shaped stone bases (diameter 1.50 m, spaced 5.20 m apart), with a hearth in the northeast half. The superstructure of the columns was in mud brick, not in wood. The floor is of hard earth with a plastered surface. The entrance of this hall is near the east corner. The walls of mud brick rest on foundations of fallen from the walls. The excavator thinks that this palace dates to a later period, and possibly was used into the Persian period, like the hall of columns at Arin-berd (its north wall partly overlies the south wall of the temple court). The temple at the same site apparently continued in use after the time when the palace was built, and both buildings (together with a storehouse, built on the slope of the mound near the temple) were abandoned without any violent destruction.

D. ADMINISTRATIVE BUILDINGS

Quite different from the palaces described above are the fortified complexes serving for the administration of agricultural districts. The best-known of these is Karmir-Blur. Of the total surface of the citadel, which measures 4 hectares (almost 10 acres) more than half is taken up by a compact complex of buildings, containing 120 to 150 rooms, of which about half have so far been excavated (Fig. 4).[61]) Although built in three different phases, the structures form one single unit, uninterrupted by any courts. At most some rooms which lacked a roof may have served as light wells. Of the building, which originally contained at least two stories, only the ground floor has been preserved, consisting mostly of storerooms and work-rooms. No reception rooms have been found on the ground floor, not even behind the central part of the façade. In this area, however, fragments of painted plaster were found among the debris which had fallen from the upper floor. This

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[59]) Machteld J. Mellink, *Archaeology in Asia Minor*, AJA 67 (1963), p. 183.

[60]) Machteld J. Mellink, *loc. cit.*, pp. 181–182. Tahsin Özgüç, *The Urartian Architecture on the Summit of Altintepe*, Anatolia 7 (1963), pp. 43–49; Tahsin Özgüç, *Altintepe* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayinlarindan V. seri, No. 24), Ankara, 1966.

[61]) *KB* IV., pp. 36–78.

would indicate the former presence of important rooms at this point on the second floor.

On the ground floor the workrooms were arranged in groups, each of which would be on one level and dedicated to one type of activity. Corridors led from one such group to another, situated on a different level and given over to a different type of activity. The difference in level was conditioned by the natural formation of the ground, which was highest in the center and fell off to the northwest and to the southeast. It is very likely that the same staggering of levels was repeated on the second floor and again on the roofs. The staggered roof would then have provided an easy solution for the lighting of the many inside rooms (the total depth of the complex from court to outer wall is up to 80 m, with only an occasional small light well).

The center of the workroom complex is located in room 8 (see Fig. 4). In this room seven steps lead down from corridor 5 (which comes from rooms 1, 2, and 3, a group for sesame-oil pressing) to the level of rooms 9 and 17 to 20. In corridor 10, which forms the continuation of room 8 to the northwest, two steps lead down to rooms 11 and 12 and ten more steps to the level of rooms 13 and 14.

The two largest rooms in the area so far excavated, rooms 28 and 25, have a row of masonry pillars going down the center and four rows of wine jars, 2 m high, dug down to two-thirds of their height into the ground. Room 25 contains 80 jars of about 1,000 liters each, and room 28 72 such jars. Room 25 was lit by windows, of which the wooden lintels were found; room 28 received light only through the opening over the door which led into room 4. In the latter room the holes for the ceiling beams as well as the stumps of the wall of the second floor were still well preserved.

Rooms 23, 24, and 26, a small complex between the two wine cellars, had been walled up during the siege. The excavator thinks that this must be the substructure of the chapel of the citadel, as the bottom of light well 26 was filled with the bones of 4,000 lambs and calves without heads or legs: apparently these were the remains of sacrifices carried out in the chapel of the citadel. The other two rooms contained, among other objects, a bronze helmet and bronze chair legs.

Two tiny hearths in the center of wine cellar 25, one a triple mud-walled hearth filled with ash and the other built of two bricks set on edge against the central pillar, are also considered by the excavator to constitute a little offering place, as a painting of a winged deity was found on the pillar and several figurines of genii covered with a cloak in the shape of a fish were found nearby.

South of this wine cellar, and still behind the central part of the façade, was found a double row of small rooms along both sides of a corridor. They cannot have been residential, so they also may have been storerooms. In the part of the corridor that was nearest to the wine cellar, there was a staircase leading to the upper floor; its steps were built of brick up to a height of 2½m and then continued in wood.

The walls of the citadel vary in thickness from 3.66 m for the outside walls to 2.12 m for the inside walls. The bricks were made of red, and less often of white, clay probably brought from a point 3 km southwest of Karmir-Blur, mixed with chopped straw, and pressed in wooden molds. Two shapes were used: one rectangular, 51.8 by 35 by 13.9 cm, and one square, 51.8 by 51.8 by 13.9 cm. The length and width of the square bricks correspond exactly to the Urartian cubit, the width of the rectangular bricks is two-thirds of a cubit. The bricks were always laid as stretchers and visible as headers only in doorways and on pillars. The visible bricks were laid first, then the inside of the wall was built in. The joins of the bricks were staggered, not only in the direction of the length of the wall but also in depth: for instance, to obtain the thinnest type of wall, one first laid two rows of square bricks along the faces of the wall, filling the space between with three parallel rows of rectangular bricks. The next course would consist of six parallel rows of rectangular bricks. The thickness of the wall always amounted to a full number of cubits varying from four to seven.

In some places the wooden lintels of doors and windows were found. They consisted of round beams, laid next to each other and sticking in the masonry on both sides to a depth of 70 cm. One window was 1.29 m wide and still bore the marks of the upright wooden posts which had held it up.

The roofs were flat and consisted of semicircular beams laid next to each other (in the rooms) or some distance apart (in the corridors). The ends of these beams were laid in a bed of sand and gravel. They were covered at right angles by thinner poles, then by reeds, and finally by stamped earth. The same system is still applied for the roofing of buildings throughout most of western Asia.

In addition, the outer walls had mud-brick buttresses reinforcing and decorating the façades at regular intervals. Probably, they supported a projecting parapet crowning the wall (see p. 40).

To judge by elements which had fallen from this parapet, it had been faced with neatly hewn basalt blocks 1 cubit high. These blocks contained projecting sections, 2 2/3 cubits wide and 1 2/3 cubits apart. In the center of each projecting section was a square recess 1 cubit wide.

This scheme of architectural decoration is somewhat reminiscent of that on the towers found near the tombs of Cyrus and Darius, which have been alternatively interpreted as fire temples or Zoroastrian "towers of silence".[62]) However, there the buttresses hold up a low denticulated cornice. The walls of the towers are decorated all over with rectangular recesses.

A building with a number of superimposed façades like the citadel at Karmir-Blur can be seen to the left of the temple of Musasir on the relief in the palace of

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[62]) Edith Porada, *Alt-Iran* (Baden-Baden, 1962), p. 140; L. Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien* (Leiden, 1959), pls. 24a, 31c.

Sargon II (Fig. 5b). Contrary to other scholars,[63]) Ohanesian does not believe that this latter representation renders a four-storied building.[64]) A building on a slope stepped down in four sections, each lit by windows overlooking the roof of the next, would have produced the same effect.

E. PRIVATE HOUSES

The available information about Urartian private houses is limited to one or two blocks excavated near the center of the outer town of Karmir-Blur. The total area of the outer town, covering about 30 hectares (about 74 acres), was divided into blocks by straight streets obviously laid out by the government.[65]) As is visible from aerial photographs, there was a main street running north-south, 9½ m wide and unpaved, and at least two parallel east-west streets, 5½ m. wide, of which one leads straight to the main citadel gate. In front of the latter there was an open square 50 m across, of which only a strip 7 m wide nearest to the gate was paved with stones.

The drainage of the outer town was accomplished with the help of pottery drains 6 cm wide, of which many were discovered near the surface.

It was found that the oldest private houses had been free-standing, and had been built at random angles before the grid of streets had been imposed on the outer town area. One typical house of this kind consisted of a rectangular court about 5 by 10 m, onto which opened a more or less square living room somewhat less than 5 by 5 m and a storeroom of the same dimensions. The complete house forms an exact square of 10 by 10 m. Its outer walls were faced with vertical stone slabs, 1.10 m high, and its windows had stone lintels, 77 cm wide, with vertical slots. The court had an entrance 80 cm wide in one corner, and almost half of it was roofed over by a porch with three wooden columns, resting on disks of tufa measuring 35 by 52 cm. The roofed-over part of the court was normally paved with stone (proof that this part was paved and not the part that was exposed to the sky, is shown by the fact that the collapsed remains of the roof, consisting of poles and reeds, were always found on the paved part). In another corner of the court was a stone-edged depression serving as toilet and cesspool.

Other appointments of these courts, in which the inhabitants must have spent most of the eight summer months, were: a stone-edged hearth measuring about

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[63]) e.g., Rudolf Naumann, *Die Architektur Kleinasiens* (Tübingen, 1955), p. 370.

[64]) *KB* IV, p. 68.

[65]) *KB* IV, pp. 9–35; cf. the grid of streets at Şernaki Tepe, Burney in AS 7 (1957), pp. 49–50 and pl. VIa.

90 by 90 cm and a water jar holding 150 liters. In several courts house shrines were found, consisting of a very crude idol with rectangular body and head and raised hands, in front of which a heap of ash was left from sacrifices. The livestock was kept under the porch, as is proved by finds of troughs and tethering stones. The living room, where the inhabitants must have spent the four winter months, contained another hearth and in the storerooms domestic implements like churns, querns, and mortars were often found. One storeroom had a stone doorpost, with a hole into which the bolt would fit.

In a later phase, after the streets had already come into existence, the block was built up with other houses, each also containing a court and two rooms. The walls of these houses were aligned in such a way as to form a compromise between the orientation of the previously existing house and the grid of streets newly imposed. The walls of the later houses were not bonded into the earlier walls. As a result the block was finally filled up with a number of houses huddled closely together and presenting more or less irregular plans.

A common feature of all the houses is that they have no foundations and are entirely built of stone: basalt and, to a small extent (20 per cent), tufa. The latter was especially used for column bases, door sockets, and window lintels. The excavators assume that the houses found in the outer town probably represent the living quarters of soldiers living at the expense of the government with their families.

F. TOMBS

In the rock of Van a number of rock tombs were hollowed out, all of which must have been robbed in antiquity and which are now empty caves. The basic plan may be seen, e.g., in the so-called Great Cave, which is accessible from the top of the rock by a rock-hewn staircase of twenty-five steps, 2 m wide.[66]) These lead down to a platform, from which a smaller staircase of seven steps leads up to a door in the carefully smoothed façade. The door leads into a large hall (6.18 by 9.40 by 5.95 m) with a flat ceiling. The walls are undecorated, except for a slightly projecting cornice below the ceiling. From each of the inside walls a door leads into adjoining rooms, one on each side and one at the back. The room at the back has a platform, with three steps leading up to it. Similar platforms are still built of mud in the Near East in the corners of rooms and used as a support, either directly for the mattress, or for a bed which in turn carries the mattress. Presumably this was the tomb chamber itself.

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[66]) *VT*, p. 213, fig. 63.

More elaborate versions of the same arrangement are seen in the tomb known as Içkale.[67]) There the first large room (5.50 by 9.30 m) has a barrel vault and two side rooms. A door in its back wall leads into another large room (4.33 by 4.33 m), corresponding to the first room of the Great Cave, and with the same type of ceiling as we saw there. This room again has two side rooms, each with a low platform, 19 cm high, and a back room (2.60 by 4.80 m) with a high platform (87 cm), to which three steps lead up. In the top of the platform a rectangle has been cut out, obviously as an emplacement for the sarcophagus. Above this emplacement circular holes (2 cm in diameter) are cut into the wall, perhaps for fastening bronze ornaments.

The cave known as Naft-kuyu has a flattened barrel vault over the first hall.[68]) At the foot of the vault is a doubly projecting cornice. Each projection forms a scalloped line, as if to represent a row of circular beams sticking out of the walls. Of the two side rooms, one appears to be unfinished. The back room has a flat ceiling, with a double cornice of the same type as in the large hall, and a low platform. In addition, a door in a corner of the large hall leads into a second, square back room which has two square niches.

The so-called Greater Horhor Cave, accessible from the staircase and platform on which the annals of King Argišti I are inscribed, has a comparatively low flat-ceilinged large hall (6 by 10½ by 3½ m).[69]) The large hall, as well as the two side rooms and the two back rooms, has niches cut into all the walls, measuring about 1 by 1.20 m and spaced about 1½ m apart, half way between the ceiling and the floor. The wall spaces between these niches are decorated at the top with cutouts in the shape of squares with concave sides and central dots. These were presumably intended to hold inlays and pegs of bronze or colored stones. The two niches which are situated in the back wall of the large hall, between the doors to the back rooms, are doubly recessed. In the floor nearby are two sunken areas, respectively 2.07 by 2.60 m and 1.11 by 1.11 m, presumably emplacements for sarcophagi. From one of the side rooms a pit leads down, which is at present clogged. This feature might be compared with the arrangement in a small cave near the arsenal of the citadel of Van, where the side room was found to have had a little room below, presumably originally hidden by a stone slab, which in turn led to an inner room on the lower level.[70]) Obviously this was an arrangement by which the Urartians hoped to avoid robbing of the tomb chambers.

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[67]) *VT*, p. 211, fig. 62.

[68]) *VT*, p. 211, fig. 60.

[69]) *VT*, p. 209, fig. 58.

[70]) *VT*, p. 216, fig. 65.

Additional caves in the rock of Van, like the Lesser Cave of Horhor, are of less interest.[71]) On the north side of the rock there is a large flat-ceilinged cave consisting of a single large hall (7.90 by 20.46 by 2.53 m) with a very wide doorway (8.48 m in width), on one side of which an inscription of king Menua is carved.[72]) It seems impossible that this space, which does not have door sockets or any visible means by which to close it, served as a tomb.

The Greater Cave of Horhor, on the other hand, has a number of features which recur in rock-hewn or stone-built tombs in various parts of the Urartian Empire.

At Kala, near Mazgerd, a deep rock-cut niche frames a door which leads into a series of rooms hollowed out of the rock.[73]) This series of rooms probably served as a tomb. The main hall leads to a smaller room on the right through a door framed with a scalloped cornice simulating a row of projecting beam ends.

A rock-hewn example was found in a collapsed state on the Iranian bank of the Araxes, opposite Alishar in the Nakhichevan SSR.[74]) Here too the entrance room had a barrel vault and the tomb chamber was flat-ceilinged, with square niches at window height all around the walls.

At Altin-tepe a number of stone-built tombs were found half way down the slope of the mound.[75]) Before construction a platform (7 by 8.50 m) with vertical faces had first been dug out of the slope. The vertical faces were then supported with retaining walls, and on the platform was built a tomb of stone blocks.

The tomb found in 1956 consists of three adjacent rooms, and its interior measurements are 8 by 3 m. The door leads from the exterior to the central chamber. The interior height of the rooms is 2.50 m. They are well built of dressed stone and have vaulted roofs. The left, center, and right rooms (seem from the entrance) have three, two, and six niches respectively.

Twenty-five m west of the last-named tomb another tomb was excavated in 1959 (Pl. VIa). It also consists of three rooms and was once roofed with flat stone slabs. The door in the northeast façade is 1 m wide. A stone slab closed this doorway. Outside, heavy blocks had been piled against the slab.

An entrance passage 1.25 m long leads into the first room, which measures 4 by

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[71]) *VT*, p. 209, fig. 59.

[72]) *VT*, p. 213, fig. 64.

[73]) *Armenien* I, p. 469. *Materialien*, pp. 70–72. The only fact which makes one hesitate in identifiying it as a tomb is that there is an inscription of Rusa II (c. 685–645 B. C.) cut into the side and back walls of the niche (*UKN*, no. 279). Unfortunately it is fragmentary and insufficiently published and does not yield any useful information.

[74]) *VT*, p. 218, fig. 66. *IU*, p. 3, fig. 2.

[75]) Tahsin Özgüç, *Excavations at Altintepe*, Belleten 25 (1961), pp. 269–277, figs. 1–3, 5–11, 14.

2 m. This room contained a bronze cauldron, a dismantled chariot with horse harness, and two silver-plated stools. From the first room a second door leads to the tomb chamber, measuring 4 by 2.50 m, which contained the stone sarcophagi. This door also had been blocked by a stone slab. The sarcophagi were undecorated, with convex lids. In the long wall are five, and in the narrow wall three, empty niches.

From the tomb chamber a narrower doorway leads into the third and smallest room, measuring 2 by 2.50 m. The back wall and side walls each have one niche. This room contained a couch, a table, and a number of vessels.

The tomb found in 1938 was hewn out of the rock and consists of a corridor and a rectangular chamber lined with well-dressed stones (Pl. VIb). The orientation is east-west, and the entrance faces east. The length of the chamber is 4 m and the width 2.40 m. The interior height does not exceed 2 m. The grave is built on rock, but the floor is of earth. There was no sarcophagus. The body was so placed that the head looked east. In each long wall of the chamber are three niches, with two more in the short west wall. Their height is 1.23 m, their depth in the wall 95 cm, and a shelf was formed inside each by placing a flat stone in the middle. Two round hollows were made on the upper shelf in order to prevent vessels with a round base from falling over. Measuring 15 cm in diameter, these hollows exactly fit the bases of the bronze vessels found in the tomb. The lower part of the niches was reserved for other funerary offerings. The length of the entrance passage is 2.20 m and its width 90 cm. Here also are two niches, but with a single compartment. The height of the corridor does not exceed 1.25 m, and it is covered with stone slabs. The entrance also was closed by two stone slabs, one behind the other, standing upright at a distance of 46 cm from one another. In the center of the interior slab is a small aperture measuring 50 by 25 cm.

The chamber, which had a flat ceiling, was roofed with five very large stone slabs, and covered with earth, 1.50 m thick, upon which was placed a thick layer of stones.

The distance between the 1938 grave and the 1956 grave is 1.70 m, and a high wall of well-dressed stone linked one to the other. This relationship between the two graves and the building technique of the wall show that the 1938 grave is later in date than the 1956 grave.

Nearby was an offering place with three neatly worked but uninscribed stelae, fitting with dowel-like ends into slots hollowed out in their rectangular bases (Pl. VIIa). In front of these was a round stone libation basin.

Although not strictly belonging to the subject of architecture, I may mention here a cemetery of ordinary citizens reflecting considerably simpler burial habits than the ones described above, which must have belonged to royal or at least very prominent persons. The Urartian citizens found buried in a cemetery at Malaklu, on the northern slope of the Ararat, had been cremated and were buried in urns

of red polished pottery covered by a bowl or by sherds.[76]) The urns were buried in crevasses of a rocky outcrop, which is actually the end of a lava stream deposited by Mount Ararat. Both the habit of cremation and the burial of the urn in a crevasse of rock are practices which are also found among the Hittites in north central Anatolia in the second millennium B.C.,[77]) and it is surprising to see the same custom followed by the Urartians, who in other respects had inherited so little from the Hittites. It is conceivable that the people buried at Malaklu were not native Urartians, but captives from Cappadocia who had been forcibly resettled in the northeastern provinces of the Urartian realm.[78])

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[76]) B. A. Kuftin, *Urartskii kolumbarii u podoshvy Ararata* . . . (A Urartian columbarium at the foot of Mount Ararat), Vestnik gosudarstvennovo Muzea Gruzii 13B (1944), pp. 1–72, summarized by R. D. Barnett, *The Urartian Cemetery at Igdyr*, AS 13 (1963), pp. 153–198.

[77]) Kurt Bittel et al., *Die Hethitischen Grabfunde von Osmankayasi* (= Bogazköy-Hattusa II, Berlin, 1958).

[78]) See note 17.

IV. PAINTING

Our knowledge of painting in Urartu is based to a large extent on the finds made at Arin-berd (ancient Erebuni).[1] In all four excavated rooms of the "temple" traces of wall paintings were found. In the long narrow western room between the hall of columns and the citadel wall (possibly the antecella), the wall paintings were particularly well preserved and showed a number of horizontal bands, one above the other, painted in red, white, and dark blue paint against a light blue background with black outlines. These colors at least are mentioned in the preliminary excavation report.[2] Discussing the paintings later, Piotrovskii mentions only red and blue paint on a white background with the same black outlines.[3] This new description is based on an analysis made at the Hermitage of fragments of wall paintings found at Karmir-Blur, and the different descriptions given at first may be due to the changes in color caused by the influence of soil conditions. In the fragments analyzed, the white paint was found to consist of white clay (kaolin); the black paint was made of soot; dark and light red respectively were made of red and yellow ocher; and the blue paint was actually a glaze of frit mixed with copper oxide.

The projecting cornice of the room was decorated with roundels in which were inscribed many-rayed stars. Next came a band of palmettes, alternatingly red and blue, followed by a band of crenelations. Under this came a narrow band with striding bulls and rams and, still lower down, a row or sacred trees flanked by genii. The trees are rendered in an unusual way: blue paint is used for the trunk of the tree and a great number of diagonal branches end in circular fruits, probably representing pomegranates. The genii are beardless and wingless but hold the customary bucket and fruit. In the same room parts of a wall painting of a different type were also found: roundels inscribed with many-rayed stars painted on a blue background, rows of rosettes, chains of pomegranates, and chains of buds.

Sometimes parts of the wall paintings had fallen face forward and left negative impressions on the floor. In these cases, it was possible to see the division of the

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[1]) K. L. Ohanesian, *Raskopki urartskovo goroda Erebuni* (The Excavations of the Urartian City E.), Sovetskaa Arkheologia, 1960[3] pp. 289–296; *VT*, pls. XX–XXI.

[2]) I. M. Loseva, *Raskopki urartskoi kreposti goroda Irpuni* (The Excavations of the Urartian Citadel of the City I.), Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie 1955, 3, pp. 144–150.

[3]) *IU*, p. 113.

wall space into squares, marked with black paint, which had preceded the application of painted ornament.

In another room of the temple parts of a wide frieze with representations of gods were found on the floor. A number of fragments could be fitted together into a scene which shows a bearded god standing on a lion (Pl. VIII). He has a tall cylindrical head-dress, becoming wider towards the top, at least two pairs of horns applied to this headdress, a long square black beard, a black streamer or pigtail hanging down his back to the height of his waist, and two garments, of which the outer is checkered and the inner striped. His right hand is raised in a gesture of benediction. His left forearm is held horizontal and perhaps connected by a leash to the lion on which he is standing. The point of his scabbard is visible behind his leg. His left foot is supported by a ground line below the level of the lion's back, in a way which is reminiscent of the bronze furniture elements described below. Of the lion unfortunately not much more is preserved than the outline of neck and chest, on which the mane takes the form of little flames.

In the palace at Erebuni large parts of wall painting were discovered (Pl. IX). From top to bottom these consisted of the following elements: crenelations, sacred trees flanked by genii, then a very wide band with bulls, lions, winged deities, and concave squares, represented on a large scale, followed by another row of sacred trees and concluded by chains of pendent pomegranates. These five bands were separated by narrow strips filled with little circles.[4]) In the wide part of the frieze the animals and deities are represented in a kneeling pose, each one between two concave squares. The figure of the bull is painted in a light color with a band of darker curls following the outline of back, chest, and belly, as well as setting off his hooves.

The scheme of wall decoration is similar in all its elements and colors to wall paintings found in Assyrian palaces, especially those found at Nimrud in the palace of Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.).[5])

The fragments of wall paintings excavated at Karmir-Blur were found among the debris which had fallen down from the second floor and displayed, among other ornamental motives, circles with inscribed crosses and circles with inscribed rosettes, connected by a network of curved bands not unlike the frieze of red marble from Toprak-Kale.[6]) Other fragments proved that the decoration included winged deities (of whom faces and parts of wings and garments were preserved;

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[4]) Thus Piotrovskii's description. However, a reconstruction in Ohanesian's article (see note 1) shows these as rosettes, and the very similar scheme of decoration in the palace at Altintepe also shows white rosettes on the red separating strips.

[5]) G. Perrot and C. Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art* II (1884), p. 703, pl. XIV.

[6]) See p. 77.

the last were decorated with square plaques inscribed with rosettes). Finally fragments painted with lions' paws proved that animals also formed part of the decoration. Large circles inscribed with many-rayed stars and surrounded by an alternation of palmettes and pomegranates could be restored from fragments.[7])
At Altin-tepe wall paintings have also been found in the reception hall of the palace (see p. 56). The wall paintings were found in many fragments which had fallen from the wall and carried designs painted in red, blue, white and black. The blue, although probably intended as pure blue, is now a bluish gray. There is also a dull ocher which almost certainly was yellow originally and darkened afterwards. The wall paintings have recently been published, and some of their more interesting fragments are on display in the Museum at Ankara.
One fragment shows on a large scale, a lion in dark reddish brown carrying a baby deer (?) in his mouth. The deer is painted in a lighter red color. The outlines and pupils are in black, the white of the eyes, the teeth, and the background in white. The huge eye of the lion is more or less triangular in shape, conforming to the convention of the frowning eyebrows in Urartian art. The curving wrinkles of the muzzle are also faintly visible. The eye of the doe is round. This fragment probably belongs to a scene of wild animals with their prey which formed the main part of the frieze, comparable to the kneeling bulls in the frieze found at Arin-berd.
Another fragment on a large scale, and therefore belonging to the main part of the frieze, shows a multicolored wing, a light brown lion's foreleg and a human torso with two arms all joined together. Obviously we have here one of those six-limbed sphinxes[8]) that are distinctive of Urartian art (see p. 90). The human torso is dressed in red and white bordered with a jeweled band.[9]) The flesh is painted white. The figure holds a bucket and is shown against a dark, probably blue background. The framing borders seem to have been almost identical to those found at Arin-berd. A number of fragments show, between red bands with white rosettes, a succession of compartments alternately blue and white (Fig. 8). The white compartments contain a sacred tree with pomegranate fruits at the ends of wavy branches, which grow up diagonally along the sides and fanwise from the top of the tree. The pomegranates themselves are drawn according to the typically Urartian convention as a dotted ring with a little base at right angles to the stem

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[7]) *VT*, pl XLV. *IU*, pl. XXX.

[8]) I have used the word *sphinx* only for creatures which are part human and part lion and the word *centaur* only for creatures which are part human, part horse. Eckhard Unger, *Mischwesen* in Max Ebert ed., *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* 8 (Berlin, 1927), pp. 195–216 uses . . . *-centaur* (e.g. fish-centaur) to denote any creature with a human upper part and . . .- *man* (e.g. eagle-man) to denote any creature with a human lower part.

[9]) For a definition of this term, see p. 131, note 5.

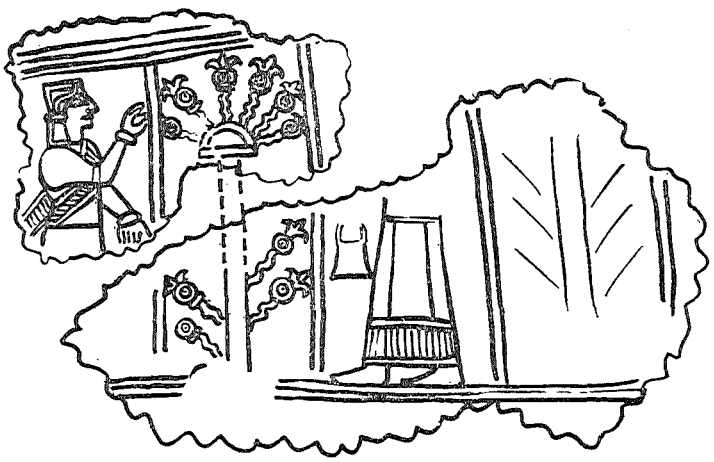

Fig. 8 Drawing of wall painting fragment, showing sacred tree flanked by genii, from Altin-tepe palace (Ankara Museum).

and a three-pointed crown. The blue compartments contain the figures of winged genii who flank the sacred trees and perform the "fertilization ritual". The genii are white with black hair, their clothes and headdress red with white borders. The headdress is cylindrical with the horn of divinity lying flat against its side and front. The bucket held in each genius' left hand is red.

As at Arin-berd the lower outer border apparently consisted of a chain of pendent pomegranate fruits. The fruits themselves consist of an ocher ring with a white heart, in the center of which is a large black dot. Between the fruit and its base a pair of leaves is drawn in a stylized form resembling a double volute and painted in ocher with a white midrib. The crown of the fruit is stylized in such a way that the center point grows out of another double volute, so that the crown is very much like a fleur-de-lis. The center point is blue and the base from which the fruit grows is also blue with a white central section. (The parts here indicated as ocher actually have an orange-brown color which was probably intended as yellow and darkened afterwards).

Finally some fragments preserve two multiple borders in blue, each with a red strip containing white rosettes running down the center. Between these multiple borders is a band of palmettes with alternately red and white leaves growing from a blue double volute. Every second palmette seems to have the colors reversed. In the temple at Arin-berd (see above), such a band of palmettes decorated the part of the wall immediately below the cornice. The fragments here described, however, must have formed vertical borders framing the central composition, to judge by the position of a lion's hindleg, still adhering to one of the fragments.

The general scheme of wall decoration in the Urartian temples and palaces seems to have conformed very much to the scheme also in use in Assyria at the same time. It is only in conventions regulating the details, such as the representation of pomegranate fruits, lions' eyes, and divine headdresses that we can point to features which definitely differentiate Urartian wall painting from Assyrian wall painting.

V. SCULPTURE AND DECORATIVE STONEWORK

In this chapter we will deal exclusively with sculpture in stone, sculpture in metal and ivory as well as modeling in clay being dealt with in other chapters.

A. SCULPTURE IN THE ROUND

Stone sculpture in the round is represented by a single fragment found on the rock of Van and preserved in the Museum at Tiflis.[1]) It represents the standing figure of a bearded man. Unfortunately head and feet are lacking. The remaining part is 1.28 m high. The ends of the wavy hair falling on back and shoulders and the tapering beard are visible at the top. The arms are held against the body, the right hand folds a forked object, perhaps a lash. The left hand apparently holds bow and arrows. At his left side he wears a long sword in a scabbard with three longitudinal ribs, hanging from a shoulder band. The modeling is summary, in shallow relief, with little attention to detail. Lehmann-Haupt saw in this statue some likeness with Assyrian sculpture of the period of Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.).

B. TWO-DIMENSIONAL ART IN STONE

Two-dimensional art in stone is represented by:

a. Rock reliefs
b. Slabs worked in relief or in outline engraving
c. Stone mosaics

a. A rock relief, said to belong to the Urartian period, is sculptured around the entrance of a rock tomb above the fortress of Doğubayazit in Turkey near the Iranian border.[2]) The relief shows from left to right: first, a figure in a garment reaching to the ankles with hands raised in prayer. Around its wrists are bracelets. In front of this figure and above the entrance to the tomb is an animal described by some as a wild goat, by others as a bull. Next comes what seems to be a beard-

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[1]) G. B. Tseretheli, *Urartskie pamatniki muzea Gruzii* (Urartian Monuments in the Museum of Georgia) (Tiflis, 1939), p. 62, pls. XXX-XXXI; *Materialien*, pp. 76–79, figs. 47–48.

[2]) A. A. Zakharov, *Études sur l'archéologie de l'Asie Mineure*, Revue Hittite et Asianique 1 (1931), pp. 165–166, pls. 13–14.

less figure with long hair, again in a long garment reaching to the ankles, with bracelets around the wrists. In the right hand he or she holds a staff which seems to rest on his foot. The left hand is raised in a gesture of greeting. This figure seems to wear a rounded headgear with striations, perhaps representing the horns of divinity. Jacques de Morgan[3]) gives an engraving showing many more details. Unfortunately, it is not clear from the caption whether this engraving renders the state this relief was in at the time, or merely a more or less fanciful reconstruction. The figure on the left is shown as a bearded man in a Phrygian cap, the bull seems to have a stag's antler and the figure on the right seems to be a helmeted lady holding a long towel or stocking-like bag.

If it really is a lady with a towel or stocking-like bag, one is reminded of the relief showing a procession of ladies from Carchemish on the Euphrates at the Turkish-Syrian border and dating to the ninth century B.C. or earlier.[4])

By the traces visible on the photograph on the other hand, one is tempted to compare the figure on the right with the figure on the left of the rock tomb relief at Qyzqapan, Iraqi Kurdistan, dating to the fourth century B.C. or earlier.[5]) There the figure is male and wears the Median costume: leather boots, bonnet *(bašlik)* with flaps knotted across the mouth and sleeved coat worn as a cape around the shoulders. The object there held in the left hand and resting on the foot is a bow.

Reliefs which have been believed to belong to the Urartian period are reported from the upper valley of the Little Zab and from Mila-Merji north of Maltai, but these reliefs have not yet been published.[6])

b. Remains of very large reliefs, sculptured on blocks of which one was at least

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[3]) *Histoire du peuple arménien* (Paris, 1919), fig. on p. 55.

[4]) Ekrem Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter* (Munich, 1961), pl. 114.

[5]) Edith Porada, *Alt-Iran* (Baden-Baden, 1962), fig. 71.

[6]) *IU*, p. 94. A rock relief at Herir-Batas near Ruwandiz in the Great Zab basin (*Armenien* II[1], pp. 278–279) is believed by Burney to be Urartian (AS 8 (1958), pp. 211–218). However, Neilson C. Debevoise, *The Rock Reliefs of Ancient Iran*, JNES 1 (1942), pp. 88 ff., pl. Ib, illustrates this relief more clearly. The general composition (person in trousers facing right and lifting arm) is comparable to a Seleucid (3rd century B.C.) relief from the "Fratadara" palace at Persepolis (Debevoise, *loc. cit.*, pl. IIIa), but the drapery folds and the very relaxed pose betray an even stronger Hellenistic influence than visible in the latter. The left hand seems to hold a staff at an angle and a cord seems to go from the belt to the trousers, as on the 1st century B.C. reliefs of Antiochus I of Commagene on the Nemrut Dağ (Roman Ghirshman, *Persian Art 249 B. C. – A. D. 651*, New York, 1962, pls. 79–80). The headdress may permit to date the relief more closely to the Parthian king Mithridates I (171–138 B.C.), if the attribution to him of a silver drachma (Edith Porada, *Alt-Iran*, Baden-Baden, 1962, p. 174, upper right) is correct (cf. Ghirshman, *op. cit.*, pl. 136). The headgear proves to be none other than the well-known *bašlik* or "Phrygian cap," worn by horse-riding Iranian-speaking tribes since c. 500 B.C., if not before. To prevent it from bobbing forward, the point of the soft cap is folded sideways.

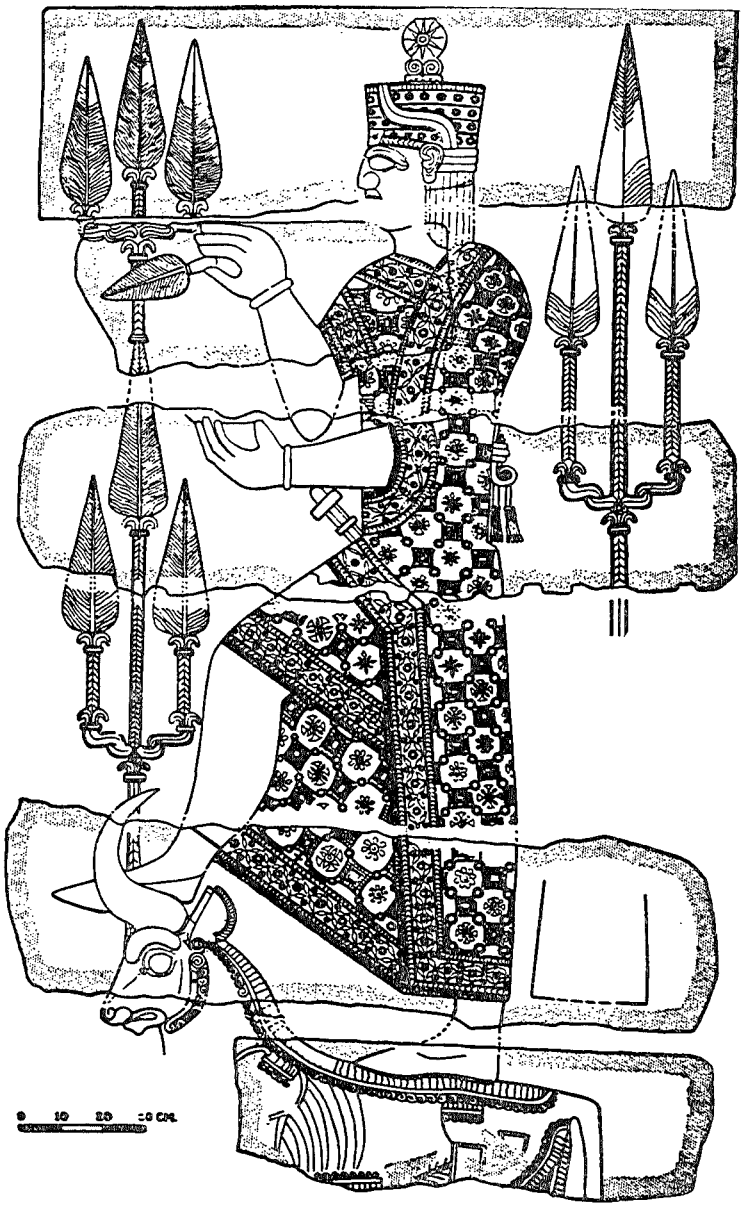

Fig. 9 Reconstruction of relief showing deity on bull facing left, parts actually found at Adilcevaz are outlined in gray (AS 8 (1958), fig. 2)

3½ m high, have been found at Adilcevaz. They undoubtedly originate from the Urartian city the citadel of which is now known as Kefkalesi (above Adilcevaz) and the ancient name of which was "the city of Haldi of the land of Ziuquni", founded by Rusa II.[7])

Most of the slabs retrieved at Adilcevaz seem to have formed part of one very large composition, sculptured on one slab which must have originally measured at least 3½ by 4 m and weighed at least 7 tons. For the construction of a medieval castle at Adilcevaz itself, this large block was apparently broken up with the help of wedges (the marks of which can still be seen), into building blocks about 40 to 50 cm high. The thickness of the blocks varies from 60 to 72 cm, according to whether they come from the upper or lower part.

A block found by Belck in 1898 belongs to the lower left of this composition and shows a bull proceeding to the right.[8]) This block has now disappeared, but Burney recently found the center part of the god who was shown standing on this bull, facing a sacred tree.[9]) At the same time Burney found five blocks which together enabled him to make an almost complete reconstruction of the divine figure on the right (Fig. 9). This god (or goddess?) is shown facing left and likewise standing on a bull, proceeding to the left. The uppermost block of this composition still preserves what must have been the upper right corner of the complete relief and shows carefully smoothed edges. The divine and animal figures are shown in low relief, about 1 cm high. Only the headdress of the god projects slightly more, up to 2 cm.

The following description is based on the figure to the right, unless otherwise mentioned. The god is beardless and has a very large, but not projecting nose, the nostril of which is outlined by a very wide curve. Immediately underneath is the equally large curve of the upper lip. The huge eye is overshadowed by a very thick and long eyebrow and immediately above begins the cylindrical headdress with an edge of little chevrons lying on their sides (a design called "swallowtails" by the Russian archaeologists). Higher up the headdress has four horizontal bands of rosettes crowned by a ring of vertical elements which may be intended to represent feathers, although the small scale of the drawing does not make this clear. In the center of the flat top of this headdress is an eight-rayed sun disk on a double volute

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[7]) The site is described by Charles A. Burney, *Urartian Fortresses and Towns in the Van Region*, Anatolian Studies 7 (1957), pp. 37–53. The text referring to its foundation is rendered in *UKN* as no. 278. Kefkalesi is now being excavated by Prof. Emin Bilgiç and Dr. Baki Öğün, Anatolia 8 (1964), pp. 93–124; AJA 69 (1965), p. 142.

[8]) *Armenien* II², pp. 742–744. The section of the sacred tree visible above and below his muzzle might be taken for a leash if we did not have its more complete counterpart.

[9]) Charles A. Burney and G. R. J. Lawson, *Urartian Reliefs at Adilcevaz . . .*, Anatolian Studies 8 (1958), pp. 211–218.

base. Finally, the sides of the headdress are provided with the well-known horns of divinity.

The attire of the gods seems to consist of a knee-length tunic, over which a cloak reaching to the ankles is thrown. In the figure on the right the cloak does not hang straight down from the left arm to the left ankle, but apparently is caught by some fastening device at the right (hidden) side of the waist. The figure on the left, on the other hand, has no such fastening device: his (or her) cloak falls straight down from the left arm to the left ankle. In the relief on the left it can also be seen that the edge of the kilt forms a horizontal line, not a diagonal line as shown in the reconstruction.

The garments of the deities are covered with large concentric square plaques. The points of the squares are joined by tiny rosettes and the fields left open by this network are further filled with an alternation of Maltese crosses and large rosettes. The border of the garments consists of more tiny rosettes, interspersed between a network of pointed ovals produced by intersecting circles. This wide border is framed on both sides by a narrow swallowtail design and, on the outside only, by a row of tiny loops.

The handle of a sword is visible at the waist of the god on the right, and at the back a large spiral with two pendant tassels may represent the bottom of a quiver. Around the wrist simple bracelets are worn and on the feet slipper-like shoes. The body is effective in its very erect pose, but far from naturalistic in detail. The lines of chest and back are drawn with an exaggerated emphasis on verticals. The left forearm, the hand of the right forearm and the two feet approximate horizontal lines, but the remaining parts of the body are shown in slightly distorted curves giving a weak impression, e.g., in the hands of the figure on the right and in the knees of the figure on the left.

The left hand holds a bowl, the outline of which is not quite clear due to the breaking up of the relief. The right hand is manipulating a vegetal element of the same type as seen on the sacred tree, which he is actually touching with this element. The sacred tree itself consists of a thin vertical stalk, hatched in herring-bone fashion, with two groups of three efflorescences in each of which the outer two are united to the central stalk by double brackets. The efflorescences themselves have an elongated shape, like that of a spear-point. In spite of its lanceolate shape this design obviously represents some plant which was considered particularly vital by the Urartians. It bears no resemblance to the palmette tree, which is the regular Assyrian form of the sacred tree and which obviously is a stylized rendering of the date palm.[10]) The Urartian sacred tree seems closer in inspiration to the Syrian version of this design, which is made up of elements of the lotus plant,

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[10]) E. g., Henri Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Harmondsworth, 1954), pl. 90.

ultimately derived from Egypt.[11]) However, the spear-shaped elements, which in Syria are shown in a form indicating their origin as lotus buds, are shown in Urartu with a central rib, from which numerous parallel wavy lines spread diagonally over the whole surface. In my opinion this design can only find its explanation in an attempt to render the leaf of a tree which the Urartians considered to be holy, or perhaps even specifically sacred to Haldi. In this connection it is interesting that Moses of Chorene[12]) mentions the fact that in pre-Christian times the priests at Armavir (Urartian Argištihinili) used to consult the sound and motion of windblown *sos* trees as an oracle. The German translation[13]) renders *sos* as "plane tree", but the Russian translation[14]) gives "cypress" as the equivalent.

That the spear-shaped element with midrib and diagonal wavy lines can stand by itself for a tree is made clear, e.g., by the crescent-shaped piece of electrum which fitted into the lid of a silver box found at Toprak-Kale, and upon cleaning proved to be engraved with a worship scene, flanked by two trees growing from or stuck into low boxes or bases.[15])

On the other hand, the same element (without the diagonal lines) appears as an *akroterion* on the temple of Haldi at Ardini-Musasir, depicted on a relief in the palace of Sargon II of Assyria (Fig. 5b).[16]) There its outline is repeated by the heads of two huge spears which flank the entrance to the temple.

That actual spearheads were particularly favored as votive objects by the devotees of Haldi, is indicated by the fact that six bronze spearheads were found in the temple at Altintepe,[17]) and 1,610 silver and copper spears and spearheads were taken by Sargon II from the temple of Haldi at Musasir.[18])

For these reasons Dr. Porada believes that the elements terminating the sacred tree on the relief from Adilcevaz could represent at the same time a vegetal growth and a spearhead.

The bulls on both reliefs conform entirely to the highly stylized formula also seen in Urartian bronzework, which is characterized by the horizontal line of the back and the vertical line of the tail. The horns sweep forward and upward, the chin

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[11]) E. g., André Parrot, *Assur* (Paris, 1961), pl. 191 A, or Richard D. Barnett, *The Nimrud Ivories in the British Museum* (London, 1957), pl. VII, no. G 6a.

[12]) *History of Armenia* I. 20.

[13]) By M. Lauer (Regensburg, 1869).

[14]) By Iosif Ioannesov (St. Petersburg, 1809).

[15]) Gerhard R. Meyer, *Ein neuentdeckter urartäischer Brustschmuck*, Das Altertum 1[4] (1955), p. 209. See p. 126.

[16]) Emile Botta et al., *Monument de Ninive* II (Paris, 1849), pl. 141. See p. 42.

[17]) Tahsin Özgüç in Belleten 25 (1961), p. 279.

[18]) *Huitième campagne*, lines 378, 393.

is drawn in. On the face the veins are shown in relief and the eyebrow forms a protruding bean-shaped area above the eye. The ear points upward and backward and the hairy inside of the ear is visible behind the earlap. Around the lower jaw is a semicircular ruff ending in large spiral curls at both ends and with a row of similar little curls setting it off from the neck. From ear to tail a band of alternately straight and wavy lines runs at right angles to the animal's outline, and is set off by tiny spiral curls from the rest of the body. A similar design runs along the belly and along the buttocks of the bull. On the chest a number of ribs are outlined and on the hindlegs various geometric figures in double outlines presumably render the muscles. On the upper part of the leg, these geometric figures end in rounded outlines but on the haunches they are terminated by square outlines. Only on the lower legs is there again an attempt at three-dimensional rendering of the anatomical details.

Behind the god is another sacred tree, of which the triple efflorescences must have been spaced farther apart and which seems to grow out of a square base, either representing a hillock or a portable container.[19])

Piotrovskii assumes without discussion that this relief represents the thunder god Teišeba, in view of his standing on a bull.[20]) As he is neither bearded nor armed with a thunderbolt or an axe (his regular attributes), the identification does not seem above doubt to me. The eight-rayed heavenly body on his headdress usually symbolizes the sun.[21])

At Kefkalesi Burney found another basalt block, about 1 × 1 m, weighing two tons.[22]) The edges had worn away, but the center section still preserves a relief of about ½ by ½ m, showing a tall building with battlements, below which there is a double row of triangular openings and still lower down two rows of windows. In the center a tower is visible, strengthened by buttresses on each side and pierced by three windows, one above the other. At the bottom of the tower there is an ogival design, which at first sight looks like a gateway, but subsequent finds have proved this to be a stylized tree. More fragments of sculpture were reported

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[19]) Cf. the trees shown on the object mentioned in note 15.

[20]) *IU*, p. 96.

[21]) Cf. the symbol of the sun god on the stele of Nabu-apla-iddina (870 B.C.) from Sippar: Henri Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Harmondsworth, 1954), pl. 121. It may however have lost this specific meaning and become a regular termination of the divine headdress in Urartian art. The winged human-headed cow or calf genius on the candelabrum of king Rusa (ILN Nov. 19 1960, p. 897, fig. 6, see 99 and pl. XIXb) has the same element on top of its cylindrical divine headgear, although a direct connection with the sun god is unlikely there.

[22]) See note 9. The excavations mentioned in note 7 have yielded parts of at least five more such blocks, permitting a complete reconstruction, Anatolia 8 (1964), fig. 2.

by inhabitants of Adilcevaz, but could not be located by Burney. One was said to represent an arm with a snake around it, the other a horse and chariot.
Two small basalt blocks from Erzincan are now in the Museum at Ankara.[23]) One represents a striding lion of the emaciated type which was fashionable toward the end of the Urartian kingdom: it is close to the representation of the lions on the shield of king Rusa III from Toprak-Kale.[24]) It has the same three horizontal lines on the side of the rump and an "M" or "N"-shaped sign on the haunches. In other respects the relief from Erzincan is more formalized: the shoulder area has two superimposed loop-shaped outlines and the tail is hanging down, giving together with the very straight legs a somewhat lifeless impression, which Piotrovskii ascribes to provincial workmanship. The other block from Erzincan is said to represent a man in a woolen garment, but has not been published.[25])
At Toprak-Kale a number of fragments have been found of a frieze in red marble decorated with a linear design, consisting of bulls flanking sacred trees.[26]) The bulls were executed in much the same style as those from Adilcevaz. These scenes were framed by vertical bands consisting of a network of "S"-shaped elements. Each element is decorated with a *guilloche*, and at the joins are roundels alternatingly decorated with rosettes and Maltese crosses. In addition, the fields left open by this network are filled with roundels decorated with concentric circles, lozenges and palmettes.
A fragment of gray stone wall decoration, also excavated at Toprak-Kale (only 17 cm high and 30 cm thick), shows a bearded figure in relief with a cylindrical headdress, holding a branch vertically in the left hand, while the right hand is raised in a gesture of greeting or benediction.[27]) Most of the important parts of this composition were inlaid in other materials, perhaps partly precious metals. Only part of the branch remained, which was made of iron. Arms and face may have been made of white stone and inlaid. Other cutouts were made for the border of the garment, the square plaques decorating it, the horns on the sides of the headdress and the heavenly body on the top of the headdress.
In the same excavations loose human limbs were also found. One arm of soft white stone, with a hole for fastening a dowel, is in the Hermitage in Leningrad.[28])

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[23]) *Die Kunst Anatoliens*, text fig. 13.

[24]) See p. 118.

[25]) See note 9.

[26]) B. V. Farmakovskii, *Arkhaicheskii period v Rossii* (The Archaic Period in Russia), MAR 34 (1914), pp. 45–47, pls. XVII-XVIII.

[27]) *Armenien* II², pp. 546–549.

[28]) *IU*, p. 101.

One folded hand and one stretched hand are in the Museum in Berlin, which also preserves a lion's paw.[29])

c. Stone mosaics apparently decorated floors and walls of the temple of Haldi at Toprak-Kale.[30]) They consisted of hard black stone, greenish[31]) and brownish stones and soft white gypsum, which were cut into tapering concentric rings, of which the one in the middle was sometimes fastened with a bronze nail. Other elements were in the shape of drops or buds and again others formed a mosaic of lozenges and swallowtails of black, white, brown and yellow stones. Finally large disks were found with vertical holes in the center, of which both the top and the sides were decorated with inlays of colored stones, forming concentric circles (on top) and rosettes (around the sides).[32]) The use of these objects is not clear. It has been suggested that the holes were intended to hold the feet of thrones and footstools.

C. STONE OBJECTS WITH CARVED OR ENGRAVED DECORATION

On small stone objects the techniques of relief carving or engraving were sometimes employed, as e.g. in small stone vessels with lids turning on a dowel, which may have been used as containers for cosmetics. One such container was found at Karmir-Blur (diameter 8 cm, Pl. VIIb).[33]) The lid is crudely engraved with a scene consisting of a sacred tree flanked by two eagle-headed genii. The tree rests on a base consisting of two brackets placed diagonally. From bottom to top, the tree displays: a palmette, a pair of branches with buds and pomegranates, another palmette and finally a winged sun disk, which rests with the tail on top of the tree. The winged disk has the characteristic Urartian shape, recognizable by the addition, at the top, of an extended volute with a small loop in the middle and, at the bottom, two streamers ending in a fork-like design. The two prongs of each fork curve slightly outward (cf. Pl. XVIIa, Pl. XXXVIc). The genii have a very elongated appearance. Of the two wings coming out of their backs, the one which points down is considerably longer than the one which points up. Their hands are raised in a praying gesture. The scene is framed by a chain of circles with dots, probably meant to render a *guilloche*. The lid fits with a dowel onto a knob in the form of a lying bull

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[29]) *Armenien* II², p. 602.

[30]) *Armenien* II², pp. 551–555. Iraq 12 (1950), pl. XVII, no. 5; 16 (1954), figs. 2, 8.

[31]) Lehmann-Haupt also mentions a light green substance, which he thinks was an artificial composition or paste; *Materialien* p. 74.

[32]) See note 30.

[33]) *VT*, pl. XLIX.

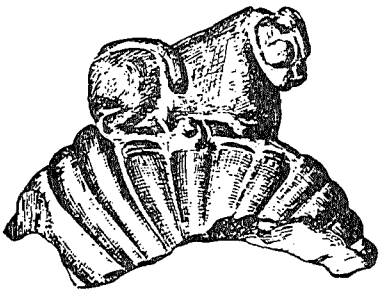

Fig. 10 Stone container fragment with lying bull (*Materialien*, fig. 49)

projecting at the side and cut from the stone of the vessel but now partly broken off. The vessel itself is fluted in the manner of a *phiale* and has a ring base. Another similar vessel, excavated at Toprak-Kale and carved from red porphyry (diameter 5 cm), is only partly preserved but shows the complete figure of a lying bull at the point where it was connected by a dowel with the lid (Fig. 10).[34])
Yet another stone box, found at Karmir-Blur, deviates to such an extent from the style of Urartian carving that Piotrovskii considers it as an import, presumably from the region situated further to the north.[35]) The lid is in the shape of a disk on which a three-dimensional lion is lying. On either side of the lion horned animals are shown in shallow relief. The sides of the box show a hunting scene in which archers, partly on foot and partly on horseback, shoot at a stag. A bird, and a lion attacking horned animals close this scene. The very stocky animals and the very schematic rendering of the human heads are unlike any artistic style of the Near East proper. For comparison, if any, one might adduce the silver vase from Trialeti, Georgian SSR, which dates to the second millennium B.C.[36])

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[34]) *Materialien*, p. 80, fig. 49.

[35]) *VT*, pl. XLVIII, *IU*, fig. 68.

[36]) A. L. Mongait, *Arkheologia v SSSR* (Moscow, 1955), pl. 39 (between pp. 116 and 117).

VI. METALWORK

A. IRON

It is customary to ascribe the rise of Urartu to a very large extent to its possession of iron mines at the time (around the end of the second millennium B.C. and the beginning of the first millennium B.C.) when forged iron was the new weapon, and gave its possessor an easy superiority over any enemy armed with the hitherto current bronze weapons.[1])

In effect, the regions around Muş, Bitlis, and Van, as well as the mountains to the west of Lake Urmia, are known to be rich in iron ore.[2])

The extant literary sources are not very conclusive on this point. During the second millennium B.C. iron (often expressly described as meteoric iron) was a precious metal, used for display weapons and furnishings for palaces and temples, given by rulers to honor their gods or to other rulers.[3]) In this use it is first attested at the Hittite court in Asia Minor, and Cilicia is there mentioned as a source from which it was obtained.[4]) Silver mining operations in the "Silver Mountains" (the Taurus) along the southern edge of the Anatolian plateau may have led to the discovery and exploitation of ores with a high iron content.[5]) The earliest ores to be worked on a larger scale were lake and bog ores, formed by streams springing from iron-rich mountains.[6]) Such streams are the Ceyhan (ancient Pyramus), the

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[1]) Lehmann-Haupt seems to have been the first to voice this theory in *Armenien* II², pp. 889–895.

[2]) H. Quiring, *Die Erzgrundlagen der ältesten Eisenerzeugung*, Zeitschrift für praktische Geologie 41 (1933), pp. 128 ff.

[3]) *Kleinasien*, pp. 109, 120.

[4]) See note 3.

[5]) The central part of the Taurus mountains, between the Cilician plain and the Middle Euphrates, was apparently a very early center of silver mining and of metallurgy altogether. It was known to the Romans as the land of the Tibarani (Georg Wissowa et al. ed., *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, series 2, vol. A11, Stuttgart, 1936, col. 764), to the Jews as Tubal (*Ezekiel* 27: 13), and to the Assyrians as Tabal (*ANET*², pp. 277, 282–284). I would venture to derive all these names, as well as the modern name, from Sumerian tibira 'smith", in which I would see a pre-Sumerian Near Eastern "culture word". Some tradition about the importance of the Taurus for early metallurgy is reflected in *Gen.* 4: 22. Already by Xenophon's time (c. 400 B.C.) most of the Tibarenoi were apparently working the more newly discovered Pontic iron deposits (*Anabasis* V. 5: 12).

[6]) E. Wyndham Hulme, *Iron-smelting with Lake and Bog-ores*, Antiquity 11 (1937), pp. 221–222.

Nizip and the Afrin coming out of the Taurus and the Yeşil Irmak (Iris) and Terme (Thermodon) coming out of the Pontic mountains.[7])

In the first millennium B.C. victory reports listing the booty taken from other countries give some indication of sources and processing centers of metal.

In the Urartian annals iron is mentioned only once, when Sarduri II inscribed his victory over Qulha (Colchis) on an iron seal.[8])

In Sargon's list of booty taken from Musasir[9]) only very few iron objects are mentioned. By far the greatest part of the metal objects were of bronze, but then that is what one would expect to find in a holy city, especially in the traditional furnishings of the palace of the ruler and in the temple, the two buildings whose contents were enumerated in detail in Sargon's list.

In the first millennium B.C., when mined iron had become a cheap, utilitarian metal, its use was apparently considered unworthy of a temple or a priest-king's household, much as plastic is avoided in the more elegant homes of the twentieth century.[10])

In a statistical chart drawn up of all the booty obtained by the Assyrians from their neighbors,[11]) Damascus figures most prominently as a source of iron with 150 tons (taken by Adadnirari III, 805–782 B.C.). Obviously Damascus was a processing center, as it has remained up to the present day, and the primary source of the ores must have been elsewhere, probably in the Lebanon, Amanus or Taurus mountains. Important earlier sources (in the time of Assurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III) are Hattina (modern Amuq) with 15 tons, Carchemish with the same amount and Urartu (Nairi) itself with 10 tons.

In the new capital of Sargon at Dūr-Sharrukēn 160 tons of iron have been excavated, partly in a raw state, and it has been assumed that Sargon's eighth campaign may have yielded part of this supply.[12]) In view of the lack of evidence, either literary or archaeological, for a great iron industry in Urartu, however, any of the other campaigns of Sargon may equally account for this impressive quantity, notably his victory over Ia'ubidi of Hamath (whose allies included Damascus) in 720,[13]) his

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[7]) Robert J. Forbes, *Metallurgy in Antiquity* (Leiden, 1950), pp. 386 ff., 401 ff.,

[8]) *UKN*, no. 155 D, line 11.

[9]) *Huitième campagne*, line 365: from the palace, 10 (or less) iron braziers, fire shovels, . . . , and lamps. See also line 406.

[10]) Moses had even forbidden the use of iron-hewn stones for building altars; *Joshua* 8: 31.

[11]) N. B. Iankovskaia, *Nekotorye voprosy ekonomiki assiriiskoi derzhavy* (Some Problems of the Economics of the Assyrian Realm), VDI 1956[1], pp. 28–46. The Assyrian sources used are translated in *ARAB*.

[12]) *VT*, p. 163.

[13]) *ANET*[2], p. 285

victory over Pisiri of Carchemish in 717,[14]) or his annexation of Tabal in 713 B.C.[15]) Lehmann-Haupt[16]) makes much of the references in Greek sources to the iron-working Khalybes and Khaldoi, whom he wrongly considers as descendants of "Haldi's people", the Urartians. As the Greek word for "steel" is *khalybs*, he argues that the Greeks learned about steel (i.e. iron processed for use in tools and weapons) from the Khalybes and thus ultimately from the Urartians.[17]) There is no proof that the name of the principal god Haldi ever became attached to the Urartian people nor is there any indication that the latter moved from the area between the four lakes (Van, Urmia, Sevan and Çildir) to the mountains south of Trebizond, where Xenophon (c. 400 B.C.) found the Khaldoi[18]) and the Khalybes.[19]) This is probably the area which the Urartians called Halitu, and it may also be recognized in Homer's description of the Halidzones, who are listed among the allies of Troy (after the Paphlagonians) and said to come "from afar, out of Alybē, where the origin is of silver".[20]) In my personal opinion, which remains to be proven, the name (H)Alybē (perhaps of the same origin as the name of the river Halys) became associated in the mind of the Greeks with *khalybs*, the Greek word for steel, and thus its inhabitants, at first presumably called Halybes, became known as Khalybes at some time between Homer and Xenophon. (The real origin of the word *khalybs* is probably a different one; see below).

Equally the name of the Halidzones may well have evoked associations with the more illustrious Chaldaeans of Babylonia, and become replaced by the latter between the time of Homer and that of Xenophon. In the Kyropaideia Xenophon speaks only of the Khald(ai)oi,[21]) but he apparently means the same people that are usually called Khalybes in the Anabasis.[22]) Xenophon describes them as fierce fighters, who live mostly by ironworking, in close association with Mossynoikoi and Tibarēnoi, whom we have mentioned above in note 5.

Interestingly enough Khaldia (Armenian Khałtik') has remained the name of a bishopric near Trebizond and the see of the Orthodox bishop of Khaldia at the

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[14]) *ANET*², p. 285.

[15]) H. Tadmor, *The Campaigns of Sargon II*, JCS 12 (1958), pp. 77–100.

[16]) *Armenien* II², pp. 763–809.

[17]) *Armenien* II², p. 798.

[18]) *Anabasis* IV 3: 4, V 5: 17.

[19]) *Anabasis* IV 4: 18, 5: 34, 6: 5, 7: 15; V 5: 1.

[20]) *Iliad* B 856–857.

[21]) *Kyropaideia* III 1: 34–3: 1, VII 2: 3–8.

[22]) See note 16.

beginning of this century, Gümüşhane (Turkish for "silver house") was an important silver producing center, as in Homeric times.

In fact the northern edge of the Anatolian plateau, near the Black Sea, is as rich in silver and especially iron as is its southern edge. But the Greek reference to iron-working there around 400 B.C. does not permit us to draw any conclusions about the exploitation of iron in the period 900–600 B.C. by the Urartians, who seem to have raided the Trebizond area (Halitu) only once.[23])

All the evidence points to the fact that in the earlier part of the first millennium B.C. the southern edge of the Anatolian plateau was a more important metalworking area than the northern edge. One of the oldest industrial centers here was Halab (Greek Khalybon, modern Aleppo), located close to the iron deposits of the Taurus. Rather than the mere mining of iron, it was the industrial invention known as steeling which made the use of iron for tools and weapons possible.[24])

If my guess is correct that the Greek word for steel, *khalybs*, is derived from Khalybon[25]) (like *damask* is derived from Damascus, etc.), we would have another strong indication that the Taurus area is the homeland of steel manufacture.

The excavation results at Urartian sites show us a normal Iron Age distribution of iron in relation to bronze tools and weapons. Iron is far ahead in quantity. Between five hundred and six hundred iron objects were found at Toprak-Kale by the German expedition:[26]) arrow and spear heads of various shapes, large knives, a trident, a tethering ring fixed with a clamp into the masonry, an ax, a hammer, two plowshares, and a hook.

At Karmir-Blur the Russian excavators found great quantities of similar objects:[27]) three-pronged pitchforks, an adze, rings with clamps (interpreted by Piotrovskii as devices for bolting doors), a spade, hoes, sickles, axes, hooks, and saws, as well as weapons, including swords (one measuring 45 cm) and scale armor. It will be noted that the resemblance in shape between the objects from the two Urartian sites is greater than the description would suggest. The excavators' interpretation as to their use differs in several cases. I would generally attach greater importance to the Russian excavators' views, as they observed the find circumstances in greater detail and dispose of more comparative material. Thus the term "pitchfork" is to be preferred to "trident", "sword" to "knife", "bolt ring" (probably) to "tethering ring", "spade" to "plowshare".

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[23]) Rusa II settled captives from Muškini (Phrygia), Hate (Cappadocia) and Halitu in a new city; *UKN* no. 278, line 4.

[24]) Robert J. Forbes, *Metallurgy in Antiquity* (Leiden, 1950), pp. 411 ff.

[25]) Note that in Hattic, Hittite, and Hurrian iron was called *hapalki-;* Emmanuel Laroche, *Études de vocabulaire VI*, Revue Hittite et Asianique 15 (1957), pp. 9–29, especially pp. 9–15.

[26]) *Armenien* II², pp. 506–507, 544–547.

[27]) *VT*, p. 163.

An iron candelabrum discovered at Karmir-Blur[28]) was of the same basic form as the bronze candelabrum from Toprak-Kale to be discussed below.

The numerical preponderance of iron over bronze objects in the finds excavated at Urartian sites corresponds to the similar situation in Assyrian sites of the reign of Sargon and later, whereas before 800 B.C. bronze had still been preponderant in Assyria.[29]) As both Toprak-Kale and Karmir-Blur were only destroyed around 600 B.C., the evidence from these sites does not give any reason to believe that the Urartians were ahead of the Assyrians in iron working.

What must, however, have given a great stimulus to the development of iron industry in Urartu was the need to hew irrigation channels through living rock in many places. In turn, the availability of stone-hewing tools made possible the extraordinary proliferation of rock-cut tombs and fortresses built of well-dressed stone on foundations excavated from bed-rock.

Iron being a cheap metal in the period under consideration, it was not used for any works of art, with the exception of an iron inlay in the shape of a sacred tree on a stone relief from Toprak-Kale, which has been discussed in chapter V (p. 77), The fact that the inlay does not seem to have rusted and damaged the relief leads one to wonder whether it was made of meteoric iron, which is less easily attacked by rust.

B. BRONZE

In contrast to iron, bronze was used extensively for works of art, and in fact well-made bronze objects constitute a primary source for our knowledge of Urartian art and craftsmanship. The bronze material can be divided into

1. cast statues (known only from descriptions and illustrations) and statuettes;
2. temple and tomb furniture, made partly of cast bronze, partly of other materials;
3. bronze plaques and friezes, which may have decorated either furniture or walls;
4. hammered vessels, the larger ones equipped with cast attachments;

and military equipment such as:

5. cast horse trappings and chariot fixtures;
6. cast offensive arms;
7. cast defensive armor (scale armor);
8. hammered defensive armor (shields and helmets);
9. hammered additional equipment (quivers and belts).

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[28]) *KB* I, p. 69.

[29]) Robert J. Forbes, *Metallurgy in Antiquity* (Leiden, 1950), pp. 447–448; Austen H. Layard, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* (London, 1853), pp. 194–195 (palace of Sennacherib, 704–681 B.C.)

Sources of copper existed in the copper mines of the Erzincan-Erzurum area, near the Tigris sources and near the Kel-i shin pass in ancient Musasir.[30]) Tin is found on Mt. Sāhand, ancient Uauš on the eastern confines of Urartu.[31])

Urartian sources already mention the Erzincan-Erzurum area as a source of raw copper. The king of "the Son(s) of Diau" in this area was forced to send, among other things, 10,000 minas (5 tons) of copper a year to Argišti I.[32]) Commagene, on the other hand, must have had an important copper industry. Kuštašpi, king of Commagene, paid a tribute to Sarduri II around 745 B.C. which included 2,000 copper shields and 1,535 copper basins *(kiri)*.[33])

At the storehouse-fortress of Karmir-Blur evidence was found of copper melting on the spot.

In the total amount of copper taken as booty in all Assyrian campaigns, Damascus with 900 tons of copper again ranked highest among the sources. This copper must have been sent from some outlying mining area to be processed in the metallurgical center of Damascus.

For a single campaign, Sargon's raid on Musasir was particularly successful in bringing back quantities of copper and bronze to Assyria, including the following items from the temple

> 108 tons of bronze ingots;
> 25,212 large and small copper shields, copper crests, copper hauberks and copper skull covers;
> 1, 514 large and small copper spears, large copper spear heads, copper . . . and copper lances (?) with their bottom parts in copper;
> 305,412 copper swords and daggers, copper bows, copper cases and copper arrows;
> 607 large and small copper basins, copper ewers, copper . . . , copper tureens and copper pans;
> 3 large copper basins whose interiors held 50 measures of water each, with their large copper tripods;
> 1 great copper vat with a capacity of 80 measures of water, together with its great copper tripod, which the kings of Urartu used to fill with libation wine for the performance of sacrifices to Haldi;
> 4 copper statues of "divine chief doorkeepers" standing guard at its doors,

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[30]) Forbes, *op. cit.* in note 29, pp. 302–303. Maden near Ergani was and still is a particularly rich copper mine in the Tigris source area. It also yields tin.

[31]) Forbes, *op. cit.* in note 29, pp. 238.

[32]) *UKN*, no. 128B, line 24.

[33]) *UKN*, no. 155E, lines 55–56.

> whose height was 4 cubits, cast of copper together with their socles;
> 1 statue representing Sarduri, son of Išpuini, king of Urartu, as a king in an attitude of prayer, cast of bronze together with its socle;
> 1 (statue of) a bull and a cow with her calf, into which Sarduri, son of Išpuini, had turned the copper of the temple of Haldi to be an object of veneration, and on which he had placed an inscription to that effect;
> 1 statue of Argišti, king of Urartu, wearing a crown with a star like that of a god and making the gesture of greeting with his right hand, including its canopy, weighing 1,800 kg of copper;[34])
> 1 statue of Rusa with his two steeds and his charioteer, cast of copper together with their socle, on which the following boast of his was engraved: "With only my two steeds and one charioteer I took the kingdom of Urartu";

and from the palace

> an unspecified quantity of "white" copper;
> 13 copper basins, copper cauldrons, copper ewers, copper . . . , copper tureens and copper pans;
> 24 copper tripods, basins, dishes, deep bowls, chains (?), . . . and lamps;
> 120 large and small copper utensils, special to their country, whose names are difficult to write.[35])

The sack of Musasir is partly illustrated on reliefs in the palace of Sargon at Dur-Sharruken (Figs. 5a, b).[36]) Two enormous basins on tripods stand in front of the temple terrace. On the terrace are the statues of cow and calf and of two divine guardians flanking the entrance. From pillars and walls hang many shields, some with lion-head bosses, and more are being carried off by Assyrian soldiers while an Assyrian official is dictating a list of the booty to two scribes. Nearby two more officials are weighing booty, soldiers are cutting up a helmeted statue (probably the life-size statue of Argišti I),[37]) and others are leaving the scene with large vessels and shields on their back.
As the Assyrian sculptors tended to depict foreign objects in the shape of corre-

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[34]) To judge by its weight, the statue must have been at least lifesize. This must be the statue which is being hacked to pieces on the relief from the palace of Sargon, P. E. Botta et al., *Monument de Ninive* II (Paris, 1849), pl. 140 (Fig. 5a).

[35]) *Huitième campagne*, lines 352, 362–364, 392–404, cf. A. Leo Oppenheim ed., *The Assyrian Dictionary* 16 (Chicago, 1962), pp. 80–81.

[36]) P. E. Botta and E. Flandin, *Monument de Ninive* II (Paris, 1849). pls. 140–141; Jean Nougayrol, *Un fragment méconnu du "Pillage de Musasir"*, RA 54 (1960), pp. 203–206.

[37]) See note 34.

sponding Assyrian objects, which were more familiar to them, these illustrations do not have great value as a source of information about the art of Urartu that is lost to us. Only a few generalities can be deduced, e.g. that many of the shields had bosses in the shape of lion's heads, that the large basins were supported by tripods ending in bull's hooves, and that life-size statues in bronze existed.

More dependable are the indications that we get from objects actually excavated in Urartu. Following the division which we have made above, we will first consider statuary in bronze, of which only a few small examples have survived.

1. *Statues and Statuettes*

a. The statuette of a standing god, 19.7 cm high, was acquired by the British Museum in 1874 from Hormuzd Rassam while the latter was digging at Van (Pl. Xa).[38]) It is not known whether this figure was actually excavated at Toprak-Kale or whether Rassam bought it while working at Van. The god conforms on the whole to the Assyrian style of the same period. His hair and beard are worn long and his mustache curls into a spiral on both sides. The heavy eyebrows join the nose without any interruption. However, the nose is shorter and more pointed than current in the Assyrian style of the period. The eyes are bordered by heavy eyelids. The head is crowned by a rounded conical helmet, to which is fixed one pair of horns. The garment, which reaches down almost to the ankles, is undifferentiated except for a very wide belt. Both elbows are held against the waist and the forearms are stretched horizontally forward. The left hand was clenched around some object which has now disappeared.

What is particularly characteristic of the Urartian workmanship in this figure is the strictly vertical position of the body and the strictly horizontal position of the forearms. An Assyrian artist would have tended to give more curves to such a figure.

b. The statuette of a seated goddess, now in the Historical Museum of Armenia in Erevan, is said to have been found in 1907 in the ruins of the fortress of Darabey near Van (Pl. Xb).[39]) This statuette, 12 cm high, shows a seated lady wrapped in a richly ornamented cloth, which passes at least twice around her body and once over her head and back. The cloth is ornamented with a fringe and with a number of square elements, which were probably made of gold and stitched onto the dress in the actual garment which is here portrayed.[40]) Around her waist the lady wears a belt and around her neck a necklace with three long pendent chains. A pin with

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[38]) R. D. Barnett, Iraq 12 (1950), p. 2, pl. XVIII, no. 2.

[39]) B. B. Piotrovskii, *Urartskaa bronzovaa statuetka Gos. Muzea* (An Urartian Bronze Statuette in the Government Museum of Armenia)", SA 6 (1940), pp. 89–91.

[40]) For texts referring to garments so decorated, see A. Leo Oppenheim, *The Golden Garments of the Gods*, JNES 8 (1949), pp. 172–193.

a composite head topped by a couchant lion is stuck in the front and covers some of the rings of the necklace. On her wrist the lady wears multiple bracelets. Her arms are held in the same position as those of the god mentioned above, with this difference that the right hand is slightly raised in a gesture of greeting. The facial features, too, are comparable. The cheeks, however, are more rounded, merging through a smooth transition with the small chin. The small mouth embedded between the rounded cheeks displays a faint smile. Although less pronounced, the underlying scheme of vertical and horizontal lines is here also clearly noticeable.

c. A third figure of a Urartian divinity in bronze was excavated at Karmir-Blur.[41]) Although clearly part of a larger object, and therefore related to the furniture elements to be treated below, this figure may be mentioned here as its original use can no longer be established. Its total height is 24 cm. Part of this is formed by a capital of cylindrical shape, decorated with three rows of zigzags[42]) and surmounted by a loop, through which another element must have passed. The capital rests on the tapering cylindrical headdress of the god, which is adorned with one pair of horns. His beardless face is now much worn and somewhat expressionless. The hair is worn long in the neck. The god's garment is decorated with square plaques like that of the goddess described above, and in addition a long fringe passes diagonally across the front from right waist to left shoulder. Bracelets adorn both wrists. The right arm hangs down and holds a disk-shaped mace across the front of the body. The left forearm is clasped against the body, holding an axe against the chest. Because of this weapon Piotrovskii identifies this god as the thunder god Teišeba, but in view of his beardlessness this seems improbable. The divine figure stands on a hollow circular base, decorated with drooping petals and fitting over an iron core.

In addition to the three statuettes just mentioned, a few more bronze figurines are preserved in the British Museum as coming from Van.[43]) As these tiny objects seem to reflect various, possibly foreign, styles, they cannot serve here as a basis for the characterization of Urartian bronze work.

2. *Furniture*

The next category calling for our attention is formed by bronze furniture elements found in temples and tombs.

A large group of highly elaborate bronze figures of human, animal and mixed

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[41]) *KB* I, p. 68, fig. 41; *VT*, pl. I.

[42]) Due to the worn condition of the statuette, it is hard to tell whether these zigzags actually represent crenelations.

[43]) E. Minns, *Small Bronzes from Northern Asia*, Antiquaries' Journal 10 (1930), pl. 4 nos. 1–4. R. D. Barnett, Iraq 16 (1954), p. 7, pl. II, no. 2.

beings, now dispersed among a number of museums or private collections, almost certainly once formed the throne and footstool of the god Haldi in his temple at Toprak-Kale. Due to the unforgivable negligence of the nineteenth century excavators, the relative position of these elements when found was not observed, so that the various attempted reconstructions are conjectural at best.[44])

a. One of the largest pieces (46 cm) consists of a leg decorated with two rings of drooping petals and one ring of circular holes for inlays (Pl. XIa).[45]) It supports a horizontal corner element, on which such holes alternate with concave squares framing four-pointed rosettes. These squares were also meant to be filled with a colored material. On top of this horizontal element lies a winged lion, whose forelegs are those of a bull and who probably originally also had bull's horns. The details engraved on this lion are similar to those on the whole group under discussion, and consist among other features of a row of spiral curls along the belly, and doubly outlined muscles (which on the shoulder take a tulip-like shape). The wings consist of horizontal feathers, alternately hatched in a herringbone pattern and sunk to take colored inlay. The mane consists of a network of flame-like curls. The upper lip and the eyebrows each sweep up in curves that come to a point, emphasizing the ferocity of the beast. The wrinkles on the nose create an almost geometric step pattern, which goes back to a more naturalistic way of representing wrinkles, seen e.g. on an eighth century B.C. ivory lion head from North Syria.[46])

b. A similar leg, but without lion, was excavated by the German expedition at Toprak-Kale and is preserved in Berlin (height 31 cm).[47])

c. A corner element without leg, but otherwise similar to the preceding, was bought by Layard in Istanbul together with other objects from Van and is now in the British Museum (8.5 cm).[48])

d. A couchant lion similar to that on element a. above but in this case resting on a column of crossed logs,[49]) imitated in a cloisonné technique (height 28 cm), was excavated by Rassam at Toprak-Kale and is now in the British Museum (Pl. XIb).[50])

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[44]) B. B. Piotrovskii, *Urartskie bronzovye statuetki sobrania Ermitazha* (Urartian Bronze Statuettes in the Collection of the Hermitage), Trudy otdela vostoka Gos. Ermitazha I (1939), p. 58; R. D. Barnett, *The Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak-Kale, near Van*, Iraq 12 (1950), p. 43.

[45]) Now in the Vogüé collection in Paris; R. D. Barnett, Iraq 12 (1950), pl. XIX.

[46]) François Thureau-Dangin, *Arslan-Tash* (Paris, 1931), pl. XLIII, nos. 89–91.

[47]) *Armenien* II², pp. 485–487.

[48]) Iraq 12 (1950), pls. II and IV, no. 3.

[49]) Mr. Charles K. Wilkinson has kindly pointed out to me that this design probably represents reeds, piled up to form a bed. Such bedding is still used in the Near East.

[50]) Iraq 12 (1950) pl. XI.

e. A similar column (height 31 cm) is in the Vogüé collection in Paris.[51])

f. A couchant bull with similar wings and forelegs as the lions described above, was bought by Layard together with object c. above (height 10.8 cm).[52]) The hairy parts of the bull end in rows of spiral curls, and pairs of larger spiral curls are seen at the top and the bottom of the head. The ears point horizontally sideways. The horns swing horizontally forward and then back toward the head (in the horizontal position of the ears and of the lower part of the horns, the bull is comparable to the cauldron attachments to be treated below. However, the points of the horns which describe a full loop are unique and probably due to the necessity of avoiding dangerous hooks).[53]) The face of the bull, which must have been made of a different material, has now disappeared. It was turned to the left. At the bottom is a dowel to be let down into the element underneath and to be fixed with a transverse pin, for which a horizontal hole was pierced through the dowel.

g. A similar figure, but with its head turned in the opposite direction, said to have been found at Toprak-Kale, is in the Hermitage at Leningrad (height 10.6 cm) (Pl. XII).[54]) A double volute on this creature's head may have carried an additional element (cf. Fig. 9).

h. A standing figure of a winged bull, with feathered neck, supporting a capital ringed by drooping leaves, is likewise in the Hermitage (height 22.5 cm) (Pl. XIII).[55]) The face was inlaid in a different material, which has now disappeared, and was probably that of an eagle. It was framed by pairs of long curls. The feathers on the neck form a scale pattern, each scale engraved with hatching in herringbone fashion. At the back of the head is a hole for a dowel, and the back wing has no cutouts for incrustations, proving that it too must have been on the inside of the throne.

i. A similar figure of a winged bull also supports a drooping-leaf capital, but instead of an eagle's neck the intervening member is a human torso, turned to the left. It was bought by Layard together with objects c and f and is now in the British Museum (height 20.3 cm).[56]) On the headdress are grooves for the application of a pair of horns in a different material, proving that this is meant to be a divine creature. Its hands are joined in front of its chest in a praying gesture. The hair falls on the shoulders in three horizontal rows of heavy curls. The garment

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[51]) *Ibid.*, pl. XXII, no. 6.

[52]) *Ibid.*, pl. V.

[53]) Unless this effect is due to later damage.

[54]) Piotrovskii, *op. cit.* in note 44, p. 50, pl. I; *IU*, pls. IV-V; Iraq 16 (1954), pl. III, no. 3.

[55]) Piotrovskii, *op. cit.* in note 44, p. 51, pl. V; *IU*, pls. VI-VII; Iraq 12 (1950), pl. XXI, no. 2.

[56]) Iraq 12 (1950), pls. VI-VII.

ends above the elbows and includes a long fringe passing diagonally from the right waist to the left shoulder. In addition, the creature wears a crescent-shaped gorget, a rosette or star on the left shoulder, and single bracelets. As in the preceding figure, the face must have been inset of a different material and is now lost.

j. A winged lion with human torso facing frontally is in the Hermitage, reputedly found at Toprak-Kale (height 16 cm, Pl. XIV).[57]) Around its belly the lion has a bellyband tied into a knot, both ends blown back horizontally over its right haunch.[58]) The wings have no holes for incrustations, so that in this case the frontal view must have been the most important one. The face, which is exceptionally well preserved, is inlaid of white limestone with large slanting eyes outlined in black. The pupils and eyebrows are also filled with black material. A row of upswept spiral curls, engraved on the bronze headdress, frames the forehead. The head bears no trace of having carried additional elements. The cylindrical headdress is encircled by a headband with rosettes at certain intervals, passing behind the horns. Along the top of the headdress is a row of scale-like loops, which may represent feathers.

k. A griffin, likewise without incrustation on the wings, is preserved in Berlin, and said to have been found at Toprak-Kale (height 21.2 cm) (Pl. XV).[59]) Both forelegs and hind legs are aquiline and the entire body is covered with feathers of scale-like outline, while pairs of long curls fall down the sides of the neck. The powerful beak is closed. The inlay of eyes and eyebrows, probably of some light colored material, has disappeared. On its head the griffin supported a cylindrical element, decorated with openwork rings, which connected it to the next member.

l. A god standing on a lion with bull's horns and forelegs is in the Stoclet Collection in Brussels (height 40 cm) (Fig. 11).[60]) The lion corresponds to objects a. and b., except for the absence of the wings. The figure of the god, almost purely cylindrical in shape, is clad in a garment onto which square plaques with rosettes are sown, and which ends in a long fringe below. Another fringe encircles the waist and continues diagonally up to the left shoulder. The head corresponds to that of object j., except for the loss of the inset face. The arms of the figure are also lost, but vertical slots are visible into which these arms, possibly serving as a connection between different elements of the throne, must have fitted. Most curious is the fashion in which the feet of the god do not actually stand on the back of the animal, but are laid against its side. Probably this anomaly is to be

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[57]) Piotrovskii, *op. cit.* in note 44, p. 50, pls. II-III; *IU*, pls. II-III; Iraq 16 (1954), pl. III, no. 2.

[58]) This detail also occurs on the human-headed winged lions guarding the palace of Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) at Kalhu (modern Nimrud) (André Parrot, *Assur*, Paris, 1961, pls. 29, 32). Barnett (*Ass. Pal. Reliefs*, p. 12) interprets it as a leash, indicating that the creature is ready to be unleashed.

[59]) *Materialien*, p. 96, fig. 66; *IU*, pls. X-XI; Iraq 12 (1950), pl. XVIII, no. 1.

[60]) Iraq 16 (1954), pp. 14–15, fig. 18.

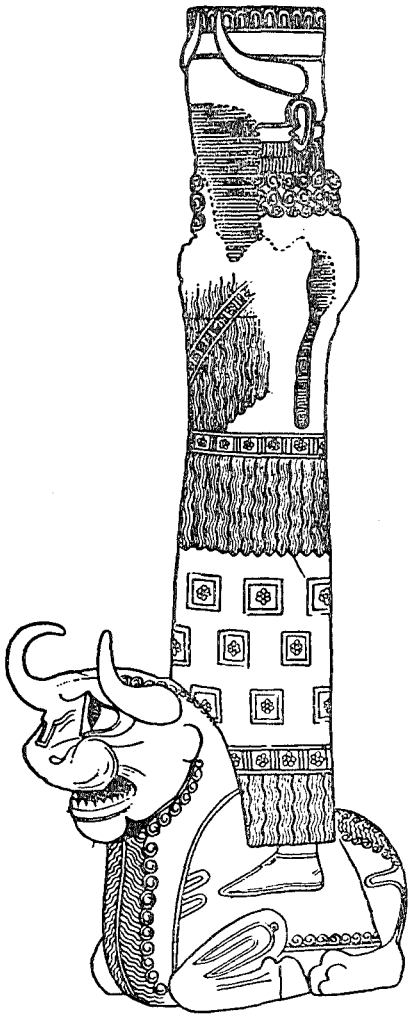

Fig. 11 Bronze god standing on bull-horned lion from Haldi temple, Toprak-Kale (Iraq 16 (1954), fig. 18)

explained by practical reasons: a pair of feet standing free on the back of the animal would have provided a weak point, subject to easy breakage.
As the feet of the god are merely rendered in relief on the body of the animal, we see that the Urartian artist apparently felt no scruple in combining two– and three–dimensional representation on one and the same object. Such combinations, rarely found in Mesopotamian art, are quite common in Iran.[61])

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[61]) Edith Porada, *Alt-Iran* (Baden-Baden, 1962), pp. 46, 93, figs. 32, 62.

m. The bottom half of a figure like the preceding was bought in Erzurum and is now in the Louvre (preserved height 15 cm).[62])

n. The bottom half of a god standing on a bull, in which the face of the animal was inlaid and has now disappeared, was excavated at Toprak-Kale and is now in the British Museum (preserved height 21.5 cm).[63])

o. Another similar figure is in the Hermitage (preserved height 23 cm).[64])

p. The Metropolitan Museum in New York has yet another fragment like the preceding (preserved height 17.5 cm).[65])

q. Finally, a very tall figure of a courtier, said to have been found at Toprak-Kale, is in the Berlin Museum (height 36 cm). (Pl. XVI).[66]) The beardless face is inlaid in white limestone, from which the black incrustation of eyes and eyebrows has disappeared. The top of the head is broken off, but the three rows of heavy curls on the shoulders are preserved. The rest of the figure is like that of the gods, except that no plaques are sewn onto its garment. Its jewelry is like that of the winged semi-human creatures and consists of single bracelets and a crescent-shaped gorget, which in this case has five circular holes for inlays, but the rosette is lacking. The right arm of the figure hangs down vertically and holds a palmette-shaped fan horizontally in the hand, so that arm and fan describe a right angle. His left forearm is held against the chest and clasps a long narrow cloth, which is slung over his left shoulder. The end of this cloth, which hangs down to the knees, was cut out to receive a colored incrustation. The left side of the figure is smooth, but on its right side are two vertical slots, one at the height of the shoulder and the other at the bottom of the garment, proving that this figure too must have formed part of the set of temple furniture now so lamentably dispersed. All the objects described above from a to q bear traces of having once been covered by gold leaf, fixed into grooves at the back of the figures, and the surfaces to be joined to other members are marked with joiner's marks.

r. Together with the griffin (k above) the Berlin Museum acquired a bronze column 2.6 cm thick and about 24 cm high, surrounded by three rings of drooping leaves.[67]) Its diameter agrees with the round column base which the griffin carries on its head.

s. Two heavy bronze lion's paws in the British Museum (height 19.5 cm) may

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[62]) Léon Heuzey, *Les origines orientales de l'art* I (Paris, 1891), pl. 9; Iraq 12 (1950), pl. XVIII, no. 3.

[63]) Iraq 12 (1950), pl. VII, no. 3.

[64]) Piotrovskii, *op. cit.* in note 44, p. 51, pl. IV; *IU*, pls. VIII - IX; Iraq 12 (1950), pl. XXI, no. 1.

[65]) Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin 10 (1952), p. 216; Iraq 16 (1954), pl. III, no. 1.

[66]) *Materialien*, p. 98, fig. 69; *IU* pls. XII-XIII.

[67]) *Armenien II*^{2}, p. 484; *Materialien*, pp. 96–97.

well have been the one but lowest parts of the throne's legs (Pl. XVIIa).[68]) Four rings on each side of the paw show that another element with three rings on each side must have been fitted on from above and two rods then passed through from behind to keep the parts in position.

The shield-shaped plate at the top (which must have been welded on and is missing from one of the two paws) is decorated with a winged sun disk of typically Urartian design: along the top of the wings are pairs of long curls, forming two superimposed horizontal brackets ending in tiny spirals (in more simplified versions, these curls are abbreviated to a sign resembling a balance). Between wings and tail emerge two streamers (rays) ending in hand-like forks. Above the sun disk are two stars, each with six straight and six wavy rays.

Most parts of these heavenly bodies are scooped out to receive colored inlays. A few elements are only engraved.

Down the sides of the paws there are double bands of triangles, alternately pointing left and right, also scooped out to receive colored inlays.

Whereas the vertical part of the paw is angular and more or less trapezoid in section, the toes are naturalistically shaped. The knuckles and nails are again cut out and must have been supplemented in colored stone.

Stylistically the seventeen throne elements, which were all cast according to the lost wax process, form a remarkably homogeneous group. They probably formed a throne provided by a king of Urartu for the divine statue in the temple of the main god, Haldi. As an important work of art from the circles surrounding the court it may help us to define the most typical elements of Urartian art.

1. Most striking of all is the emphasis on horizontal and vertical lines and the limitation of diagonals and curves to a minimum. The lines of back and belly of the animals tend to be horizontal, the wings are slightly lifted but consist of horizontally placed feathers. The legs are vertical, approaching a column shape and the horns sweep horizontally forward before curving up at the tip, creating the effect of what I will hereafter call "dipping" horns. Human bodies also approximate the cylinder. Their arms, if bent, are again held horizontally. Even the bent leaves of palmettes approximate a right angle (Pl. XVI).

2. Another recurring feature is that strands of hair end in tightly wound snail-shell curls. This is what Ekrem Akurgal has called the "Ringelstil", which according to him belongs to the eighth century B.C.[69])

3. The doubly outlined muscles are a continuation of a tradition which goes back to the so-called Dark Ages of the Near East (eleventh to tenth centuries B.C.),

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[68]) Iraq 12 (1950), pl. III. For the order of the various standard elements in Urartian furniture, see below.

[69]) *Kunst Anatoliens*, pp. 28–29.

in which the relatively naturalistic court art temporarily receded in favor of a more formalized folk art. Certain muscles take very specific shapes, e.g. the shoulders of the animals are marked with a kind of tulip in double outline.[70])

4. In the representations of the lions an effect of ferocity is achieved by an alternation of sagging and sharply drawn-up features. The upper jaw is sharply drawn up behind the rounded muzzle and in the eyes the sagging upper eyelids are drawn to a point by furrows near the center of the forehead.

The remarkable continuity of the artistic tradition of Urartu appears from the fact that during the two centuries of its development no change took place in the basic features enumerated above as points 1, 3 and 4. The doubly outlined muscles, including the tulip-shaped area on the shoulder and also the peaked features of the lions, occur already on the shield of Sarduri II (764–735 B.C.). The same features still occur on the scabbards from the Scythian royal tombs known as the Kelermes and Melgunov barrows, which date to around 600 B.C. or even later.[71]) The only noticeable change from the eighth century to the seventh century is, at least in some works (e.g., pl. XXVIa), a tendency toward more elongated forms and cursory execution. Thus the lions' mane, at first stylized into flame-shaped interlocking triangles, is later simplified to a system of almost parallel dashes.

Another impression which one gathers from close observation of these important works of art in bronze is the predominant influence of architectural concepts on the shaping of Urartian artistic expression. In the first place the use of human and animal figures as supporting members is a device obviously evolved in that zone of the Near East where stone and wood were the common building materials, and where columns of wood or stone could be easily fashioned into animal or human shape. Examples of this device are known in Asia Minor from the second millennium B.C.[72]) and from north Syria (Guzana) from the ninth century B.C. or earlier.[73]) In Assyria tentative beginnings in the employment of this technique were made in the ninth century B.C.[74]) However, in the older Assyrian version the half-animal,

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[70]) The same stylistic formula, with single outline, is seen in reliefs from the reign of Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B. C.); *Ass. Pal. Reliefs*, pls. 1, 2, 26. In Neo-Hittite sculpture, which is characterized by a great degree of stylization, the muscles on lions' forelegs are rendered as doubly outlined ovals or pointed ovals: Ekrem Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter* (Munich, 1961), pls. 135–136.

[71]) M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians & Greeks in South Russia* (Oxford, 1922), pl. 8, no. 2; E. M. Pridik, *Melgunovskii klad* (The M. Treasure), MAR 31 (1911); Karl Schefold, *Der skythische Tierstil in Südrussland*, Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua 12 (1938), pp. 1–78, dates these tombs to c. 575–550 B.C. on the basis of Greek objects found in them.

[72]) Rudolf Naumann, *Architektur Kleinasiens* (Tübingen, 1955), p. 129 and fig. 118.

[73]) Max von Oppenheim, *Tell Halaf II: Die Bauwerke* (by Rudolf Naumann, Berlin, 1950), figs. 29–31. André Parrot, *Assur* (Paris, 1961), pls. 95–96.

[74]) Parrot, *op. cit.* in preceding note, pls. 29, 31–33.

half-human creatures do not actually support the overlying architectural members with their own heads, but serve merely to adorn the building block, which itself performs this function. As an explanation for the slowness of the Assyrians in adopting this technique, I would suggest the fact that the normal building technique in Mesopotamia had always been mud brick construction. Only after Assyria had entered into very close contact with neighboring countries toward the end of the eighth century B.C. did the Assyrians also begin to use the sculptured figures themselves as supports for other architectural members,[75]) much in the way in which caryatids and atlantes were to be used in Greek architecture.

Another feature which the minor arts may have derived from architecture is the effort to achieve a multicolored effect by the alternation of gold leaf, white limestone, colored pastes and semi-precious stones. As we have seen above, multicolored effects were also sought after by the architects, who used different colors of stone on the outside and floors of buildings, while decorating the inside with wall paintings. Although the enlivening of architecture and also of minor works of art with colored stone and paste inlays is not unknown in earlier periods of Mesopotamia,[76]) the riotous use of color by the Urartians is a departure from the classical tradition of Mesopotamia and in turn it may have influenced the world of the Medes, Persians[77]) and Scythians, of whom especially the last are noted for their gold work with colored stone inlays.[78])

Intricately decorated clothing had come into use in Mesopotamia since the Kassite invasion, but probably embroidery and multicolored weaving was the process normally employed.[79]) The group of bronzes just mentioned clearly shows a different mode of decoration in clothing, to wit the sewing of large plaques,

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[75]) Parrot, *op. cit.* in note 73, pls. 30, 34.

[76]) Use of materials of contrasting colors in architecture, e.g. Henri Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Harmondsworth, 1954), pl. 2 (Protoliterate Period, c. 3400–2900 B.C.), Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania . . .; *Ur Excavations I: Al Ubaid* (by H. R. Hall et al., Oxford, 1927), pls. IV-VI, X-XII, XXVI-XXXIV (partly erroneous reconstruction on pl. XXXVIII) (Early Dynastic III Period, c. 2600–2340 B.C.). Use of materials of contrasting colors in products of the minor arts, e. g. Eva Strommenger, *Fünf Jahrtausende Mesopotamien* (Munich, 1962), pl. VI (Protoliterate Period), Frankfort, *op. cit.* in preceding paragraph, pls. 27B, 28–31 (Early Dynastic III Period).

[77]) Use of materials of contrasting colors in architecture, e. g. Edith Porada, *Alt-Iran* (Baden-Baden, 1962), pl. on p. 139, right.
Use of materials of contrasting colors in products of the minor arts, e. g. Porada, *op. cit.* in preceding paragraph, pl. on p. 167.

[78]) E. g., Gregory Borovka, *Scythian Art* (New York, 1928), pls. 12, 15A, 45–46, 50–52, 54, 56.

[79]) See, e.g., Henri Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Harmondsworth, 1954), pl. 71, fig. 41.

probably of gold, onto the garments.[80]) The plaques, mostly square, were in turn embossed with a rosette. A similar device was later used to ornament the robes of the Persians courtiers and royal guards. Square plaques with cutout rosettes, towers etc. are depicted on Achaemenian glazed tile friezes.[81]) Examples which were actually excavated were often round and showed cutout lions, lion's heads, etc.[82]) Here again there is evidence of mutual influences of somewhat semi-barbarous taste among the northern neighbors of Mesopotamia.
Finally, another deviation from Mesopotamian logic and simplicity is seen in the wild proliferation of composite creatures: nowhere in Mesopotamia do we find creatures with the body of a bull and the neck of an eagle, or with the head and hindquarters of a lion and the foreparts and horns of a bull. In the Scythian tombs mentioned above, and also at Ziviyeh,[83]) the baroque invention of ever more fantastic animals goes even further and also in this respect Persia with its horned lions and eagles[84]) has more in common with Urartu than with Mesopotamia.

Remains of a simpler stool and footstool from Toprak-Kale have been restored in the British Museum.[85]) The lion's paws should stand above, not below the drooping leaf capitals, as will be shown below. Similarly, the bull's hoofs were perhaps not meant to stand on the ground. The double volutes on the crossbars and the calves' heads terminating the top corners are correctly placed, to judge by Syrian parallels.[86])
In the excavations at Karmir-Blur the remains were found of a wooden stool, which had been reinforced in places with bronze fixtures. The bronze parts served to strengthen the points where the horizontal members rested on the vertical members and, in addition, to strengthen the center of the crossbars and tips of the feet. Halfway up the feet the bronze overlay formed a ring of drooping leaves.[87])
In the tombs at Altintepe wooden stools were also found. They were partly covered

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[80]) Hurrian fashions in the 2nd millennium B.C. included shirts embroidered or trimmed with gold or silver; Albrecht Goetze, *Hittite Dress*, *Corolla Linguistica* (Wiesbaden, 1955), pp. 48–62, especially pp. 53–54.

[81]) See, e.g., *Ass. Pal. Reliefs*, pls. XVI-XXI.

[82]) E.g. Edith Porada, *Alt-Iran* (Baden-Baden, 1962), pl. on p. 173.

[83]) Porada, *op. cit.* in preceding note, pl. on p. 127.

[84]) Porada, *op. cit.* in note 82, pls. on pp. 153, 171, 173.

[85]) *Armenien* II², pp. 533–534.

[86]) E.g. the stool of king Bar-Rakiba of Sam'al (c. 730 B.C.); Henri Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Harmondsworth, 1954), pl. 162.

[87]) *KB* I, p. 53.

with bronze and silver reinforcements (Pl. XVIIb).[88]) The bronze elements again consisted for a large part in rings of drooping leaves, which here supported immediately the junction of horizontal and vertical members. Above these junctions usually stood lion's paws and bull's hoofs. The crossbars were reinforced with double volutes, reminiscent of an Ionic capital.

In addition to the furniture elements described above a number of detached furniture legs in bronze were also found in the excavations at Toprak-Kale and Karmir-Blur.[89]) Some of these were in the form of lion's paws, others in the form of bull's hoofs. An object from Toprak-Kale described in the literature as a gilt bronze snake with animal head or as a mythical animal (Tiamat)[90]) is none other than the furniture leg described above as d.

Bronze "cauldrons", which were such a prominent item among the furnishings of Urartian temples and tombs, were usually placed on tripods (Fig. 5b).

The only complete cauldron support found on Urartian territory is the tripod from Altintepe, which consists of a ring supported by three arcs and three uprights (Pl. XXI).[91]) Arcs and uprights converge upon three bull's hoofs, which are connected by horizontals forming a triangle. The bull's hoofs have a great deal of naturalistic detail: the places where heel and ankle bone stick through the skin and the spurs formed by rudimentary toes are all indicated.

Another bronze object with three feet from Altintepe may have been a lamp stand or candelabrum. Three conical feet, crowned by capitals of drooping leaves, support a flat concave triangle with a socket in the middle, into which the shaft of the lamp stand presumably fitted. On one of the points of the triangle rests a couchant ivory lion.

The Hamburg Museum preserves a bronze monumental candelabrum, excavated at Toprak-Kale (118 cm high) (Pls. XVIII–XIX).[92]) The saucer on top rests on a tall hollow stem, interrupted by five rings of drooping leaves and resting on three arched legs. The legs were fitted over dowels and attached to these with pins. A solid fluted hemisphere hangs down from the junction of stem and legs, forming a counterweight for the top-heavy stem.

The legs end in bull's hoofs, which emerge from lions' mouths. In addition, three tiny couchant *lamassus*[93]) (of which only one remains) were fixed with three rivets

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[88]) Tahsin Özgüç, *Excavations at Altintepe*, Belleten 25 (1961), pp. 253–290, figs. 8, 9, 15, 20–22.

[89]) *VT*, p. 180, fig. 42.

[90]) *Armenien* II², p. 967; cf. Lehmann-Haupt, *Urartu*, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*[14] 22 (1930), p. 890, fig. 9.

[91]) *Kunst Anatoliens*, text fig. 30.

[92]) Herbert Hoffmann, *King Rusa's Candelabrum*, ILN Nov. 19, 1960, pp. 896–897.

[93]) Protective genii in the shape of human-headed bovines. One of these apparently became detached, fell into dealers' hands and is now in the Erevan Museum; B. B. Piotrovskii, *Istoria i Kultura Urartu* (Erevan, 1944), p. 225, fig. 67.

to each of the three arched legs. The lions' heads are true to the Urartian court style exemplified, e.g., by object d above. They have the same semicircular eyelids and whiskers, with the corners of the eyes and the sides of the mouth sharply drawn up, the same stylized wrinkles on the nose and the same peaked forehead and warty earlaps.

The *lamassu's* body also resembles the throne elements (it likewise has spiral curls), but the head is treated somewhat differently; the face is of bronze, not inlaid. The horns do not stand out in relief. The hair is not divided into snail-shell curls, but treated as one bulbous mass – perhaps to indicate that the creature is female. Its cylindrical headdress is crowned by an eight-rayed heavenly body (usually this stands for the sun) represented in engraving on a solid disk placed in the plane of the creature's profile.

Two inscriptions mark the candelabrum as property of king Rusa – which one of the three kings of that name is meant is unfortunately not stated.

A similar but much shorter object is in the Museum at Erlangen.[94]) Frankfort already pointed out that it had features in common with north Syrian, Assyrian and Urartian works. I would attach the greatest weight to the north Syrian features, which consist of a lotus-blossom capital and a torus base decorated with lotus-bud chains. The caryatid who carries the capital and stands on the base has the somewhat bloated features and blatant expression of the "siren" cauldron attachments which I will tentatively assign below to the Taurus area.

In this instance the bulls' hoofs spring out of ducks' bills. Frankfort also hinted at the chain of contacts by which such baroque combinations of animal elements may have been transmitted from Syria through Urartu to the Scythians.[95])

At the end of this section on bronze furniture remains, it may be appropriate to devote some attention also to the inanimate decorative elements occurring on Urartian furniture and to the ways in which these might be combined.

Jacobsthal[96]) refers to the ample use made of bobbins, rows of globes, cushions and the like as being characteristic of oriental furniture. Edith Porada has shown[97]) that this decoration is actually of Syrian origin, although the most characteristic examples are preserved in later Assyrian and Achaemenian art.

The remains of wooden furniture, partly encased in bronze or silver, photographed *in situ* in the tombs at Altintepe, give us a good idea of the way in which

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[94]) Henri Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Harmondsworth, 1954), pp. 103, 244, pl. 117.

[95]) This inorganic joining of animal elements ("zoomorphic juncture") is related to, but distinct from the invention of organically joined fantastic animals referred to on p. 97.

[96]) Paul Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins and their Connexions with Europe and Asia* (Oxford, 1956), p. 155.

[97]) In her review of the work quoted in the preceding note, AfO 18 (1958), pp. 419–420.

Urartian furniture was built up out of a number of standard decorative elements (Pl. XVIIb). At the bottom would be tapering elements resembling inverted truncated cones. Then would come a *torus* molding, followed by a concave section. According to the height of the stool or table, more *torus* moldings and concave sections could be added. After a final *torus* molding would come a capital of drooping leaves (often referred to as sepals, suggesting that together they formed the calyx of a flower). All the elements mentioned so far are circular in plan. On top of the leaf or sepal capital rested a square corner element, into which two wooden crossbars were tenoned. Metal sleeves, rectangular in section and decorated with double volutes, were spaced at intervals along these crossbars, perhaps to reinforce the points where two shorter sections joined.

On top of the square corner piece would stand a bull's hoof or lion's paw. Where the upper part of the animal's leg would lean forward out of the plane of the stool or table, it is cut off and the surface of this cut is covered by a shield-shaped piece of metal, which might then carry an engraved sun-disk or similar design (Pl. XVIIa). Next would come a repetition of the elements mentioned before, ending in another capital of drooping leaves, which then might support the frame of the stool seat or table top.

Certain features of Urartian furniture are common to all western Asiatic furniture of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., e.g., the conical shape of the elements touching the ground and the decoration of the crossbars with double volutes.[98]) What seems to distinguish Urartian furniture from its counterparts in neighboring countries, is a greater variety of elements used and a preference for elements accentuating structure (e.g. *torus* moldings along cylindrical members) or function (e.g. drooping leaf capitals where a horizontal member is carried).

In these respects it seems to be a forerunner of Achaemenian furniture.

The drooping leaf capital is called a palm capital by Barnett,[99]) although the feathered pattern characteristic of the palm branch is never rendered on the leaves. The drooping leaf capital occurs as a carrying element in Syrian ivories in two forms. In one form, from which the Urartian version of the capital seems to have developed, the leaves are rounded and strongly convex, giving the total effect of a panache of ostrich feathers.[100])

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[98]) Henri Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Harmondsworth, 1954), pls. 162 (stool and footstool of Bar-Rakiba, king of Sam'al c. 730 B. C.), 101 (throne and footstool of Sennacherib, king of Assyria 704–681 B.C.).

[99]) R. D. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories* (London, 1957), pp. 108–110, pls. LXXVIII-LXXIX.

[100]) *Op. cit.* in note 99, nos. S 259–S 271; and already in the second millennium B.C. at Megiddo, Christiane Decamps de Mertzenfeld, *Inventaire commenté des ivoires phéniciens* (Paris, 1954), pl. LI, nos. 457–460.

In the other form (which Barnett calls a cushion capital),[101] the leaves are merged into a torus-like cushion, interrupted only by the midribs and outlines of the leaves and by little arch-like hollows between the curling points of the leaves. This more linear version occurs already on a column crowned by an eagle at Tell Halaf (9th century B.C.)[102] and may go back to the period from about 1150 to 850 B.C., when the tendency toward linear stylization was particularly strong. It still occurs on the Phoenician-type bed of king Assurbanipal (668-627 B.C.).[103]
The Urartian drooping leaf capital (as I prefer to call it) resembles the more three-dimensional type described before, but the leaves are more pointed than in the Syrian ivories cited as an example. In this respect too, we find Urartian art taking an intermediate position between earlier Syrian art and later Achaemenian art. In Achaemenian art the leaves tend to become stylized into purely geometric forms.

3. *Plaques and Friezes*

From Toprak-Kale also come some bronze plaques and parts of friezes. Their exact use is unknown but as they seem too large to have been applied to furniture, one may envisage them as having decorated the walls or doors of the temple of Haldi.
One frieze preserved only in fragments is made of bronze sheet, partly embossed and engraved, partly cut out to receive colored inlays (Pl. XXa).[104] The highest parts preserved are 24 cm. The frieze shows kneeling bulls flanking many-petaled rosettes, supported by double brackets resting on a hillock. The bulls are shown with the characteristic angular hindquarters, rows of curls and stylized muscles. Their heads, horns, hoofs, and tails were inlaid, and in addition every other strand of hair along back and chest was shown as a little rectangular inlay. More inlays adorned the heart of the rosette, the foot of the double bracket, and the top and bottom borders of this frieze.
The rosette (perhaps better described as a sunflower) has a large heart and twenty-nine pointed petals, and the double bracket on which it rests looks like nothing so much as a medieval fleur-de-lis turned upside-down, even down to the central spike and the transverse bar holding the brackets together. The hillock underneath is engraved with the scale pattern, regularly employed to denote rocky eminences, but here the scales are further detailed with engraving as if each scale were a

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[101] Op. cit. in note 99, p. 110, nos. S253–S258.

[102] Henri Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Harmondsworth, 1954), pl. 157B.

[103] Henri Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Harmondsworth, 1954), pl. 114.

[104] Iraq 12 (1950), pl. VIII.

feather. Clearly a conventional artistic treatment has here been transferred from one motif to another, related in form but unrelated in meaning.

The rosettes not only formed the focus of each pair of kneeling bulls, but also stood between their hindquarters, separating each pair.

In subject, the bull frieze is reminiscent of the frieze painted in the palace at Arin-berd (Pl. IX) and therefore it is quite likely to have formed a wall decoration. A detached fragment showing a heavenly body with six pointed and six wavy rays may have been placed elsewhere in this frieze.

Above the bulls runs an inscription, which includes (on a part not illustrated) a dedication to Haldi by King Rusa III (c. 625–609 B.C.).

The bull frieze was framed by lines of colored inlays interrupted by tiny cross-strips of bronze, which are arranged in groups of three with a slightly larger space between the groups.

Attached to this frieze below, there were two rows of openwork circles, separated by a succession of uprights in relief. The hollows between the uprights each had three chevron-shaped cutouts.

This design reminds one of the column of crossed logs on one of the throne elements described above (section 2, no. d, Pl. XIb). Comparison with the use of rows of simulated beam ends in rock-cut architecture and wallpainting suggests that the bronze frieze, if correctly interpreted as a wall decoration, must have been placed near the ceiling.

From Toprak-Kale also come two bronze plaque fragments representing the façades of fortified buildings (30.5 and 16.5 cm high respectively) (Pl. XXb).[105] Their repetitive pattern would also lend itself well to wall decoration.

The buildings shown have high arched doorways and three superimposed rows of windows, the lowest at the height of the top of the doorways. The flat façade sections, wide enough to accommodate three windows, are separated by towers, which projected forward and upward. The smaller fragment is probably one of these upward projections, which seem to have been fitted on separately.

Within a central recess these towers had four windows, one to each floor and a fourth at the height of the battlements that crown the façades. These battlements form a projecting cornice flush with the towers and carried on pairs of beams, the ends of which are clearly indicated. The front of the battlements has two rows of triangular inlays, pointing in alternate directions (cf. Pl. XVIIa). Perhaps such holes were in reality obtained by leaning pairs of mud bricks diagonally against each other, as is still done in the Near East either for defensive purposes or for decoration. Higher up there is a row of three-stepped crenelations, and above the fourth story of the tower there is a similar arrangement of triangular holes and crenelations.

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[105]) Iraq 12 (1950), pl. I.

4. Vessels and Attachments

Bronze or copper vessels seem to have played a very important part in the whole of the Near East as well as in the Mediterranean world, especially in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., the centuries which witnessed the greatest flourishing of Urartu.

Written sources give us a preliminary idea of the importance of such vessels. The report of Sargon II of Assyria about the booty taken in the temple of Haldi in Musasir lists 607 copper basins large and small (*kiuri*), three exceptionally large vessels of the same type, each containing fifty measures of water, and one vat containing eighty measures of water, which is specifically mentioned as destined for the libation of wine in the temple.[106]) The indications are that the basins were used to hold water for washing or wine, and possibly also to mix wine with water. The palace at Musasir contained another thirteen such basins. The relief of Sargon's campaign from his palace (Fig. 5b) shows two huge vessels on tripods with bull's hoofs standing in front of the temple at Musasir.

Urartian annals also mention bronze vessels as an object of value, sent from one country to another in great numbers. Sarduri II in the years 746 to 744 B.C. received as a tribute from Kuštašpi of Commagene 1535 bronze vessels named *kiri*, which undoubtedly were of the same type as the basins called *kiuri* by the Assyrians.[107])

The Old Testament also bears witness to the fact that such vessels were a common object of trade. *Ezekiel* 27 : 13 mentions the traders of Tubal and Meshekh who brought vessels of copper to the markets at Tyre. Tubal and Meshekh are roughly the equivalents of the Taurus region and Phrygia.[108])

The excavations on Urartian territory have yielded ample evidence of the existence of very large vessels hammered out of a copper or bronze sheet: at Karmir-Blur, a copper cauldron with a bronze border and two handles was found, which had a maximum diameter of 1.68 m and a capacity of 700 liters (1,470 pints).[109]) I use the word "cauldron" as this word has become generally accepted to denote very large vessels of this type. Strictly speaking the term is inexact because these vessels were certainly not used for cooking, as the name "cauldron" would imply.

At Altintepe in the tomb of an important Urartian personage, a large cauldron (height 45 cm), with four attachments in the form of bull's heads, was found resting on a tripod (height 67 cm) ending in bull's legs (the capacity of this cauldron was

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[106]) *Huitième campagne*, lines 395–398.

[107]) *UKN*, no. 155E, line 56; *Huitième campagne*, line 396.

[108]) See note 5.

[109]) *VT*, p. 170. According to a personal communication from Mr. Steinberg to Dr. Porada, it is impossible to hammer bronze into a vessel because of the high tin content.

300 liters).[110]) This vessel, now in the Archaeological Museum in Ankara, was in exceptionally good condition when found (Pl. XXI).

It has a flattened spherical shape. The bull's head attachments are riveted onto the vessel with four rivets, which pass through a plate having the outline of a bird with spread wings. The bulls' heads themselves are characterized by long horns which sweep forward and then upward, by a collar-like ruff passing from ear to ear, and by a plastic treatment of eyebrows and muzzle. The forelock, i.e. the hair which hangs down on the forehead from the line of the horns, has a square outline. There is engraving in the form of spiral curls on the ruff and at the bottom of the forelock.

The tomb in which this cauldron was found is dated by an inscription of Urikki, king of Cilicia (c. 740–732 B.C.) on one of the other vessels to the time of his reign or slightly later.[111]) Another tomb in the same group contained an inscription of Argišti II (c. 714–685 B.C.).[112])

Often the cauldrons had already disintegrated at the moment of excavation and the attachments, which were cast in bronze and therefore better preserved, were the only objects kept by the inexperienced or clandestine excavators. Pierre Amandry has identified four cast bronze bulls' heads (height 17 cm, each weighing 1.86 kg), probably all from one cauldron, now dispersed in London, Baltimore and Paris, but all found at Toprak-Kale (Pl. XXIIa).[113])

The treatment of eyebrows, veins and muzzle is linear rather than plastic. The collar-like ruff passing from ear to ear is engraved, not rendered in relief as on the other examples. Hanfmann considers placing this set before the set from Altintepe in the development of this type of object.[114])

From an accidentally discovered tomb on the Iranian bank of the Araxes, opposite Alishar, Nakhichevan SSR (see chapter III, p. 62), come bull's head attachments resembling those from Toprak-Kale.[115]) This group is dated by an inscription of Argišti I (c. 786–764 B.C.), confirming Hanfmann's early date for the linear style. Hanfmann has identified another set of four bulls' heads now dispersed in

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[110]) *Kunst Anatoliens*, pls. 30–32; R. D. Barnett et al., *The Find of Urartian Bronzes at Altin-tepe*, AS 3 (1953), pp. 121–129.

[111]) Franz Steinherr, *Die urartäischen Bronzen von Altintepe*, Anatolia 3 (1958), pp. 97–102. The inscription is written in the hieroglyphs used by the "Neo-Hittites" or, more properly, East Luwians of Cilicia and north Syria.

[112]) Tahsin Özgüç, Belleten 25 (1961), p. 274.

[113]) Pierre Amandry, *Chaudrons à protomes de taureau* in Saul S. Weinberg, ed., *The Aegean and the Near East* (Locust Valley, 1956), pp. 239–261, in particular pp. 239–241, pls. XXIV–XXVI.

[114]) George Hanfmann, *Four Urartian Bulls' Heads*, AS 6 (1956), pp. 205–213, in particular p. 212

[115]) *IU*, pp. 3–7, figs. 1–3 and pl. I.

Cincinnati, Boston, Cleveland, and Paris, also each weighing one and a half to two kg and certainly originally belonging to one cauldron (height of the bulls' heads 10.5–15 cm) (Pl. XXIIb).[116]) They were found in an uncontrolled excavation at Ançali near Guşçi on Lake Urmia. The horns and ears were cast separately, perhaps to obtain a different color.[117]) The heads were riveted and welded onto the attachment plates.

The eyebrows and muzzle of the bulls stand out in relief, but they lack the collarlike ruff which occurs on the other bulls' heads just mentioned. Hanfmann considers this set as possibly slightly later than the Altin-tepe cauldron.

A tiny bull's head in the British Museum is also said to come from Lake Urmia (height 2 cm).[118]) In style it is closely related to both the Altintepe and the Guşçi bull's heads. The tips of its horns probably pointed up originally, but are now bent down and back toward the forehead.

Outside of Urartu many other attachments in the form of bulls' heads have been found which have been also taken for Urartian products. In the largest royal tomb at Gordion, which dates to around 725–700 B.C., a cauldron with bulls' heads was found.[119]) It is of much smaller dimensions than the one from Altintepe and only two bull's heads are attached to the vessel. These heads have loops in the axis of the head, through which movable rings pass for purposes of carrying the cauldron around. The forelocks of the bulls have triangular outlines. The heads and the attachment plates, reduced to rudimentary forms, were made in one piece.

In Copenhagen a bronze vessel is preserved which is said to have been found at Cumae and which is decorated with two bulls' heads (diameter 36.5 cm).[120]) These have loops and rings like the ones from Gordion. The bulls' heads are worked much less three-dimensionally than the Urartian ones. Especially the bulls' lower jaws are much less undercut. The effect of the bulls' heads therefore approximates the more rounded, less sharply articulated outline of the bulls with pronounced

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[116]) George Hanfmann, *loc. cit.* in note 114, pls. XVII–XIX.

[117]) George Hanfmann, *loc. cit.* in note 114, p. 207.

[118]) Pierre Amandry, *loc. cit.* in note 113, p. 260, pl. XXXII, no. 3.

[119]) Rodney S. Young, *The Gordion Campaign of 1957*, AJA 62 (1958), pp. 139–154, in particular p. 151, pls. 25–26, figs. 15 and 18, to which should be compared the sculptured slab pl. 21, fig. 4. The two heads are so similar, especially in the multiple-outlined eyes, that local manufacture of the cauldron can be assumed. One of the timbers of the tomb is dated by tree ring chronology to 726 B.C. Dr. Machteld J. Mellink kindly informs me the (unpublished) view of the sculptured slab from below proves the animal to be a lion.

[120]) *Kunst Anatoliens*, pp. 54–55, text figs. 33–44.

dewlap, so characteristic of Levantine work of the second and early first millen nium B.C. made under Aegean influence.[121])

Therefore I would ascribe the vessel from Cumae to some workshop intermediate between Urartu and Greece, perhaps located on Cyprus.[122])

In Greece, thirteen bull attachments with loops have been found.[123]) Usually their attachments have either short branches or lack these altogether, so that they do not have the bird's silhouette described above.[124]) Six more such attachments without rings were also found in Greece.[125]) In addition, the remains of two tripods from Cyprus are preserved in New York and Berlin, one having been decorated with six bulls' heads and the other with three.[126])

Before the recent excavations at Karmir-Blur and Gordion, scholars presumed that the bull attachments with rings had been made in Greece and those without rings had been made in Asia Minor. This criterion does not apply. An example from Karmir-Blur[127]) as well as the ones found at Gordion have rings attached to them. Nevertheless, no bull's head attachments to cauldrons have been found outside of Urartu which display the typical local characteristics described above: a large attachment plate with the outline of a bird, a square forelock, horns sweeping forward and then upward, bean-shaped eyebrows, single-outlined eyelids and a deeply undercut lower jaw. If such objects were exported from Urartu, no original Urartian bull cauldrons have been found outside of Urartu to prove this.

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[121]) Helene J. Kantor, *Ivory Carving in the Mycenaean Period*, Archaeology 13 (1960), pp. 14–25, in particular p. 23 and figs. 13, 15, 16; Christiane Decamps de Mertzenfeld, Inventaire commenté des ivoires phéniciens (Paris, 1954), pls. XXXVII, no. 364 (from Megiddo), XC–XCIII (cows, from Arslan-Tash).

[122]) The British Museum possesses another small bull's head, of unknown provenance (height 6.5 cm. Pierre Amandry, *loc. cit.* in note 113, p. 260, pl. XXXII, no. 4), with tall horns and long dewlap. Because of the latter feature I am inclined to assign this piece to the same general area as the cauldron from Cumae.

[123]) Pierre Amandry, *loc. cit.* in note 113, p. 245. Add to this an unspecified number from Samos, of which one has been published: Ulf Jantzen, *Griechische Greifenkessel* (Berlin, 1955), pl. 60, no. 3.

[124]) Clearly Greek bull's head attachments are illustrated in Ernst Curtius et al. ed., *Olympia IV: die Bronzen* (by Adolf Furtwängler, Berlin, 1890), p. 117, fig. 790; Syria 35 (1958), pl. VI, c-d (from Delphi). They are characterized by concave tapering or cylindrical muzzles and horns pointing sideways.

The example from Olympia illustrated in *The Aegean and the Near East*, pl. XXIX, no. 1 (= Olympia IV, p. 117, fig. 789) looked into the vessel and has an attachment with a bird's outline. In both respects it is related to the example from Tell Rifa'at, Syria (see note 128).

[125]) Pierre Amandry, *loc. cit.* in note 113, p. 249 (all cast). Add to this a hammered example, Ernst Curtius et al. ed., Olympia IV (Berlin, 1890), pl. XLVI.

[126]) Pierre Amandry, *loc. cit.* in note 113, pp. 252–254, and same author, *Objects orientaux en Grèce*, Syria 35 (1958), pp. 73–78.

[127]) *KB* I, p. 70, fig. 44.

It seems likely that the idea of decorating such vessels with bulls' heads originated somewhere else in the Near East, perhaps in Syria, where at least two bulls' heads with rings were found (one of these was 13.5 cm high).[128]) It then seems to have found great favor in Urartu, where the motif was applied on a large scale: bull's heads up to 17 cm high and weighing up to 2 kg were attached to cauldrons up to 45 cm high, supported by tripods about 1½ times as high again. The motif was even imitated in black burnished pottery, as we know from an example excavated at Karmir-Blur.[129])

In the Mediterranean world cauldrons with attachments in the form of birds with human torsos, usually called "sirens", are even more widespread than the bull's head cauldrons. Amandry has established that the surviving attachments from Greece must have belonged to at least forty different cauldrons.[130]) Thirty of these must have been imported, because they lack the Greek features which characterize the remaining examples: pointed nose, hair off the shoulders, wings with feathers drawn in outline only, and sometimes a running spiral on the halo connecting wings and tail.[131]) In Etruria three more were found.[132]) In Asia the total number found is ten. From Toprak-Kale come at least four sets of "siren" attachments, now partly in Berlin, partly in Istanbul, and partly in the de Vogüé collection in Paris (the last mentioned has two heads on one body).[133])

The tomb on the Iranian bank of the Araxes mentioned above (p. 62) also contained "siren" attachments of this type.[134])

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[128]) Near Aleppo, René Dussaud, *Hadad et le soleil*, Syria 11 (1930), p. 366, fig. 2; at Tell Rifa'at, Iraq 23 (1961), pl. XLI, no. 14.

[129]) *VT*, pl. 44; See p. 35 (Pl. I).

[130]) Pierre Amandry, Syria 35 (1958), p. 80.

[131]) Clearly Greek "siren" attachments are illustrated in Olympia IV, pl. XLIV, no. 784; École française d'Athènes, *Fouilles de Delphes V: Monuments figurés, petits bronzes* (by P. Perdrizet, Paris, 1908), pl. XIII, nos. 3, 4.

[132]) Pierre Amandry, *loc. cit.* in note 130, p. 80.

[133]) First set: *Kunst Anatoliens*, pls. 18–19 (height 14–14.5 cm.), now in Istanbul; also published in G. Perrot and Ch. Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art II* (Paris, 1884), p. 584, fig. 281; Emil Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs* (Stuttgart, 1931), p. 267, nos. 2, 4.
Second set: *Kunst Anatoliens*, pls. 20, 22 (height 19 cm.), now in Istanbul; also published in Anatolia 4 (1959), pl. XXI; Emil Kunze, *op. cit.*, p. 267, no. 3.
Third set: *IU*, fig. 27 (height 22 cm), now in de Vogüé collection, Paris; also published in G. Perrot et Ch. Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art* II (Paris, 1884), p. 735, fig. 397; K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop in Iraq 18 (1956), pl. XXVI, nos. 1–2; Emil Kunze, *op. cit.*, p. 267, no. 6.
Fourth set: IU, pls. XIV-XV (height c. 21 cm.), now in Berlin; also published in *Materialien*, p. 86, fig. 58; *Armenien* II[1], p. 262; Emil Kunze, *op. cit.*, p. 267, no. 5. His numbers 7–9 are probably non-existent, see *IU*, p. 57.

[134]) *IU*, fig. 1, pl. 1.

All except the one in Berlin belong to a stylistic group that Kunze[135]) has described as the "Van" type, and which is characterized by a ring in the back, thick eyelids, marked by vertical hatching, fleshy nose, and engraved triangles along the bottom of the human bust.

The cauldrons from Gordion,[136]) some of the attachments found in Greece[137]) and all of the attachments found in Etruria[138]) have the same characteristics. However, this group has no specific feature in common with any other work of art found in Urartu. The closest parallels are with works of art of so-called neo-Hittite sites like Malatya,[139]) Zincirli,[140]) and Sakçegözü.[141]) I would therefore ascribe this group to workshops in the Taurus area west of the Euphrates, i.e. the kingdoms of Tabal, Melitene, Commagene, and Cilicia, and other states which existed in this area in the late eighth century B.C.

The resemblance is most striking in the male figures: the bearded figures with two faces and cap (which ends in a curling point) on the cauldron from Vetulonia, have no mustache. Their beard, hatched in herring-bone fashion, slopes away from the chin. Around the shoulders they wear a wrap consisting of many layers forming diagonal lines and coming together in a "V" below the neck. In all these respects, these figures can be compared to a relief from Sakçegözü.[142]) The caps can be compared to reliefs from Karatepe.[143])

The bearded figures from Gordion have single faces and no headdress, and their busts end in a border of triangles like those of the women. But their facial features are extremely close to the Vetulonia figures. Their beards are engraved with spiral locks. From Olympia comes another comparable bearded figure.[144])

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[135]) Emil Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs* (Stuttgart, 1931), Anhang II: Kesselattaschen in Gestalt geflügelter Menschenprotomen, pp. 267–280, in particular p. 271.

[136]) Rodney S. Young, *The Gordion Campaign of 1957*, AJA 62 (1958), pp. 139–154, in particular pp. 151–152, pls. 25–26, figs. 15–17; *Kunst Anatoliens*, pls. 17, 21.

[137]) Ernst Curtius et al. ed., Olympia IV: *die Bronzen* (by Adolf Furtwängler, Berlin, 1890), fig. on p. 118, pl. XLIV, no. 783; Ecole française d'Athènes, *Fouilles de Delphes V: Monuments figurés, petits bronzes* (by P. Perdrizet, Paris, 1908), fig. 281, pl. XII, nos. 1, 2, 3 and pl. XIII, no. 1; Bulletin de correspondance hellénique 12 (1888), pl. 12.

[138]) *Kunst Anatoliens*, pls. 23–28; *Armenien* II², pp. 860–863.

[139]) Ekrem Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter* (Munich, 1961), pls. 106–107.

[140]) Ekrem Akurgal, *op. cit.* in preceding note, pl. 131.

[141]) *Kunst Anatoliens*, pl. 29.

[142]) See preceding note.

[143]) Helmut Th. Bossert et al., *Karatepe Kazilari (Birinci önrapor) – Die Ausgrabungen auf dem Karatepe (Erster Vorbericht)* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayinlarindan V. seri – No. 9, Ankara, 1950), pl. 16, figs. 82–83.

[144]) Ernst Curtius et al. ed., Olympia IV (Berlin 1890), pl. XLIV, no. 783.

The facial features of the female "sirens" are comparable to those of an ivory head from Nimrud,[145]) of bronze plaques in the shape of sphinxes in the Metropolitan Museum in New York,[146]) and of certain carved and engraved *tridacna* shells.[147]) They are characterized by a strongly bent nose widening toward the bottom, a short neck, a receding forehead, bulging pointed oval eyes, framed by raised and hatched eyelids and eyebrows, slightly pouting lips, a receding chin and hatched hair which falls down in heavy locks. I cannot agree with Ekrem Akurgal,[148]) who sees a likeness to his "Ringelstil" in the frequent use of triangles ending in tiny rings, which are engraved along the bottom of the human busts. In my opinion, these tiny rings are not comparable to the tightly curled locks of lions and bulls engraved on Urartian shields.

The flat parts of the attachments show human arms with long parallel fingers, and the feathers on wings and tails are engraved with herring-bone patterns. Greek imitations of these figures also exist.[149]) They have completely different characteristics, which are easy to recognize, e.g., the winged and tailed halo from which the torso emerges often has running spirals engraved on it; the feathers have no engraving on them but are only outlined; the hair is divided by grooves into horizontal bands and is cut off horizontally well above the shoulders. The eyebrows are rendered by engraved lines or absent. The nose is often pointed, the lips thin and the ears usually show. The dotted triangles at the base of the bust are no evidence for Oriental origin, they occur also on Greek imitations. These Greek imitations should probably be dated c. 700–675 B.C.

The "siren" attachment from Toprak-Kale, now in Berlin (Pl. XXIII),[150]) differs from the "Van" group in a number of respects: near the halo, the wings are engraved with many tiny scales. Between the wings and the tail are large spiral curls, reminiscent of the very stylized uraeus snakes in Hittite representations of the winged sun-disk.[151]) The halo, the sleeves of the female bust, which end above

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[145]) R. D. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories* (London, 1957), pl. LXX, no. S 184.

[146]) Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bulletin 18 (1960), p. 243, fig. 2, thought to be Syrian, 9th–8th centuries B. C.

[147]) Walter Andrae, *Gravierte Tridacna-Muscheln*, ZA 45 (1939), pp. 88 ff., in particular pl. X; Adolf Furtwängler, *Aegina: das Heiligtum der Aphaia* (Munich, 1906), fig. 336.

[148]) *Kunst Anatoliens*, p. 35.

[149]) See note 131 and Emil Kunze, *loc. cit.* in note 135, pp. 276–280.

[150]) *Armenien* II[1], (Berlin, 1926), pp. 262–263; Helmuth Bossert, *Altanatolien* (Berlin, 1942), p. 306, nos. 1165–1166; *IU*, pls. XIV-XV.

[151]) This motif occurs on Syrian ivories, e.g. André Parrot, *Assur* (Paris, 1961), pl. 189, and also on Assyrian ivories , e.g. R. D. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories* (London, 1957), pl. XII, no. F2. It had been very popular in "Neo-Hittite" sculpture; Ekrem Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter* (Munich, 1961), pls. 130, 134.

the elbow, and the base of the bust are engraved with tiny crescents, apparently impressed with a tubular tool, which was also used to engrave tiny circles representing a necklace. The hair is divided into about 12 pendent locks, and many smaller curls frame the forehead, held in place by a headband. In order to indicate a "bobbed" hair-do, the top and back of the head are horizontally ribbed and engraved with many parallel vertical zigzags. The ears are visible. Nose and mouth are delicately rendered and the smiling lips are deeply embedded in the rotund cheeks and chin.

All these features place this work closer to Assyrian art forms than the "Van" group. Having ascribed the latter to workshops in the Taurus area west of the Euphrates, we are now free to consider the Berlin figure as a local imitation from Urartu. This view is strongly supported by the likeness of the facial features with those of the goddess from Darabey (Pl. Xb), and by the similarity of the hair-do to that on the ivory figurines of a courtier[152]) and a servant girl[153]) from Toprak-Kale (pp. 131–132, Pl. XXXIIIa, XXXIV).

What the authentic Assyrian version of the same motif looked like, can be seen from a "siren attachment" in the British Museum, said to be from Nimrud.[154]) On this example the halo with its large spiral curls is absent. The woman growing out of the bird's tail has heavy arms, neck and chin, a protruding bust, hooked nose and eyes rimmed by beveled eyelids. Her long hair ends in a heavy bunch, which encircles the back of her neck and lies on her shoulders. The strands, separated by vertical wavy lines, end in six horizontal rows of curls, indicated by a grid of horizontal and vertical lines. Her smooth tunic has only simple borders. The possible symbolic meaning of the birds with human torsos has also been the subject of much discussion, especially as many of the examples both from Asia Minor and from Etruria were found in tombs, and there is some evidence of a belief in winged souls of the dead in the Near East.[155]) However, no completely convincing theory has yet been evolved.

A third class of cauldron attachments which found wide application in the Near Eastern and Mediterranean world is that of the lion and griffin protomes. These have been found attached to the same cauldrons with so-called "sirens" for instance at Vetulonia,[156]) and more recently an example was found at Olympia with

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[152]) Seen from the back.

[153]) Seen from the front.

[154]) *Armenien* II², p. 866.

[155]) E.g., in the Epic of Gilgamesh tablet VII, col. IV, lines 31–39 (ANET², p. 87).

[156]) Massimo Pallottino, *Urartu, Greece and Etruria*, East and West 9 (1958), pp. 29 ff., figs. 15, 16, 19, 20; *Armenien* II², pp. 860–863.

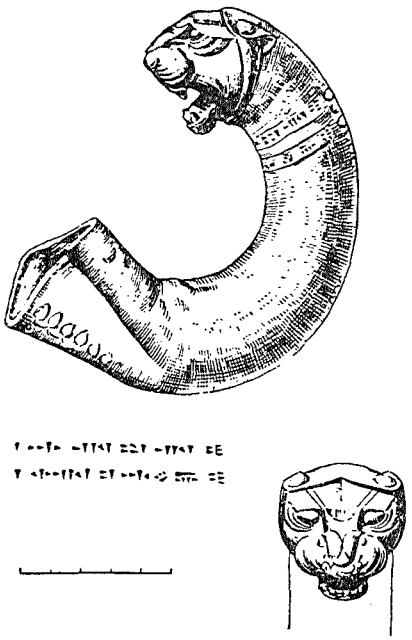

Fig. 12 Bronze cauldron attachment with lion's head and inscription of Sarduri II from Karmir-Blur (*IU*, fig. 37)

two bearded "sirens" and six animal protomes.[157]) These are probably also to be ascribed to workshops in the Taurus area west of the Euphrates, from where they were imported to Greece and Etruria in the period around 710 to 675 B.C.[158]) Very soon the Greeks imitated the animal heads, especially the griffins, and continued to do this to the end of the seventh century B.C.[159])

The only example excavated in Urartu is a bronze cauldron attachment in the form of a lion's head with a long curved neck (about 12.5 cm) found at Karmir-Blur (Fig. 12).[160] The lion's face is very close to the other lions in bronze described above (p. 89). The muzzle snarls in a bulging curve followed by a deep

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[157]) Emil Kunze, *Die Ausgrabungen in Olympia im Frühjahr* 1956, Gnomon 28 (1956), p. 319.

[158]) Emil Kunze, *Verkannter orientalischer Kesselschmuck aus dem argivischen Heraion*, in Gustav Behrens ed., *Reinecke Festschrift* (Mainz, 1950), pp. 97–98; Pierre Amandry in Syria 35 (1958), pp. 82–109; *Kunst Anatoliens*, pp. 68–69. A Greek origin is claimed even for the earliest griffin cauldron attachments by Ulf Jantzen, *Griechische Greifenkessel* (Berlin, 1955). Luigi Pareti, *La Tomba Regolini-Galassi* (Vatican City, 1947), pp. 449–511 dates the Etruscan examples to the period c. 650–600 B.C. – quite a bit later than the Near Eastern evidence would lead one to expect. The sources referred to in this footnote discuss the dating and geographical origin as summarized in the text. They also list references to the original publications of the material in question, as well as to earlier discussions.

[159]) Herodotus IV. 152.

[160]) *VT*, p. 178, fig. 41; *IU*, fig. 37.

groove on each side of the mouth. The eyebrows also frown in a bulging curve ending in a deep groove near the nose. The ear is folded against the head, the earlap has a circular wart on top and from the earlaps a line comes up to a peak in the center of the forehead, presumably marking the point where the mane begins. Along the back of the neck there is an engraved chain of lotus buds. In its snake-like curvature the lion's head is reminiscent of the lion's heads on the helmets of Sarduri II found at Karmir-Blur (see below). The cauldron attachment also carries an inscription of Sarduri II (c. 764–735 B.C.).

Among the partly Scythian treasure of Ziviyeh a set of gold cauldron attachments was found, two in the shape of a lion's head and two in the shape of a griffin's head, which obviously belong to the same general area and period, but do not seem to be specifically Urartian.[161])

On complete cauldrons there are always either one or two pairs of attachments, placed at diametrically opposed points of the rim. The practical purpose of the attachments that are provided with loops in the back is clear. In many cases the rings which passed through these loops are still preserved, and by passing a stick or bar through two of these rings (or two sticks or bars through all four) the vessel could be carried around by two persons, even when filled with a liquid.

One might also imagine either permanent chains or bucket handles having been fixed through the rings,[162]) but no examples of these arrangements have actually survived.

The attachments that have no rings are more difficult to explain. They sometimes occur on the same vessels as the "siren" attachments with rings, and in those cases they are placed in the intervals between the latter, so that a vessel may have a total of eight attachments.[163]) The purpose of the ringless attachments seems to have been to facilitate the lifting by two or four persons of a vessel, filled with liquid, that was either too heavy or placed too high (e.g., on a tripod or other stand) for it to be carried with sticks or bars.

Following the discussion of cauldrons and cauldron attachments, we may now turn to the smaller vessels found at Urartian sites.

A fragmentary hammered bronze jug was found in the German excavations at

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[161]) height 5, 6, 7, 8 cm.; André Godard, *Le Trésor de Ziwyè* [8]Haarlem, 1950', p. 40, fig. 30; Roman Ghirshman in Artibus Asiae 13 (1950), p. 192, fig. 16. All four are now in the Archeaological Museum, Teheran, see exhibition catalogue *Sept mille ans d'art en Iran* (Petit Palais, Paris, 1961), nos. 520–523, pl. 42.

[162]) A bucket with handle passing through rings is shown in detail in *The Great King, King of Assyria*, Assyrian Reliefs in the Metropolitan Museum of Art [8]New York, 1945', pl. XIX. The rings are attached to the bucket with plates in the shape of a halo with birds' wings and tail.

[163]) As in the examples from Vetulonia, see note 156.

Toprak-Kale (diameter of neck 10.5 cm, width of handle 3 cm).[164]) Its main interest lies in its being a more valuable prototype for the red polished pottery jugs, so common at Urartian sites.

A bronze bowl (diameter c. 26 cm) found in the German excavation at Toprak-Kale has a partition pierced with three vertical slots.[165]) Many pottery parallels have been found, which have a fire-blackened lip, proving that these bowls were used as lamps.

Other bronze vessels, hammered out of copper or bronze sheet, were found in great numbers at Karmir-Blur,[166]) and in lesser numbers at Toprak-Kale.[167]) Of approximately twenty bronze bowls found at Karmir-Blur many were inscribed with the names of kings Menua, Argišti I, Sarduri II, and Rusa I.

Some of the cuneiform inscriptions were accompanied by hieroglyphic "monograms" of the royal names, for instance the name of Sarduri is accompanied or replaced by the head of a lioness (the animal that symbolizes Ishtar), surmounted by a tower from which a tree seems to be growing (note that the Assyrian form of the same name, Ištar-dūrī, means "Ishtar is my wall").

Other bowls in this find were decorated with depressed grooves forming a rosette pattern. This is the type of bowl known as *phiale* which subsequently became very popular in Greece.[168]) Another bowl of this type with a hieroglyphic inscription – so far unread – was found at Toprak-Kale (diameter 22 cm).[169])

5. *Horse and Chariot Trappings*

A bronze horse's head of beautiful workmanship, undoubtedly having decorated a chariot pole, was excavated at Karmir-Blur (Pl. XXIV).[170]) The head is rendered quite naturalistically. The hair on the forehead has a semicircular outline and the long wavy mane envelops half of the neck on each side, ending in a straight line. The ears point forward.

This horse head invites comparison with the bronze rhyton (height 15 cm), found

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[164]) *Materialien*, p. 104, fig. 75; *Armenien* II², p. 563.

[165]) *Materialien*, p. 104, fig. 76; *Armenien* II², p. 562.

[166]) *VT*, p. 180, pls. XXXIV-XXXV.

[167]) *Materialien*, p. 100, fig. 71; *Armenien* II², p. 506.

[168]) Dietrich von Bothmer, *A Gold Libation Bowl*, Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin 21 [8]1962', pp. 154–166, with references to earlier discussions, especially Heinz Luschey, *Die Phiale*, Bleicherode am Harz, 1939. In Armenia, other examples were found at Malaklu, Golovino and around Nor-Baiazet.

[169]) See note 167.

[170]) [8]height 17 cm.' *IU*, pls. XXVI-XXVII.

at Hasanlu, the city on the eastern confines of the Urartian kingdom which was destroyed around 800 B.C.[171]) The stylization of the mane is very similar, but otherwise the Hasanlu head (coming from the horse-breeding country of Mana) is even more naturalistic than the Karmir-Blur head. The ears stick up from the side of the head, instead of pointing forward from the top of the head, and the planes of the face are less sharply contrasted. In the Karmir-Blur head the ridges of nose and jaws all converge toward the front, where they are punctured by the protruding nostrils, lips and chin. These last-mentioned features are very similar to the nostrils, lips and chin of the bull's head attachments from Urartian cauldrons. Other horse trappings found at Karmir-Blur include two bronze bits, of the broken bar type, with an elongated curved *psalion* on each side. Each *psalion* has two pairs of two holes, and an inscription of king Menua.[172] Also included were two frontlets (one inscribed), four bells and twenty-two bosses, of which one was inscribed. They were partly decorated with rosettes and rows of dots between ridges parallel to the edge.

Other bells (one inscribed with the name of king Argišti I) and bosses were found in the tomb on the Iranian bank of the Araxes (see p. 62) and in the tomb excavated at Altintepe. From the latter tomb also came more stylized horse's heads, having decorated chariot poles, and bits ending in horses', eagles' or calves' heads.[173])

6. *Arms*

That offensive arms had been made of bronze in great numbers not many generations before 714 B.C. is clear from the large numbers of such weapons which had been deposited as votive gifts in the temple of Musasir and were found there by Sargon (see p. 85). Also mentioned above (p. 83) was the fact that most utilitarian (as opposed to votive) weapons excavated at Urartian sites were made of iron. Bronze weapons seem to have been made mostly as votive objects at this time. For instance, the German excavations at Toprak-Kale yielded only a few bronze arrowheads as against great quantities of iron arrowheads.[174]) Among about thirty-five or forty arrows kept in one bronze quiver at Karmir-Blur, all except one had iron heads. The single bronze arrowhead had an inscription: "To the god Haldi Argišti (I) has presented this".

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[171]) Edith Porada, *Alt-Iran* [8]Baden-Baden, 1962', p. 112.

[172]) *VT*, pp. 154–156, fig. 23, *KB* III, pp. 43–46, figs. 33–37.

[173]) Tahsin Özgüç in Belleten 25 (1961), p. 272, figs. 16–17. Two bronze frontlets engraved with chains of lotus buds and inscribed with the names of king Menua and his son Argišti I, respectively, were recently found in a grave southwest of the Caspian; R. Ghirshman, *Deux oeillères en bronze des rois d'Urartu*, Artibus Asiae 27 (1964), pp. 49–60.

[174]) *Materialien*, p. 101.

Another quiver (a well-preserved quiver of Sarduri II, with engravings of horsemen and chariots) contained thirty-seven bronze-headed arrows of which three were inscribed "to the god Haldi, the lord, Sarduri has presented this". The arrowheads are flat and shaped like elongated spades, with barbs on both sides and a long dowel fitting into the wooden shaft.[175])

Bronze arrowheads of the so-called Scythian type were also found at Karmir-Blur. These are lozenge- or leaf-shaped, three- or less frequently two-winged, and have a socket into which the wooden shaft was inserted. Some have a barb on one side. They were found not only sticking into the outer walls of the citadel – apparently shot by the invaders or insurgents who destroyed Karmir-Blur – but also in the magazines inside the fortress.[176]) Similar bronze arrowheads were found not only at Haikaberd and Toprak-Kale,[177]) but all over the Near East in contexts ranging from the late 7th to the early 6th century B.C. Their occurrence seems to coincide with the wanderings of the Scythians – partly in the service of Babylonia – from the Median-Assyrian war to the Median-Lydian war (i.e. from 614–585 B.C.).[178])

At Arin-berd more than 100 bronze arrowheads were found in and around the temple, of the same "Scythian" type but without the socket.[179]) The socketless variety belongs to the Achaemenian period, and other finds too prove that, in contrast to Karmir-Blur, Arin-berd was not destroyed at the downfall of the Urartian kingdom, but survived into the Achaemenian period.

Piotrovskii also mentions cast bronze daggers among the simple (undecorated) objects which have come down to us from the Urartian civilization.[180]) No description or illustration is given.

7. Armor

Two sets of armor were found in the excavations at Karmir-Blur.[181]) They consisted of many rows of little rectangular bronze plates, rounded at one end,

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[175]) *KB* III, pp. 40–41, figs. 29–30.

[176]) *Ibid.* and *VT*, pp. 240–241, figs. 80–81. The historical implications of this fact were discussed in chapter I.

[177]) *VT*, fig. 79.

[178]) T. Sulimirski, *Scythian Antiquities in Western Asia*, Artibus Asiae 17 [81954', pp. 282–318. B. N. Grakov, *Tekhnika izgotovlenia strel u skifov i sarmatov* [8The Technique of Manufacturing Arrows among Scythians and Sarmatians), Rossiiskaa Assotsiatsia Nauchno-Issledovatelskikh Institutov Obshchestvennikh Nauk, Sektsia Arkheologii, Trudy 5 (1930), p. 70.

[179]) *VT*, p. 241, to which should be compared *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse* 36 (1954), pls. XLIII-XLIV.

[180]) *VT*, p. 180.

[181]) *VT*, p. 167, fig. 28.

about 5 cm long and about 2 cm wide, which were sewn together with leather laces. Each plate has two large holes and two pairs of small holes. In the reconstruction proposed by Piotrovskii, the lace passes once through the little holes and twice through the big holes in such a way that the lace is entirely invisible, unless the armor is stretched by excessive movement of the body. The visible part of the plate is decorated with two tiny rosettes, which have been punched from behind. Although the leather was of course not preserved, the position in which the plates were found supports this reconstruction, which also agrees with the way in which armor is shown on the Assyrian reliefs. One of the sets of armor was decorated in the center with a bronze boss having a rosette in the middle and an inscription around the edge, in which king Argišti I dedicated this set of armor to the god Haldi.

8. *Shields and Helmets*

The bronze reliefs of Shalmaneser III show the Urartians armed with small round shields with raised rim and central boss.[182])

The shields of various metals, including copper, taken by Sargon II at Musasir were either similar to the ones just described or had bosses in the shape of dog's, dragon's, lion's or bull's heads, according to both the description,[183]) and the illustrations (Fig. 5a).[184]) No such shields have been excavated.

At Karmir-Blur fourteen bronze shields were found, which were dedicated by the kings Argišti I and Sarduri II to the main god Haldi and therefore represent a decorative rather than a utilitarian type of shield (Fig. 13).[185]) They all have the same decoration, consisting of three concentric rings, alternately containing a procession of lions and bulls. The animals are placed in such a way that when the shield is hung in a certain position none of them is upside down. The bands containing the animals are bordered by chains of lotus buds, and the inscriptions run in a narrow band near the rim. Riveted onto the back are one large handle and two small loops, through which a leather band could be passed for suspension. The animals are embossed, with details engraved in typical Urartian style (Pl. XXV): the bellies of the animals are strictly horizontal, the legs evenly spaced in pairs of parallel "A"s. The chest curves out far in front and the head is held proud and high, with the lower jaw drawn back. The horns of the bulls sweep forward and

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[182]) *Ass. Pal. Reliefs*, ps. 143–146.

[183]) *Huitième campagne*, lines 371 and 379.

[184]) P. E. Botta et al., *Monument de Ninive* II (Paris, 1849), pl. 141.

[185]) *VT*, p. 168, pls. XXXVII, XXXIX, *IU* pp. 66–70, figs. 38– 39, pls. XXII-XXV. For a view of the back, see *KB* III, pl. XII.

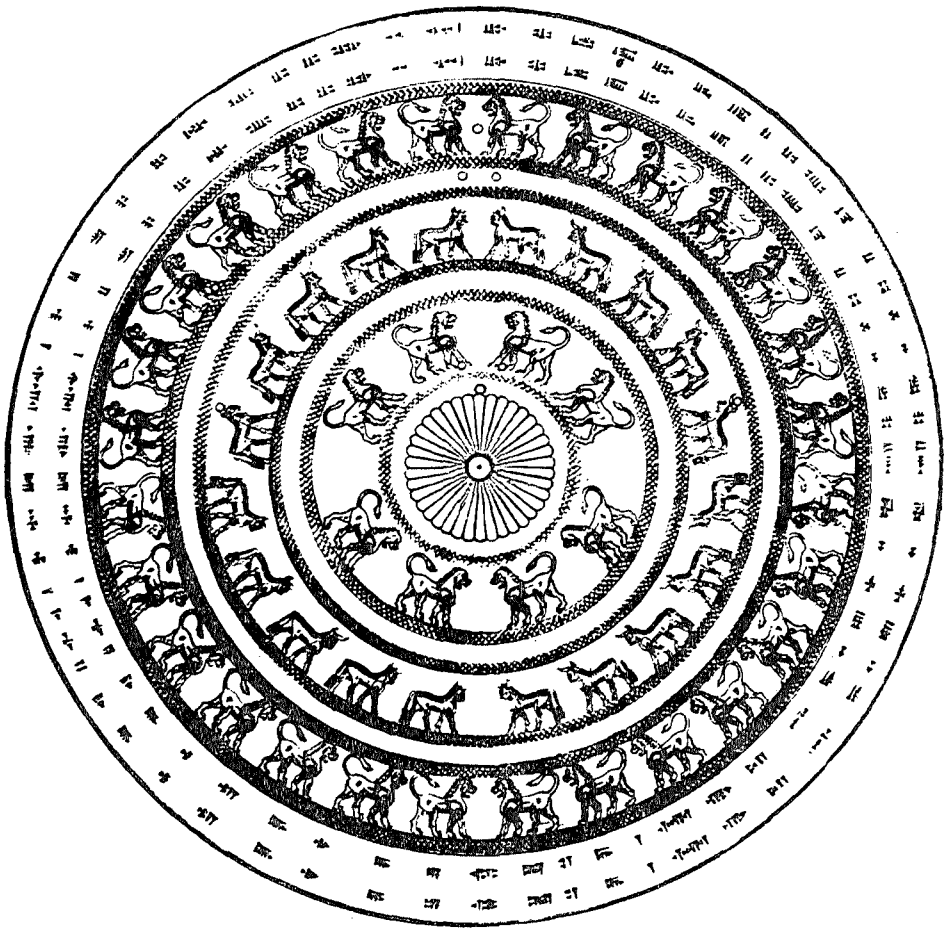

Fig. 13 Bronze shield of Argišti I from Karmir-Blur (*IU*, fig. 38)

then upward, as if ready to gore an enemy.[186]) The tails of the bulls first continue the line of the back and then make almost a right angle, falling down more or less vertically. The hair of the bulls ends in tiny spiral curls, the hallmark of what Akurgal calls the "Ringelstil".[187]) The lower part of the bulls' tails consists

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[186]) The bull in goring attitude is a particularly favored motif on Mesopotamian seals of the later second millennium B. C.; *Corpus*, nos. 591, 604E. Through Kassite contacts it apparently traveled to Iran: Edith Porada, *Alt-Iran* (Baden-Baden, 1962), figs. on pp. 70 ,75, 62; Roman Ghirshman, *Iran* (Harmondsworth, 1954), p. 82, fig. 32; Ezat O. Negahban, *The Wonderful Gold Treasures of Marlik*, ILN April 28, 1962, pp. 663 ff., fig. A.

[187]) *Kunst Anatoliens*, pp. 28–29.

of long wavy hair. The point at which this hair emerges from the tail has little spiral curls on each side.

This convention is not limited to the eighth century B.C., as Akurgal claims, but occurs also on the scabbards from Scythian royal tombs known as the Kelermes and Melgunov barrows, which date to around 600 B.C. or later.[188]) Another convention, the stylization of the muscle on the bull's shoulder in a form resembling a tulip, has an equally long life.

The lions already have the typical Urartian features described several times above: the bulging curves, ending in points, at muzzle and eyebrows and the folded ears with circular warts on the earlap. The mane of the lions is represented as bristling by a network of flame-like curves. The shoulder area is doubly outlined by an oval which ends in an "S" figure. Lower down is the tulip-shaped muscle. On the foreleg which is seen from the inside a double outline shows up a wavy vein. On the back legs, the knee and other joints are marked off by double semicircles, a tradition which goes back to the "dark ages" of Near Eastern art (c. 1100–900 B.C.).[189]) The thick tail describes three quarters of a circle and its hairy end is slightly thickened. A number of these features, especially the mane pattern and the vein on the inside of the forelegs, still occur on the scabbards mentioned above of about 600 B.C.

In contrast to an eighth-century "Ringelstil", Akurgal sees a "Buckelstil", supposedly typical of the seventh century B.C., represented in the shields from Toprak-Kale which carry dedicatory inscriptions of Rusa III (Pl. XXVIa).[190]) As I hope to have proved above, the "bulging" style is characteristic of Urartian court art throughout its existence, and the only tangible development opposing the later works to the former is the trend toward more elongated, attenuated forms. The thin, horizontally drawn out bodies of the lions on the shields of Rusa III are related (as Akurgal has rightly pointed out) to the relief from Erzincan (see p. 77).[191]) and more distantly to the silver horse frontlet from Ziviyeh (Pl. XLII),[192]) which also must date to c. 600 B.C.

The bronze reliefs of Shalmaneser III show the Urartians coifed with the same type of helmet as worn by the Greeks of the orientalizing and later periods, and

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[188]) As visible in the strongly enlarged photographs *IU*, pls. XXXIV-XXXV.

[189]) Seen e.g. on the silver goblet from Hasanlu (9th century B.C.), Edith Porada, *Alt-Iran* (Baden-Baden, 1962), p. 103, and on the relief of queen Tuwarisas of Carchemish (8th century B.C.), Ekrem Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter* (Munich, 1961), pl. 123.

[190]) Iraq 12 (1950), pp. 13–14, pls. IX-X; *Kunst Anatoliens*, pls. 14–15. Fragment in Berlin with alternating rows of lions and bulls: *Materialien*, pp. 99–100, fig. 70.

[191]) *Kunst Anatoliens*, pl. 13.

[192]) André Godard, *Le Trésor de Ziwiyè* (Haarlem, 1950), fig. 109.

which the latter claimed to have taken over from the Carians in western Asia Minor.[193]) It is round and has an arc-shaped crest, into which feathers or horsehair may have been stuck. On the relief of Tiglathpileser III illustrating the flight of Sarduri II,[194]) the Urartian king wears a similar helmet. No such helmets have been excavated in Urartu proper, but one comparable example was found at Hasanlu.[195]) In the excavations at Karmir-Blur twenty bronze helmets were found, of which four also had dedicatory inscriptions of the kings Argišti I and Sarduri II. The simpler version of helmets was of an intermediate shape between a cone and a round helmet with spike.[196]) On each side was a loop, presumably for a leather strap which fitted around the chin. In front this type of helmet was decorated with a vertical ridge, to which a geometrically shaped figure is attached on each side. The total effect is somewhat reminiscent of the lightning fork and for this reason the Russian excavator Piotrovskii thinks that this is an emblem of the thunder god. As no direct prototype for this geometric figure is available, the identification seems doubtful. The design may actually have evolved from stylized horns or antlers.

The more elaborate type of helmet has a more pronounced round shape, ending in a point on top, and resembles the Assyrian helmets closely (Pl. XXVIb–XXIXb).[197]) The decoration is highly ornate, the center scene being marked off by two sets of semicircular arcs. The decoration of helmets with ridges in the shape of semicircular arcs on each side of the center is common also on the Assyrian helmets of this period. Here this motif has been elaborated firstly by repeating each ridge four times and secondly by making these end in lions' heads, so that the effect is almost like snakes with lions' heads. As a more distant parallel one might mention a helmet found at Hasanlu which was decorated with two engraved serpentine bodies converging towards the center.[198]) In the Urartian helmet, the field between the two sets of ridges is taken up by eleven groups, each consisting of two figures flanking a so-called sacred tree. The sacred trees are always enclosed

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[193]) Herodotus I. 171, cf. E. Kukahn, *Der griechische Helm* (Marburg, 1936). The spearmen of the Assyrian army, who may have been recruited from the Taurus area, wore variants of the same type of helmet since the reign of Tiglathpileser III: R. D. Barnett, *The Sculptures of Tiglathpileser III* (London, 1962), pls. XXXIV-LXXIII and pp. xix-xxii.

[194]) R. D. Barnett, *op. cit.* in the preceding note, pl. LXV, pp. xxiii-xxiv.

[195]) To be published shortly. A preliminary sketch in R. D. Barnett, *The Sculptures of Tiglathpileser III* (London, 1962), p. xxii, fig. 2, No. 15.

[196]) *KB* I, p. 56, fig. 33, p. 59, fig. 38; III, p. 25, fig. 16; *VT*, p. 167, figs. 26–27.

[197]) *KB* I, p. 63, fig. 40; II, p. 38, pl. opposite p. 40; III, p. 26; *VT*, pls. XXXVI, XXXVIII; *IU*, fig. 41, pls. XVI-XXI.

[198]) See note 195.

within an outline resembling that of a stele. Inside this enclosure, one sees a doubly outlined trunk from which pairs of branches curve sideways and then up, ending in a bud. At the top are triple buds. All the flanking figures hold a bucket in the left hand, while their right hand is open and stretched with all the fingers toward the tree. In six of the scenes the flanking figures are those of winged and bearded genii. The remaining figures (including the single pair at the top) are beardless and without wings, but with the horns of divinity clearly marked on their helmet-shaped headdress, which ends in a little ball at the top. The single pair at the top is separated from the other ten pairs by a zigzag band and a similar band encircles the whole helmet at the bottom, above the inscription.

The sides and back of the helmet are also decorated with embossed figures, whose details have been retouched with engraver's tools. The decoration here consists of a procession of ten horsemen and eight chariots, which proceed from the back toward the front, the horsemen in gallop and the chariot horses in a short trot. The decorative effect of the short trot was obviously very much to the liking of the Urartian artist. It resembles the artificial but decorative pace of the lions and bulls on the shields in that the legs are evenly spaced, the chest sticks out, the neck is erect and the chin of the horse drawn in.

In most respects the horsemen and chariots are drawn in the same way as on Assyrian reliefs (especially the bronze reliefs of Shalmaneser III, 858–824 B.C.), with this difference that the chariots are shown with eight spokes.[199]) Furthermore the features of the charioteers and horsemen are very simplified, the face being reduced mostly to a large round eye, a large nose and two parallel strokes for the mouth in the lower part of the face, which recedes only very slightly below the nose. The hands are held horizontally and indicated also by parallel strokes. The galloping horses, although not so proud in their gait as the chariot horses, are nevertheless shown in a very collected, decorative pose, with the same position of the head, while the hind legs stand vertically on the ground and the forelegs are placed horizontally, at least down to the joint (Pl. XXIXa).

The processions of horsemen and charioteers are also bordered on both sides by zigzag bands. These bands have rows of triangles stamped along their sides with an instrument which punched many tiny square dots, exactly filling the engraved triangle. As a result, the plain center part stands out as a zigzag. This motif may be derived from the technique of decoration with granulated triangles, which is first seen in gold work of the Kassite period in Babylonia and which

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[199]) Cf., e.g., *Ass. Pal. Reliefs*, pls. 161–162. The eight-spoked chariot was introduced into Assyria sometime between 823 and 745 B. C., or perhaps by Tiglathpileser III (744–727 B.C.) himself; R. D. Barnett, *The Sculptures of Tiglathpileser III* (London, 1962), pls. IX, XLIV, LXIX, LXXI, LXXXI, LXXXIII. Once the king is still shown riding in a six-spoked chariot; pl. XVI.

appears to have been especially popular in Iran.[200]) This seems to be one of the features which Urartian bronze workers may have borrowed from Iranian examples. The simplified human features, especially the way in which the area below the nose is treated as one mass without differentiation of mouth, chin, beard and neck, is also somewhat reminiscent of metalwork of the outlying regions. The same simplification, but with the chin part sharply receding, is seen e.g. on the gold bowl from Hasanlu and the silver vessel from Trialeti.[201])

9. *Quivers and Belts*

In the excavations at Karmir-Blur eighteen quivers were found, of which five had inscriptions of Argišti I and Sarduri II.[202]) The quiver must have been partly of leather. The bronze part is 70 cm long and forms part of a flattened tube of about 10 cm diameter. The quiver was attached to the shoulder by a leather band fitting through two loops, attached with attachments which have the outline of a bird with spread wings. The decoration of the quivers is identical to the sides and back of the helmets and consists of eight bands of three horsemen and two chariots in each band, enclosed by a zigzag on both sides.

Bronze sheets were also hammered over leather belts and have been found at a number of Urartian sites.

At Altintepe, in the tomb dated by an inscription to the reign of Argišti II (c. 714–685 B.C.), a bronze-covered belt 90 cm long and 10 cm wide was found folded inside a cauldron (Pl. XXXa).[203]) On both edges is a guilloche pattern and a row of holes. The belt is decorated with 45 designs in three registers, spaced 4 cm apart. They represent helmeted, mounted huntsmen brandishing spears, centaurs, lions with open jaws, winged horses, wild goats, bulls and winged, bull-horned lions, all galloping either from left to right or from right to left. The winged centaurs are depicted shooting arrows, and their headgear varies. The engraving is carefully done, first the outlines with a bigger tool and then the details with smaller engraving and punching tools, after the bodies of animals and human beings had first been

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[200]) Taha Baqir, *Iraq Government Excavations at 'Aqar Quf . . .*, Iraq 8 (1946), p. 91, pl. XV; Edith Porada, *Alt-Iran* (Baden-Baden, 1962), pl. on p. 57. This technique of decoration occurred also on the gold caps of cylinder seals of the Kassite period (Henri Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, London, 1939, pp. 7, 182). Its effect was imitated on cheaper versions of such seals, e.g. *Corpus*, pl. LXXXI, no. 591, and on flat bracelets, supposedly from Luristan; Léon Legrain, *Luristan Bronzes in the University Museum* (Supplement no. 1 of the University Museum Journal, Philadelphia, 1934), pl. VIII, no. 30.

[201]) *Alt-Iran*, pls. on pp. 85 and 88; A. L. Mongait, *Arkheologia v SSSR* (Moscow, 1955), pl. 39.

[202]) *KB* II, p. 35, pl. 16, p. 37; III, pp. 36–40, fig. 26; *VT*, pls. XL-XLI.

[203]) Tahsin Özgüç, *Excavations at Altintepe*, Belleten 25 (1961) pp. 272–273, figs. 23–24.

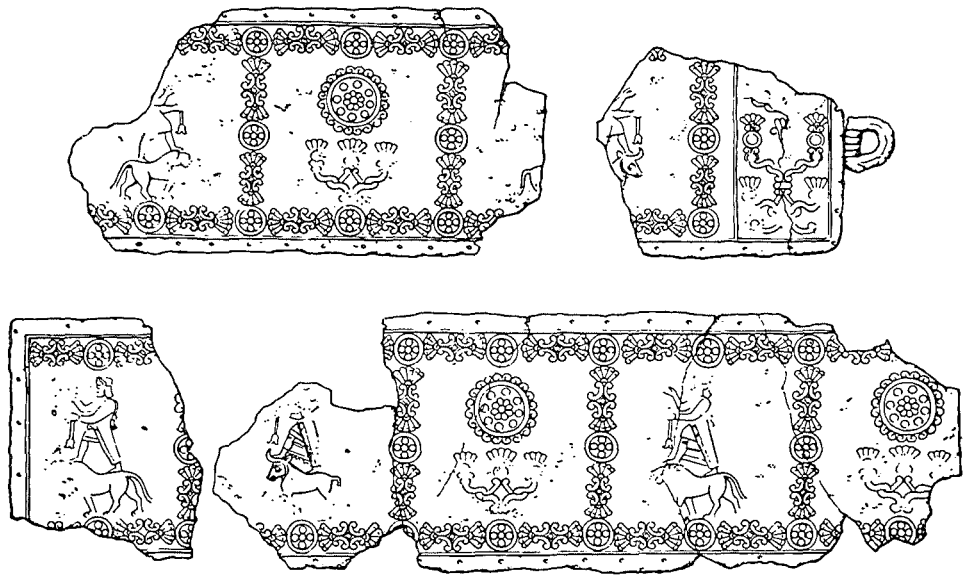

Fig. 14 Parts of bronze belt from Karmir-Blur (*IU*, fig. 42)

stamped in relief from the inside. The heads of horses and winged horses are short and stocky. Except for this detail and for the absence of brackets subdividing the field, there is little difference between this early belt and the later ones to be described below, showing again that the Urartian style – so long as there remained a powerful royal court – stayed virtually unchanged. Even the baroque imagination producing mixed creatures not known in Mesopotamia was already active at this time.

At Karmir-Blur two belts were found decorated with simple bands of dots enclosed between raised ridges.[204]) A third belt had a similar decoration but ended in a so-called sacred tree design, consisting of pairs of branches in the shape of double brackets and ending in concentric circles, which presumably represent pomegranates.[205]) More elaborate belts also found at Karmir-Blur showed a number of gods standing on their respective animals alternating with sacred trees (Fig. 14 and Pl. XXXb).[206]) Both belts incorporate the same iconographic elements. One god standing on a bull is probably correctly identified with the thunder god. He carries a mace upside down in one hand and raises his other hand in a gesture

[204]) *VT*, p. 180, fig. 43.

[205]) *VT*, fig. 82.

[206]) *IU*, p. 73, figs. 42–43.

of benediction. Another deity, this one without a beard, stands on a lion and has been tentatively identified by Piotrovskii with the god Haldi. Both deities carry a weapon at their side. They alternate with sacred trees and are framed by a chain of circles with four dots and lozenges made up out of four brackets. Behind their back the case of the weapon is seen, as well as a tassel (?) On the first belt the engraving is very detailed and true to the Urartian court style. The engraving on the second belt was probably done by a hand which was not familiar with the iconography of gods in the Near East (Pl. XXXb). The horns on their crowns have been misdrawn and they are much too large in relation to their mounts. Other motifs on this second belt include a kneeling figure who supports a winged sun disk on its head and has both hands raised, although they do not support anything. Piotrovskii calls him a sun god, but parallels in the art of Asia Minor and Syria in the second millennium B.C. would suggest that this is a subordinate deity holding up the sky. The griffin also occuring on this belt can hardly represent a god either, although he does carry in his beak a mace in the same position as the gods. He has a parrot-like beak, large crest and curling topknot.

Three bronze belts found in the Urartian cemetery of Nor-Aresh near Arin-berd show hunting scenes likewise based on official Urartian art.[207]) Helmeted men are shown hunting lions and bulls from chariots and on horseback. All animals are pictured in a lively gallop (cf. Pl. XXIXa), but a somewhat clumsy effect results from the fact that the men's eyes and the animals' heads are drawn disproportionately large.

Other belts of the elaborate type have been found in tombs: one from Zakim near Kars has its surface divided into compartments by a network of double brackets diagonally placed (Fig. 15).[208]) Between them are rosettes made of many little dots as well as figures of prancing lions, winged horses, bulls and kneeling archers. The brackets are crowned by lion's heads and palmettes at the top. The ends of the belt show a so-called sacred tree consisting of lozenge-shaped elements, from which grow pairs of branches alternately ending in buds and pomegranate-like fruits. An almost identical belt was found in a tomb near Ani-pemza.[209]) Here the fields are filled with eagles, lions, bulls, griffins and female-headed birds. A variant of this type of belt comes from Shirak.[210])

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[207]) A. Martirosian et al. in *Izvestiia Akademii Nauk Armianskoi* SSR 1958[10], pp. 71–77; *IU*, fig. 44. See also R. D. Barnett in AS 13 (1963), pp. 194–198.

[208]) *VT*, p. 249, fig. 85; *IU*, pl. XXXII.

[209]) *VT*, fig. 86.

[210]) Near Leninakan; B. A. Kuftin, *Urartskii kolumbarii u podoshvy Ararata* . . . (A Urartian Urn Field at the Foot of Mount Ararat) *Vestnik Gosudarstvennovo Muzeia Gruzii* 13 (Tiflis, 1943), fig. 31. See also R. D. Barnett in AS 13 (1963), pp. 153–194.

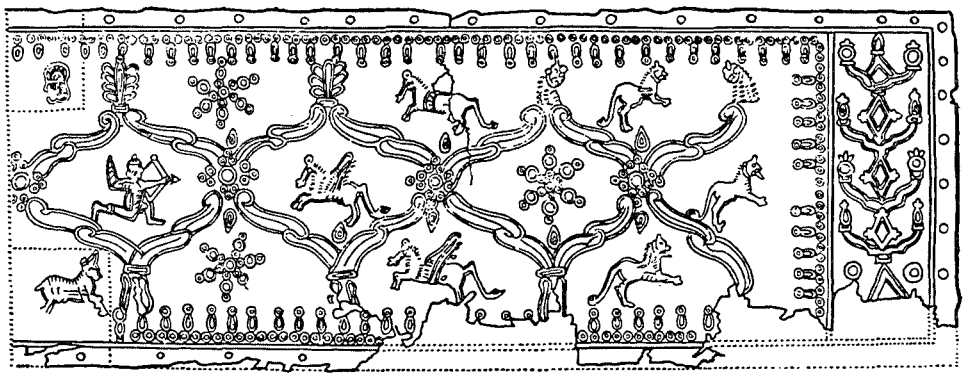

Fig. 15 Bronze belt from Zakim near Kars (*VT*, fig. 85)

Also at Ançali near Guşçi a belt closely resembling the one from Ani-pemza was found (Pl. XXXI).[211]) There the bird-headed creatures shoot with bow and arrow at the fleeing animals. To the repertoire of animals the belt from Guşçi adds also prancing wild bucks.

This type of belt found in various outlying places is one of the few classes of objects in which we can see artists at work who were probably not directly in the employment of the royal court. They were closely influenced by the court style, as is evident for instance if one compares the figures of prancing lions with a seal found at Toprak-Kale (see chapter VIII, no. E14). The vertical position of the hindlegs and the horizontal position of the forelegs is moreover completely in agreement with the taste prevalent at the Urartian court. Nevertheless, there are certain unorthodox features such as the excessive use of little circles, the disproportion of certain members, for instance the horses' tails, the archers' legs, etc. Moreover, it is in these objects that we find the strongest ties with Scythian art as represented in the royal tombs known as the Kelermes and Melgunov barrows and at Ziviyeh. At the latter site gold plaques with the same network of brackets[212]) have been found, as well as a horse frontlet with a very similar prancing lion (Pl. XLII).[213]) It is not impossible that after the downfall of the Urartian kingdom the metalworkers turned to local chieftains as well as to the leaders of the Scythian mercenary armies for new employment.

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[211]) *Ibid.*, pl. XI (= AS 6 (1956), pl. XX, no. 2).

[212]) André Godard, *Le Trésor de Ziwiyè* (Haarlem, 1950), fig. 48.

[213]) See note 192.

C. SILVER

Both the Pontic and Taurus mountains of Asia Minor are rich in silver.[214]) Silver mines must already have been in operation there when the Urartian kings extended their dominions to include those regions.[215]) The silver from the Taurus mountains probably reached Urartu only in the form of tribute paid by kings subject to the Urartian kings in the middle of the eighth century B.C.,[216]) but the silver mines of the Erzurum area may well have been taken into direct exploitation by the Urartian government, as the local rulers of that area (called Diauehi by the Urartians) seem to have been eliminated and replaced by governors.[217]) In addition, the Urartians imported finished products of silver from neighboring countries to the southwest, south and southeast, as we will see below.

It is therefore not surprising that king Sargon II of Assyria found great quantities of silver, both unworked and in the form of objects, when he pillaged the holy city of Musasir. In the palace treasury he found about five tons of unworked silver as well as:

> 11 silver bowls (inscribed with) Rusa's (name) with their lids, bowls from Tabal with golden handles, silver hauberks and silver arrows decorated with gold;
> 34 silver finger bowls, large and small, and small silver containers for nuts and *susu*-kernels(?);
> 54 solid silver bowls, . . . , cups, trimmings, crescents and rings of silver;
> 5 silver cases, goblets, boxes(?), . . . , incense burners from Tabal and silver censers;

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[214]) Robert J. Forbes, *Metallurgy in Antiquity* (Leiden, 1950), pp. 190–198.

[215]) When king Menua (c. 810–786 B. C.) subjected Uṭupurši, king of the Diauehi, the latter gave gold and silver as tribute (inscription at Yazilitaş near Erzurum, *UKN*, no. 36, line 16).
When Argišti I (c. 786–764 B. C.) in the second (?) year of his reign subjected the king of the Diauehi, the latter brought 20.5 kg. of gold, 18.5 kg. of silver and more than 5 tons of copper as a first tribute (An additional yearly tribute, not including silver, was imposed on him; *UKN*, no. 128 B1, line 20).
When Sarduri II (c. 764–735) subjected king Hilaruada of Melitene in the first year of his reign, Sarduri carried away an unspecified amount of gold and silver (inscription at Izoğlu near Malatya, *UKN* no. 158, line 25).
Finally, when Sarduri II subjected king Kuštašpi of Commagene c. 745 B. C., the latter gave 20 kg, of gold and 400 kg. of silver as a tribute (*UKN*, no. 155E, line 55).

[216]) See preceding note.

[217]) The Diauehi are not mentioned in Urartian royal inscriptions after Argišti I (c. 786–764 B. C.); *UKN*, pp. 424–425.

and from the temple five tons of silver in the raw as well as:

> 96 silver spears, silver hauberks, silver bows and silver arrows with golden decorations and mountings;
> 12 large silver shields with bosses in the shape of heads of Deluge monsters, lions or wild bulls;
> 67 silver basins, silver tripods, silver braziers and silver baskets for serving vegetables with golden decorations and mountings;
> 62 silver libation vessels, silver pomegranates and heterogeneous silver objects with golden decorations and mountings;
> 33 silver chariots, silver bows, silver quivers, silver scimitars, silver scepters, silver . . . , silver shields, silver crests, silver . . . and standards;
> 393 silver bowls, large and small, made in Assyria, Urartu or Habhu.[218])

It is regrettable indeed that very few silver objects have been excavated to provide us with actual examples of the types of objects here mentioned. At Toprak-Kale a silver cylindrical box was found in one of the large storage jars in the storehouse. It is 18 cm high and its body had been covered with a network of silver wire.[219]) The lid was studded all over with gold nails and the bottom of the box was similarly decorated. The lid, which could be taken off by pulling a gold ring, was pierced with a tiny hole that could be closed by changing the position of a crescent-shaped piece of electrum, fitting into the inside of the lid. Upon cleaning, this piece of electrum turned out to be engraved with a little scene consisting of a goddess sitting on a throne, supported by a podium marked with zigzags. The goddess holds a branch in one hand and raises a cup in the other hand. A female worshiper, draped in a veil which hangs down to the ground approaches from the right, raising both hands in prayer. In front of her walks a kid which she has brought for sacrifice. Flanking the central scene are two trees, stylized so as to resemble a spearhead. The box was found to contain silver-sulphide powder. Two simpler silver boxes were also found in one of the storage jars at Toprak-Kale. They were likewise covered with silver mesh.[220])
At Karmir-Blur a silver jug with attached handle (height 24 cm) was excavated.[221]) Its round body tapers gracefully toward the bottom (which is lost). The narrow

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[218]) *Huitième campagne*, lines 352, 358–361, 369, 378–383. Habhu is on the upper Great Zab, *ibid.*, line 323.

[219]) *Armenien* II[2]), pp. 480–482; G. R. Meyer, *Ein neuentdeckter urartäischer Brustschmuck*, Das Altertum I[4] (1955), p. 209. The latter states that the nails are of electrum and the crescent-shaped object of silver.

[220]) *Materialien*, p. 92, no. 17.

[221]) *KB* III, p. 18, fig. 13.

neck is set off by a ridge at the shoulder and inscribed with three hieroglyphs near the rim. The handle has a triple groove running down the middle into a lozenge flanked by two volutes in the manner of an inverted fleur-de-lis.

Two medallions, possibly used as pendants for necklaces, were also found at Karmir-Blur.[222]) One of them was engraved with a variation of the worship scene just described. The head of the goddess is engraved over a tiny piece of gold which is soldered onto the silver. The other medallion shows a worshiper bringing a kid to a standing god, whose head is also engraved on a piece of gold overlay. Both medallions from Karmir-Blur (diameter 3.5 and 5 cm respectively) are engraved in an extremely crude style and obviously form cheaper substitutes for the much more carefully executed gold medallions, an example of which was found at Toprak-Kale and will be described below.

A large silver pin, found at Karmir-Blur, had its head fashioned into the shape of a lying lion and covered with gold foil (17 cm).[223]) It may have been twice as long, for it looks as if it had been bent double in order to break off the bottom half. The bottom of the lion is marked with some hieroglyphs.

Lying lions decorated the pins worn by the inhabitants of Hasanlu who perished in the destruction of that city (probably part of the Mannaean kingdom) around 800 B.C.[224]) The details of the lion on the pin from Karmir-Blur are not very clear, but it can be seen that they are much less stylized than on the Hasanlu pins. The mouth is almost closed, but the rendering of the ears, which have circular warts when seen from the top, as well as the folded position of the legs are typically Urartian. A silver toggle-pin from Karmir-Blur and a similar one from Armavir are crowned by three animals standing next to each other on a torus consisting of a sphere between two disks.[225])

The lion pin worn by the bronze goddess from Darabey (Pl. Xb) is of an intermediary type between the two here described. As far as the small scale enables one to see, the head consists of a couchant lion placed at right angles to the shank of the pin. However that may be, the statuette provides a welcome confirmation of the fact that these pins were worn stuck vertically through two layers of material, in order to hold women's garments together in front.

Other silver finds at Karmir-Blur included rings worn at the sides of the head and bracelets ending in snakes' heads.[226])

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[222]) *KB* III, p. 11, fig. 5, p. 18, fig. 11; *VT*, pl. XLVII.

[223]) *IU*, p. 86, fig. 51; *VT*, pl. XLVII a.

[224]) *Alt-Iran*, pl. on p. 106. The Mannaean kingdom (called Mana by the Urartians) was partly occupied by the Urartians in the earlier part of the eighth century B. C. (see p. 10).

[225]) *KB* III, p. 18, fig. 12.

[226]) *IU*, p. 88.

One of the most valuable objects found at Karmir-Blur was a silver lid with gold overlay in the form of concentric bands, each of which is decorated with two chains of lotus buds pointing in different directions.[227]) The handle of the lid consists of a solid gold pomegranate. An inscription mentions the name of king Argišti I. The greatest amount of silver objects excavated in Urartu comes from the tombs recently found at Altintepe.[228]) Several wooden stools and tables had legs ending in conical elements, which were covered with silver (Pl. XVII b). Above the conical element was a varying number of cylindrical elements separated by torus mouldings and crowned by a circle of drooping leaves.
Silver jewelry at Altintepe consisted of buttons decorated with granulated rosettes. A belt of silver with geometric decoration (plain zigzags between dotted triangles) was also found.[229])

D. GOLD

It obviously was mostly the gold to be found in the holy city of Musasir which attracted king Sargon II of Assyria to make a detour after his campaign through Urartu and plunder this sanctuary. After breaking the seals of the royal treasury, he counted:

> one ton of unworked gold;
> a number of objects in other materials decorated with gold and silver; and
> six golden swords with golden pine cones, daggers and fly-whisks.

From the temple he took:

> six golden shields which were suspended to the right and left of his sanctuary and shone like sunshine, and from the centers of which the heads of ferocious dogs protruded, of dark red (gold) weighing 156 kg;
> one . . . with . . . horns, barring its gates, cast of 60 kg of fine gold; one golden door bolt in the form of a human hand holding the door leaf, on which a winged Deluge monster was represented crouching; one golden peg locking the bolt to strengthen the security of the temple, guarding its piled up treasures; two golden locks in the form of protective goddesses with crowns, carrying scimitars and circles, standing on fierce dogs; all these four objects forming the locking device of the doorway, ornaments

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[227]) *VT*, p. 183, pls. XLII-XLIII.

[228]) Tahsin Özgüç, *Excavations at Altintepe*, Belleten 25 (1961), pp. 271–273.

[229]) Tahsin Özgüç, *loc. cit.* in preceding note, pp. 273–274, 276.

> of the sanctuary, weighing 66 kg of gold and securing the door leaves; one gold sword, the weapon hanging at his (i.e. the god's) side, weighing 13 kg.[230])

As is understandable gold objects are the least likely to have survived the pillaging and other vicissitudes which caused the end of the Urartian civilization. Nevertheless, a few examples of Urartian gold work have survived, among which one gold medallion from Toprak-Kale, found inside a vessel in one of the storerooms (diameter 6.5 cm, 1 mm thick) (Pl. XXXII).[231]) It is decorated with a worship scene, which was first embossed from behind and then detailed with an engraving tool from the front – the normal technique in decoration of Urartian metalwork. The worship scene differs only in some respects from the one described above under silverwork: the podium is decorated with a row of pendent lotus buds, and the enthroned goddess has her feet placed on a footstool. She is wearing bracelets and a belt decorated with a zigzag pattern, and her dress as well as her long veil are decorated with large square plaques, probably gold medallions which were sewn onto these garments. In one hand she seems to hold a blossom. The worshiper, who is not accompanied by any sacrificial animal, is dressed in exactly the same fashion, except that her veil is a little shorter, while her dress drags far behind her. Both ladies have the traits of young women. One would like to see in them the main goddess and the queen of Urartu. The medallion has a triple loop at the top and must have formed a necklace pendant.

At Karmir-Blur various small pieces of jewelry were found:[232]) one is a pair of leech-shaped earrings decorated with granulated ribs, some of which are accompanied by granulated triangles.[233]) Another earring of the same shape is decorated with a network of gold wire, consisting of alternating lozenges and circles.[234]) The ends of the leech-shaped elements are wound with coils of thicker gold wire, of which one ends in a large loop passing through the ear-lobe.

Parts of a wooden lion which had been covered with gold foil were among the other finds.[235]) A blue enamel incrustation was preserved above the eye.

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[230]) *Huitième campagne*, lines 352–357, 369–377.

[231]) *Kunst Anatoliens*, pl. 16.

[232]) Piotrovskii found evidence that the defenders of Karmir-Blur, anticipating its fall, had forced the strong-rooms which they were supposed to guard, divided the loot (e.g. a gold ingot was cut into four pieces; *VT*, pl. XLVI v) and hid their respective portions in various places, sometimes painting a cross on the wall to mark the spot; *IU*, p. 85.

[233]) *VT*, pl. XLVI a.

[234]) *VT*, pl. XLVI v.

[235]) *KB* III, p. 22, pl. XV.

Lions' heads also decorated a gold bracelet worn by one of the persons who perished in the destruction of Karmir-Blur.[236])

A gold pin from Karmir-Blur, only 4 cm long, had its head fashioned in the shape of a tiny pomegranate with a large flower, and below it an undeveloped fruit.[237]) The outline of the petals consists of gold wire and was probably meant to receive an inlay of some colored substance.

A biconical bead, also found at Karmir-Blur (height 1 cm), was decorated with granulated triangles around the knob which forms its top, around the joint of its two conical parts and around its bottom.[238]) It too may have served as the head of a pin.

One of the ladies buried at Altintepe wore a dress onto which large buttons had been sewn, decorated with six- or seven-petaled rosettes in granulation technique.[239]) On the larger buttons the rosettes were encircled by alternating dots and triangles, also in granulation technique.

Four necklaces at the same site contained among other elements gold spacers, made up out of four parallel gold tubes, held together with three gold wires and decorated with granulated triangles and lozenges.[240]) Another tomb, which had been robbed, nevertheless still contained a gold plaque on which was depicted a winged human-headed bull.[241])

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[236]) *VT*, pl. XLVI b.

[237]) *IU*, pp. 86–87, fig. 52.

[238]) *IU*, pp. 86–87, fig. 52.

[239]) Belleten 25 (1961), p. 273, fig. 18.

[240]) Belleten 25 (1961), p. 274, fig. 19.

[241]) Belleten 25 (1961) p. 276.

VII. IVORY, BONE, AND WOODWORK

A. IVORY

A number of carved pieces of ivory found in the temple of Haldi at Toprak-Kale are preserved in the British Museum.[1]) One clenched hand,[2]) carved in the round on a larger scale (4½ cm high), may have belonged to a cult statue. The human personage or deity represented by the statue was apparently shown holding some object of a different material which must have been attached by means of a pin stuck through a hole in the ivory hand.

Most of the other ivories seem to have formed pieces of furniture in the Haldi temple, to judge by parallels from other parts of western Asia[3]) and from the dowels visible on several pieces.

Several of these ivories are standing figures in the round. One of them is a male figure (height 24 cm) (Pl. XXXIIIa),[4]) of very elongated proportions, especially in the lower part of the body. The front of the figure is badly damaged. The back of the head shows wavy hair (indicated by vertical zigzags) held together by a head band, below which the hair flares out to form three superimposed rows of curls resting on the shoulders.

The figure wears a plain tunic, bordered with jeweled bands,[5]) which form a "V" at the neck. Below the short sleeves triple armlets are visible. At the bottom, above the ankles, the tunic has a wavy fringe.

The person represented is probably a courtier. Like Assyrian courtiers he wears a fringed sash over his tunic, wrapped once around the waist and laid diagonally over the left shoulder. The wavy fringe of the sash was engraved in detail only on the sides of the figure (and, of course, on the now damaged front). On the back of the figure the fringe is merely outlined, proving that the figure was meant to be seen only from the front.

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[1]) R. D. Barnett, *The British Museum Excavations at Toprak-Kale*, Iraq 12 (1950), pp. 1–43; same author, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories* (London, 1957), pp. 228–229, pls. CXXVIII-CXXXI.

[2]) *Iraq* 12 (1950), pl. XV, no. 3.

[3]) R. D. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories* (London, 1957), p. 115.

[4]) Iraq 12 (1950), pl. XIV, no. 2.

[5]) Following Dr. Edith Porada, I use this expression for the very common motif. 

Another standing figure in a long garment is even more badly damaged.[6]) It seems to have represented a female to judge by the one breast still visible. (The height is 24½ cm). The drapery is only roughly marked, except at the bottom, where there is a double jeweled band and a short fringe. This figure may have been covered with garments of different materials.

Parts of such garments were actually found nearby, consisting of lead sheets with a grid of partitions, into which were fitted inlays of glass paste and ivory.[7])

One piece of such a lead sheet seems to have been part of the hair and is partitioned into wavy strands and circular curls. On the sheets forming the garment there is a girdle formed by two rows of circles. The ivory inlays are decorated with engraved rosettes and placed at regular intervals among the smaller squares, each of which is filled with dark paste with a light dot in the center. At the bottom the garment ends in a wavy fringe.

A familiar motif in the decoration of ancient Near Eastern furniture is the nude servant girl functioning as a caryatid.[8]) At Toprak-Kale this motif is represented by a figure 18 cm high (Pl. XXXIV).[9]) It had probably been standing on a capital encircled by drooping leaves or petals (Pl. XXXIV, bottom).[10]) On her head the woman wears a low cylindrical cap,[11]) bordered with jeweled bands, around which there is a circlet of seven rosettes connected by another jeweled band. Her hair forms a fringe of short curls on the forehead and hangs down at the sides and in the back in corkscrew curls, which are diagonally ribbed in alternating directions and thick and round at the bottom. The eyebrows, eyelids and pupils are deeply cut out and the eyebrows still preserve traces of blue paint. The round face unfortunately lacks nose and mouth. Around the neck the figure wears a double

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[6]) Iraq 12 (1950), pl. XIII, nos. 1–2.

[7]) Iraq 12 (1950), pl. XIII, no. 3.

[8]) The interpretation as a servant girl is mine. R. D. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories* (London, 1957), pp. 103–106, interprets her as representing either an Ishtar-type goddess (as argued by Georges Contenau, *La déesse nue babylonienne*, Paris, 1914) or a votary of such a goddess (as argued by Henri Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, London, 1939, p. 160). The interpretation of Egyptian figures of tall-crowned naked girls, appearing there under Syrian influence, is affected by the same uncertainty; Elizabeth Riefstahl, *Doll, Queen or Goddess?*, Brooklyn Museum Journal 1943–44, pp. 7–23.

[9]) Iraq 12 (1950), pl. XIV, nos. 1, 3.

[10]) Iraq 12 (1950), pl. XIV, no. 4.

[11]) To facilitate the carrying of loads on the head? The Greek word *polos*, often used by modern scholars for this cap, means "pivot; orbit: headdress of Aphrodite, Tyche and other goddesses". In one instance of the 14th-13th century B. C. (Gordon Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories*, OIP 52 (Chicago, 1939), pl. 4) a fully clothed woman with a similar cap is seen handing a towel and a lotus flower to a ruler at a victory banquet.

necklace of large beads, alternating with spacers decorated with jeweled bands. Like the face, the breast area is damaged and has been tentatively restored with the woman holding her breasts. This is a well known motif in the Near East, especially in Syria and Phoenicia,[12]) but not in caryatid figures. The belly of the figure from Toprak-Kale protrudes rather markedly and the hair below is indicated by small engraved dots.

This group of standing human figures in ivory shows obvious relations with other works of art found in Urartu and may therefore have been made locally. For example, the hair of the male figure, seen from the back, is treated in the same way as that of the female figure on a bronze cauldron attachment found at Toprak-Kale and now in Berlin (Pl. XXIIIa).[13]) In turn, the frontal view of the same female figure on the cauldron attachment provides a parallel in the corkscrew curls at the sides for the ivory caryatid figure from Toprak-Kale, although the back views differ. On the ivory caryatid these curls continue around the back of the head, whereas the bronze female head has in the back the simpler male style mentioned above.

Furthermore, the cylindrical headdress of the ivory caryatid figure has the same circlet of rosettes as the bronze figure of a winged lion with human torso from Toprak-Kale (Pl. XIV),[14]) although the headdress of the latter figure is certainly that of a divine creature, since it is furnished with a pair of horns and topped by a design indicating feathers.

The lead garments with inlays have the same scheme of decoration as a number of works of art from Urartu, for example, the bronze figures of gods standing on their mounts (Fig. 11), [15]) which belong to the same group of finds as the lion with human torso just mentioned. Other examples are the statuette of a goddess from Darabey (Pl. Xb)[16]) and a gold medallion, also from Toprak-Kale, showing a goddess and a worshiper (Pl. XXXII).[17])

In spite of these tangible points of similarity to other Urartian works of art, one is left with the feeling that in the ivories Syrian influence is stronger (and Mesopotamian influence weaker) than in any other group of objects from Urartu. The fact that Syria traditionally supplied all of western Asia both with elephants' tusks and with ivory carvers may explain this phenomenon.

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[12]) R. D. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories* (London, 1957), pl. LXIII, nos S147, S150b; pl. LXXIII, no. S209; pl. LXXVI, nos. S231, 234.

[13]) *IU*, pls. XIV-XV.

[14]) *IU*, pls. II-III.

[15]) *IU*, pls. VIII-IX.

[16]) *IU*, fig. 47.

[17]) *IU*, fig. 48.

Parts of human bodies found at Toprak-Kale include the face and hair of a female figure with long wavy hair and very fine features (3 cm high),[18]) arms and hands of a figure wearing long sleeves bordered with jeweled bands,[19]) and an arm bent at the elbow with a bracelet around the wrist.[20]) The elbow is pierced by a transverse hole, probably for a tenon. Unfortunately there is not enough evidence to reconstruct these fragments into more meaningful figures.

The ivories found at Toprak-Kale include several parts of lions such as fragments of lions' heads with the well-known snarling grimace, in which the muzzle is stylized in palmette-shaped wrinkles.[21]) Two lions' paws are also among the finds (6½ and 5 cm high).[22]) There is also a complete lion protome on a very small scale (2 cm high), which ends in the back in a tenon intended to fit into the mortise of some adjoining furniture element.[23])

Two fragments of wings may have belonged either to winged genii or fabulous animals or even to winged disks.[24]) A third winged fragment[25]) has two dowel holes within the section of a circle, over which a disk may have been attached by tenons stuck through the two holes.

Finally there are two very fine plaques, worked not in the round but in relief (17 and 12 cm high respectively; Pl XXXIIIb),[26]) representing eagle-headed genii raising their hands in order to support the sky, a motif which originated in Syria many centuries earlier.[27]) Along the back of head and neck the genii have a crest of short upright feathers almost reminiscent of the clipped mane of a horse. On the side of the head there is a pair of long curls, each of which curves up with one end at the top of the head, and hangs down on the neck with the other end. The powerful hooked beak is opened in a screeching attitude and the tongue is visible inside the mouth. The stocky bodies of the genii are clad in short tunics bordered with jeweled bands. From the belt down a long garment with jeweled bands and

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[18]) Iraq 12 (1950), pl. XII, nos. 4–5.

[19]) Iraq 12 (1950), pl. XII, nos. 9–11.

[20]) Iraq 12 (1950), pl. XII, no. 3.

[21]) Iraq 12 (1950), pl. XII, nos. 1–2.

[22]) Iraq 12 (1950), pl. XII, nos. 7, 12.

[23]) Iraq 12 (1950), pl. XII, no. 16.

[24]) Iraq 12 (1950), pl. XII, nos. 13–14.

[25]) Iraq 12 (1950), pl. XII, no. 15.

[26]) Iraq 12 (1950), pl. XV, nos. 1–2.

[27]) Earlier examples of eagle-headed genii in "atlantid pose" have been assembled by Helene J. Kantor in the section *The Ivories from Floor 6 of Sounding IX*, of *Soundings at Tell Fakhariyah* (OIP 79, Chicago, 1958), pp. 61–63.

horizontal rows of fringe is draped over each tunic, covering the back leg but leaving the front leg free. From the creatures' sides two wings point down balancing the silhouette of the raised arms.

In the tombs at Altin-tepe four almost identical plaques of ivory were found, which show eagle-headed genii of the same type as described above, two facing left and two facing right.[28]) Here, however, their attitude is different. They perform the so-called fertilization ritual. Over their shoulders they have thrown a long plain garment, bordered with jeweled band and fringe. Only the front leg emerges, covered by a tunic down to the knee. Around their wrists the genii wear bracelets. The raised hand of each genius holds a fruit, while the other hand extends a bucket in front of the upper leg. In the back of each figure two wings are shown. The lower one points down parallel to the back leg, but the upper one is curved in a sickle shape so that the tip of the wing forms a third supporting point (together with the creature's head and with the hand holding the fruit).

In a relief from Sakçegözü, which similarly shows an eagle-headed genius handling bucket and fruit, the motif of the opened, screeching beak can also be seen.[29]) In reliefs found at Carchemish and Karatepe, however, where eagle-headed genii are shown with raised arms in atlantid postures, they have closed beaks.[30])

Altin-tepe has also yielded ivory lions, carved in the round, sitting in the attitude of a watch-dog with the head turned sideways and with a threatening grimace (Fig. 16). The foreheads of these lions rise to a point in the middle and the face is surrounded by a ruff. The hair of ruff and mane is indicated by a pattern of cross-hatching.

Lions' heads, similarly shaped, are seen, e.g., on gold bracelets from Ziviyeh of which one is in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. A. B. Martin, now on loan at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Pl. XLIII).[31]) On that bracelet there are four lion cubs in addition to two large lions' heads which terminate the bracelet. While the larger heads have the mane on head and neck rendered plastically, the necks of the cubs are smooth except for a sharply beveled ridge running down the spine. The ears of the cubs have almost circular earlaps, in the center of which is a hemispherical bulge. This rendering of the earlap is in turn related to the rendering of lions on Urartian shields (Pl. XXVb and Pl. XXVIa).

Another ivory object from Altin-tepe shows a couchant lion. It was attached to one of the three feet of a bronze stand which may have carried a lamp (p. 98).

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[28]) The ivories from Altin-tepe are not yet published but some of them are on display in the Archaeological Museum at Ankara.

[29]) Ekrem Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter* (Munich, 1961), pl. 134.

[30]) Ekrem Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter* (Munich, 1961), pls. 111, 149.

[31]) Edith Porada, *Alt-Iran* (Baden-Baden, 1963), pl. on p. 130.

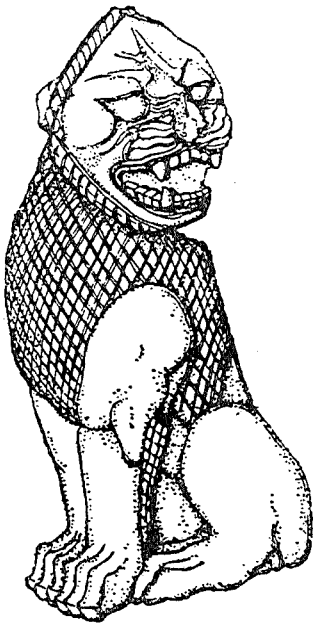

Fig. 16 Ivory lion from Altin-tepe (Türk Tarih Kurumu cliché)

An openwork plaque in relief from Altin-tepe, of great decorative quality, shows a stag, with head turned backwards, against a background formed by a "sacred" tree growing from a hillock. The dappled hide of the stag is rendered by small pits filled with inlays. This piece is reminiscent of an openwork plaque with animals against a background of plants, found at Nimrud (ancient Kalhu).[32])

Smaller pieces of ivory inlay from Altin-tepe include a beautifully carved human face, meant to be surrounded by hair, beard, and mustache of a different material. This piece might be compared to two ivory faces belonging to a group of Assyrian ivory fragments from Balawat (ancient Imgur-Bēl).[33]) The two faces were meant to be surrounded by hair and beards of different material and belonged to figures in a scene showing a genius performing the "fertilization" ritual on a king.

From Altin-tepe also comes a human hand of ivory, perhaps the lid of a cosmetic box. Finally, a plaque was found in one of the tombs at Altin-tepe which shows a sacred tree with superimposed pairs of branches alternately ending in pomegranates and lotus buds. Branches and fruits of this plaque have cutouts for inlays, probably of colored paste.

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[32]) ILN (Jan. 30, 1960), Supplement of Color Plates, pl. II; Fig. 2, "Strips of Open-work Ivory Running and browsing deer against a background of palmette trees".

[33]) R. D. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories* (London, 1957), pl. CXXVII.

B. BONE

At Karmir-Blur a number of carved bone objects were found, such as a winged sphinx standing on a palmette (height 4 cm), a tiny human head, perhaps from a similar creature, and a larger beardless, probably female face.[34]) The face has a very small mouth, deeply embedded in the full cheeks and chin, like the bronze statuette of a goddess from Darabey (Pl. Xb). However, the sharp, somewhat crude cutting of the eyes, nose and lips give the face a much less appealing expression.

A carved bone turret from Karmir-Blur provides additional evidence for the elevation of Urartian fortified buildings[35]) and proves that the structures shown on the bronze building models from Toprak-Kale (Pl. XXb) were not exceptional in Urartu though they differed in detail from those of Assyria.[36])

Bone toilet articles found at Karmir-Blur include a comb[37]) and two cylindrical boxes[38]) decorated with dotted circles, rosettes and zigzags.

C. WOODWORK

Among wooden objects found at Karmir-Blur may be mentioned a wooden vessel and furniture elements decorated with alternating circles and lozenges of horn.[39]) These circles and lozenges were probably framed by some darker material and they in turn were hollowed out to receive smaller circular or lozenge-shaped inlays of some darker material which has disappeared; perhaps it was red or blue paste which would have produced a multicolored effect.

Lozenges and circles occur as elements of the tree design on a bronze belt from Karmir-Blur (Pl. XXXb). It is possible that they were meant to indicate the trunk of the sacred tree. This would explain the frequent occurrence of the motif also seen in what may be a related context on the gold foil of the hilt of the iron sword from the Kelermes barrow (Pl. XXXIX).

Wooden furniture had also been placed in the tombs at Altin-tepe. It consisted

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[34]) *IU*, fig. 54.

[35]) *IU*, fig. 55.

[36]) Some ideas concerning the details of the battlements in Assyrian structures of comparable date can be gained from "a fragment of a pottery storage bin decorated with a relief representation of a city wall", which was found in the latest occupation level in the gate-chamber of the West Gate of Fort Shalmaneser at Nimrud, (ancient Kalhu); see Iraq XXIV (1962), pp. 8–9 and pl. Vc.

[37]) *IU*, fig. 57.

[38]) *IU*, figs. 59–60.

[39]) *VT*, fig. 55.

of stools and tables up to 50 cm high.[40]) The legs were usually enclosed in a bronze or silver casing and the crossbars were adorned with double volutes in bronze (Pl. XVIIb). In addition, the joints were provided with metal corner pieces. Surviving wooden elements include a bull's hoof on a capital of drooping petals[41]) and bars encrusted with dotted circles adjoining a corner piece.[42])

The woodwork found at Altin-tepe also included building models, of which two fragments have survived. They were made of walnut wood and had hollows for colored inlays. The turret and its battlements are closely paralleled by the bronze plaques from Toprak-Kale (Pl. XXb) and the bone turret from Karmir-Blur.

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[40]) Tahsin Özgüç, *Excavations at Altin-Tepe*, Belleten 25 (1961), p. 271, figs. 8 and 9.

[41]) Belleten 25 (1961), fig. 15.

[42]) Belleten 25 (1961), fig. 22.

VIII. SEALS

Like most of the other archaeological material from Urartu, by far the greater part of the Urartian seals that have come down to us were excavated in cities of the seventh century B.C., Toprak-Kale (ancient Rusahinili, probably founded by Rusa II, c. 685–645 B.C.)[1]) and Karmir-Blur (thought to be ancient Teišebaini, founded after the abandonment of the earlier administrative centers in the Araxes valley under Rusa I. The name of Teišebaini is connected at least once with Rusa II, c. 685–645 B.C.).

At Toprak-Kale one seal and about thirty seal impressions were excavated by Lehmann-Haupt. At Karmir-Blur the Russian excavators found eleven pierced cylinder seals, eight stamp-cylinders, four stamp seals likewise engraved on sides and bottom, but square in section, nineteen cylindrical, bell-shaped or rounded conical stamps with no traces of engraving on the sides, one disk-shaped seal (with engraving on both sides) and six scaraboid seals, making a total of forty-nine seals. In addition, six seal impressions were found at Karmir-Blur. A description of these seals and seal impressions follows below.

A. LONGITUDINALLY PIERCED CYLINDER SEALS FROM KARMIR-BLUR, RELATED IN STYLE TO ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN TYPES

(The numbers are those of *KB* I, pp. 77–79, fig. 50 and III, p. 58, fig. 44).

These cylindrical sealing stones, pierced in the direction of their length in order to be worn on a string around the neck, were meant to be rolled onto wet clay sealings or tablets, exactly as in Mesopotamia. All the Urartian examples come from Karmir-Blur.

A1. Frit, height 2.6 cm, from room 5, linear style.[2]) A bearded standing archer in long robe shoots over a low tree at a large horned snake. Its nose curls up, the short, straight, almost vertical horns and the ear are indicated by disconnected

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[1]) *Kleinasien*, p. 198, note 2; *UKN*, introduction to nos. 267 and 268. See also p. 20.

[2]) In describing the techniques of engraving – as far as these can be judged from the drawings – I follow the terminology of *Corpus*, pp. 71–100. In all cases where actual impressions were available (see photographs), the description of the Urartian seals was done after the impressions rather than the drawings. In the remaining instances, the description is subject to correction upon ultimate collation with impressions of the originals.

little dashes. More such dashes occur below the spiral body. A crescent with a dot appears above the monster's body.

The closest parallel is *VR* no. 692, where the archer and the tree are relatively shorter and the snake relatively taller, with a more articulated body. Of the group of frit seals with this motif, *VR* nos. 689–695, the first (no. 689) was best stratified, having been found at Assur in a house postdating Shalmaneser III (died 824 B.C.).

A2. Frit, height 2.2 cm, from room 5. Although frit seals are normally engraved in linear style, the carving of this seal – if correctly drawn – would seem comparable in technique to the "deeply gouged" style described below (section D). A hunter in long robe (from which the front leg emerges) swings a curved weapon back with one arm while the other arm grips the raised hoof of a horned animal, which rears its head backwards.

The awkward position of the animal is hardly paralleled, but the hunter's stance as well as the very abbreviated rendering of his head – in three curving strokes representing respectively the top of the head, the hair in the neck and the beard – might be compared to that on *VR* no. 626, a cut-style cylinder showing a winged genius attacking a griffin with a scimitar in a cursive, diagonal, but much livelier and better balanced composition. This latter cylinder is probably of Babylonian provenance, but it is not yet governed by the symmetry so dominant after c. 700 B.C.

A3. Frit, height 2.2 cm, found in room 10 near the inscribed bronze helmet of Sarduri II (c. 764–735 B.C.), which was presumably transferred here with other material from nearby Er(e)buni (modern Arin-berd) when that stronghold was abandoned and the Urartian administrative center of the Araxes valley moved to Teišebaini before or in the reign of Rusa II (c. 685–645 B.C.). Although frit seals are normally engraved in linear style, the carving of this seal – if correctly drawn – would again seem more comparable in technique to the "deeply gouged" style described below. A bearded human-headed bull or sphinx is shown in a rearing attitude. One of his forelegs is gripped by the arm of a kneeling hunter whose other arm swings back a curved weapon. Both combatants wear a headdress topped by a small globe, possibly representing a star.

The same general scheme of composition can be recognized on linear-style seals excavated at Assur, *VR* nos. 643–644 (stylistically related to a seal found in context of c. 800 B.C., *VR* no. 639). Nos. 643–644 show how the various excrescences along the back of the hunter are to be interpreted. From top to bottom, one sees the tip of the bow case, the elbow of the hunter, the handle of the scimitar, the fist of the hunter and the blade of the scimitar.

A4. Frit, height 2.7 cm, linear style, found in room 13 near an inscribed bronze quiver of Sarduri II. A standing bearded archer in long robe shoots over a low tree at an elegantly drawn bull on tall legs, whose joints are indicated by tiny spurs. The bull's single visible horn points forward and upward in a very exagger-

ated curve, balanced by a similarly upswung ear pointing back. The nose is indicated by a dot, the body hatched, and the tail describes a walking-stick loop. Above the bull's hindquarters are two crossed wedges (perhaps an abbreviated "deity" sign engraved in obverse on the seal and appearing in reverse on the impression) and the moon crescent.

Such scenes are well represented on linear-style frit seals dated to around 800 B.C. by examples excavated at Assur, Guzana (modern Tell Halaf) and Carchemish; *VR* nos. 696–706 and pl. C 4. On one seal of this group, no. 705, the bull is winged and appears together with tree and moon in reverse, but it has the same kind of stylized head as on the Karmir-Blur seal.

A5. Chalcedony, height 2.3 cm, from room 5, drilled style. A bearded worshiper in long robe lifts a hand in prayer to a goddess with high rounded headdress (perhaps Ishtar), who is seated on a throne between two gateposts, of which the right-hand one is held by what looks like a griffin (in this function one would rather expect a bull-man). Crescent moon and eight-rayed sun form the terminal motif.

The figures of worshiper and goddess might be compared to *Corpus* no. 700, dated on stylistic grounds to around 700 B.C. The figure of a worshiper of similar outline, but engraved in much greater detail, is shown on the seal of Nergal-ēṭir, astronomer of Assurbanipal (668–627 B.C.).[3] The motif of Ishtar appearing between two gateposts occurs also on the finely modeled drilled-style seal of Ištar-dūrī, eunuch of the commander-in-chief under Adadnirari III (810–782 B.C.).[4] It can hardly be a coincidence that this theme recurs in Urartu, where the native royal name Sarduri was sometimes "Assyrianized" to Ištar-dūrī ("Ishtar is my wall").

A6. Frit, height 2.5 cm, from room 5, linear style. A hen faces what looks like a somewhat misshapen goat-fish. Eight-rayed sun and crescent moon appear above the hen and a rhomb below the goat-fish.

A goat-fish in more or less the same attitude – but in reverse – appears on the rather deeply modeled frit seal from Babylon *VR* no. 725 (grouped by Moortgat with seals of c. 800 B.C.). On the other hand, *VR* no. 755, another frit seal from Babylon, carved in a shallower, more linear style (which Moortgat seems to date after the Neo-Assyrian period, i.e. after 612 B.C.), shows a cock facing a hen or another cock, who is placed on a somewhat higher level. One wonders if the rather unusual composition of the Karmir-Blur seal, as illustrated, may be due to a combination of the cock from the latter scene with another popular Neo-Babylonian motif, the "goat-fish" (symbol of the god Ea).[5]

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[3]) In the Schlumberger collection, Paris. Eckhard Unger, *Assyrische und babylonische Kunst* (Breslau, 1927), fig. 72.

[4]) *Louvre* A 678.

[5]) E.g., *Corpus* nos. 783, 784, 788, 803.

A7. Carnelian, height 2 cm, from room 5, cut style. Two running bearded bird-men. Crescent moon above the wing of one bird-man, six-pointed (Venus?) star above the wing of the other.

The cursive, but lively composition with its many diagonals is comparable in subject to *Corpus* no. 633, a linear-style seal dated on stylistic grounds to around 800 B.C. and to *VR* no. 711, a frit seal from Assur closely related in execution to the cut-style cylinders. A seal of the same group, *VR* no. 722, was found in a context of around 800 B.C.

In style, the Karmir-Blur seal more closely resembles *Corpus* no. 733, a cut-style seal belonging to the period before, rather than after 700 B.C.

A8. One frit seal from Karmir-Blur shows in very simplified form, next to each other, a tree, an elongated blob with a dot near the top, then a vertical stroke and finally a moon crescent with two pendent tassels on a pole.

A8 is the only cylinder seal from Karmir-Blur which does not fit into eighth century B.C. Assyrian or Babylonian groups. The crescent standard with tassels is pictured, among other places, on an orthostat of Bar-Rakiba of Sam'al (modern Zincirli) as the symbol of the moon-god Sīn as worshiped at Harran in northwest Mesopotamia. It occurs so often on Mesopotamian seals as well (e.g., *Corpus* nos. 710–712) that this cannot serve as an indication of provenance.

The closest parallel to *A8* is a frit cylinder found in seventh century B.C. context at Tarsus in Cilicia.[6])

Without going so far as to call it Urartian, I may mention as another comparison for *A8* a late drilled-style seal of unknown provenance which also by its shape shows some relation to Urartian seals: *Corpus* 718, a stone stamp-cylinder, height 2.1 cm. The design, mostly in straight lines cut with a blunt tool, includes some drillings. The sides show only four cult symbols, in extremely simplified form: a crescent-moon standard with two streamers stuck into a base, a tree, an eight-rayed sunburst above a folding altar and a seven-star constellation.

The bottom is engraved with a T made up of double lines. From the intersection diagonal lines descend to the horizontal base line and on top are two dots next to each other. The motif looks most like a pair of confronted sitting sphinxes, but relation to the Urartian winged disk (cf. e.g. C19) is not altogether excluded.

In conclusion, one may say that the iconography of the true cylinder seals found at Karmir-Blur is very close to that of Assyrian cylinder seals of the ninth and eighth century B.C. and quite different from that of the stamp-cylinders and stamp seals to be discussed below, whose repertory is much more independent of Assyrian prototypes. It is difficult to decide whether this contrast reflects a sequence in time, namely an era of cultural dependence upon Assyria before c. 840 B.C.,

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[6]) Hetty Goldman ed., *Excavations at Gözlü Kule*, Tarsus *III* (Princeton, 1963), p. 353, pl. 163, no. 19.

followed by a period of Syrian influence in the time of Urartian expansion toward northwest Mesopotamia and north Syria (c. 810–745 B.C.) – or whether the contrast is only one between foreign and local customs and styles.
In *KB* I (1950), p. 77, Piotrovskii went so far as to declare all pierced cylinder seals then uncovered by him to be Assyrian imports. In *KB* III (1955), p. 58, he expresses the more cautious view that some of them undoubtedly are of Assyrian or Babylonian provenance, but others may be of Urartian manufacture.
If one attempts to date the longitudinally pierced cylinder seals from Karmir-Blur on the basis of comparison with Assyrian and Babylonian types, they seem to belong mostly to the period before, rather than after 700 B.C. (only no. *A*5 may have to be attributed to the seventh century B.C.). In other words, they must have been brought to Teišebaini with other heirlooms from Er(e)buni.

B. LONGITUDINALLY PIERCED CYLINDERS OF LOCAL STYLE FROM KARMIR-BLUR

*B*1. Steatite, height 4 cm, from room 5, linear engraving. Two horned animals with swayed backs and protruding hindquarters look back and flank a tree growing from a knoll marked with grid-like hatching. Their legs are half-folded (as if about to collapse), with the wrist and ankle joints pointing in opposite directions.
*B*2. Steatite, preserved height c. 2 cm, from room 5, linear engraving. An animal with straight legs and triple-forked tail is followed by an animal similar to those in no. *B*1 above. Below the latter is a plant shaped like a four-pronged stemless fork (Piotrovskii interprets this scene as a mare with her foal among shrubs).
It is difficult to adduce close parallels for the style of cylinders *B*1–2. One is remotely reminded, however, of the horses on the early first millennium B.C. cylinder seal from Tepe Siyalk, Iran[7]) and of the stags with elongated muzzles and U-shaped antlers, painted on early Phrygian kraters of around 800 B.C.[8])
Possibly the feeling of distant relationship one gets from these comparisons has a basis in fact, if seals nos. *B*1–2 can be considered as products of the native population of the Araxes basin, similar in living habits to their seminomadic neighbors in Asia Minor and Iran, to whose lands the Urartians brought hydraulical engineering and consequently agricultural wealth after 800 B.C.

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[7]) Roman Ghirshman, *Fouilles de Sialk* II (Paris, 1939), pp. 63, 220; pls. XXX, no. 5; XCVI, no. S 810.

[8]) Ekrem Akurgal, *Phrygische Kunst* (Ankara, 1955), pls. 4–5.

C. STAMP-CYLINDERS* AND STAMP SEALS

With the stamp-cylinders and stamp seals we come to a group of seals displaying specifically Urartian characteristics. Certain reasons lead one to believe that the stamp impression was considered the essential mark of property or authenticity, the cylinder rolling being a refinement added by higher officials in deference to a tradition or fashion still felt to be foreign. These reasons are:

1. Many seals of stamp-cylinder shape have traces of engraving only on the bottom, not on the side;
2. stamp seals of non-cylindrical shape (conical, hemispherical, disk-shaped, scaraboid) were more widespread than stamp-cylinders, to judge by the numbers excavated at Karmir-Blur;
3. circular seal impressions slightly outnumber rollings of cylindrical seals, at Toprak-Kale (15 : 14) as well as at Karmir-Blur (4 : 2);
4. rollings of cylinder seals are accompanied by stampings of the circular bottom in all cases where a complete bulla or tablet is preserved.

It is therefore suggested that the smaller seal impressions, which contain only a cylinder rolling or a stamp imprint, are actually incomplete impressions of stamp-cylinders and accordingly the rollings on clay from Toprak-Kale and Karmir-Blur (which incidentally display specifically Urartian characteristics) are discussed below rather than with group A above.

The preference of the Urartians for the stamp prefigures the development of sealing habits in Mesopotamia. In seventh century B.C. Assyria, when the vast resources of Syrian craftsmanship were finally harnessed to supply the Assyrian Empire with necessities and luxuries, stamp seals began to appear side by side with cylinder seals, and in sixth century B.C. Babylonia and fifth century B.C. Persia stamp seals far outnumbered the cylinder seals.

1. *Linear-Style Stamp-Cylinders and Stamp Seals*

This group is related in shape to Syrian and Anatolian stamp-cylinders and stamp seals of the second millennium B.C. and akin in style of engraving to the linear-style Assyrian seals of the ninth-eighth centuries B.C. Since Urartian relations with Syria are known to have been closest in the period c. 810–745 B.C., this group is probably to be placed mostly in the eighth century B.C. It should, however, be kept in mind that the seals excavated at Karmir-Blur stand artistically on a much lower level than the seals – now lost – with which the impressions from Toprak-

*) Following R. D. Barnett in JHS 68 (1949), p. 10, I use the term stamp-cylinders for cylinder seals which have a design engraved on the base and a means of suspension at the top.

Kale and Karmir-Blur were made.[9]) It is conceivable that the two styles represent different levels of the population – folk art and court art – rather than successive periods of time.

We may first mention three seals in which winged genii appear, the first clearly recognizable as such, the second much abbreviated and the third almost unrecognizable.

C1. *KB* III, fig. 43, no. 25, a stone stamp-cylinder, height 3 cm, from room 36. On the sides two lions are engraved sideways, head to tail. All four paws are shown, and their bodies are hatched in herring-bone fashion. Between their backs, in upright position, stands a winged genius with square headdress, raising one arm and holding a branch pointing downward with the other. Because of the lack of space his back leg is shortened. Between the lions' paws appears a tree, hardly more than a branch growing out of a triple cross.

On the bottom is a winged goat (?) with half-folded legs and horn ending in a wedge.

C2. *KB* II, fig. 22, no. 20, a stamp-cylinder, height 2.3 cm, found in the same jar as the preceding seal. The sides show a four-winged genius, his hands raised and his head reduced to a mere pin-head, facing a horned animal in an extraordinary squatting attitude. Turning the design upside down, the animal looks more like a frog or lizard or even a beheaded man. The bottom, also difficult to interpret, may be based on a design like that of C16 or C1.

C3. *KB* III, fig. 43, no. 26, a stone stamp-cylinder, height 3 cm, found in a small room off a corridor behind the large storerooms. The sides show, in an extremely simplified linear technique, a tree with descending branches ending in buds that point up, flanked on the left by a genius with descending wings, raised rake-shaped hands and triangular head, and on the right by a winged lion or griffin which seems to be holding something in its beak.

The bottom shows a winged animal with half-folded legs, somewhat comparable to that on C12.

We may next consider a group for the arrangement of which we take the development of the winged sun disk as a guide.

C4. *KB* I, fig. 45, no. 1, a stone stamp-cylinder, height 4 cm, from room 24. In this first seal, the elements of the engraving have been reduced to few straight lines, meeting mostly at right angles: a "sacred" tree with three lanceolate buds pointing up and two more pointing diagonally down is flanked by winged genii.

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[9]) This is by no means an unusual situation at ancient habitation sites in western Asia. Cf., e.g., *Mission archéologique de Mari II: Le palais*[3] (by André Parrot, Paris, 1959), p. 146 (Mari on the Euphrates in eastern Syria, destroyed c. 1750 B. C.); Erich F. Schmidt, *Persepolis* II (OIP 69, Chicago, 1957), p. 42 (Persepolis in southern Persia, destroyed 332 B. C.). Apparently the finer seals, carved out of semi-precious stones, were less easily lost, discarded, or stored away.

As their owners were usually buried with their seals, it is mostly in cemeteries and tombs that Near Eastern seals of higher quality have been found.

The genius on the left is eagle-headed, the one on the right has what is probably meant to be a human head with a headdress having spike and horns. The genii raise one hand and with the other hold omega-shaped forks with the prongs down. Whether these are misunderstood "pollen" buckets (which one would expect in a scene involving genii and sacred tree) is doubtful, as the streamers of the sun disk are similarly represented (see below). At the foot of the tree are a fish (?) and a scorpion, and the terminal motif is a zigzag with three short branches at the top, perhaps representing a horned snake.

The bottom shows a sun disk whose wings are surmounted by a dot, from which two tendrils stretch sideways, ending in hooks. The design intended is doubtlessly the same as the extended volute seen on top of the winged disk on the lid of the steatite vessel in Pl. VIIb and on the bronze furniture leg in Pl. XVIIa. Between the diagonally feathered wings and the solid trapezoidal tail two diagonal streamers emerge, ending in omega-shaped forks. Below are some unintelligible signs and a lying animal or prone human being (Piotrovskii interprets this as a beheaded man by comparison with an unpublished seal from Haikaberd near Astvadzashen). An Assur figure in a winged halo of much more naturalistic style, but containing the same elements – curling tendrils above, wavy streamers ending in omegas below – is shown on the seal of Mušēzib-Ninurta, grandson of a northwest Mesopotamian vassal of Assurnasirpal II (Samanuha-šar-ilani of Šadukanni) and therefore to be dated about 825 B.C.[10]) A similar date may be attributed to the seal *C4*.

C5. *KB* I, fig. 46, no. 2, a black steatite stamp-cylinder from room 16, height 4.2 cm. The sides have traces of engraving, too faint to be drawn. The bottom shows a simplified version of the sun disk of *C4*, with streamers ending in square forks, and below, facing right, an animal (which I take to be a horse) with a crest of mane at right angles to his tall neck.

C6. *KB* II, fig. 22, no. 16, a frit disk-shaped seal, diameter 2.3 cm, found in a jar in room 25. On one side is a "horse" much like the one on the preceding seal, but with legs half-folded, accompanied by crescent, V-shaped wedge and X-shaped star. The scene is framed by a border of dots.

The other side shows two "horse" protomes joined together and striving in opposite directions, with crescent, tree and +-shaped star above and a bar on six legs below. Piotrovskii regards the monster as a (portable) altar supporting the sacred tree (cf. *E3* below), but on the following seal the fantastic animal appears without the tree.

C7. A bell-shaped stone stamp seal (preserved height 2.3 cm) was excavated in 1951 in a cist grave at Akko near Talin in Soviet Armenia together with a bronze fibula, two red-ware vessels and some carnelian beads (*KB* II, fig. 23).

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[10]) Eckhard Unger, *Assyrische und babylonische Kunst* (Breslau, 1927), fig. 46.

The bottom shows two "horse" protomes joined together and walking in opposite directions in an attitude typical of horses. Above is a crescent moon and below a seven-rayed star.

Such double animals are not entirely unknown in other parts and periods of Western Asia. Several Mesopotamian and proto-Elamite examples date to the Guti period (c. 2180–2125 B.C.)[11]) or earlier. One might also point for comparison to the eagle with two lions' heads, found on Syro-Cappadocian seals of the Old Assyrian period (c. 1950–1750 B.C.).[12])

C8. *KB* II, fig. 22, no. 22, a rounded conical stone stamp seal, height 2 cm. It was found in storeroom 28 in a storage jar together with many small bone, wood, and metal objects, paste and carnelian beads, and seals C2, C16 and C26 (a frit stamp seal with damaged, unidentifiable engraving not discussed here). The bottom shows a single "horse" like on C6, in an even more linear style, with forked tail, accompanied by a crescent.

C9. *KB* II, fig. 22, no. 7, a rounded conical stone stamp seal, height 2 cm, from room 25. The animal engraved on the bottom is simplified in the extreme (neck and body form one bar, to which the legs are joined at right angles), but an additional dash may represent a wing.

C10. *KB* III, fig. 43, no. 31, a bell-shaped stone stamp seal, height 2.5 cm, from room 36 (Pl. XXXVa). The animal engraved on the bottom has crest, half-folded legs and bent-up tail and, in addition, a wing with hatched feathers. Above is a crude crescent and below a rudimentary star or plant.

C11. *KB* III, fig. 43, no. 30, a bell-shaped stone stamp seal, height 2.7 cm, from room 36 (Pl. XXXVb). The bottom shows a winged griffin (?) with half-folded legs and bird's tail, accompanied by crescent moon and a semi-circle of seven rays: either an abbreviated sunburst or a plant. Except for the bird's tail, the design is quite similar to C10.

C12. An almost identical seal is in the Von Aulock collection.[13]) It is made of brownish serpentine and 2½ cm high.

C13. *KB* I, fig. 46, no. 3, a concave cylindrical stamp seal, height 2.8 cm, from room 13. The bottom shows a bird of prey accompanied by a crescent. Although the design is close to C14, the back part of the body is trapezoid, like the bottom of the sun disks, and must represent a bird's tail. The deeply-gouged seals (group D) often show the animal's limbs similarly disposed.

C14. *KB* I, fig. 46, no. 5, a concave cylindrical frit stamp seal, height 1.7 cm,

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[11]) Henri Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London, 1939), pl. XXVb.

[12]) *Corpus*, no. 901.

[13]) Hans Henning von der Osten, *Altorientalische Siegelsteine der Sammlung Hans Silvius von Aulock* (Studia Ethnographica Upsaliensia 13, Uppsala, 1957), no. 103.

from room 13. The bottom shows a winged animal with two long straight horns and half-folded legs.

C15. *Corpus* 839, a gray marble stamp-cylinder, height 2 cm, provenance unknown, is more truly linear in technique but related to the preceding seal by the motif engraved on the sides. The latter show two winged animals, of which one seems to be a crested or horned griffin like on C14. The bird (?) on the bottom has a trapezoid tail like that on C13.

C16. *KB* II, no. 21, a bell-shaped frit stamp seal, height 2.75 cm, found in the same jar as C8 (Pl. XXXVc). The bottom shows an eagle with long neck, long, half-folded legs and splayed tail, accompanied by crescent and wedges.

C17. *KB* II, fig. 25. Although hardly a seal in the conventional sense, this stone bar, square in section, with bronze suspension loop, length 16 cm, from room 28, has a design on the bottom which may have served to seal property: above is the winged sun disk, with a zigzag outline at the top, to the left a griffin with zigzag wing bending over an egg-shaped object, and to the right again a "lizard", to which may also be compared the hieroglyph on *KB* III, fig. 3.

C18. *KB* III, fig. 42, no. 24, a five-faceted stone stamp seal (probably worn as an amulet), height 3.3 cm, from room 36 (Pl. XXXVI). The design, although quite linear, reflects much more faithfully than the other seals of this group the official art of the Urartian kingdom. The main side facet shows a four-winged, apparently beardless deity in long robe and ascending posture standing on an animal (bull?) and holding up a trident-shaped branch (lightning fork?) with both hands. On the adjoining facet to the right (in the impression) a winged genius faces him, with one hand raised and the other stretched forward. Below him is a plant. The third facet (proceeding in the same direction) shows the winged disk, now decomposed into an element resembling a balance (disk and volutes) and an elongated triangle (the wings) joined to the trapezoid tail. The streamers end in simple forks, mirroring the simplified hands of the kneeling four-winged bull-man, who makes the gesture of the sky-supporting Atlas in North Syrian iconography (see chapter VII, p. 134). The fourth facet, closing the procession of fabulous creatures toward the main deity, shows a walking winged stag over a plant. The bottom of the stone is engraved with an even more decomposed sun disk over a damaged form (two-horned animal?).

Piotrovskii's drawing and description, which were made from the stone, not from its impressions, are misleading in a number of respects, but his interpretation of the deity as the god Teišeba may still stand.

C19. *Corpus* 1103, a stamp-cylinder of smoky topaz, height 1.5 cm, provenance unknown, is included here because the design incorporates a "decomposed" sun disk intermediate between C18 and C22. In engraving technique, however, it comes close to group E: by use of the drill, as well as of the engraving tool, the figures have been given considerable body. Also the owner must have belonged

to the literate class of the population.
The sides show two griffin-demons flanking a sacred tree. Their hind quarters are leonine, not human as in the case of the Assyrian eagle-headed genii, cf. *E6* below. Only their arms are human. One hand is raised, the other holds a lotus blossom. A third wing comes forward from their waist. The multiple branches of the tree curve down in typically Urartian fashion and the intermediate sections of the trunk are rhomboid. Above, a six-rayed star and a crescent moon are seen and at the foot of the tree a minute pine tree (?). The terminal element is a hieroglyphic inscription of four signs, which is repeated on the bottom below a sun disk consisting from top to bottom of: three drillings next to each other (corresponding to the scales-like design on the preceding seal), segment-shaped wings with dot in the middle, and trapezoid tail with diagonal dashes for the streamers.
C20. *KB* II, fig. 22, no. 19, a stone stamp-cylinder, height 3.5 cm, from the same jar as *B7*. On the sides, two winged beings confront each other. The one on the left seems to wear a crescent on his head and the goat in front of him may be intended as his mount. The one on the right lifts one hand and has the other close to a bucket, which he is perhaps holding. Between them is an altar with flames (?) and higher up a crescent and a branch. Behind the figure first mentioned stands a man with squarish headdress and long robe, from which one leg emerges. He holds a tall tree with drooping branches, a well-known Urartian motif: a stone block with iron inlay from Toprak-Kale[14]) shows a similar figure holding a similar tree. The bottom shows a winged sun disk with forked streamers over a lion.
C21. *Armenien II*², p. 549, a stone stamp-cylinder from Toprak-Kale, of which a rolling is shown. If there is any engraving on the bottom (as is likely because of it being shaped like a weight), it is not mentioned.
A figure in long robe with rounded headgear and a quiver with long tassel (?) on his back, raises one hand in prayer and has his other hand stretched near a vessel, which he is perhaps holding in a ritual. He stands before a tree as in the preceding seal, which in addition has a round element at the top and is stuck into a base. Behind this tree, on a taller base, are three round-topped stelae. One is immediately reminded of the cult arrangement near the group of tombs on the slope of Altin-tepe (Pl. VIIa),[15]) and wonders if the tree with drooping branches is perhaps symbolic of death.
C22. *KB* I, fig. 54, bottom, a paste scaraboid stamp seal, found in room 18 near a group of bronze cups, is mentioned here because it shows a sun disk very similar to that on C19. In shape and technique it is closer to the paste scaraboid found with it and included in the same illustration, which has deeply sunk signs intended for a few common Egyptian hieroglyphs ("sun", "beauty" and "truth").

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[14]) *Armenien* II², p. 548.

[15]) AJA 66 (1962), p. 79, pl. 19, fig. 5.

C23. *KB* III, fig. 43, no. 32, a stone bell-shaped stamp seal, height 2.7 cm, from room 36 (Pl. XXXVd). The deep engraving shows a lion with half-folded legs, accompanied by a branch.
C24. *KB* II, fig. 22, no. 10, a frit bell-shaped stamp seal, height 1.5 cm, from room 25 (Pl. XXXVe).
Deeply engraved: two denticulated concentric rings with a dot in the center.
C25. *KB* III, fig. 43, no. 28, a bone stamp-cylinder, height 2.8 cm, from room 36. The engraving on the sides is not clear, but seems to include a tree.
On the bottom one sees a maze of sharp-toothed forms, not fitting into any recognizable design.

2. *Deeply Gouged Style* (Fig. 17)

A few seals excavated at Karmir-Blur and some of the impressions found at Toprak-Kale are carved by deep gouging, which gives considerably more body to the figures represented than the linear style. The deep gouging seems to constitute a style by itself. The bold forms created by this technique are differentiated by fine hatching.
D1. *KB* I, fig. 47, no. 8, a baked clay bell-shaped seal, height 1.6 cm.[16]) It had apparently broken at the loop during use and fallen into a vessel containing millet in a small building in the court of the citadel near the west façade of the palace. The engraving consists of a few deep gouges, so that the forms created by the impression stand out in high relief, with planes meeting at sharp angles. Probably the texture of feathers etc. was indicated by hatching these gouges. An eagle is represented, perhaps flying, but more likely the legs are spread in such a way as to evenly fill the space below the body, a scheme which also underlies the following seal designs.
The eagle holds a twig, a small crescent moon appears above. One is somewhat reminded of the griffin holding a scepter on the embossed bronze sheet from Karmir-Blur.[17])
D2. *KB* (unpublished, Pl. XXXVIIc), a stamp seal, diameter 1.9 cm, close in technique to the linear style but giving an imprint in very high relief, with additional use of the drill. The design consists of a winged, bird-tailed lion with half-folded legs, accompanied by a crescent.
D3. *Armenien I*, p. 358 shows a more mundane version of the same motif. The lion has a bull's horn and hooves, and there is an eight-rayed star or sunburst in front of him.

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[16]) If the seal is drawn to scale like the other seals in *KB*, this must be a misprint for 2.6 cm.

[17]) *VT*, p. 225, fig. 71. Photograph in Wissenschaftliche Annalen 6 (1957), p. 844, fig. 10: Pl. XXXb.

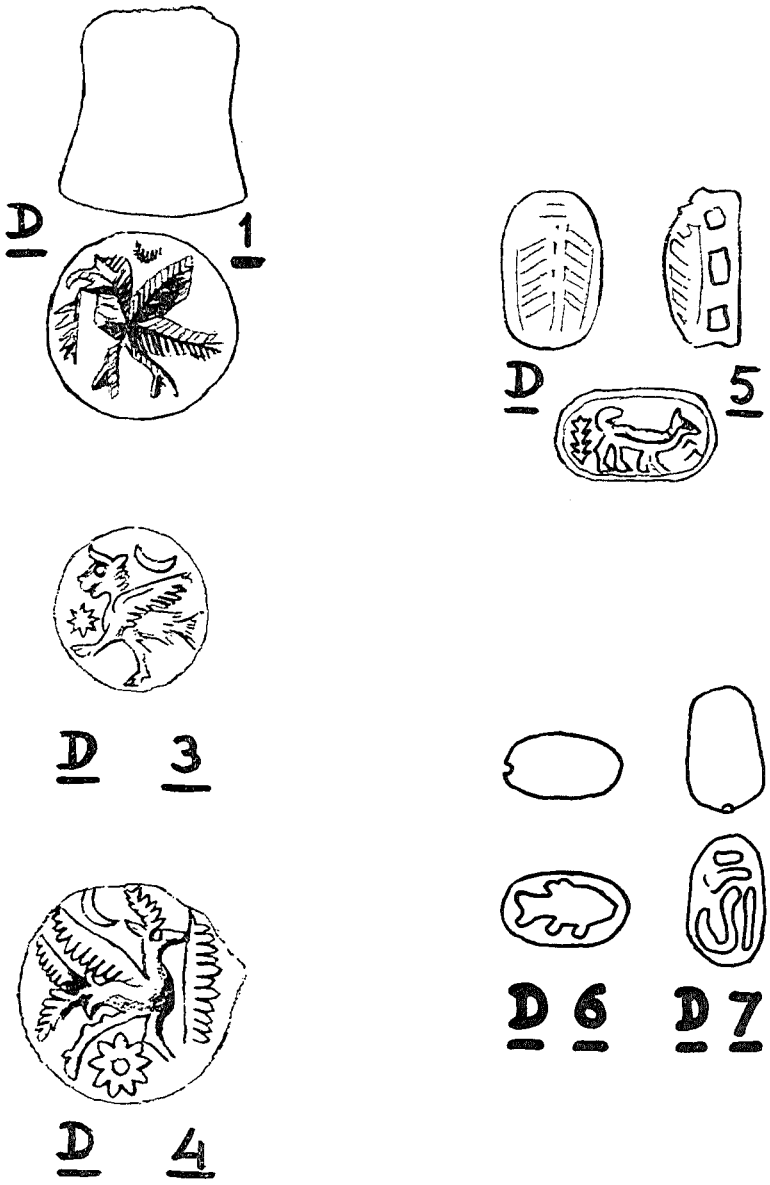

Fig. 17 Drawings of seals and seal impressions from Karmir-Blur and Toprak-Kale (after KB I–III and Armenien I–II²)

D4. *Armenien I*, p. 115, also an elegant design, but in the same deeply gouged style and with the same basic scheme of composition: a winged animal with bird's tail and legs spread wide apart, eminently suited to fill the roundel of the stamp impression. This time the animal is a stag and holds a very large branch in its mouth. Above is the crescent moon and below the eight-rayed sunburst.
D5. *KB* III, fig. 43, no. 34, a scarab with branching ridges on the back indicating the articulation of the beetle's scales, and heavy ridges on the sides representing his legs. On the bottom a wolf (?) between a tree and some wedges, is rendered in a deeply gouged technique.
D6. *KB* III, fig. 41, no. 19, right, a scaraboid stamp seal from room 36, has a fish engraved on the bottom in full-bodied relief.
D7. *KB* III, fig. 41, no. 19, left, found together with the preceding seal, has only a few snake-like gouges.

3. *Royal and Official Seals* (Figs. 18–20)

A number of seal impressions have been found on tablets or lumps of clay which once secured the entrances to storage rooms etc. They were made with seals carved, probably from semi-precious stones, in a careful, lightly modeled style, with a preference for tall, slender forms and mostly horizontal and vertical lines underlying the composition. Of this type of seal, no actual sealing stones have been found.
Examples of this style are*
E1. *Armenien I*, pp. 56, 222, *II*, 1, pp. 15, 34, 166, 198, possibly all rollings of the same seal:
Under a sun-shade held by an attendant stands the king. The attendant is beardless, with long hair, and wears a flat cap topped by a ball – a headgear unknown in Assyria. The king, dressed – as far as can be seen – in the same way as an Assyrian king, and leaning with his left hand on a vertical stick, lifts his right hand in prayer or reverence before a relatively large blank space, in which a lion, reaching only to his waist, walks away from him. Whether this lion is part of a cult installation – say, a shrine of the god Haldi – is not clear. The evidence from the slight traces on the various impressions is conflicting: on I, p. 56 and II, 1, p. 15 it looks as if the lion were facing some kind of structure, but from II, 1, pp. 166 and 198 one would guess that a human being in a short kilt is walking in front of the lion. However that may be, the next element (perhaps the terminal) is definitely a trident standard. Lehmann-Haupt himself corrects the impression given in volume I, pp. 56, 222 (where the center prong is no more than a knob) in volume

*) All the seals illustrated in Lehmann-Haupt's work were found by him in the excavations at Toprak-Kale.

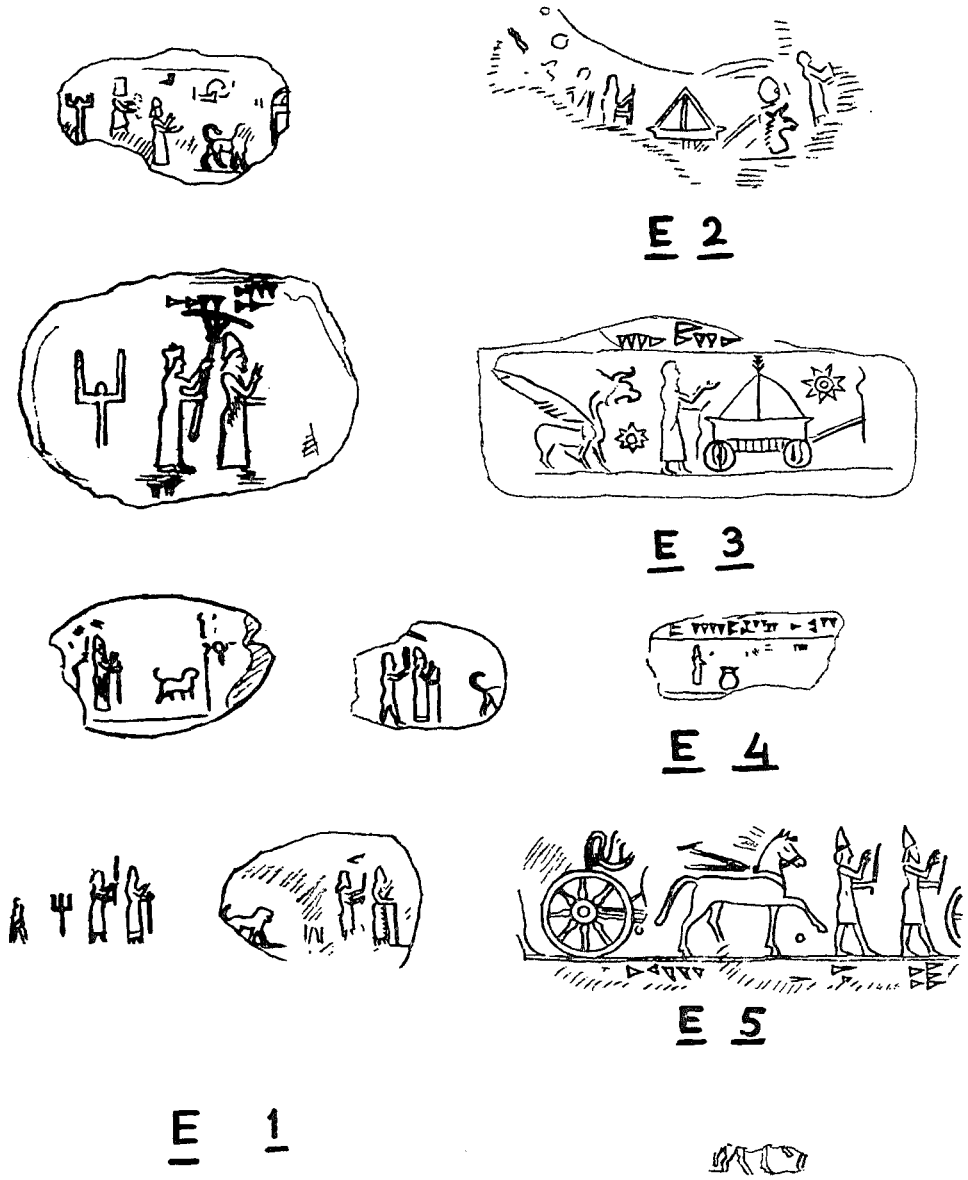

Fig. 18 Drawings of seals and seal impressions from Karmir-Blur and Toprak-Kale (after *KB* I–III and *Armenien* I–II²)

II[18]) and states that closer investigation has shown all three prongs to be of equal length as shown in volume II, 1, p. 166 (conceivably the lightning fork of the god Teišeba, cf. the bronze helmets from Karmir-Blur with five-pronged forks in relief.[19]) Note, however, that one of these was dedicated by Argišti I (c. 785–760 B.C.) to the god Haldi).

E2. Another cult scene involves a pole with leaves still growing from the top, set up on a wagon with solid wheels.[20]) The yoke is shown in a vertical resting position, with the beam connecting it to the front axle placed diagonally. One version, *Armenien* II, 1, p. 94, seems to show, again, an Urartian king very similar to his Assyrian counterpart, followed by an attendant (probably holding a sun-shade). The terminal is formed by a hieroglyphic inscription: a bull's head surmounted by a round object.

E3. The other version of the same scene, *Armenien* II², p. 580, (found four times on the clay envelopes of contracts), has what appears to be a bare-headed worshiper leaning on his bow, and a winged lion with curved (bull's?) horn as a terminal. In the field is an eight-rayed sunburst and a smaller, similar star. The inscription (Ru-)sa-ni points to one of the kings named Rusa, perhaps the earliest of these, Rusa I (c. 735–714 B.C.). This supposition would seem to be confirmed by the shape of the sunburst, which has almost disconnected triangular rays like the linear-style Assyrian seals, which belong to the ninth-eighth centuries B.C.[21])

E4. On a seal of which only a few of the preserved traces are intelligible: *Armenien* II, 1, p. 245, a figure similar in outline to the Urartian king seems to stand in front of a large vessel, which may be either part of another cult scene (cf. C21 above) or perhaps brought to him by tribute bearers.

The inscription says: É. KIŠIB // Ru-. . ., translated: "Storehouse of Rusa" or "of Rusahinili".

E5. A procession involving an eight-spoked chariot preceded by two helmeted infantrymen is seen in *Armenien* I, p. 261 and probably again on a tiny fragment II, 2, p. 583. The chariot box has a curious curved outline.

Because of the tense, very decorative pose of the horse, Lehmann-Haupt thought it was rendered in a dance and therefore interpreted the soldiers' sticks as musical instruments. In view of similar scenes, e.g. on the bronze doors of Shalmaneser III

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[18]) *Armenien* II², pp. 580–582.

[19]) *KB* I, p. 59, fig. 38, III, p. 25, fig. 16.

[20]) A bronze wagon the size of a large toy was in the collection of the French Dominican Mission at Van and might have been a cult instrument from the Haldi temple at Toprak-Kale (*Materialien*, p. 93, note 3), unless it was simply a portable charcoal burner, as Barnett thinks (Iraq 16 (1954), p. 10).

[21]) *Corpus* 610, 612 etc. This is in apparent contradiction to the recent view that Toprak-Kale was founded by Rusa II, see pp. 20, 139.

from Imgur-Bēl (modern Balawat),[22]) one would rather expect the warriors to be carrying maces or spears, and lifting one hand in a gesture of reverence toward the king or, perhaps, in a prayer of thanks for a victory granted by the gods. The eight-spoked wheels point to the period from the reign of Tiglathpileser III in Assyria (744–727 B.C.) onward.

The inscription appears to say: Ru-(sa-a-)i, translated: "Of Rusa".

E6. A tablet from Karmir-Blur[23]) shows two griffins performing the "pollination" ritual on a sacred tree, with another such tree forming the terminal design (Pl. XXXVIIa).

In contrast to Assyrian renderings of such scenes, the griffins have animal (lions') hindquarters as well as eagles' heads and wings. Only their arms are human. Their eyes are large, their beaks wide open (cf. the ivory plaques from Toprak-Kale[24]) and Altin-tepe) and the crest along their necks and the back of their wings stands out as a separate line. The sacred tree has round (pomegranate-type) and lanceolate (lotus-bud type) fruits growing from branches which curve in such a way that their ends all point up. The intervening sections of the tree trunk are shaped like diamonds and its base is hemispherical.

The inscription along the top says ^{I}Ru-sa-a-i ^{I}Ru-sa-hi, "of Rusa son of Rusa" and, as is customary on Urartian seals, the inscription continues along the bottom KIŠIB LÚ A.NIN-li "the seal of the crown prince (lit. son of the lady, i.e. of the king's principal wife)".

On the same tablet there is a stamp impression, quite possibly from the bottom of the cylinder that made the rolling, representing a winged animal with small body, narrow waist and tall, thin legs, accompanied by a ball in front and a crescent above. Probably the creature represented both here and on *E13* is another genius, in the shape of a human torso rising out of a winged quadruped, and holding a bucket like the semi-divine creature on the wall painting from Altin-tepe.

The seal rolled on the tablet shown on the right in *VT*, pl. XXXIII is very similar but not identical. There is less detail on the eagle-headed genii and the branches of the sacred tree bend down very low before pointing up at the end. The inscription on this rolling says ^{I}Ru-sa ^{ID}Sar$_5$-du-ri "Rusa (and) Sarduri" and apparently dates to a coregency of Rusa II and Sarduri III around 650 B.C.

(Above (p. 148, no. C19) I have already referred to the seal *Corpus* 1103, which is closely related to *E6* both by its motif and by the fact that it carries an inscription (which, however, is in hieroglyphic, not cuneiform script). The sun disk on the

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[22]) *Ass. Pal. Reliefs*, pls. 141, 169.

[23]) *VT*, pl. XXXIII, also illustrated in Wissenschaftliche Annalen 6 (1957), p. 848, fig. 13.

[24]) Iraq 12 (1950), pl. XV (Pl. XXXIII b).

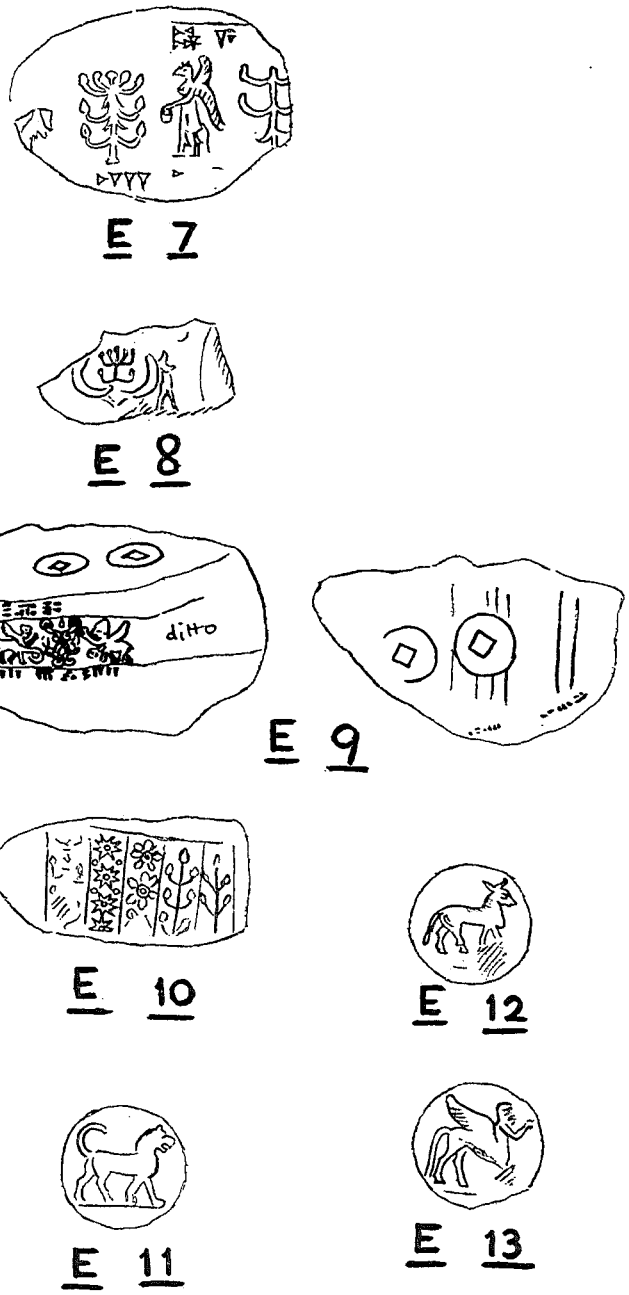

Fig. 19 Drawings of seals and seal impressions from Karmir-Blur and Toprak-Kale (after *KB* I–III and *Armenien* I–II²)

stamping surface, on the other hand, connects it with group C, in which I have treated it).

E7. The impression *Armenien* I, p. 323 is from a very similar seal. If the minor differences in the drawing of the tree are due to misinterpretation of the blurred outlines, it may actually be an impression of the same seal.

E8. The scene on *Armenien* II, 1, p. 109 also involves a sacred tree with five upward pointing buds next to each other at the top and two more growing from branches in the middle. This tree top is dwarfed by a bracket of very large volutes into which it is stuck – such is the impression one gathers from the drawing, which may, however, be misleading. To the right stands a naked or kilted man.

E9. The clay sealing from the door of the small grain storeroom no. 5 at Teišebaini (*KB* III, fig. 7) shows the rolling of a cylinder with a sacred tree flanked by two walking sphinxes. The tree's principal elements are two pairs of S-volutes ⋋⋌ above each other. At the top a lanceolate lotus bud grows between two circular pomegranates. The sphinxes seem to have human hands raised toward the tree, in addition to the four animal legs on which they are walking, and a very large curl comes down from their shoulders to fill the space between human arm and animal foreleg.

The inscription says I-ni . . . É . . .^{I}Ru-sa-hi, translated: "This is . . . of Rusa's . . . house", and is written above the scene from the center to the left (in reverse on the impression) and below the scene from the center to the right.

On the same clay sealing there is a stamp impression, possibly from the bottom of the cylinder that made the rolling, and showing only the circular outline of the seal and the square impression of the metal bar on which it was mounted.

E10. To conclude the cylinder impressions which all seem to belong to the carefully carved, thinly modeled style apparently preferred by royalty and officials, *Armenien* I, p. 380 shows five elongated panels (if both end panels were not so dissimilar in the drawing, one would be tempted to ascribe this rolling to a five-faceted seal, square in section, of the type illustrated in *KB* III, fig. 42 (no. C18 above). The five panels show, respectively:

a sacred tree with upward-pointing tiny buds on angular branches growing from a trunk with diamond-shaped sections;

eight-rayed sunbursts, one above the other, with little balls as fillers;

six- and seven-petaled flowers;

a simple tree with branches curving out and up, and rounded fruits;

a simple tree with branches pointing diagonally up, and lanceolate buds or leaves.

A number of stamped seal impressions from Toprak-Kale show the same carefully carved, thinly modeled style apparently favored by royalty and officials:

E11. A lion, similar in outline to that on *D1* above, is seen on the stamp *Armenien* II^{1}, p. 222: the animal walks over a ground-line with legs symmetrical, neck erect,

back horizontal and tail decoratively curled. This motif, one of the hallmarks of Urartian art, occurs e.g. on the shield of Sarduri II.[25])

E12. A bull, drawn in the same "royal" Urartian style, appears on *Armenien* II[1], p. 54. Characteristic are the forward sweep of the single visible horn, offset by the backward movement of the ear, the mane divided into strands at right angles to the neck, the bulky forequarters enclosed in a triangle formed by the outlines of neck, chest and belly and the symmetrically disposed legs, which lend a dancing air to the heavy animal. All these features recur on the shield of Sarduri II.[26])

E13. The human-headed winged quadruped on *Armenien* I, p. 306 has the taller, thinner hooved legs of the horse on *E5* above. We may therefore be justified in calling this figure a centaur, the more so since he has human arms – one of which he raises – in addition to the animal feet on which he stands. One is reminded of the six-limbed sphinxes on *E9* above.

In Mesopotamian art six-limbed creatures are extremely rare, the bald, bearded lion-centaur on a very fine Middle-Assyrian seal[27]) being a notable exception. Lion and griffin centaurs also figure prominently on the early Scythian gold scabbard from Kelermes on the Kuban,[28]) which clearly shows Urartian influence and is dated by Piotrovskii around 600 B.C.

E14. The stamp seal impression *Armenien* I, p. 165 has a winged horned lion in a prancing pose – hindlegs vertical and forelegs horizontal – accompanied by a five-flowered plant below and a crescent moon above. The stance of this creature, including the curious little vertical horn, is exactly paralleled on a bronze belt found at Zakim near Oltu, north of the Erzurum-Kars road.[29]) More indirectly, one is reminded of the silver boss from Ziviyeh,[30]) which would place this piece too in the latter part of the seventh century B.C. An additional argument for a late date is the octagonal outline of the impression: nine-faceted stamp seals usually belong to the Neo-Babylonian period in Mesopotamia.[31]) The disintegration of the Urartian kingdom, and consequently the destruction of its cities, is thought to have taken place between 609 and 585 B.C.[32])

A number of smaller stamp seal impressions from Toprak-Kale defy close analysis,

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[25]) *KB* III, pl. X (Pl. XXV b).

[26]) *KB* III, pl. XI (Pl. XXV a).

[27]) *VR*, no. 581.

[28]) *VT*, pls. LII-LIII (pls. XXXVIII-XL).

[29]) *VT*, p. 249, fig. 85 (Fig. 15).

[30]) *Le trésor de Ziwiyè*, p. 117, fig. 109 (Pl. XLII).

[31]) E.g., *Corpus* 795–798, 802, 804–806, 808–809.

[32]) *VT*, pp. 116, 127.

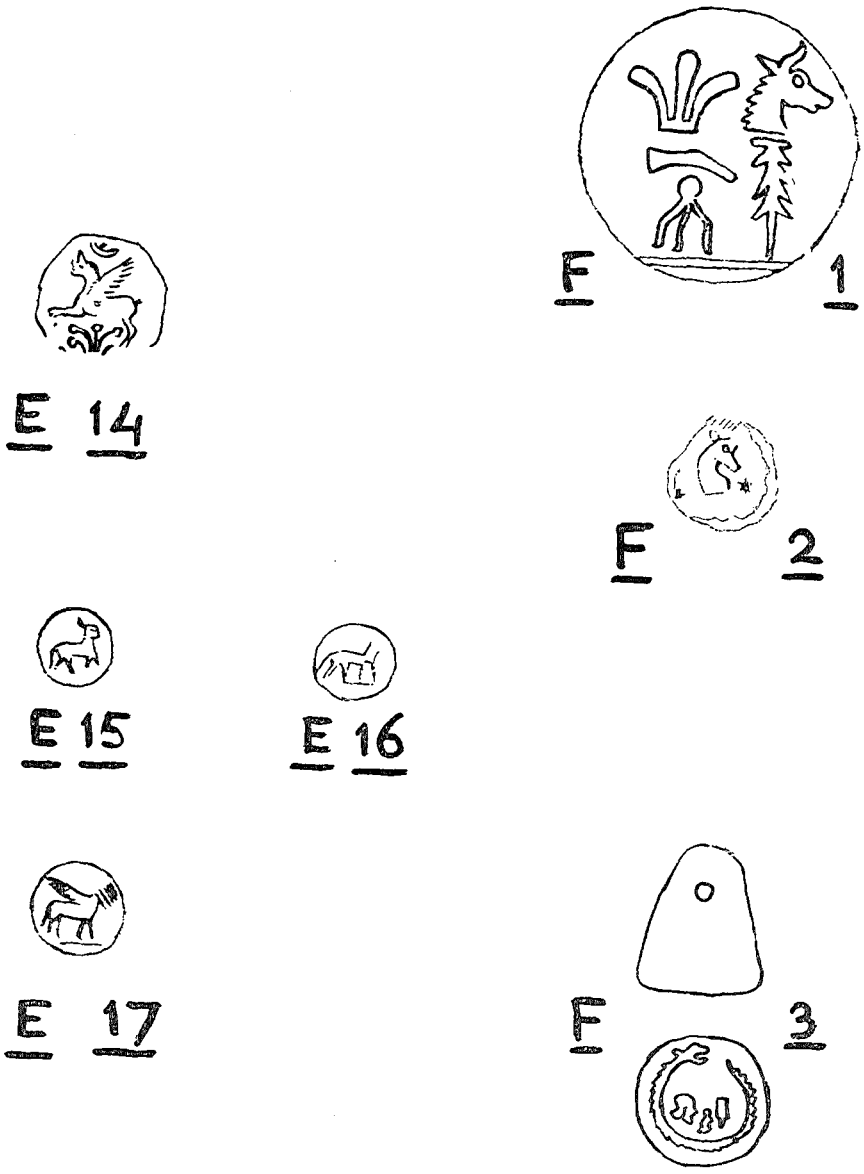

Fig. 20 Drawings of seals and seal impressions from Karmir-Blur and Toprak-Kale (after KB I–III and Armenien I–II²)

but would seem likewise to belong to the late court style, characterized by thin modeling and elegant outlines:
E15. *Armenien* II², p. 582: a walking bull or calf.
E16. *Ibidem* II², p. 583, above: an animal with short neck and long tail, perhaps a fox or wolf.
E17. *Ibidem,* II¹, p. 288: a winged animal.

4. Hieroglyphic Group (Fig. 20)

A few seals and impressions with inscriptions in Urartian hieroglyphs form an intermediate group, the carving of which is dictated by the need for legibility and therefore does not permit stylistic analysis.
F1. *Armenien* II², p. 833 shows plant motifs, what may be an axe and a bull's head as seen in the inscription on *E2* above.
F2. *Armenien* I, p. 500 shows a bull's head accompanied by two stars. It is difficult to tell whether this head is intended as a writing sign or as an abbreviated equivalent for the walking bull as a seal device.
F3. *KB* II, fig. 22, no. 9, a rounded conical stone stamp seal, height 2 cm, from room 25, shows a bearded head with long hair curling up in the neck and two unidentified objects, enclosed by a snake who seems about to bite his tail (Pl. XXXVf).

5. Drilled Style Stamp Seals (Fig. 21)

Designs related to those of group *E* are seen on impressions evidencing pronounced use of the drill.
G1. *Armenien* I, p. 199 shows a lion closely resembling *E11* above, but his paws consist of three tiny spherical drillings arranged like clusters of berries. The spurs of his joints are likewise indicated by tiny drillings. A similar use of the drill for lions' paws (which occur already in the second millennium B.C.)[33] is seen on a Babylonian seal of the time of Sargon or later, but pre-dating Nebuchadnezzar.[34]
G2. *Armenien* I, p. 241 shows a bull somewhat like *E12* above, but with clear marks of the drill at the tip of the muzzle. The horn and the ear have probably been misinterpreted by the draughtsman as forming a crescent-like pair of horns.
G3. *Armenien* I, p. 180 shows an unusual motif: a deity with spiked headdress sits on a stool, raises one hand in blessing and stretches the other in acceptance toward a lion-headed genius (or lion-masked priest?), who raises one hand in

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[33]) See note 27.

[34]) *VR*, no. 735.

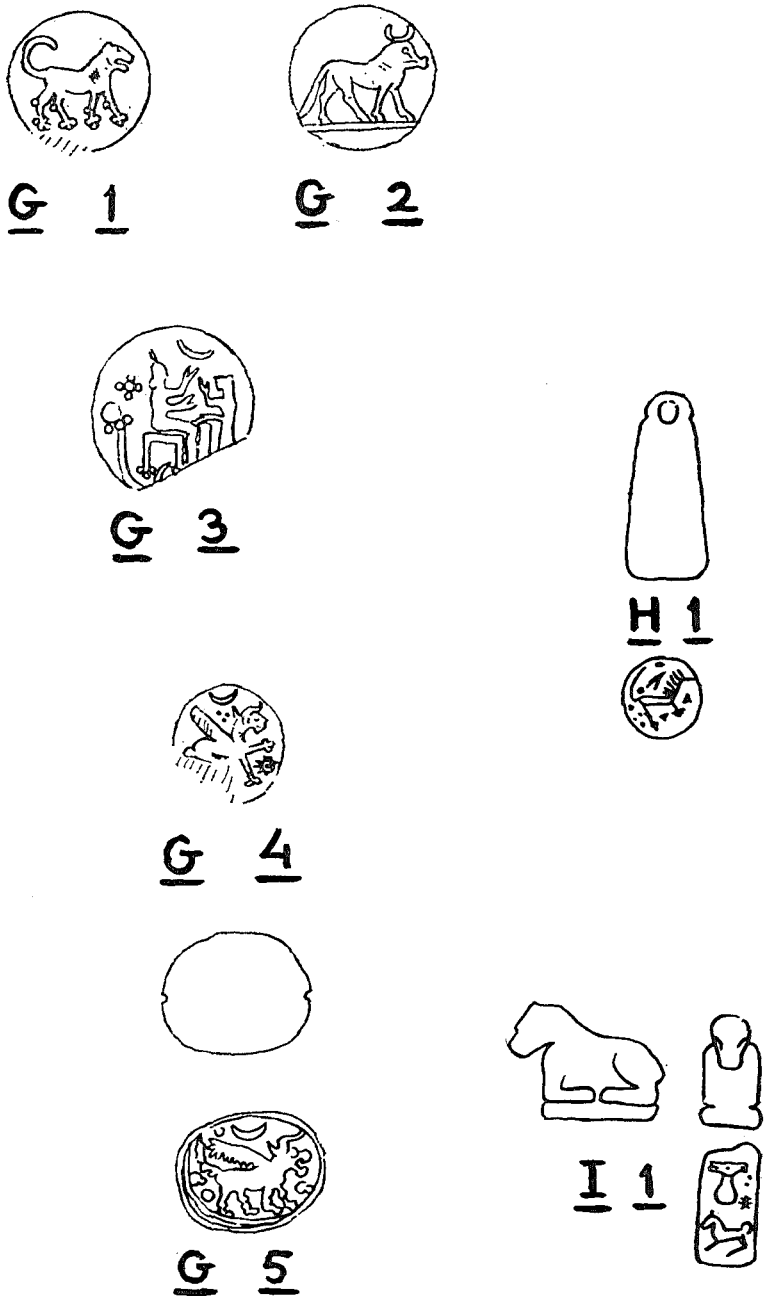

Fig. 21 Drawings of seals and seal impressions from Karmir-Blur and Toprak-Kale (after *KB* I–III and *Armenien* I–II²)

prayer and with the other seems to be placing an offering on a tall narrow stand. Above this scene appears a crescent moon and behind the deity an astral body consisting of five drillings. Lower down is a flower consisting of four drillings on a long stem. The legs of the stool end in clusters of three drillings like the lion's paws in G1.

G4. *Armenien* II[1], p. 345 (= II, 2, p. 686) shows a winged lion with a horn like a bull's and clover-leaf paws like G1, accompanied above by a crescent moon and three drillings (stars?) and in front by an eight-rayed sunburst. The section containing his tail is broken.

G5. *KB* III, fig. 43, no. 33, a chalcedony scaraboid, length 2 cm, from room 36, shows a walking creature of the same type: winged lion with bull's horn and scorpion's tail, accompanied by a crescent moon.

In the iconography of first millennium B.C. Mesopotamia, this animal is the mount of the archer god who pursues the lion-headed eagle, characterized by two forward-pointing straight eagle's ears and eagle's tail.[35]) The lion-headed eagle traditionally symbolizes the recalcitrant clouds which are forced by the storm-god to give forth rain. This storm-god could be Adad (whose equivalent in Urartu would be Teišeba), but more likely it is the chief god Enlil-Aššur/Marduk himself (the Urartian counterpart would be Haldi), in view of the fact that Adad with his lightning appears as the helper of the archer god on the seal of Ninurta-bēl-uṣur.[36]) In the seal we are discussing the monster's head, limbs and tail are made up almost entirely of spherical drillings, and more drillings or clusters of drillings serve as fillers.

6. *Stamp-Cylinders Combining Large Drillings with Linear Details* (Fig. 21)

H1. *KB* I, fig. 46, no. 4, a stone stamp-cylinder from a room in the northwest corner of the citadel, height 3 cm. The sides have traces of deeply engraved winged quadrupeds. The bottom shows a "horse" like that on C5, with long tail bent up and legs ending in wedges. More wedges and dots act as fillers.

Dr. Porada kindly showed me a rolling, probably taken from the sides of this seal. It shows winged quadrupeds whose rumps consist of a few large drillings. The limbs were added by engraving, but are almost effaced owing to the worn condition of the seal.

H2. Of somewhat different style and especially related to D2 is an unpublished stamp seal from Karmir-Blur, diameter 1.3 cm, which shows a walking eagle (Pl. XXXVIIb). Its body consists mainly of two large drillings next to each other, but

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[35]) *Corpus* 689–690.

[36]) *VR*, no. 595.

the wing and the widely spread, long legs are lightly engraved in a more linear technique. The head with its long beak is elegantly shaped, and tiny drillings are seen at the eye and at the single visible knuckle of each claw. This last feature is closely paralleled on *D2*.

H3. *Corpus* 838, a felsite stamp-cylinder, height 1.9 cm, provenance unknown, may also be put into this group because of the combination of large drillings with linear carving. The sides show two winged quadrupeds walking, of which one certainly is a bull. The bottom seems to represent a winged horned animal, lying down.

7. *Bull-Shaped Stamp Seals* (Fig. 21)

I1. In the same grave as the seal *C7*, a stone seal in the shape of a lying bull was discovered, length 2.3 cm. (*KB* II, fig. 23). The engraving on the bottom makes use of curving outlines, but is comparable to group C in the half-folded legs of the lion. The sun disk, of unusual shape, has a tiny dot in the middle and is accompanied by two dots and a seven-rayed star.

Bull-shaped seals are relatively frequent in late Assyrian times, and apparently also in Urartu.

I2 and *I3*. Two more bull-shaped stamp seals from Karmir-Blur are illustrated in *IU*, fig. 81. Their stamping surfaces would seem to be engraved in a more linear style than *I1*. The scene engraved on *I2* is difficult to interpret (it might be a winged sun disk above a human figure). *I3* shows a winged quadruped with crest or bristling mane, not unlike that on *C11*.

As in most other manifestations of Urartian material culture, the superficial resemblance of the seals to the corresponding Assyrian material is what strikes the eye first. But upon more detailed investigation the differences become evident and force us to see the cultural relation between the two rival powers in a different light.

The cities of Assyria were undoubtedly the busiest centers of cultural activity in the ninth to seventh centuries B.C. and many of the innovations of the Assyrians were followed by their neighbors, but new features were by no means always passed on from south and east to north and west.

A case in point are the sealing stones, which in south Mesopotamia traditionally had the shape of a cylinder, pierced longitudinally so that they could be either worn on a string around the neck, or mounted on a metal pin with caps, one of which had a loop for attachment to a necklace or the like. In order to obtain a seal impression they had to be rolled.

North Mesopotamia, Syria and Anatolia, on the other hand, had an even older tradition of using stamp seals to mark property and, as attachment of a metal loop was less practicable on such an object, part of the stone would be fashioned into a suspension loop.

rollings alongside with stampings on Early/Middle Bronze pottery from Byblos[38]) and Hama[39]) point to the existence in third millennium B.C. Syria of stamp-cylinders,[40]) which even spread to the Aegean.[41]) A bone example was found on Lemnos.

Cylinder seals made in Syria under Mesopotamian influence in the early third millennium B.C. have suspension handles or loops bored at the top.[37]) Decorative In the second millennium B.C. stamp-cylinders make their appearance in Anatolia, obviously under Syrian influence.[42]) Instead of a loop, the suspension attachment on the few very fine extant pieces is elaborated into a pierced hammer-shaped handle. A variant has a square bottom surface and four rectangular facets, instead of a continuous cylindrical surface, on the sides.[43]) These stamp-cylinders, part of which must date to Old Hittite times,[44]) are far outnumbered by the disk-shaped seals, with or without handle, of the Hittite Empire,[45]) but their popularity may have lingered on, perhaps in the southern part of Anatolia.

Some support for this view may be derived from the fact that at Tarsus, in levels dating to the Middle Iron Age (c. 850–700 B.C.), one stamp-cylinder was found,[46]) engraved in a style somewhat reminiscent of the "deeply gouged" style (section *D* above). The scene engraved on the sides (worshiper before winged disk above sacred tree; rampant goat facing archer) includes only one feature related to Urartian art: the sacred tree is framed by an enclosing line resembling the outline of a stele. The scene engraved on the bottom (horned animal suckling its young; plant before horned animal) has the same even distribution of animals' limbs and filling motifs found on Urartian stamp seals.

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[37]) Robert J. Braidwood et al., *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch* I (OIP 61) (Chicago, 1960), fig. 254.

[38]) M. Dunand, *Byblia Grammata* (Beyrouth, 1945) figs. 21–22, pl. VII.

[39]) O. E. Ravn, *A Catalogue of Oriental Cylinder Seals* (Copenhagen, 1960), nos. 118–123.

[40]) More complete references are given by J. L. Benson, *Aegean and Near Eastern Seal Impressions from Cyprus, Aegean and Near East*, pp. 59–77, expecially pp. 60–61.

[41]) Machteld J. Mellink in BiOr 10 (1953), p. 60.

[42]) Henri Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London, 1939), pp. 247, 285–288, pls. II: N, XLIII: N-O; *Louvre* A927 (bought at Aydin, Turkey), A 1008.

[43]) *Hittite Seals*, p. 21 and 22 (B6), fig. 20A, pl. VII, no. 196.

[44]) Edward L. B. Terrace, *The Art of the Ancient Near East in Boston* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1962), note 12.

[45]) *Hittite Seals*, pp. 22–23 (III 1–2), pl. VII, nos. 188–194, 197. With handle: Louvre A968, 970, 974, 986, 988, without handle: *Louvre* A987, 1015, 1049.

[46]) Hetty Goldman, ed., *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus* III (Princeton, 1963), p. 350, pls. 162, 165, no. 6.

As a result (so I would suggest) of close relations with north Syria and the Taurus area in the eighth century B.C., stamp cylinders and stamp seals knew a considerable vogue in seventh century B.C. Urartu. Of the forty-nine seals excavated at Karmir-Blur, thirty-eight had stamping surfaces (see the introduction to section C on p. 106).

At the end of the eighth century B.C. Assyria, too, entered into closer contact with Syria. Apparently as a result of Syrian influence, stamp seals then began to appear in Mesopotamia, growing in popularity until they replaced cylinder seals in the Achaemenian period.[47])

In the case of the sealing stones, as in so many other aspects of Urartian civilization, we see that rather than a direct borrowing by Urartu from Assyria there must have been a parallel development of a common cultural heritage, to which Syria and the northern fringe of Syria and Mesopotamia had contributed almost as much as Mesopotamia itself.

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[47]) *Corpus*, p. 96.

IX. CONCLUSIONS

In this summary I will try to survey briefly the main characteristics of Urartian art which have emerged in the course of the present study.
A very distinctive trait of this art is its division in what I have called a court style, to which belong most of the objects here discussed, and a popular style. The latter style is mainly represented by the designs of the bronze belts from graves presumed to have been those of persons not closely connected with the Urartian court, that is of commoners or provincials.

A. CHARACTERISTICS OF URARTIAN ART

1. *Court Style*

1. As the principal feature of the court style I would cite the strong influence of architecture on sculptural forms, even in the minor arts.[1]) Perhaps owing to the accident of discovery, a large part of the Urartian works of art in bronze and ivory known to us served at the same time as decoration and as structural members of pieces of furniture (Pls. XI–XVIIa, XXXIII–XXXIV). This latter function was not camouflaged, but on the contrary emphasized by giving such members very elongated, almost geometric forms, even when they represented human beings.

2. A preference of the Urartian court style for horizontal and vertical lines may be related to the influence of architecture suggested above. This preference may be noted not only in three-dimensional works of art, but also in stone reliefs, embossed and engraved metalwork, etc. (pp. 74, 116, 120; Pl. XXV, XXIXb; Fig. 9). We have drawn special attention to the underlying scheme of horizontals and verticals in the reliefs from Adilcevaz, representing gods standing on their mounts, and in the bronze shields and helmets dedicated by various Urartian kings to the god Haldi and showing rows of proudly striding lions and bulls.[2])

3. While the predominance of horizontal and vertical lines may be connected with the very essential part played by architecture and engineering in Urartian culture as a whole, the same shields also show a preference for more intangible

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[1]) I have suggested on p. 95 how this influence may have made itself felt.

[2]) Whereas animals' anatomies are effectively exploited, there seems to be little concern for the human anatomy, which mostly becomes an excuse for ornamental detail (Fig. 9).

qualities of nobility and elegance, which is another outstanding feature of Urartian court art. These qualities of nobility and elegance are actually achieved by a variety of artistic formulae regulating details of execution, and resulting in very restrained, collected poses and highly decorative effects.

The same formulae can be seen at work, e.g., in the chariot horses depicted on bronze helmets (Pl. XXIXb) and on seal impressions (*E5* on Fig. 18).

4. In several instances we have had occasion to draw attention to the predilection of the Urartians for fantastic composite creatures and to their boldness in joining parts of human beings and animals together into combinations unknown in Mesopotamia, to which the Urartians owed the bulk of their culture.

Examples given for this tendency were the six-limbed creature made up out of a lion's or bull's (or perhaps even horse's) body and a human torso. This creature occurs in a wall-painting (p. 67), in bronze furniture elements (Pl. XIV) and on a seal (drawing to *E13* on Fig. 19). Other examples are the eagle-headed bull (Pl. XIII), the four-legged eagle (Pl. XV), and the winged and bird-tailed stag (drawing to *D4* on Fig. 17), to mention only a few.

We will see below that popular Urartian art went even further in the invention of new creatures of fantasy.

5. Urartian art is further distinguished by a number of very definite patterns of stylization, which have little significance in themselves, but permit us to classify some works of art of unknown provenance as Urartian and, in others, to identify features which must have been borrowed from Urartian art.

Among such features I would name the divine headdress of cylindrical shape with flatly applied sinuous horns (Fig. 8; Pl. XIV). It is often surmounted by a small disk engraved with the symbol of a heavenly body (Fig. 9; Pl. XIXb). The comparable Assyrian headdress has a taller cylindrical cap with its height further enhanced by a row of upright feathers.

In the human features we have noted the very rounded shape of the female faces into which a tiny mouth is deeply embedded (Pls. Xb, XXIIIb). Human hair is rendered in horizontal ridges, engraved with vertical zigzags (Pls. XXIIIa, XXXIIIa).

Lions' features are characterized by the sharply drawn up corner of the muzzle, contrasting with the sagging center part of the muzzle, and the sharply drawn up corner of the eyelids, contrasting with the sagging center part of the eyelids (Pls. XIb, XIXa, XXVb). On certain lions (perhaps lionesses or lion cubs), there is also a peaked line running from the ears (which always have a "wart" on the earlap) to the center of the forehead (Pls. XIXa; Fig. 16).

Urartian bulls have a number of characteristic features, especially the sinuous horns, which "dip" as if ready to gore (Fig. 9; Pls. XXIIa, XXVa).

In addition, the tail bent at an almost right angle, has a bushy end emerging from a double volute (Pl. XXVa).

Double volutes and pairs of brackets occur at the bases of sacred trees (Figs. 14,

19), pomegranates, and rosettes (Pl. XXa). Occasionally they are also seen on a divine headdress, carrying the symbol of a heavenly body (Fig. 9).
In Urartian art such brackets and volutes function specifically as supporting members. They are therefore in a class with the wreath of drooping leaves or petals seen in three-dimensional objects of Urartian art (Pl. XVIIb, XXXIVc). Sacred trees carry spear-shaped buds or leaves (Fig. 9), or pomegranates (Fig. 14), or both at the end of their branches. These branches sometimes are wavy, pointing up diagonally (Fig. 8), but more often they curve sideways and then up, so that all fruits are vertically placed (Fig. 9; Pl. XXXVIIa). The trunks of these sacred trees are built up of geometric elements, among which lozenges and circles are especially favored (Pl. XXXb).

6. One of the most striking facts about the Urartian court style is its continuity. During the two centuries of its existence (c. 800–600 B.C.), very little change is visible. As an example of this persistence of stylistic features we have earlier cited the bronze shields dedicated by various Urartian kings. Between the lions represented on the shield of Argišti I (c. 786–764 B.C.) (Fig. 13) and those represented on the shield of Rusa III (c. 625–609 B.C.) (Pl. XXVIa) there is very little difference. A slightly more cursory execution and, most of all, greater slenderness in the proportions of the lions is all that distinguishes the latter from the former. This is in striking contrast to Assyrian art, which underwent a considerable development from the ninth century to the seventh century B.C., especially in the representation of lions.
That there was also great uniformity of style from one region to the other, can be seen, e.g., in the bronze bulls' heads attached to cauldrons and found from Altin-tepe on the western confines of the Urartian realm (Pl. XXI), to Guşçi in the east (Pl. XXIIb).

2. *Popular Style*

Whereas Urartian court art is notable for the uniformity of its style, regardless of differences in time and place, the popular style, exemplified by the bronze belts found mostly in the graves of Urartian commoners or provincials, varied from place to place (Pl. XXXb, XXXI; Fig. 15).
Nevertheless, we can establish certain common characteristics, which follow below.

1. In the use of some elements derived from the Urartian court style, there is a tendency to lose sight of the original meaning. Pairs of bracket-shaped branches are taken from the sacred tree design and joined to form a diagonal network, dividing the surface of the belt into a number of lozenge-shaped sections (Fig. 15). Where two branches meet, they are curled up, forming a double volute.
On the other hand, the chain of lozenges and circles, originally forming only the

trunk of the sacred tree, now also occurs by itself, apparently standing for the sacred tree (Pl. XXXb).

2. In the invention of fantastic creatures, filling the lozenge-shaped sections in these belts, the popular imagination went even further than Urartian court art. Winged horses, centaurs, and birds with human heads and legs are among the new creations (Fig. 15; Pl. XXXI).

3. An especially prominent feature in the decoration of these belts is the prevalence of galloping creatures, pictured in what I would call a "prancing" pose (Pls. XXXa, XXXI; Fig. 15). It occurs occasionally in Urartian court art, e.g., the horsemen on the helmet of Argišti I are shown in this position (cf. Pl. XXIXa), in which the horse's hind legs are on the ground, its rump is placed horizontally and its forelegs are raised. In the decoration of the belts, the pose is further exaggerated by extending the forelegs horizontally, and it is used not only for the horses (of which the pose is most characteristic), but for other animals as well (e.g. the lions) (Fig. 15; Pl. XXXI).

One winged and horned lion in this pose occurs also on a stamp seal impression (see drawing to *E14* on Fig. 20), suggesting that this motif was also adopted in the court art of Urartu.

Why did the Urartians, for whom these belts were made, show such an absorbing interest and delight in this prancing pose? No doubt because they were a horse-riding people and because such feats of physical coordination, which can only be achieved by a well-trained horse, have a beauty that was particularly congenial to them.

That horse-riding was an important and highly esteemed feature of life in Urartu is indicated by an inscription near Toprak-Kale (*UKN*, no. 110), in which king Menua (c. 810–786 B.C.) recorded that from that spot the horse named Arṣibi, with king Menua as its rider, had jumped twenty-two cubits (about 11.44 m). In Assyria, on the other hand, Assurbanipal (668–627 B.C.) was the only king who ever had himself pictured on horseback.[3]) Of all the new, naturalistic formulae worked out by Assurbanipal's sculptors, it was probably the lively rendering of the horses' gallop which most appealed to visitors from Urartu and Iran, and which caused the greatest repercussion in the arts of these neighboring countries.

B. ORIGINS OF URARTIAN ART

1. Iconography. In view of the location of Urartu in the eastern part of Asia Minor, one might expect to find in Urartian art traces of influence from the art

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[3]) *Ass. Pal. Reliefs*, pls. 83, 84, 89.

of the Hittite Empire which flourished in the central part of Asia Minor about 1400–1200 B.C.

Similarities between Urartian and Imperial Hittite art do exist, but they are limited to the iconography of divine and semi-divine beings, perhaps due to similar religious and mythological beliefs rather than to direct imitation.

To name the most striking example, Urartian gods are shown standing on their mounts (Pls. VIII, XXXVIa; Figs. 9, 11, 14) as in Hittite art.[4])

Another popular Urartian motif, that of partly animal-shaped genii with both hands raised, holding up the sky (Pls. XXXb, XXXIIIb, XXXVIc), also occurs in Hittite art.[5])

On pp. 5–6 I have shown that the likelihood of any direct Hittite influence upon Urartu is small, because the two groups are separated by distances in time and space. But one should keep in mind that Imperial Hittite art is presumably a mixture of features which go back to Old Hittite times and features which were brought in by Hurrian influence (see p. 5). Moreover, most of Old Hittite art itself seems to have been inspired by north Syrian examples, brought to Asia Minor by the Assyrian traders in the Colony period (c. 2000–1800 B.C.). At this early time, north Syria and northwest Mesopotamia presumably already had a mixed Hurrian-west Semitic culture, so that Hittite art and literature had already at its beginning borrowed heavily from the more civilized Hurrians.[6])

It seems likely that features common to Hittites and Urartians, like the ones mentioned above, were derived in both instances from the Hurrians, who in the first millennium B.C. still surrounded Urartu on the west, south and (possibly) east, and spoke a language related to Urartian. Inasmuch as the languages and religions of Hurrians and Urartians point to a common origin in more distant prehistoric times, the iconographical formulae used by both may even reflect common mythological themes.

The first example of such a common feature named above, the custom of portraying the gods standing on their respective animal-attributes, is found not only in Imperial Hittite art but also in Syrian art,[7]) in Mitannian art,[8]) as a probably

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[4]) e.g., Ekrem Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter* (Munich, 1961), pls. 47 (steatite plaque from Alaca Hüyük), 77 (Yazilikaya rock relief); *Ugaritica* III, figs. 35, 69 (seals from Carchemish).

[5]) e.g., Akurgal, *op. cit.* in previous note, pls. 79c (two bull-men at Yazilikaya), XXI (relief at Eflatun Pinar).

[6]) Akurgal, *op. cit.* in previous note, p. 77, pls. 42–44. A text of Hattušili I (MDOG 91 (1958), pp. 78–84) tells how this Old Hittite king brought back a number of divine images from his victorious campaigns against the Hurrians. Such statuary may well have served as models for Hittite artists from then on.

[7]) e.g., *Corpus*, nos. 942–944, 967.

[8]) e.g., *Corpus*, nos. 1011, 1022.

Amorite feature in Old Babylonian art,[9]) and again in Urartian art.
I would suggest that it should be traced to Hurrian tradition. Although the evidence is slim, one might argue that their gods were actucally thought of having animal form in a not too distant past. The earliest extant Hurrian documents record the building, c. 2300 B.C., of a temple to "the Great Lioness".[10])
The other theme mentioned above as having often been pictured in Imperial Hittite and, later, in Urartian art – the partly animal genii holding up the heavens (like the Greek Atlas) – also occurs in Syrian art[11]) and in Mitannian art.[12]) It is likewise most probably part of the Hurrian tradition.

2. Architecture. Working mostly in stone, Urartian architects achieved a style of their own, independent of the mud brick architecture of Mesopotamia. As might be expected, parallels exist in the stone architecture of Syria and the eastern Mediterranean.
As mentioned above (p. 52), the use of rusticated masonry, which occasionally appears in Urartu, seems to have spread from Syria, where it is attested since the second millennium B.C.
The use of underground rock-cut stairways connecting the citadel to its water supply (pp. 40–41) has parallels both in Palestine[13]) and in Mycenaean Greece.[14])
The natural opportunities offered by the terrain in all these places perhaps explains this parallelism.
More indicative of a common cultural influence, with its center of distribution perhaps in Syria, is the custom of concentrating the reception rooms of a palace in the upper story, reserving the ground floor for work and store rooms. This arrangement is seen at Karmir-Blur (p. 56), at Alalakh in Syria[15]) and in Crete.[16])

3. Artistic Styles. In Urartu south of the Araxes, no works of art have been found that might indicate the previous existence there of a culture alien to the

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[9]) e.g., *Corpus*, nos. 507–512, 514.

[10]) André Parrot & Jean Nougayrol, *Un document de fondation hurrite*, RA 42 (1948), pp. 1–20.

[11]) e.g., *Corpus*, no. 941.

[12]) Edith Porada, *Seal Impressions of Nuzi* (Annuals of the American Schools of Oriental Research 24, New Haven, 1947), nos. 793–795. See also Helene J. Kantor's discussion of this motif in Calvin W. McEwan et al., *Soundings at Tell Fakhariyah* (OIP 79, Chicago, 1958), pp. 61–62.

[13]) At Megiddo in the 12th century B. C.; Kathleen Kenyon, *Archaeology in the Holy Land* (London, 1960), p. 234, pl. 48.

[14]) At Athens in the 13th century B. C.; Oscar Broneer, *A Mycenaean Fountain on the Athenian Acropolis*, Hesperia 8 (1939), pp. 317–429.

[15]) In the 18th century and again in the 15th-14th century B. C.; Sir Leonard Woolley, *A Forgotten Kingdom* (Harmondsworth, 1953). pp. 73–75, 105.

[16]) In the same periods: James W. Graham, *The Palaces of Crete* (Princeton, 1962), pp. 116–119.

Near East. Urartian art seems to have grown in an outlying, but nevertheless integral part of that larger cultural area of which Mesopotamia was the center and the leader.

To the latter statement I should add that a second center, almost as important, existed in Syria and Phoenicia. The sheer mass of craftsmen's products reaching the other parts of the Near East from that center heavily influenced both Mesopotamian and Urartian art.

That Mesopotamian and Urartian art each developed along different lines in some respects, is due to different preferences in the selection from a common heritage, rather than to a different cultural background.

Only north of the Araxes the proximity of alien cultures is noticeable in occasional items among the archaeological finds, e.g. the stone box with hunting scenes from Karmir-Blur and the seals of group B (pp. 79, 143). We have noted peculiarities in the execution of human faces, engraved on the helmet of Argišti I (c. 786–764 B.C., the conqueror of the area across the Araxes), which may also be explainable by this different cultural background (Pl. XXIXb).

In defining the Mesopotamian and Syrian ancestry of Urartian art, we can be somewhat more specific than we have been in the first two paragraphs of this section. The Mesopotamian art which served as the principal model of Urartian art was the Neo-Assyrian stone carving, painting and embossed and engraved metalwork of the reigns of Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) and Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.).

We have had occasion to refer to this phenomenon in discussing, e.g., the wall paintings in the palace at Arin-berd (p. 66) and the bronze helmets and quivers found at Karmir-Blur (p. 120).

To the very end, Urartian art remained true to the impressive, but somewhat inhuman standards set by the court of these first Neo-Assyrian kings. Nowhere do we find any trace of the more suave, wordly art of the reign of Sargon II (721–705 B.C.).[17]) nor of the growing interest in observed shapes and situations under Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.) and Assurbanipal (668–627 B.C.).[18])

The most striking illustration of this fact lies in the rendering of the king of beasts. In the series of lion hunt reliefs of Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.)[19]) the lions are magnificently decorative, heraldic creatures, in which the artist's imagination has enlarged all the most awe-inspiring features: jaws, teeth, fore-paws, and emphasized the swelling of neck, chest and knee-joints. True to a tradition

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[17]) E.g., Henri Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Harmondworth, 1954), pls. 96, 97, 119B.

[18]) Frankfort, *op. cit.* in preceding note, pls. 100–113.

[19]) *Ass. Pal. Reliefs*, pl. 26.

originating in the late second millennium B.C., the sculptor has stylized the muscles in intricate geometric patterns. Below the prominent, narrow ruff, the mane adheres closely to the body whose powerful curves are not obscured. On the "Black Obelisk" of Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.) the lions are still similarly rendered.[20])

Compared to the lions just described, those in the lion hunt reliefs of Assurbanipal (668–627 B.C.)[21]) are much closer to nature but also less effective as embodiments of menacing animal strength. Between the small mouth and the snub nose, the large upper lip seems somewhat expressionless. The large, fluffy mane obscures the powerful lines of chest and neck and gives a deceptively chubby look to the king of beasts. The muscles are sparsely indicated in rounded modeling, not sharply delineated.

In Urartian art of the eighth century B.C., lions are rendered in a manner comparable to Assyrian lions of the reigns of Assurnasirpal and Shalmaneser: on the shields of Argišti I (c. 786–764 B.C.) and Sarduri II (c. 764–735 B.C.) for Er(e)buni, recovered at Karmir-Blur (Pl. XXVb),[22]) the artist has enlarged jaws and paws and emphasized the swelling of neck and chest. The muscles are stylized in purely ornamental patterns, often ending in a spiral curl (Akurgal's "Ringelstil").[23]) In distinctively Urartian fashion, the animals proceed in solemn processional gait, legs symmetrical, neck erect, back horizontal and tail decoratively curled.

In this as in most other respects, Urartian art of the seventh century B.C. is simply a further development of trends seen in the preceding century: the lions on the shield of Rusa III (c. 625–609 B.C.) from Rusahinili (modern Toprak-Kale) (Pl. XXVIa)[24]) are not bulkier (like those of Assurbanipal), but on the contrary leaner than those on the shields just discussed. The spiral curls are absent, but the ornamental stylization of the muscles continues, and the swelling of neck and chest is even more pronounced, echoed by the boldly curving outlines of muzzle and paws (Akurgal's "Buckelstil").[25]) All the distinctively Urartian traits – symmetrical legs, erect neck, horizontal back and curled tail – have remained unchanged. This Assyrian influence must have made itself felt at the very beginning of the development of Urartian art, as is clear not only from the date of the Assyrian prototypes (883–824 B.C., as we have seen above), but also from the fact that the

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[20]) *Ass. Pal. Reliefs*, pl. 32.

[21]) *Ass. Pal. Reliefs*, pls. 54–100.

[22]) *KB* I, pp. 62–68, *VT*, pl. XXXIX.

[23]) *Kunst Anatoliens*, pp. 28–29.

[24]) *Kunst Anatoliens*, pls. 14–15.

[25]) *Kunst Anatoliens*, pp. 31–32.

two countries seem to have been at war with each other almost uninterruptedly from 832 to 673 B.C. (see chapter I).

The next most important influence noticeable in Urartian art is that which emanated from Syria and Phoenicia. To this influence we have ascribed the use of human, animal or mixed figures as supporting members in both bronze and ivory furniture decoration (pp. 95, 132; Pls. XIII, XV, XXXIV). (See the first characteristic feature discussed in the opening section of this chapter, A1).

Another feature which we have ascribed to inspiration from Syria is the proliferation of mixed animal shapes in Urartian art. It is through Syria that the sphinx (and, incidentally, the winged sun disk) entered Western Asia from Egypt.[26]) As early as the second millennium B.C., Syria showed a particular liking for such fantastic animals as griffins,[27]) winged and horned lions,[28]) lion-headed genii, eagle-headed genii and sphinxes with both a human and a lion's head.[29]) (Some of these creatures were common to Syrians and Hittites.)

Still another element in Urartian art which may be derived from Syrian and Phoenician art is the spear-shaped bud, growing on a stem either by itself or out of a calyx, which curls back to form a double volute. In Urartian art the bud alone occurs on sacred trees (e.g. on the slabs from Adilcevaz, Fig. 9), and between double volutes on bronze furniture decoration (Pl. XXa). The double volute also serves by itself as an intermediate supporting member (see the characteristic feature discussed under A5 in the first section of this chapter).

In Syrian and Phoenician art the bud by itself occurs only occasionally,[30]) but growing out of the double volute it is one of the hallmarks of that art.[31])

C. THE RELATION BETWEEN URARTIAN ART AND THE ARTS OF NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES, SUCCEEEDING IT IN TIME

In this final section we will investigate to what extent Urartian art left its imprint on the arts of neighboring peoples who were in close contact with them, such as the Scythians and the Medes.

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[26]) Henri Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Harmondsworth, 1954), p. 117.

[27]) Frankfort, *op. cit.* in preceding note, figs. 63, 68–69.

[28]) Frankfort, *op. cit.* in preceding note, fig. 68.

[29]) Frankfort, op. cit. in preceding note, fig. 57.

[30]) E. g., ILN Nov. 30, 1957, p. 934, fig. 2; Dec. 7, 1957, p. 968, fig. 1.

[31]) E. g., Henri Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Harmondsworth, 1954), figs. 65, 68–69, 89, pls. 166B, 168D, 170A.

1. *The Art of the Early Scythian Royal Tombs*

Among the earliest and most ornate works of art from South Russia are the gold scabbards from the Kelermes and Melgunov barrows.

The first of these[32]) was situated on a tributary of the Kuban river near Maikop at the Northern foot of the Caucasus. It contained the burial of a chieftain with his horses, a bronze helmet with gold and amber diadem of Ionian type (dated c. 600 B.C.), two gold bowls, a gold panther, an iron battle-axe with gold handle and finally a gold-hilted iron sword in a gold scabbard.

Melgunov's barrow (the "Litoi kurgan"), 20 miles southwest of Kirovograd between Bug and Dnepr,[33]) lies 900 miles as the crow flies northwest from Van. It contained a sword and scabbard almost identical to those from the Kelermes barrow, 40 three-winged tanged bronze arrow-heads of late seventh-early sixth century B.C. type, a gold and onyx diadem, 17 gold large-beaked eagles and 4 silver and gold furniture feet with drooping sepals.

The hilts and scabbards from the two Russian barrows (Pls. XXXVIII–XLIa) are decorated with typically Urartian sacred trees, the trunks consisting of diamond-shaped elements, the bracket-shaped pairs of branches alternately ending in pomegranates shaped like concentric circles and lanceolate lotus buds pointing up. On the scabbards are processions of composite animals embossed and engraved according to all the formulae of Urartian court art, as already noted in passing in the discussion of Urartian bronze shields (p. 118). As on these shields (Pl. XXV), the muscles visible on the outside of the animals' legs are stylized into a tulip shape, and the veins visible on the inside of their legs have undulating outlines. The bull's tail added onto the eagle-headed, human-armed, fish-winged, partly bull-hoofed lion has a bushy end emerging between two curls forming a double volute, just like the bulls' tails on the eighth century B.C. shields. Also the little lions which curl up to form the chapes of both scabbards have the unmistakable sagging muzzles and eyelids, raised to a point near the corner (Pl. XLIa).

What distinguishes the Kelermes and Melgunov objects from truly Urartian art is the fact that the animals are more fantastic than anything imagined in Near Eastern art: first, on the Kelermes scabbard, comes a dragon with snakes' head, mouflon's horn, eagle's claws, lion's hind legs, bull's tail and wing in the shape of a lion-headed fish. Next comes a lion with an extra pair of human arms, about to shoot an arrow from a bow. His hindquarters are a bull's and his wing is formed by a snake-headed fish. And so it continues with a rich repertoire of the zoomorphic

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[32]) M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (Oxford, 1922), pls. 7–9. Imperatorskaa arkheologicheskaa kommissia, *Otchet za 1904 g.* (St. Petersburg, 1907), pp. 85–97.

[33]) E. M. Pridik, *Melgunovskii Klad* (The Melgunov Treasure), MAR 31 (1911).

juncture (inorganic joining of animal forms) which was to become one of the hallmarks of Scythian art.[34])

The original motive behind this joining of animal forms is perhaps the desire to magically lend to the object so decorated all the powers proper to the various branches of animal life:[35]) the lion's courage, the bull's strength, the eagle's sharp eye, the snake's deathliness etc. It is an idea more often expressed in the literature than in the art of the ancient world.

Sporadic instances of zoomorphic juncture occur in Syria in the period 1000–700 B.C. One example is a sphinx with both a human and a lion's head, seen on a relief from Carchemish[36]) where the lion's head grows from the monster's chest while its tail ends in the head of a bird. As another instance we have mentioned above (p. 99) a bronze lamp of unknown provenance at Erlangen,[37]) which incorporates a typically Syrian capital and column base. The shaft of the column is replaced by a caryatid, and the tripod support ends in ducks' heads which spit out bulls' hooves. A similar object was found at Toprak-Kale (Pls. XVIII, XIXa).[38])

As in the case of the "siren" cauldrons (see p. 108), I would suggest the area from Commagene to Cilicia as a possible center of distribution of such works of art which seem over-ornate to our taste.

Urartian artists took delight in further elaborating the Mesopotamian repertoire of organically composed creatures (see above, chapter VIII, seals nos. *D3*: bull-horned and hooved, lion-headed bird, *D4*: stag-headed and hooved bird, *E13*: centaur), but the spectacle of heads coming out of shoulders, heads out of tails etc. may have revolted their sense of logic.

In the early Scythian period, to which the Kelermes and Melgunov treasures belong, the native elements of Scythian art – crouching stags, bears and lynxes and large-beaked eagles in bold, beveled relief, stylized with a preference for spiral, concentric-ring and lanceolate shapes – are all present, bearing witness to their deep roots in Scythian prehistory. They occur side by side with, but as yet uninfluenced by the highly fanciful inventions of the fashion for "zoomorphic juncture" (Pl. XXXVIII). The latter, however, found ready acceptance with a new generation of Scythians,

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[34]) Henri Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Harmondsworth, 1954), pp. 211–212.

[35]) I am here only sketching one of the several possible motives. A full treatment of this problem would of course require consideration of other motives such as the intimidating effect upon enemies and the apotropaic effect upon evil in general. Also, the virtues symbolized by the various animal species may vary from time to time and place to place. Sometimes certain creatures may actually represent specific mythological beings.

[36]) Ekrem Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter* (Munich, 1961), pl. 110; Edith Porada, review of A. Dessenne, *Le sphinx* in AfO 20 (1963), pp. 179–182, especially pp. 180–181.

[37]) Ludwig Curtius, *Münchener Jahrbücher der bildenden Kunst* 8 (1913), p. 1 ff.

[38]) *Armenien* II [2], pp. 483–523.

flushed by victory and the spoils of conquest and prone to ostentation, and it was the fusion of the two traditions which touched off the proliferation of weirdly disjointed animal life known as the Middle and Late Scythian animal style (c. 550–200 B.C.).

2. *The Art of Ziviyeh*

A third group of objects, from a point 250 miles southeast of Van, nevertheless betrays a similar origin by a few telling details: the treasure which reputedly tumbled out of a Mesopotamian-type bronze bathtub-shaped sarcophagus, near the top of a fortress-crowned mountain overlooking Ziviyeh, 28 miles east of Saqqiz in Iranian Kurdistan.[39])

The ivories and the tub of the Ziviyeh treasure may be dated about 730 B.C. The rest of the material could fit a seventh-century B.C. date for the burial.

Most of the goldwork is shallowly embossed and engraved in a provincial Assyrian style. Again, the hybridization of the fabulous creatures goes a bit further than Mesopotamian tradition would warrant. I would therefore tentatively call it Syro-Assyrian, i.e. perhaps made by a Syrian in Assyrian service. Of the two trapeze-shaped center-pieces for a gold-plated armor,[40]) the Cincinnati-Toronto-Hirshhorn piece is in this "Syro-Assyrian" style, with the sacred tree ending in a chain of offshoots, arranged fanwise in the Assyrian manner. The other piece (in the Archaeological Museum in Tehran and in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York), is as it were, its "Syro-Urartian" counterpart, i.e. perhaps made by a Syrian in Urartian service. It exhibits a number of features which are anomalies from the Mesopotamian point of view, such as prancing sphinxes, snake-mouthed griffins and, especially, the characteristic Urartian sacred tree with its bracketed branches going all the way to the top and all its fruits – pomegranates and lotus buds – pointing up. Other "Syro-Urartian" pieces are the griffin- and lion-head cauldron attachments.[41]) The lions' ears and hairlines are as described on p. 112. Purely Urartian may be the silver horse-trappings with zigzags[42]) and with a lean, prancing lion, with horizontal body and vertical hind legs (Pl. XLII).[43]) Perhaps

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[39]) André Godard, *Le Trésor de Ziwiyè* (Haarlem, 1950). In JNES 24 (1965), pp. 149–150, Pierre Amandry has restated the case for considering this a burial.

[40]) Charles K. Wilkinson, *Treasure from the Mannaean Land*, Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin 21 (1963), pp. 274–284.

[41]) Roman Ghirshman, *Le Trésor de Sakkez*, Artibus Asiae 13 (1950), fig. 16, p. 192.

[42]) Helene J. Kantor, *Goldwork and Ornaments from Iran*, Cincinnati Art Museum Bulletin 5 (1957), no. 2, p. 15.

[43]) Godard, *Trésor de Ziwiyè*, p. 117, fig. 109.

the gold bracelets with maneless lion cubs (Pl. XLIII)[44]), reminiscent of the ivory lions from Altin-tepe, should also be considered Urartian. The network of brackets on the gold belt (Pl. XLIb) may be compared to Fig. 15.
Scythian elements crop up incongruously in the crouching lynxes on the crescent-shaped pectorals[45]) and in the crouching stags on the revetment with a network of brackets, lion masks and ibexes (Pl. XLIb).[46]) Purely Scythian are the silver and gold dish[47]) with lynxes and eagle heads, the gold belt strips[48]) with the same features, and also the gold scabbard tip.[49])

3. *Median Art*

It has been claimed that Urartian art was ancestral to Persian art of the Achaemenian Empire. In this view it was the Medes who handed down the cultural heritage of Urartu, which they occupied around 600 B.C., to the Persians, by whom they in turn were subjected in 550 B.C.
In order to test the validity of this claim, we shall again take the rendering of lions as our guide, and analyze their appearance on the very few works of art which may tentatively be called Median.
In dealing with the origins of Urartian art above, we have contrasted the formal grandeur of the lions sculptured in Assyria under Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) to the less impressive, but more truthful renderings from the reign of Assurbanipal (668–627 B.C.).
It is to be noted that the great naturalism of Assurbanipal's lions is an isolated phenomenon. Outside of Assyria, we see it imitated only once, in a more provincial style, on the gold scabbard from the Oxus treasure,[50]) which must have belonged to a king of the Medes, probably Cyaxares (c. 633–584 B.C.).
At the same time as this court art with strong currents of naturalism under Assyrian impulse, a much more formalistic school of goldsmiths was at work in Media. O. M. Dalton, probably rightly, considered the shallow gold bowl from the Oxus treasure[51]) as a Median work of art. The scheme of a lion in side view,

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[44]) Wilkinson, *loc. cit.*, fig. 11, 13.

[45]) Godard, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–39, figs. 10–25.

[46]) *Ibid.*, p. 56, fig. 48.

[47]) Ghirshman, *loc. cit.*, p. 186, fig. 9–10.

[48]) Godard, *op. cit.*, p. 45, fig. 29.

[49]) Roman Ghirshman, *Iran* (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1954), pl. 10c.

[50]) O. M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus* (2nd ed., London, 1926), pl. IX.

[51]) Dalton, *op. cit.* in preceding note, pl. VIII, no. 18.

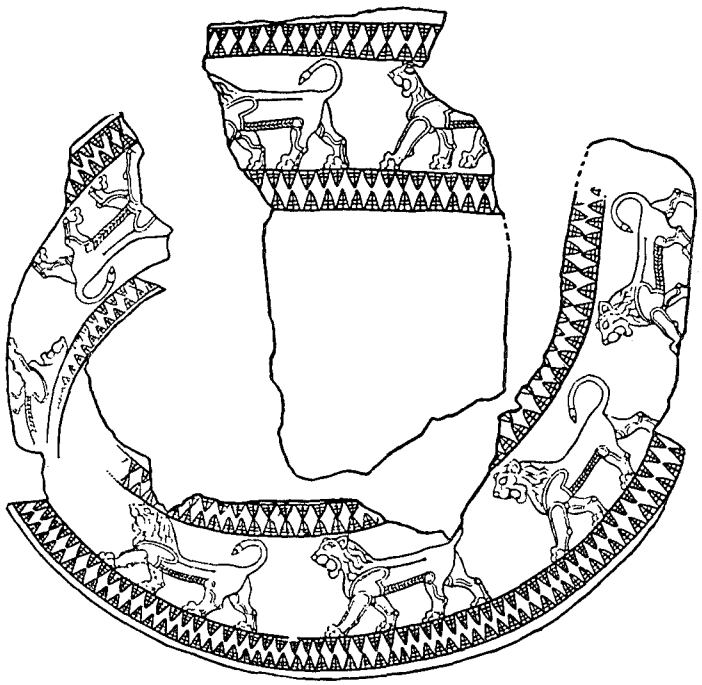

Fig. 22 Bronze bowl from Toprak-Kale (*Iraq* 16 (1954), fig. 4)

turning his head so that it is in front view and treated three-dimensionally, characterizes this object. The bodies of the lions are highly formalized.

There are two objects which according to R. D. Barnett[52]) come from Toprak-Kale and show lions in a style radically different from the Urartian court and popular styles. One is a bronze bowl, now in a fragmentary state (diameter 18½ cm, Fig. 22), shallowly embossed with a frieze of lions bordered by double rows of triangles pointing at each other. The other is the top of a bronze quiver (12 cm wide), engraved with a lion and a palmette bordered by double rows of triangles, between which zigzags are spared out.

The lions on both objects are very squat and stylized into highly geometric patterns. There is a braided line of hair along the belly and the shoulder muscle is stylized into a curved oval accompanied by a smaller oval, with which it forms something like a figure "8". Though quite different in detail, the underlying tendency toward stylization into circles, ovals and bean shapes links these Toprak-Kale finds to the Median gold bowl mentioned before.[53])

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[52]) Iraq 12 (1950), p. 15, no. 10, 16 (1964), p. 5, fig. 4, and p. 9, fig. 9.

[53]) See note 51.

If we acknowledge a relationship between these objects, we may see in the bowl and quiver from Toprak-Kale a trace of Median art on former Urartian territory. It remains difficult to see how an art apparently so different in feeling and methods could have developed from a purely Urartian heritage. One feels that another tradition, at least as strong,[54]) must have been at work in the formation of the new art of the Median Empire.

It is this Median art, composed of different traditions, of which the Urartian was merely one, that must in turn be responsible for many features in the art of the Achaemenian Empire.[55])

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[54]) Compare the gold bowl mentioned in note 51 with, e.g., the gold bowl from Kalardasht, Edith Porada, *Alt-Iran* (Baden-Baden, 1962), fig. 62.

[55]) Compare Fig. 22 with lion representations of the reign of Darius I (521–486 B.C.), e.g., Erich F. Schmidt, *Persepolis* I (OIP 68, Chicago, 1953), pls. 142B, 147, 153A.

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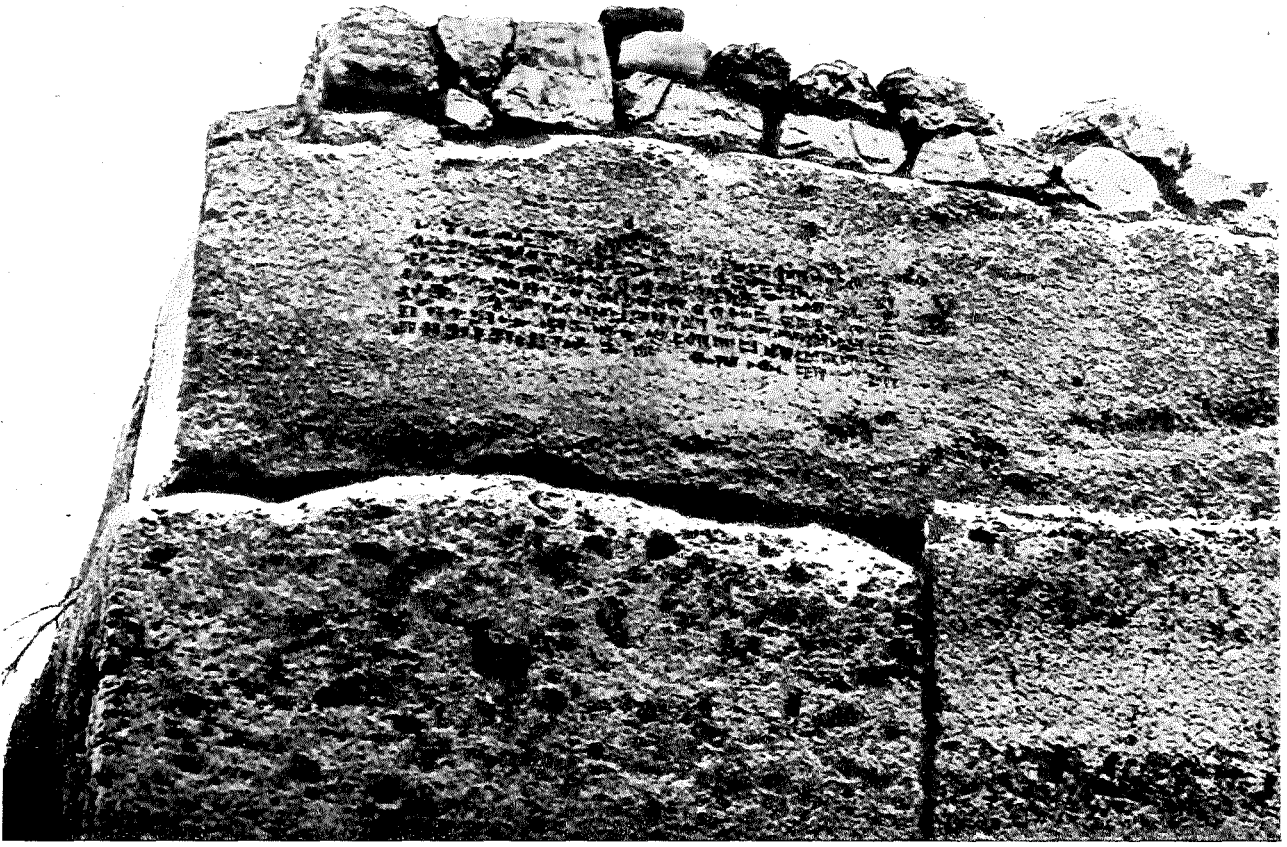
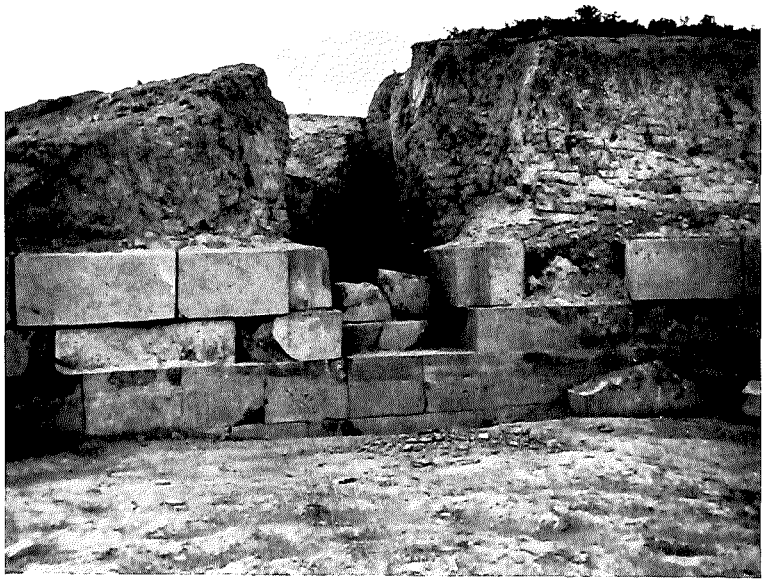
PLATES

Large black burnished jar with bull's heads and painted bands from Karmir-Blur (reconstructed: *VT*, pl. XLIV).



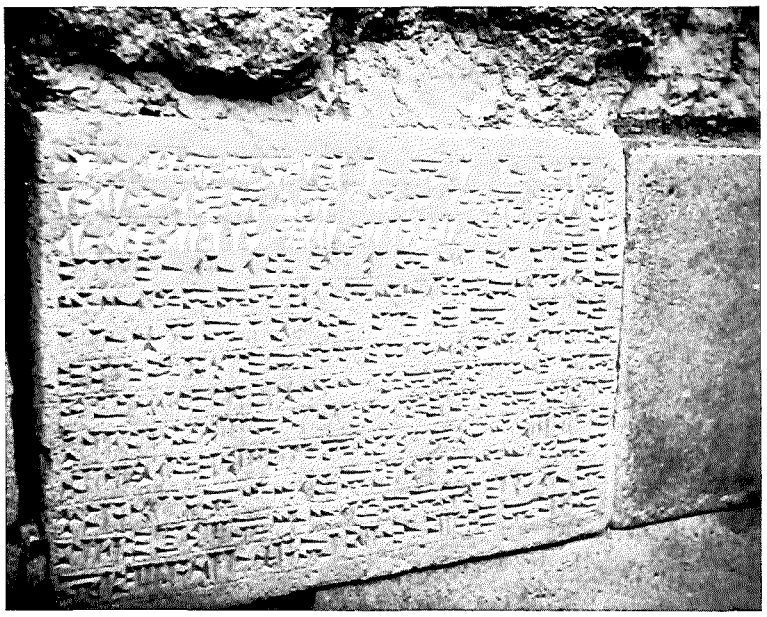
Inscribed cornerstone of construction by Sarduri I at N.W. foot of rock of Van (*VT*, pl. IX)

Later Urartian masonry at Asbaşin (formerly Haikaberd) (VT, pl. XVII)

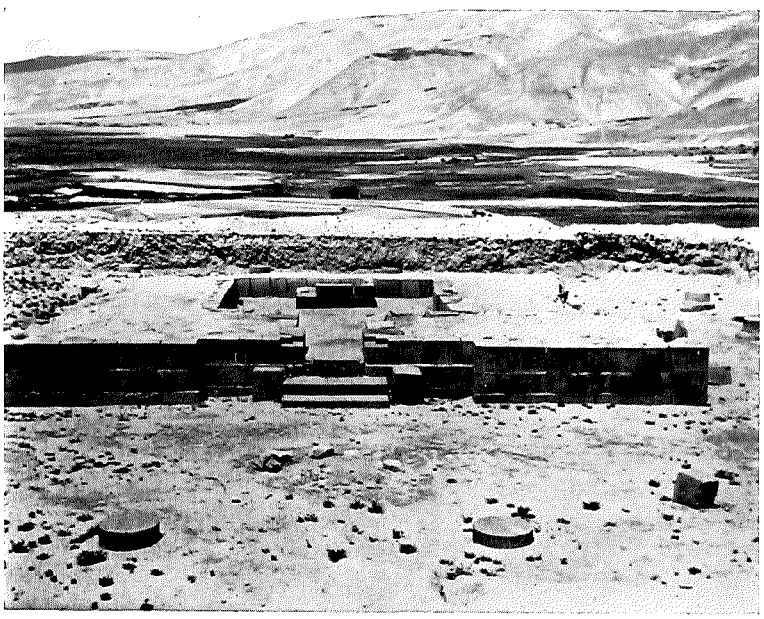


Facade of temple on Aznavur-tepe near Patnos

Entrance of temple on Aznavur-tepe, from inside (blocks next to corner blocks carry inscriptions)



Inscription of Menua dedicating temple on Aznavur-tepe to Haldi



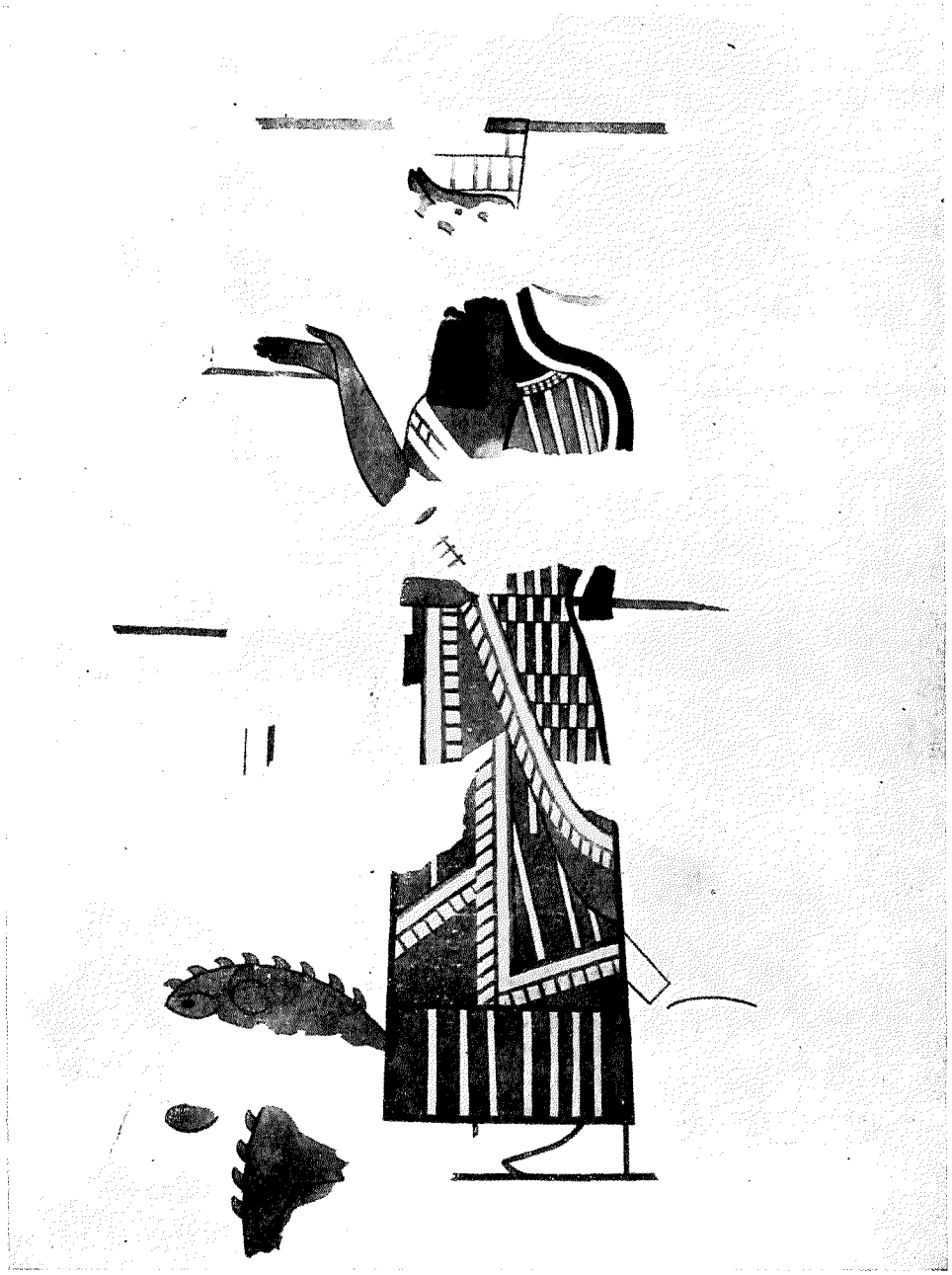
Temple on Altin-tepe from front

Doorway into chamber of tomb excavated in 1959 at Altin-tepe

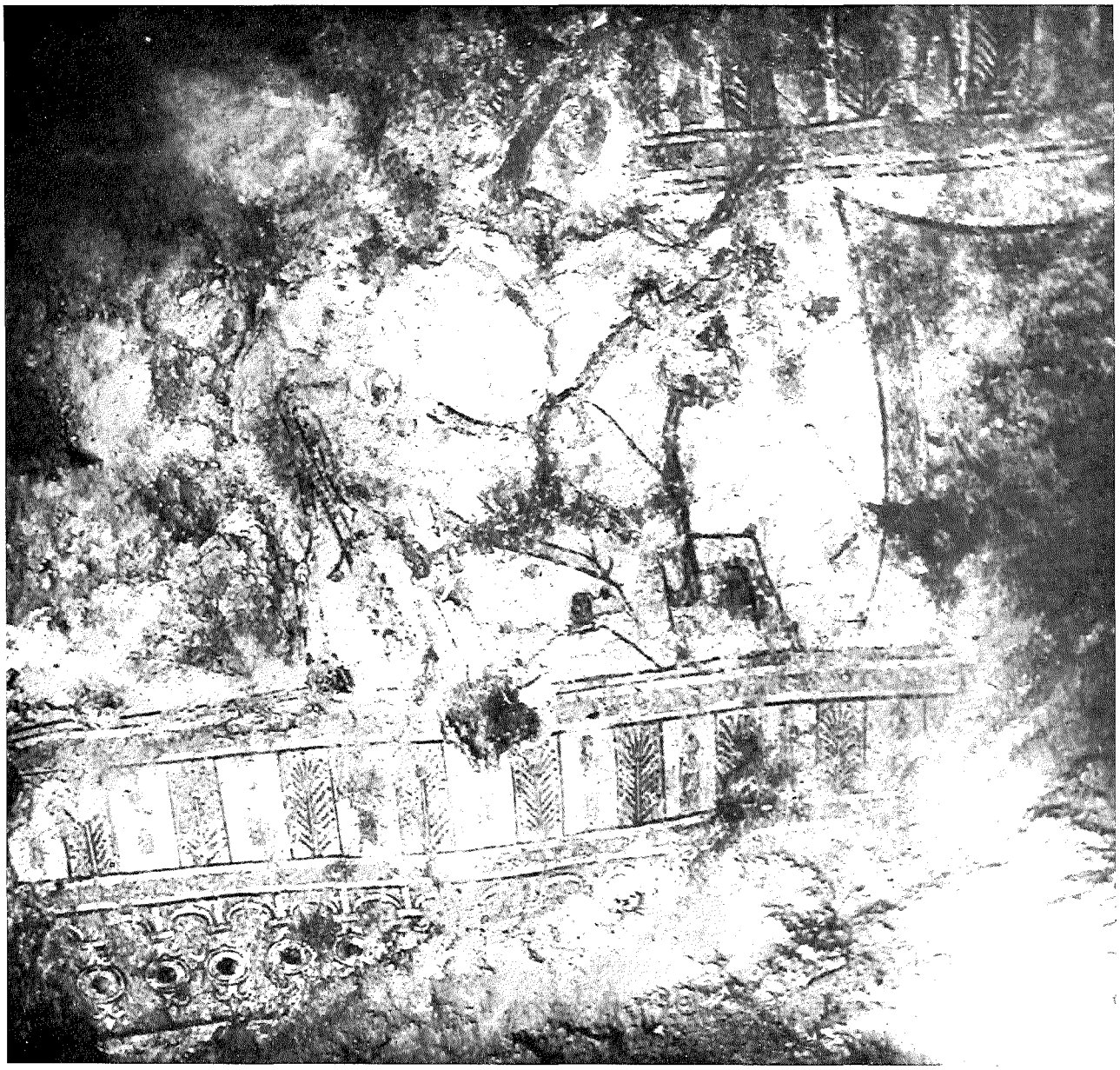
View of tomb discovered in 1938 at Altin-tepe

Libation basin and four stelae near tombs at Altin-tepe

Stone container from Karmir-Blur with scene of genii flanking sacred tree
(Wissenschaftliche Annalen 6 (1957), p. 843, fig. 9)

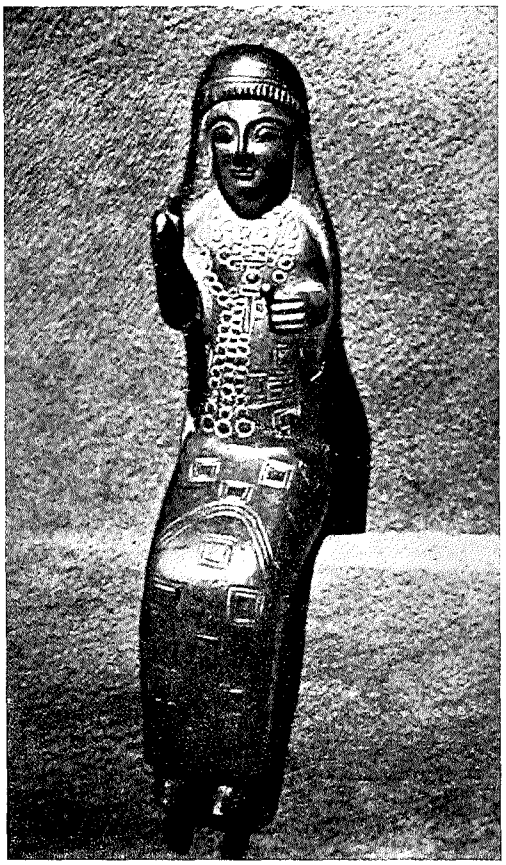


Wall painting in temple at Arin-berd (drawing, *VT*, pl. XX)



Wall painting in palace at Arin-berd (*SA* 1960[3], p. 292, fig. 6 = *IU*, pl. XXXI)

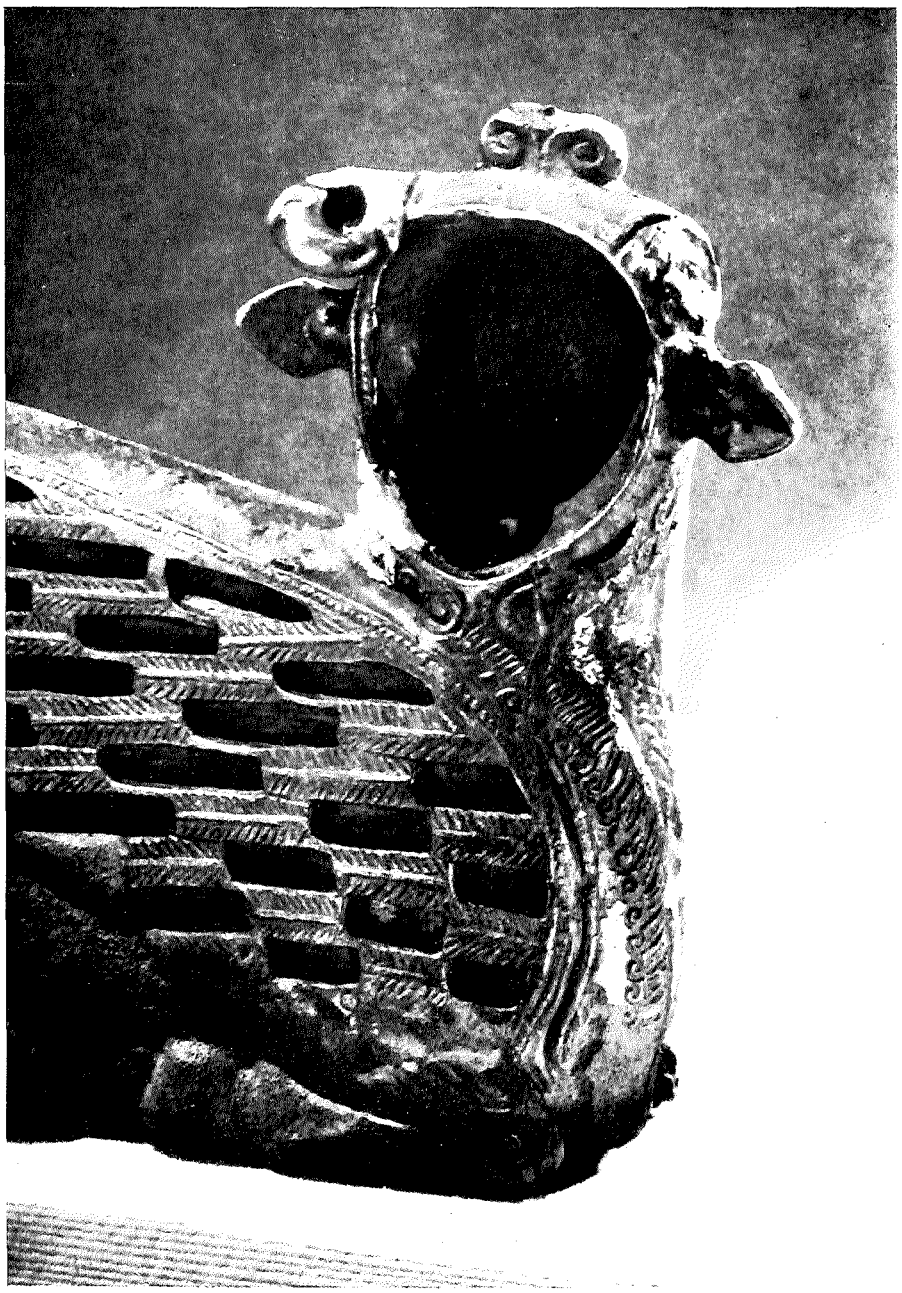
Bronze statuette of a god from Van area (Iraq 12 (1950), pl. XVIII, no. 2)



Bronze statuette of a goddess from Darabey (*SA* 6 (1940), pp. 89–91, Fig. 1)

Bronze leg and corner element with winged bull lion from Haldi temple, Toprak-Kale (Iraq 12 (1950), pl. XIX)

Bronze lion on column of crossed logs from Haldi temple, Toprak-Kale (Kunst Anatoliens, text fig. 12)



Bronze winged bull from Haldi temple, Toprak-Kale (*IU*, pl. IV)

Bronze eagle-headed bull from Haldi temple, Toprak-Kale (*IU*, pl. VII)

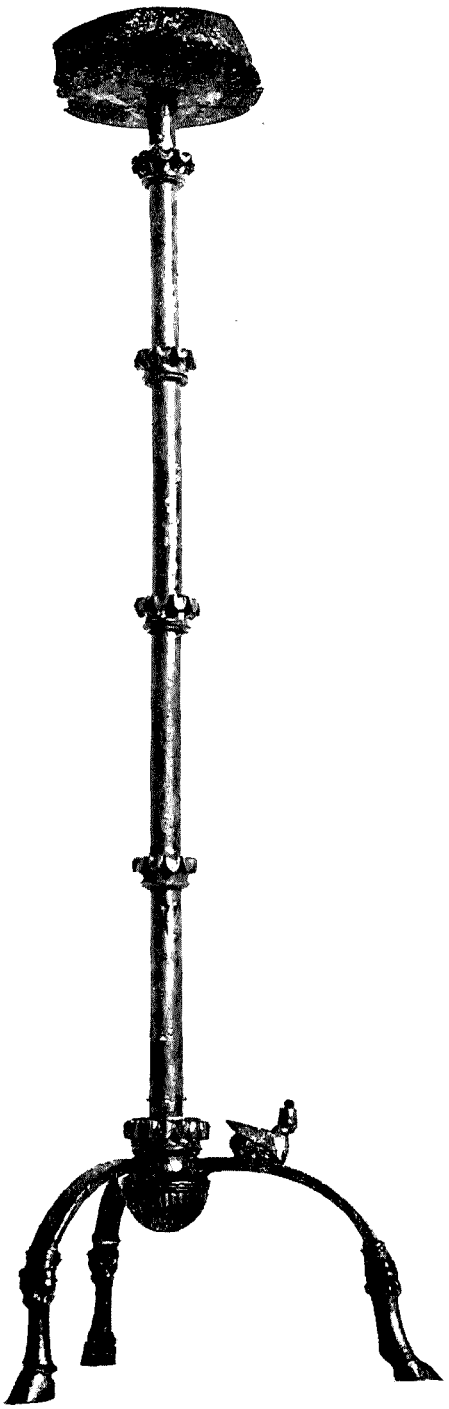
Bronze winged lion with human torso from Haldi temple, Toprak-Kale
(*IU*, pl. II)

Bronze griffin from Haldi temple, Toprak-Kale, (photograph courtesy of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin)

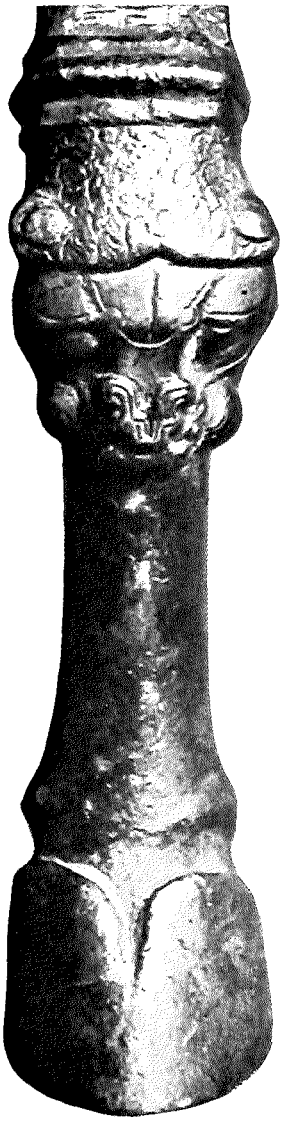
Bronze figure of courtier from Toprak-Kale
(*Kunst Anatoliens*, text fig. 6)

Bronze lion's paw from Toprak-Kale (*Iraq* 12 (1950), pl. III)

Wooden stool, partly encased in bronze and silver, found in Altin-tepe tomb (Belleten 25 (1961), p. 284, fig. 9)

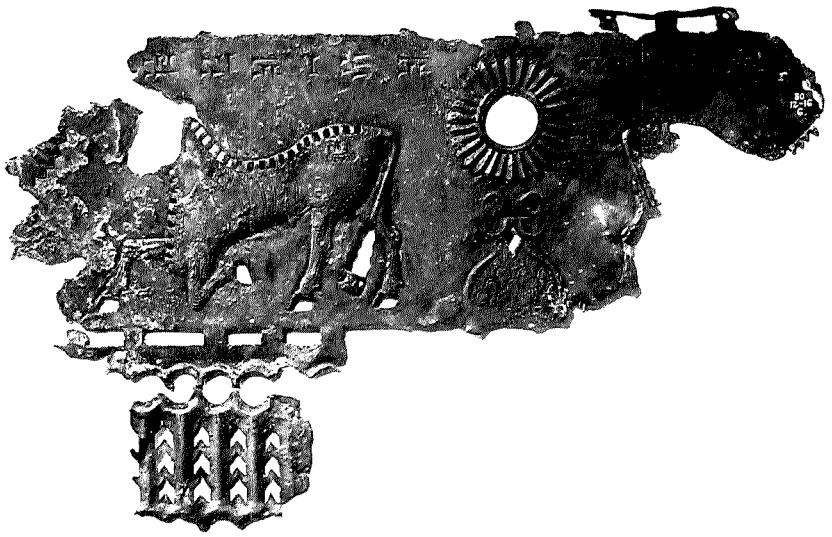


Bronze candelabrum from Toprak-Kale
(ILN Nov. 19, 1960, p. 897, fig. 3)

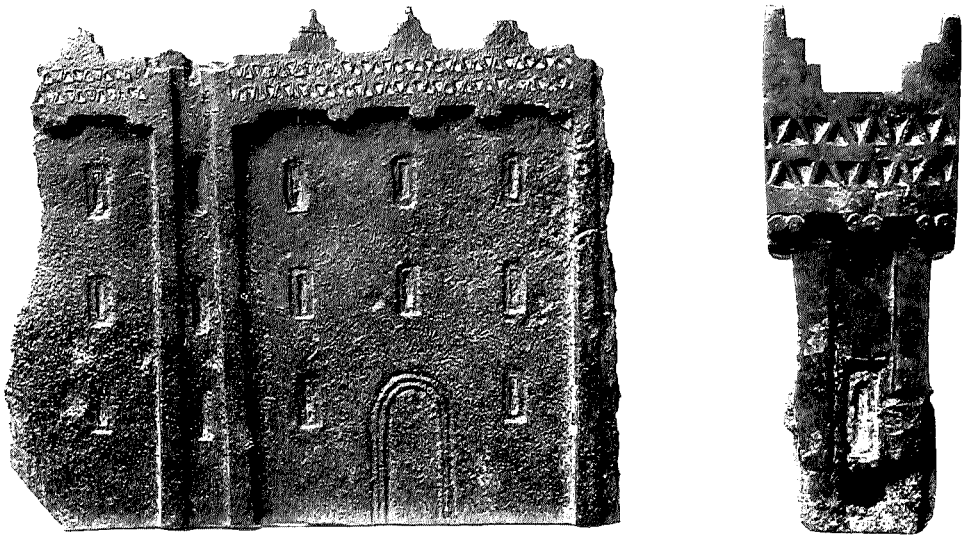


Bronze candelabrum from Toprak-Kale. Close-up of feet. (ILN Nov. 19, 1960, p. 897, figs. 4–5)

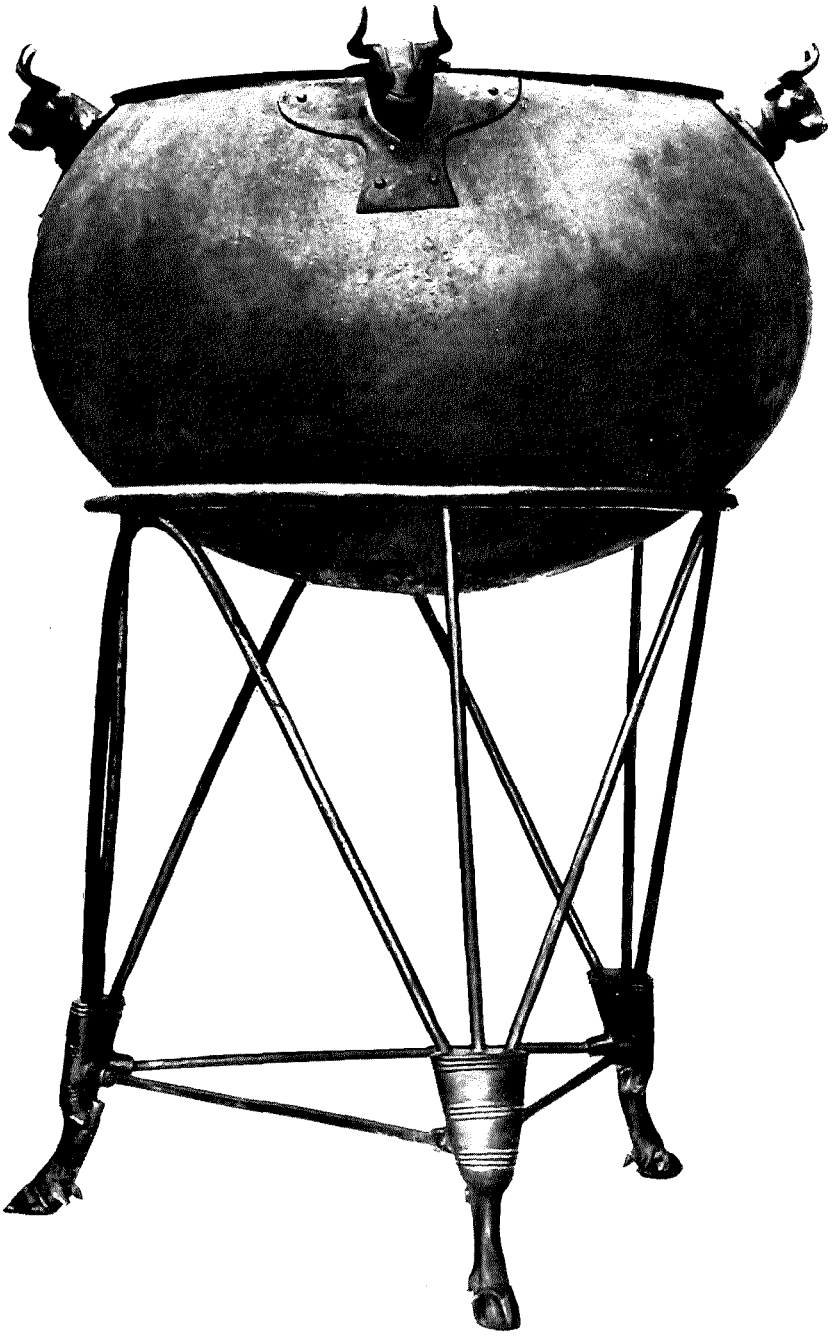
Bronze candelabrum from Toprak-Kale. Winged human-headed cow or calf. (ILN Nov. 19, 1960, p. 897, fig. 6)



Bronze openwork frieze from Haldi temple, Toprak-Kale (Iraq 12 (1950), pl. VIII)



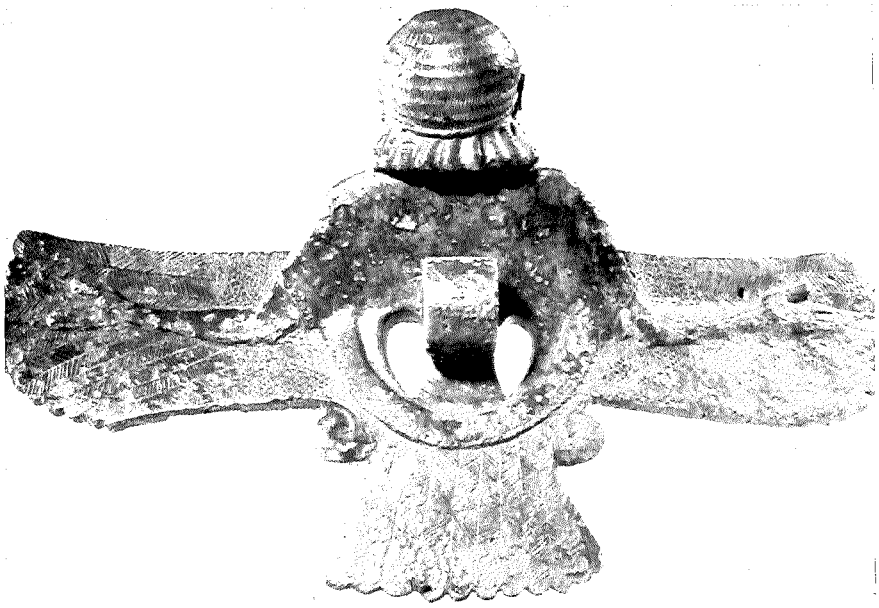
Bronze plaques, showing façades of fortified buildings, from Toprak-Kale (Iraq 12 (1950), p. II)



Bronze or copper "cauldron" with bull's head attachments from Altin-tepe
(*Kunst Anatoliens*, text fig. 30)

Bronze bull's head cauldron attachments from Toprak-Kale (Iraq 12 (1950), pl. XVI)

Bronze bull's head cauldron attachments from Guşçi (AS 6 (1956), pl. XVII).



Bronze "siren" cauldron attachment from Toprak-Kale (*IU*, pl. XIV)

Bronze "siren" cauldron attachment from Toprak-Kale
(photograph courtesy of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin)

Bronze horse's head from Karmir-Blur (*IU*, pl. XXVI)

Bronze shield of Sarduri II from Karmir-Blur: detail (*IU*, pl. XXIV)

Bronze shield of Sarduri II from Karmir-Blur: detail (*IU*, pl. XXV)

Bronze shield of Rusa III from Toprak-Kale: detail (*Kunst Anatoliens*, text fig. 15)

Bronze helmet of Argišti I from Karmir-Blur: detail (*VT*, pl. XXXVIII)

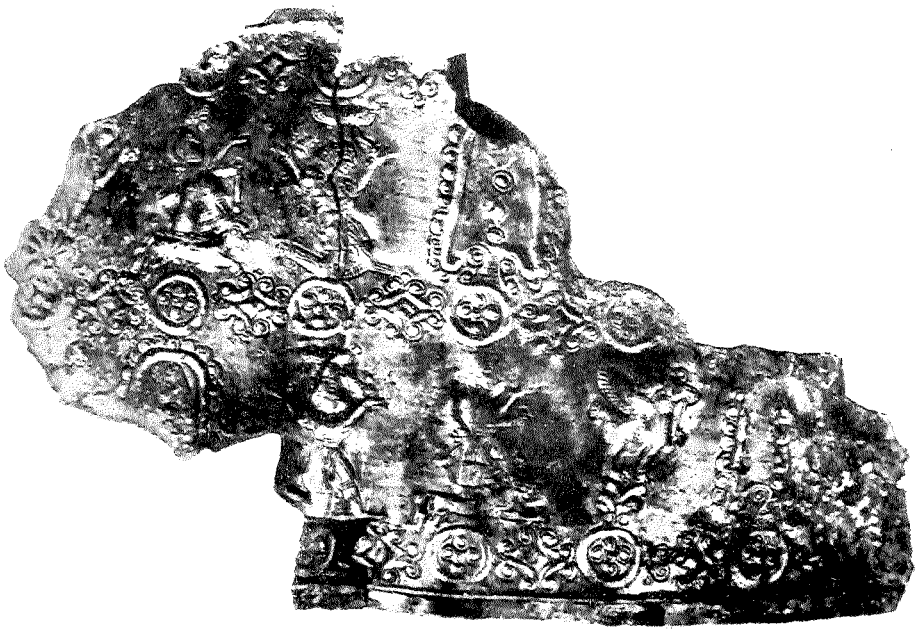
Bronze helmet of Sarduri II from Karmir-Blur (*IU*, pl. XVI)

Bronze helmet of Sarduri II from Karmir-Blur (*IU*, pl. XVII)

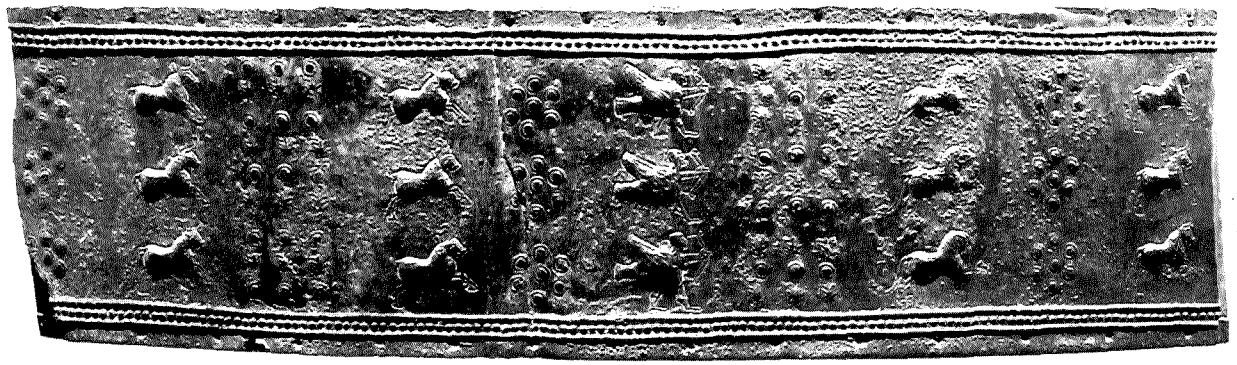
Bronze helmet of Sarduri II from Karmir-Blur: detail (*IU*, pl. XX)

Bronze helmet of Sarduri II from Karmir-Blur; detail (*IU*, pl. XXI)

Part of bronze belt from Altin-tepe (photograph kindly supplied by Prof. Tahsin Özgüç)



Part of bronze belt from Karmir-Blur (Wissenschaftliche Annalen 6 (1957), fig. 10)

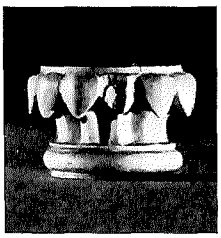


Fragment of bronze belt from Ançali near Guşçi (photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1952)

Gold medall on from Toprak-Kale (photograph courtesy of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin)

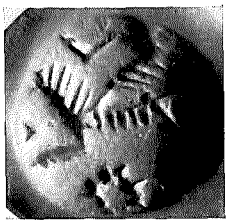
Ivory courtier from Toprak-Kale (Iraq 12 (1950), pl. XIV, no. 2)

Ivory eagle-headed genii from Toprak-Kale (Iraq 12 (1950), pl. XV, nos. 1–2)

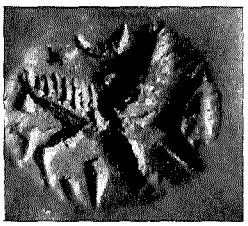


Ivory naked girl (top) and capital (bottom) from Toprak-Kale (Iraq 12 (1950), pl. XIV, nos. 1, 3, 4)

Stamp seal C10 from Karmir-Blur

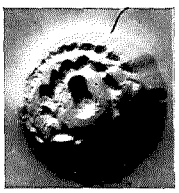


Stamp seal C11 from Karmir-Blur



Stamp seal C16 from Karmir-Blur

Stamp seal C23 from Karmir-Blur



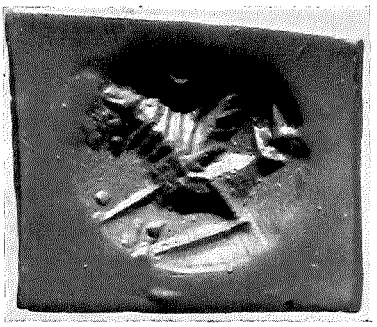
Stamp seal C24 from Karmir-Blur

Stamp seal F3 from Karmir-Blur

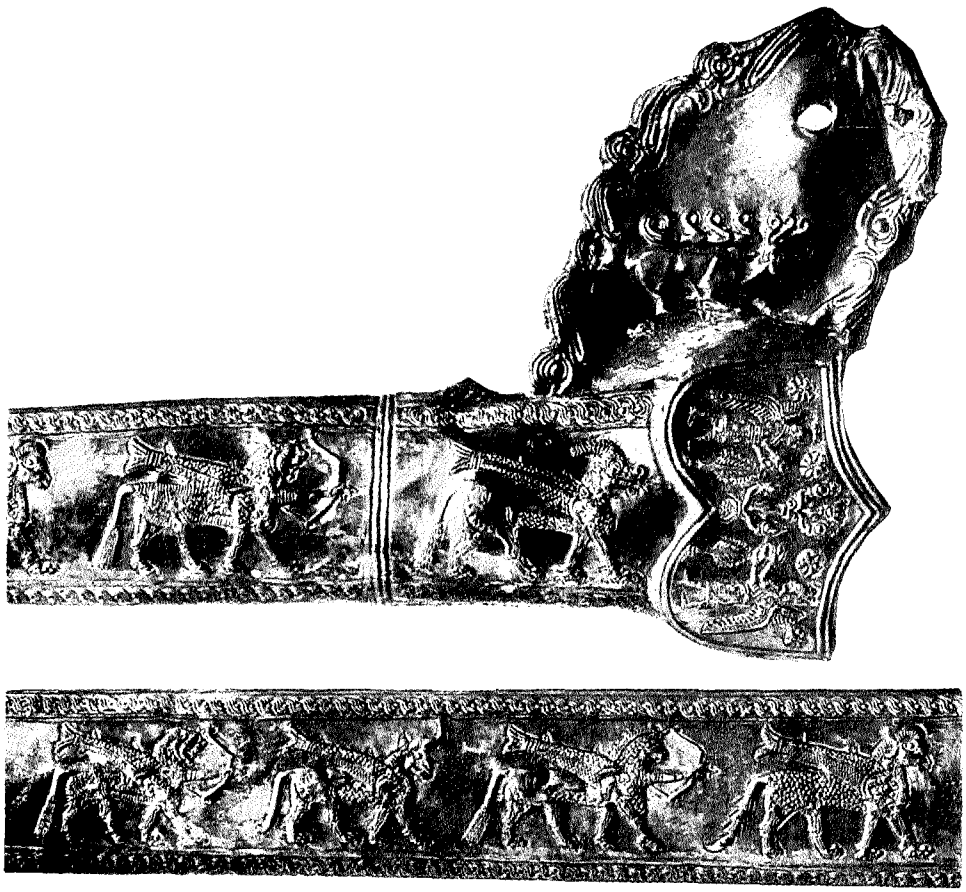
Four facets of the stamp seal C18 from Karmir-Blur

Clay tablet from Karmir-Blur with impression of seal E6 (*VT*, pl. XXXIII)

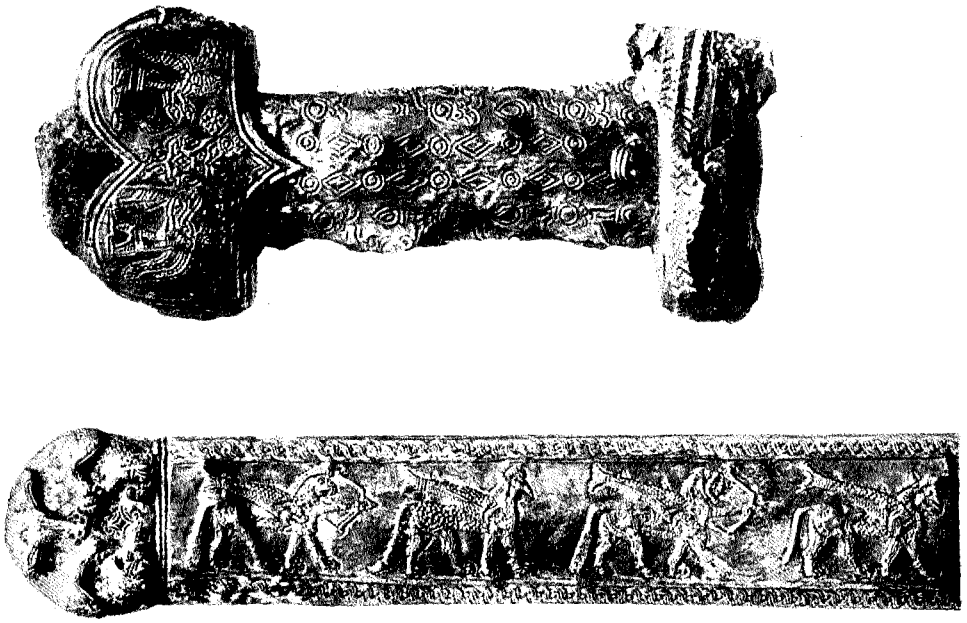
Stamp seal H2 from Karmir-Blur



Stamp seal D2 from Karmir-Blur



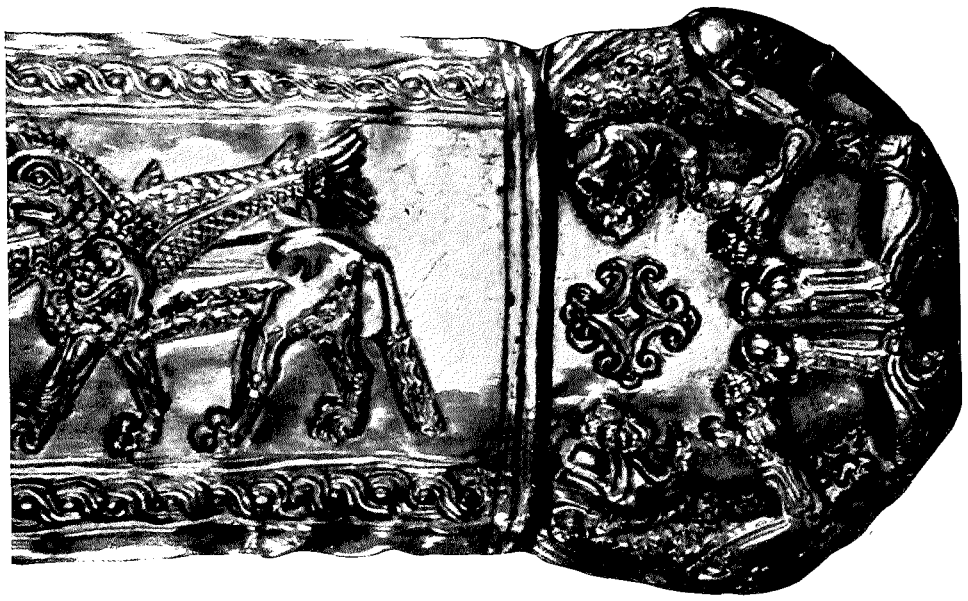
Gold scabbard from Kelermes barrow (*VT*, pl. LII)



Gold hilt and scabbard tip from Kelermes barrow (*VT*, pl. LIII)

Gold scabbard from Kelermes barrow (*IU*, pl. XXXV)

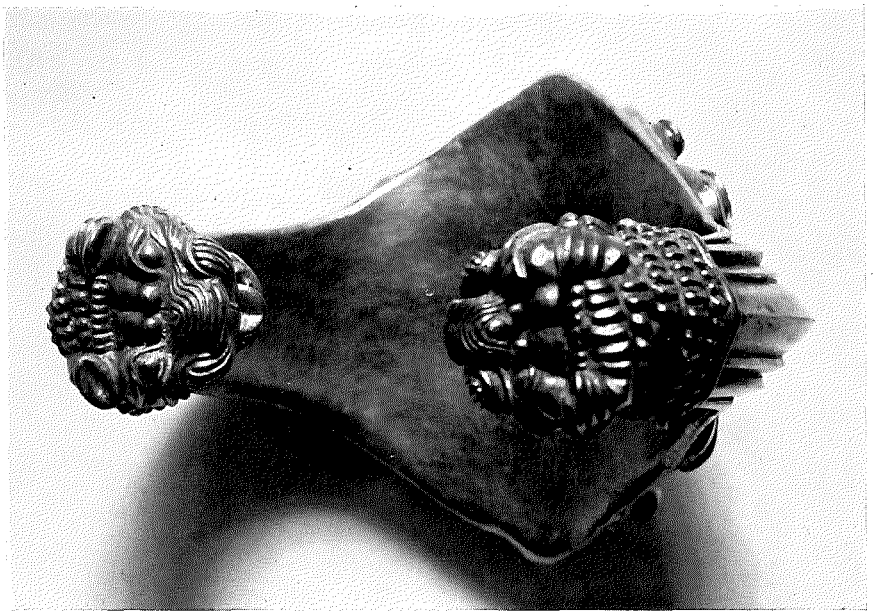
Gold hilt from Kelermes barrow (*IU*, pl. XXXIII)

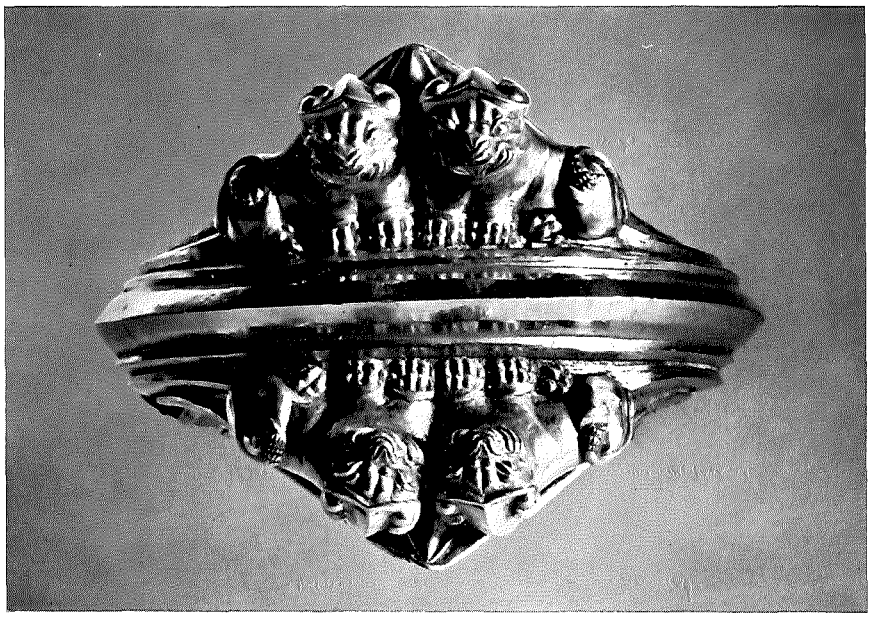


Gold scabbard tip from Kelermes barrow (*IU*, pl. XXXVI)

Part of gold belt revetment from Ziviyeh (*Trésor de Ziwiyè*, fig. 48)

Silver horse frontlet from Ziviyeh (photograph courtesy of the Tehran Museum)





Gold bracelet from Ziviyeh (photographs courtesy of the Tehran Museum)