URARTIAN ART AND ARTIFACTS

A Chronological Study

GUITTY AZARPAY

URARTIAN ART AND ARTIFACTS

A Chronological Study

GUITTY AZARPAY

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
BERKELEY AND LOS ANGELES
1968

University of California Publications: Occasional Papers
Number 2: Art

Approved for publication May 12, 1967
Issued June 30, 1968
Price, $12.50

University of California Press
Berkeley and Los Angeles
California

Cambridge University Press
London, England

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to express gratitude to the following persons and institutions responsible for contributing photographs and information relevant to the material presented here.

Professor J. K. Anderson, University of California, Berkeley
Professor W. Caskel, Cologne University
Mr. M. Foroughi, Teheran
L. Sh. Gîuzalîân, The Hermitage Museum, Leningrad
Miss Ellen Kohler, The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania
Madame A. Mantsevich, The Hermitage Museum, Leningrad
Mrs. Selma Moghadam, The Archaeological Museum, Teheran
Professor T. Özgüç, University of Ankara
M. Rostami, The Archaeological Museum, Teheran
Richard V. West, Museum of Art, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine

Ankara, The Archaeological Museum
Berlin, Staatliche Museen
Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe
Leningrad, The Hermitage Museum
London, The Trustees of the British Museum
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art
Teheran, The Archaeological Museum
Philadelphia, The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania

Special thanks are here expressed to Professors O. J. Maenchen and D. A. Amyx who read and edited this manuscript, and to the Near Eastern Center, University of California, Los Angeles, for partial support of this research project. I wish to thank Mrs. Evelyn Bell for the preparation of the index.

ABBREVIATIONS

AAAO
H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, Maryland 1954.

AM
Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts.

Armenien
C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, II:1–2, Berlin/Leipzig 1926, 1931.

AJA
American Journal of Archaeology.

Belleten
Türk Tarih Kurumu, Belleten, Ankara.

Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories
R. D. Barnett, *The Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories with Other Examples of Ancient Near Eastern Ivories in the British Museum*, London 1957.

ESA
Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua.

Iskusstvo Urartu
B. B. Piotrovskiĭ, *Iskusstvo Urartu VIII-VII vv. do n. e.*, Leningrad 1962.

Iraq XII:1
R. D. Barnett, "The Excavations of the British Museum, at Toprak Kale, near Van," *Iraq* XII:1, 1950, 1–43.

Iraq XIV:2
R. D. Barnett, W. Watson, "Russian Excavations in Armenia," *Iraq* XIV:2, 1952, 132–144.

Iraq XVI:1
R. D. Barnett, "The Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale, near Van—Addenda," *Iraq* XVI:1, 1954, 3–22.

JNES
Journal of Near Eastern Studies.

Karmir-blur I–III
B. B. Piotrovskiĭ, *Karmir-blur I–III, Arkheologicheskie raskopki v Armenii, Akademiia nauk armianskoĭ SSR*, Erevan 1950, 1952, 1955.

Karmir-blur IV
K. L. Ogenesian, *Karmir-blur IV, Arkhitektura Teĭshebaini, Arkheologicheskie raskopki v Armeni, Akademiia nauk armianskoĭ SSR*, Erevan 1955.

Luckenbill
D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* I–II, Chicago 1926–1927.

Materialien
C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien zur älteren Geschichte Armeniens und Mesopotamiens, Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse*, neue Folge Band IX:3, Berlin 1907.

Palace Reliefs
R. D. Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs and Their Influence on the Sculptures of Babylonia and Persia*, Batchworth Press, 1960.

RA
Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale.

Späthethitische Bildkunst
E. Akurgal, *Späthethitische Bildkunst, archäologisches Institut der Universität Ankara*, Ankara 1949.

The Sculptures
R. D. Barnett, M. Falkner, *The Sculptures of Assur-nasir-apli II (883–859 B.C.), Tiglath-pileser III (745–727 B.C.), Esarhaddon (681–669 B.C.), from the Central and South West Palaces at Nimrud*, London 1962.

UKN
G. A. Melikishvili, *Urartskie klinoobraznye nadpisi*, Moskva 1960.

VDI
Vestnik drevneĭ istorii.

VT
B. B. Piotrovskiĭ, *Vanskoe tsarstvo (Urartu)*, Moskva 1959.

ILLUSTRATION LIST

FIGURES

PLATES

1. Bronze blinker of a horse from Iran, reign of Menua, ca. 810–786 B.C. in the collection of M. Foroughi, Teheran. [Photo courtesy M. Foroughi.]
2. Detail of a stone relief from Nimrud showing the bud garland motif. Reign of Ashurnasirpal II, 883–859 B.C., in the British Museum. [Photo courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.]
3. Bronze horse's bit from Luristan, ca. eighth century B.C. (Cheekpiece 195 mm.; mouthpiece 253 mm.) [Photo courtesy the University of Pennsylvania Museum.]
4. Assyrian stone relief from Nimrud (Northwest Palace, B.M. 124571), showing the sacred tree flanked by winged goddesses, ninth century B.C. [Photo courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.]
5. Assyrian ivory panel from Nimrud in the British Museum, ca. seventh century B.C. (Right: B.M. 12i, 188121. Center: B.M. 12c, 127065. Left: B.M. 12f, 127067, 12e, 127066.) [Photo courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.]
6. Detail of a gilded silver vessel cover decorated with embossed and chased bud garland, from Karmir-blur, in the Historical Museum of Armenia, Erevan. Reign of Argishti I, 786–764 B.C. [Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, pl. XLIII.]
7. Sketch of a bronze shield from the reign of Argishti I, 786–764 B.C., from Karmir-blur, in the Historical Museum of Armenia, Erevan. [*Karmir-blur III*, fig. 17.]
8. Scythian type arrowheads from Karmir-blur, in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.
9. Bronze helmet from Hasanlu, northwestern Iran, ca. ninth to eighth century B.C., in the Archaeological Museum, Teheran.
10. Embossed and chased bronze helmet of Argishti I, 786–764 B.C., from Karmir-blur, in the Historical Museum of Armenia, Erevan. [Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, pl. XXXVI.]
11. Detail of plate 10. [*Karmir-blur* II, pl. 12.]
12. Detail of plate 10. [Piotrovskiĭ, *Iskusstvo Urartu*, pl. XX.]
13. Detail of plate 10. [Piotrovskiĭ, *Iskusstvo Urartu*, pl. XXI.]
14. Detail of the embossed and chased bronze casing of the gates of Balawat, from the reign of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (859–824 B.C.), in the British Museum. This detail shows the attack on the Urartian city of Arzaškûn by Assyrian war chariots (857 B.C.). [Photo courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.]
15. Detail of the embossed and chased bronze casing of the gates of Balawat, reign of Shalmaneser III, in the British Museum. This detail shows Urartian prisoners wearing crested helmets (860 B.C.). [Photo courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.]

URARTIAN KING LIST

(See below, note 47.)

ARAMU

Mentioned in Assyrian annals in 860, 858, 846 B.C.

SARDURI I

Son of Lutipri, contemporary of Shalmaneser III who campaigned against him in 834 B.C.

ISHPUINI

Son of Sarduri I, mentioned in the Assyrian campaign of 824. Contemporary of Shamshi-Adad.

MENUA

Son of Ishpuini, contemporary of the Assyrian queen Sammuramat, of Adad-nirari III and Shalmaneser IV. Reigned ca. 810–786, or ca. 810-ca. 780 B.C.

ARGISHTI I

Son of Menua, reigned 786–764, or ca. 780–756 (?) B.C. Contemporary of Shalmaneser IV and Ashur-dan III.

SARDURI II

Son of Argishti, reigned 764–735, or ca. 755–735 B.C. Contemporary of Ashur-dan III, Ashur-nirari IV, and Tiglath-pileser III, mentioned for the years 743 and 745 B.C. in the latter's reign.

RUSA I

Son of Sarduri, reigned ca. 735–(?)713 B.C. Contemporary of Tiglath-pileser III, Shalmaneser V, and Sargon II. His death is mentioned for the year 714 in Sargon's annals.

ARGISHTI II

Son of Rusa, reigned 713–685 B.C., contemporary of Sargon II and Sennacherib.

RUSA II

Son of Argishti, reigned 685–639 B.C. Contemporary of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal. Mentioned in Esarhaddon's oracle tablets and in Ashurbanipal's annals.

SARDURI III

Son of Rusa, reigned 639–635 B.C. Contemporary of Ashurbanipal, mentioned for the year 639 in the latter's annals.

ERIMENA

Reigned 634–630 B.C.

RUSA III

Son of Erimena, reigned 629–615 B.C.

SARDURI IV

Son of Sarduri III (?), reigned 614-after 608 B.C.

INTRODUCTION

Ever since the pioneering study of Urartian culture by C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, the precise nature of the Urartian artistic tradition and the influence of the latter on Iron Age cultures in neighboring Western Asia and in Europe have been topics of some speculation and controversy.[1] The present study attempts to examine these two issues by a detailed analysis of well-documented Urartian works of art and artifacts and by a subsequent interpretation and review of the results thus obtained in terms of their pertinence within a broader historical framework.

Well-documented works of art and artifacts are known only from the historic phase of Urartian culture. While Urartian history is recorded in both Urartian and Assyrian texts and inscriptions compiled from the late ninth to seventh centuries B.C., the protohistory of Urartu is known primarily from references gleaned from Assyrian sources of the late second millennium B.C. The linguistic ties between Urartian, recorded from the early first millennium B.C., and Hurrian, recorded from the third to the second millennium B.C., and parallel religious concepts between the two groups hint at their mutual relationship in the remote past. It is noteworthy that geographical terms associated with the Nairi countries (later Urartu) in Assyrian texts of the last quarter of the second millennium B.C. appear to suggest the presence of a Hurrian-Urartian speaking milieu in the Nairi lands during the Urartian protohistoric period.[2]

When the Urartian kingdom emerged from a coalition of Transcaucasian tribes in the ninth century B.C., it came to be known to the Assyrians by the name of one of the factions incorporated in that union. The Van kingdom (i.e., the state built around the focal point of townships in the Lake Van basin) is generally known under the Assyrian term *Urartu*, rather than the native *Biainili*, a fact which justifiably hints at the primary source of cultural influence in that mountainous country neighboring on the northern frontiers of Assyria. Exposure to the Assyrian cultural tradition at the initial stage in the

development of Urartian art implanted in the latter artistic patterns and formulae which belonged to Urartu's major adversary, the Assyrian state of the ninth to seventh centuries B.C. Archaeological evidence indicates that geographical proximity and political ties between Urartu and its other contemporaries in Anatolia (e.g., the Phrygians), north Syria, the northern Zagros (i.e., the Mannaeans, Medes, and Scythians), and the southern Caucasus implemented mutual cultural exchange between them. Furthermore, commercial interests linked Urartu with more distant lands in the Mediterranean region which has yielded Urartian type metal artifacts.

Urartian works of art and artifacts comprise a large body of articles executed in metal (primarily bronze) and a smaller collection of sculptures and reliefs in stone, ivory, and clay. Examples of Urartian wall paintings, seals and pottery, as well as the other categories noted above, are generally associated with Urartian tomb and palace sites.

The presentation and study of Urartian art and artifacts might be attempted according to a number of approaches, among which the most frequently employed method has been one of categorization of finds according to the material of their composition, that is, bone, ceramics, metalwork, and so forth. A stylistic study of Urartian art is rarely attempted, perhaps on account of the insufficient number of well-documented works which must of necessity form the groundwork for such a study. The first approach, well suited to the purpose of the excavation reports, has its limitations in the more general presentation of Urartian art, while a stylistic approach might still be rather premature.[3]

With our increasingly numerous finds of Urartian objects bearing datable inscriptions, a chronological presentation of Urartian art now seems possible. Since it happens to have been a custom for the Urartian ruling dynasty to cherish, as sacred items or ancestral heirlooms, objects with dedicatory inscriptions, we are provided with a corpus of well-documented works of art and artifacts which range over a relatively long span of time coinciding with the reigns of many rulers of the Urartian dynasty of the ninth to the beginning of the sixth century B.C. Compared to the uninscribed objects, those bearing inscriptions are often more elaborately decorated, perhaps because of their dedicatory function, and are exemplary reflections of the skill, tradition, and wealth of their makers. Faced with the problem of making new additions to already large categories of finds without an established historical sequence, it has been necessary to construct a valid chronological framework by voluntarily restricting the analysis to securely documented Urartian works of art (exclusive of architecture). This treatment appears to be a necessary preliminary to the study and the placement of undocumented works on stylistic grounds; thus, in Urartian representations of the lion's head one finds a tendency towards schematization of musculature, particularly in the nostril pattern, which permits one to distinguish an earlier style found prior to the reign of Rusa II (685–639) from the later development of the same motif. Such considerations have led to a reevaluation of some earlier attributions, such as the group of uninscribed figurines associated

with the Toprak-kale throne, previously dated to the reign of Rusa I (735–(?)713), which should now be assigned to a period closer to the reign of Rusa II (685–639).

In the study of the decoration of inscribed Urartian bronzes in chronological sequence some general technical and stylistic patterns become evident, such as the development from a more detailed and elaborate style which relies on foreign prototypes to a summary and simple statement reflecting more independent local artistic schools. Certain motifs may be added or dropped from the usual artistic repertory at different periods, while others are continued consistently throughout the course of Urartian art. The tenacity found in the use of some seemingly decorative or minor themes (e.g., siren or bull's head cauldron attachments, the motif of the sacred tree, the lion and the bull processions, etc.) might suggest to us possibly a special local significance attached to these themes. It is hoped that future excavations will not only enrich our present collection of well-documented examples and fill the gaps in the historical sequence of Urartian works of art and architecture, but that they may also supply information on the meaning, thus far speculative, of some of the recurrent themes in the representational art of Urartu.

Uninscribed, and therefore undated, Urartian works of art are incorporated in this study according to the *subject matter* or *function* of the article and they are treated in the light of the information yielded by the study of the inscribed works in chronological sequence. Two important questions may be posed when subjecting the study of uninscribed works of art to the deductions derived from the analysis of inscribed objects: (1) *the use of the inscription as a valid index for determining the date of the work which bears it*, and (2) *the validity of applying deductions based on the analysis of inscribed works to examples without inscriptions*. Notable changes may indeed have been effected by factors other than chronological difference (e.g., difference in artistic skill, or stylistic variations between contemporaneous workshops).

The first question, which concerns the validity of the supposition that the datable inscription and the object which bears it are necessarily contemporaneous, is particularly relevant to the study of uninscribed works, but it is also a question which has a direct bearing on the study of Urartian art in chronological sequence as a whole. In considering this question one is led to seek the *purpose* of the inscription in a given work of art or architecture and its meaning for the Urartians.

Architectural inscriptions on Urartian monuments generally follow a formula in which the king dedicates his message to one or more deities of the Urartian pantheon and ends with a malediction aimed at the molester of his work.[4] The belief in the efficacy of the inscription is shown by the brevity of some of the dedicatory texts which are directly followed by the usual list of curses intended to insure against destruction and alteration of the work.[5] Since, like their Assyrian neighbors, the Urartians considered it a singular triumph to be able to report the destruction of works created by their enemies,

an intentional defacement of their own sanctified monuments would have been a sacrilegious act of unnecessary violence. To ignore the long list of maledictions against the offender and his seed, present in most of the inscriptions, would have entailed a serious moral conflict for the religiously inclined Urartian kings, who never minimized the achievements of their ancestors when describing their own deeds.[6] Urartian inscribed works of art and artifacts, like the architectural monuments, generally identify the donor by name and are sanctified by the accompanying dedicatory passages addressed to deities. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, therefore, it would seem highly unlikely that an inscribed article or work of art would have been submitted to destruction or plagiarism by later Urartian kings.

The problem of restoration and later additions to older monuments, which pertains to the study of the chronological development of Urartian architecture and wall paintings, is not evidenced in the study of inscribed Urartian artifacts and works of sculpture. The validity of the inscription as a chronological index for determining the date of the inscribed work of art, therefore, does not appear to be seriously challenged by existing evidence.

The second question which demands consideration here concerns the extent to which uninscribed works of Urartian art can be interpreted in terms of deductions made from the study of dated examples which are an admittedly select group by virtue of their inscriptions.

It can be argued that some of the variations observed in Urartian works of art may represent stylistic rather than chronological differences between contemporary workshops. The relatively homogeneous style found in the majority of the inscribed works of art and artifacts undoubtedly represents the official artistic norm produced for the royal house. But if the interrelated Urartian workshops conformed to current standards of taste, then variations from the official style might be expected in provincial centers where local traditions might reinforce deviations from the official norm.[7] Thus, unusual features found in wall paintings from Altin-tepe are regarded by T. Özgüç as trends peculiar to the local tradition of this western outpost of the Urartian kingdom.[8] Examples of local peculiarities and trends, however, appear too rare and insignificant as sources of influence outside of their own local context to have affected the official standards of taste, which seem to have been most responsive to stimuli from the foreign metropolitan centers, such as from the Assyrian capitals. Urartian kings not only left their cultural stamp on conquered cities by erecting new monuments there, but in transporting standard examples of Urartian works of art and artifacts to these centers, they undoubtedly promoted their own artistic tastes by providing the prototypes for later local productions.[9]

The question of artistic skill, however, is one of persistent concern in this study, since the less important works, especially those without inscriptions and provincial works, may well have been delegated to persons with less training in the official workshops.

Therefore, implicit in a chronological study of Urartian art is the understanding that our deductions are always subject to modification by such factors as provincial variation and level of artistic competence in a given work of art. Furthermore, our choice of examples is necessarily limited to preserved works, which forces certain generalizations, i.e., *ab uno disce omnes*. This relatively limited view of Urartian art will be broadened doubtless by future studies and excavations.

In the following study datable works of art and artifacts are arranged according to their chronological sequence and appear under the reign of the ruling monarch whose inscription they bear. So far the names of only the following monarchs are associated with inscribed or datable works of art and artifacts (see below, note 47):

MENUA, ca. 810–786, or ca. 810–780
ARGISHTI I, 786–764, or ca. 780–756 (?)
SARDURI II 764–735, or ca. 755–735
RUSA I, ca. 735–(?)713
ARGISHTI II, 713–685
RUSA II, 685–639
SARDURI III, 639–635
RUSA III, 629–615

I

FIRST PHASE

MENUA, ca. 810–786 B.C., son of Ishpuini.

Inscribed articles:

Bronze frontlet of a horse.
At present in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad. Figure 2.

Bronze blinker of a horse.
In the collection of M. Foroughi, Teheran. Plate 1.

Bronze plaque.
In the Historical Museum of Armenia, Erevan, *Karmir-blur III*, fig. 36. *Not illustrated.*

Bronze snaffle bit of a horse.
In the Historical Museum of Armenia, Erevan. Figure 3.

The beginning of history in Urartu is marked by an inscribed building block from the foot of the Van rock elevation, dated to the second half of the ninth century B.C. The message reads, "inscription of Sarduri, son of Lutipri, great king, powerful king, king of the Universe, king of the country of Nairi, the king without equal, the wonderful pastor, fearless in battle, the king who subdues the unruly. (I), Sarduri, son of Lutipri, king of kings, who received tribute from all the kings. Thus speaks Sarduri, son of Lutipri: I brought this stone from the city of Aliunu (and) erected this wall."

With this declaration of independence Sarduri unwittingly admits to Urartu's cultural debt to the Assyrian civilization.[10] The inscription is written in the Assyrian cuneiform characters and language and uses the Assyrian formula of royal speech. Sarduri introduces himself as the king of Nairi, a term which appears for the first time in Assyrian sources of the thirteenth century B.C. These sources suggest that Uruatri (later Urartu) was probably a member of the union of tribes of the countries of Nairi which were located around the basin of Lake Van and the areas to the south and west of the lake, to which the Assyrians referred as the "Sea of Nairi."

Assyrian compaigns conducted against the countries of Nairi, in the twelfth century B.C., were probably motivated by the gain in livestock, the chief commodity of these lands, which fell a ready prey to the organized Assyrian military raids. It is not until the time of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859) that the term Urartu replaces the older form, Uruatri, in Assyrian inscriptions, and, by the time of Shalmaneser III of Assyria (858–824), from the union of tribes headed by Urartu emerges an Urartian state with a succession of kings who became a major northern adversary of Assyria.[11]

With the reign of Ishpuini, son of Sarduri, the Urartian inscriptions are either bilingual, or they are written in the Urartian language in the Assyrian cuneiform script. The numerous inscriptions from the column bases in and around the Urartian capital Tushpa (Van) (fig. 1) are witness to the great building activity which was undertaken by Ishpuini and his son Menua, at the end of the ninth century B.C.[12]

Fig. 1. Sketch-map showing Urartian sites around Lake Van and in Transcaucasia. [Drawn by Richard W. West.]

Menua, son of Ishpuini, whose reign probably began ca. 810 B.C., continued his father's policy of expansion at the cost of Urartu's neighbors in the north, west, and south (fig. 1). In an inscription from Van, Menua claims to have subjected cities in Ḫati (northern Syria), and in Mana up to the Assyrian frontier. Another Urartian inscription from Tash-tepe near Mianduab, south of Lake Urmia, mentions the erection of a fortress at that site, and the subjection of the city of Meshta and the country of Mana.[13]

Urartian expansion in the west extended beyond the area of Erzerum, indicated by Menua's inscription erected there to commemorate his victories over cities in the country of Diauehi, where he was presented with quantities of gold and silver. From Transcaucasia, Menua's inscriptions are known from T͡solakert on the northern slopes of Mount Ararat, which commemorate the subjection of northern cities south of Lake Sevan, and the construction there of a fortress.[14] Over fifty inscriptions of this king pertain to vast building projects undertaken throughout the Urartian kingdom; these include the founding of cities, the creation of fortresses, gates, vineyards, and particularly irrigation canals for the construction of which Urartu acquired fame in the ancient world. Menua's canal, which brought fresh water to the capital city of Tushpa, has survived to the present day and is known to the people of the Van region as the "canal of Semiramis," a wrong attribution to the Assyrian queen who was Menua's contemporary.

Like most of their neighbors in northern Mesopotamia, Transcaucasia, and the Zagros mountains around the turn of the first millennium B.C., the population of the Armenian highlands depended on the horse for communication and warfare. A eulogy to the prowess of Menua's favourite steed boasts, ". . . from this place the horse, named Arṣibi, jumped 22 cubits under Menua." [15] That the horse served a warlike function in Urartu from the late ninth century B.C. is shown by items of horse armor consisting of a frontlet and blinker which bear Menua's inscriptions. A specific association of the horse with either chariotry or cavalry at this time, however, is not proved by the Urartian example of horse armor, although new evidence from Cyprus from about this period appears to favor the association of horse armor with chariotry.[16]

In 1952 at Karmir-blur was found a horse's frontlet made from a sheet of bronze roughly T-shaped with lateral projections which secured the nosepiece by means of hooks to the bridle straps (fig. 2). A border decoration in the form of a double strip of bronze studs is arranged along three sides of the frontlet which bears Menua's incised inscription on the lower section of the nosepiece.[17] The identification of the function of the nosepiece or frontlet of Menua's horse is based on comparison with Western Asiatic frontlets datable to the period of the Iron Age. The latter constitute a north Syrian and an Assyrian type, with a number of derivative groups (i.e., Scythian, Greek). The north Syrian type of horse's frontlet is represented by a triangular strip of metal or ivory, often decorated with a naked female figure in a standing position, as shown on the stone head of a horse from Zincirli, and known in actual examples from Samos,

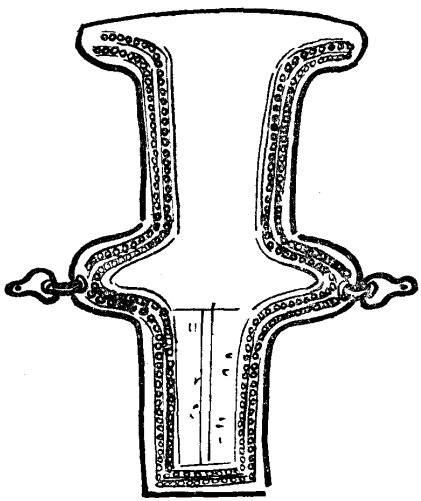

Fig. 2. Bronze frontlet of a horse from Karmir-blur, reign of Menua, ca. 810–786 B.C., at present in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.

Miletus, Nimrud, Tell Tainat, and Gordion.[18] The Assyrian type frontlet, as represented on Assyrian reliefs of the ninth century B.C., appears as a narrow rectangular metal plate, placed on the horse's nostril, with a curved extension beyond the horse's ears. This type of frontlet is known from Cypriote imitations, dated to the eighth to seventh century B.C., which are made up of two narrow metal plates joined together by means of a set of hinges which rested horizontally on the horse's forehead. The upper segment of this type of frontlet is provided with a hook which probably held plumes in the manner shown in Assyrian representations.[19] Later Assyrian reliefs apparently show the use of narrow strips of cloth (or leather?) placed loosely on the horse's forehead.[20] The group of Greek frontlets known from the Iron Age to the Classical period are directly dependent on north Syrian and Assyrian types, as has been shown by A. M. Snodgrass, and they may be distinguished from the group of South Italian face guards for the horse which were evidently a local peculiarity unknown in Greece proper.[21] The group of Scythian frontlets, not datable before the sixth century B.C., form a special category which is distinguishable from the Greek group. Broader and larger than the Cypriote frontlets, Scythian nosepieces are generally made from a single sheet of metal which is often decorated with orientalizing motifs which might be compared with those on the

Cypriote frontlets.[22] If the ultimate prototype for the Scythian frontlets was the Assyrian type, then the Cypriote examples prove the existence of at least one tangible link in time between the ninth-century B.C. Assyrian examples and the later examples from the Scythian tombs.[23] In his presentation of the Urartian frontlet from Karmir-blur, Piotrovskiĭ stressed the connection between the shape of the Urartian frontlet and a group of bronze plaques from the Kuban which he considered Scythian frontlets of the fourth century B.C.[24] This group of bronze plaques from the Kuban have since been identified as shield devices of Central European origin, and although an ultimately Asiatic origin for the actual Scythian frontlets from South Russia is likely, the connecting link between the Urartian frontlet and the Scythian examples is still lacking in Transcaucasia.[25] Since the Karmir-blur frontlet with its distinctive T-shaped form and simple decoration is datable to the ninth century B.C. and is thus contemporary with the north Syrian and Assyrian types, it should be regarded as a singular example of a *third* type of horse's frontlet from Western Asia during the Iron Age.[26] The inscriptions placed on the frontlet and blinker (see below) of Menua's horse might suggest that in Urartu, as elsewhere in the ancient world, horse armor came to serve a ceremonial as well as a practical function, and that its use was a reflection of the owner's rank.[27]

The recent discovery in an Iron Age context in northwestern Iran of two bronze plates bearing the inscribed names of Menua and Argishti, has provided new evidence of the type of horse armor used by Urartians in the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. These bronze plates were originally mounted on a perishable material (perhaps leather) and their spade-shaped (or sole-shaped) contour led to their identification as horse blinkers or cheek-plates.[28]

The blinker bearing Menua's name is decorated with double antithetic rows of cone- or bud-shaped garlands chased around the edge (pl. 1), while Argishti's plate is undecorated. Plates of the same shape as these two blinkers are shown on the stone head of a horse from Zincirli, and actual bronze and ivory examples have been found *in situ* in Cypriote burials of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.[29] Like the blinkers on the stone horse's head from Zincirli, some of the actual examples in bronze and ivory are decorated with the figure of a passant sphinx, and for that reason the origin of this type of blinker is sought in northern Syria. Sole- or spade-shaped horse blinkers are known from Nimrud, Lachish, Zincirli, Miletus, Megiddo, Samos, Lindos, Eretria, Bassae, Gordion, Cyprus, and Iran; but not all of these are necessarily of north Syrian workmanship.[30] The inscription and the decorative scheme (see below) on the blinker bearing Menua's name suggest an Urartian origin for this item which may, however, be ultimately derived from an older source in Western Asia.[31]

The ultimate origin of the horse's cheek-plate may be placed hypothetically in the Bronze Age, since actual examples of this type of horse armor are known from Egypt during the Eighteenth Dynasty (second half of the second millennium B.C.). A pair of gold blinkers from the tomb of Tutankhamun (1366–1357) are so far the earliest proto-

types. Each Egyptian blinker is an inlaid gold plate which has the shape of a semicircle joined to a triangle and is decorated with an "eye" motif. While the shape of these blinkers differs somewhat from examples known from the Iron Age, the "eye" motif which decorates the semicircular end of the Egyptian blinker is seen on at least two later examples from northern Syria and Cyprus.[32]

Besides their protective function (and a restraining action in the case of the blinker), the inscribed Urartian blinkers and frontlet may have had other associations for the Urartians. M. E. L. Mallowan has suggested that the fragile ivory frontlets and blinkers, such as those from Nimrud, may have belonged to models of ritual horses dedicated to the god Ashur and housed in Assyrian temples. This hypothesis is supported by the apparently sacred subjects represented on a number of such items.[33] The Urartian blinkers and frontlet are, however, sturdy pieces of horse armor and lack religious allusions. The fact that the inscriptions on these items simply identify Urartian kings as the owners may suggest that such pieces of equipment were regarded as signs of rank, such as evidently was the case among Greeks and Scythians.[34]

The decoration of the horse blinker inscribed with the name of Menua consists of a double row of antithetic cone or bud garlands incised in a circular frieze around the sides and repeated along the vertical edge of the cheek-plate (see below, p. 19). This motif is not found on any of the blinkers bearing ornamental designs, and it is not characteristic for north Syrian works of art. The bud garland on the blinker of Menua's horse is the earliest example of the occurrence of this motif in Urartian art and appears in the following works produced during the reigns of subsequent Urartian kings:

1. ARGISHTI I: wall-painting from Arin-berd, bronze shield from Karmir-blur, silver vessel cover from Karmir-blur.

2. SARDURI II: bronze shield from Karmir-blur, bronze lion's head from Karmir-blur, wall paintings from the "temple-palace" at Altin-tepe.

The published examples of the cone or bud garland motif from the reign of Argishti I (ca. 786–764), evidenced by the wall paintings from Erebuni (Arin-berd) and an inscribed silver cover of a vessel from Karmir-blur (pl. 6), show scalloped-shaped stems superimposed by ring bases supporting cone-shaped buds.[35] Exactly the same motif is found on fragments of wall paintings from the colonnade hall enclosing the "temple-palace" complex in Level I at Altin-tepe, dated by T. Özgüç to the reign of Sarduri II, (764–735), son of Argishti.[36] The ring base of the cones is absent in the garland pattern which decorates the bronze blinker bearing Menua's name (pl. 1) and it is not found in the bud garland represented on the bronze lion's head from the reign of Sarduri II (fig. 9). Since reproductions of the bud garland on the bronze shield of Argishti I are lacking in existing publications, it is difficult to limit the use of the simpler ringless cone garland to decorated bronzes. However, the evidence so far suggests that the more elaborate treatment of the bud or cone garland in Urartian art was reserved for wall paintings and decorated metal objects of greater value than bronze.

Outside of Urartu the motif of the simple bud garland is rarely found in the art of Western Asia during the Iron Age, when more complex and varied patterns were preferred.[37] The true antecedent for the Urartian bud garland motif is, nevertheless, found in Assyrian art in a stone relief from Nimrud, datable to the reign of Ashurnasirpal (883–859). This Assyrian example appears as a textile pattern reproduced in stone (pl. 2), and suggests a clue to the method of transportation of this and other motifs to the Van kingdom where the portable Assyrian artifacts, such as textiles and ivories, would have provided the most accessible models for Urartian artists. The disciplined simplicity of the bud garland apparently satisfied the decorative taste of the Urartian artists, who continued to repeat the motif throughout the reigns of three generations of Urartian kings.

A bronze circular plaque with a central knob placed on a rosette pattern set within three concentric rows of double strings of studs, was found in the same heap as the horse's frontlet from Karmir-blur.[38] The technique of decoration by means of tiny bronze studs, found on this plaque and on the frontlet, recalls the effect of granulation on Urartian gold objects, such as the buttons found in the tombs at Altin-tepe, datable to the reign of Argishti II (713–685).[39] A second bronze disc from Karmir-blur, bearing the name of Argishti I (ca. 786–764) (see below, p. 24) shows that, like their contemporaries in Phrygia and northern Iran, the Urartians apparently wore metal buttons on their clothing and armor. Metal discs were, however, also used for horse harnesses (traditionally referred to as phalerae), and Menua's disc would appear to have been more appropriate for a horse harness on account of its large size, central knob, and the circumstances of its discovery.[40]

Other similar discs are known from the early period of the Iron Age in Transcaucasia, where they may have earlier prototypes in the Bronze Age—conical "pendants" with knob on the outside and loop inside from the Caucasus.[41]

Menua's inscription is also found on a bronze snaffle bit of a horse, found at Karmir-blur in 1952, consisting of two bars with terminal rings joined together at one end, and each passed through a cheekpiece at the other end (fig. 3). The cheekpieces are slightly curved rods, loosely fitted on the mouthpiece and provided with four small openings for attachment to the bridle reins. This type of bit is characteristic for Transcaucasia during the ninth to the early eighth century B.C. and it is known also from Western Asia, Egypt, and Greece during the Bronze Age.[42] The Transcaucasian bits, however, are probably derived from local bits consisting of the jointed mouthpiece and loosely fitted cheekpiece found there during the Bronze Age.

The earliest bits found in the Caucasus belong to the late Bronze Age, or the latter part of the second millennium B.C., and they are composed of a bronze jointed mouthpiece and deer horn cheekpieces, while Transcaucasian bits dating from the end of the second millennium B.C. often have bronze wheel-shaped cheekpieces which were designed to rotate freely about the mouthpiece and functioned in a fashion similar to the horn bits.[43] Assyrian bits of the ninth and early eighth century B.C. appear to have con-

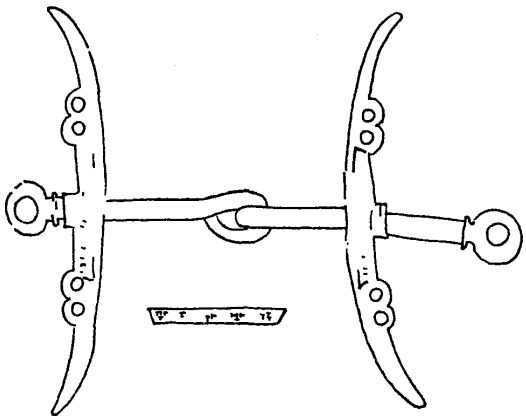

Fig. 3. Bronze snaffle bit of a horse from Karmir-blur, reign of Menua, ca. 810–786 B.C., in the Historical Museum of Armenia, Erevan.

sisted of rectangular cheek plaques with broad ends to which the bridle straps were attached, and were probably loosely fitted on the mouthpiece, thus performing the same function as the Transcaucasian bits. Luristan bronze bits are all essentially of this type with the difference that representational themes are usually introduced on the cheekpieces. At its simplest, the Luristan bit finds its closest parallels among the Transcaucasian bits, as evident on an example in the University of Pennsylvania Museum which shows human fists used as terminals of the mouthpiece which is passed through the curved unadorned cheekpieces (pl. 3). Even the gripping fists on the mouthpiece recall earlier examples from Georgia. Scythian bits are also related to this group, which persists in the Pazyryk burials in the Altai mountains as late as the fourth century B.C.[44]

Menua's bit, with its smooth mouthpiece and cheekpieces, probably provided sufficient control over the small Urartian breed of horse, while examples from other contemporaneous sites sometimes show studs or spikes on the inner side of the cheekpieces.[45] The snaffle-bits described above are essentially different from a second type commonly found in Western Asia from the late eighth century B.C. and later, characterized by mouth- and cheekpieces cast in a single mould and joined to its pair by a hook or a separate ring. These bits often have spikes on the mouthpiece and produce a more effective means of control over the horse.[46] Urartian bits from periods later than the reign of Menua are of this second type: (1) Bronze bit from Karmir-blur, bearing the name of Sarduri II (ca. 764–735) (see below, pp. 42–43). (2) Bronze bits from Altin-tepe, from tombs datable to the reign of Argishti II (713–685) (see below, pp. 50–52, and pl. 22).

ARGISHTI I, son of Menua, 786–764, or 780–756(?) B.C.

Inscribed articles:

Wall painting from the citadel of Erebuni at Arin-berd.
(*VT*, pls. XX–XXI, *Iskusstvo Urartu*, pl. XXXI.) Figure 4.

Gilded silver vessel cover, from Karmir-blur.
In the Historical Museum of Armenia, Erevan. (*VT*, pls. XLII–XLIII.) Plate 6.

Bronze shield, from Karmir-blur.
In the Historical Museum of Armenia. (*Karmir-blur III*, fig. 17.) Plate 7.

Bronze shield boss, from Karmir-blur.
In the Historical Museum of Armenia, Erevan. (*UKN*, 150a.) *Not illustrated.*

Bronze arrowhead, from Karmir-blur.
At present in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad. (*Karmir-blur III*, fig. 29.) Figure 7.

Bronze button, from Karmir-blur.
In the Historical Museum of Armenia. (*Karmir-blur III*, fig. 25.) *Not illustrated.*

Bronze blinker or cheek-plate of a horse, from northwestern Iran.
In the collection of M. Foroughi, Teheran. (Ghirshman, *Artibus Asiae* XXVII:1/2, 1964, fig. 2.) *Not illustrated.*

Bronze bell, from the Alishar post in Transcaucasia.
In the Hermitage Museum. (*Iskusstvo Urartu*, fig. 3.) Figure 6.

Decorated bronze helmet, from Karmir-blur.
In the Historical Museum of Armenia, Erevan. (*VT*, pls. XXXVI, *Iskusstvo Urartu*, pls. XX–XXI.) Plates 10 to 13.

Undecorated bronze helmet with insignia, from Karmir-blur.
In the Historical Museum of Armenia, Erevan. (*Karmir-blur III*, fig. 16.) *Not illustrated.*

Menua's son Argishti I (786–764, or 780–756[?]) ascended the throne in the early eighth century B.C., and his policy of territorial expansion to the west (north Syria) and the southeast (Mana and the Lake Urmia region) soon brought him into conflict with Assyria. However, Urartu's strong influence in these areas seems to have been unaffected by Assyrian armed antagonism, and Argishti enjoyed riches of the land of the Diaueḫi which also possibly opened for Urartu new avenues of trade with the west.[47] Another area which also fell under the Urartian sphere of influence was Transcaucasia and the Lake Sevan area, to the north of the central Armenian highlands around the basin of Lake Van. North of Mount Ararat, on the River Aras (Araxes) and near the present city of Erevan, Argishti founded two cities, Erebuni and Argištiḫinili. The site of Erebuni, founded during the fifth year of the reign of Argishti (ca. 781) where "600 warriors of Ḫate (north Syria and Tsupani)" were settled, has been identified by inscriptions on the entrance of a temple which is part of a complex of buildings of Urartian date at Arin-berd (Ganli-tepe). This city apparently served as a base for Urartian forces anxious to maintain control over the northern districts in Transcaucasia. Argištiḫinili, founded east of Erebuni and identified by Argishti's inscription from the vicinity of the mound at Armavir, mentions the construction of a fortress, vineyards, orchards, and a network of irrigation canals.[48] Fragments of painted mud plaster found on the site of Erebuni since 1950 appear to have originally belonged to the decoration of the temples of Haldi and Iubša, the hall adjacent to the latter, and the walls of the palace located in the northern part of the fortress.

Like the castle-rock of Van, the fortress of Erebuni may be cited as an early example of Urartian architecture. The site of ancient Erebuni, situated on the hill of Arin-berd southeast of Erevan, the capital of Armenia SSR, has been systematically excavated since 1950 by expeditions of the Academy of Sciences of Armenia SSR and the A. S. Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow. Building inscriptions commemorate the founding of a palace here by Argishti I (ca. 786–764), son of Menua. In the inscriptions the Assyrian ideogram *É.GAL* is indicated for "palace," and designates an Urartian palace fortress which served as the residence of the king during his military campaigns in the Lake Sevan area.

The palace fortress of Erebuni consisted of individual structures, erected as independent units, and constructed with several courses of large blocks of stone with the upper layers completed in brick. Important buildings were faced with finely dressed ashlar blocks, carefully fitted together, as in the large temple (*susi*) which bore the inscription of Argishti. Arin-berd appears to have been abandoned during the second phase of the Urartian kingdom (seventh century B.C.), at which time its treasures were taken to other Urartian centers such as the citadel at Karmir-blur, which has yielded objects inscribed with the name of Erebuni.[49]

The wall paintings at Arin-berd are assigned to the reign of Argishti I and his son Sarduri II (764–735, or 755–735) on account of their association with the building projects of these kings and appear to have remained unaltered until the Achaemenian period, at which time the paintings were either whitewashed or destroyed.[50] Urartian wall paintings are also known from Patnos, Çavuştepe, Karmir-blur, and Altin-tepe. With the exception of examples from the latter site, these paintings are fragmentary and poorly reproduced.[51] In general Urartian painted walls were first prepared with a fine coat of mud plaster, usually of a white color, on which black outlines were painted in secco and completed with the addition of washes in predominantly blue and red pigments. Walls were often covered with a blue wash and decorated with horizontal bands or friezes of painted designs which varied in scale according to the size of the wall and the importance of the subject matter. In technique and color scheme the Urartian wall paintings generally follow Assyrian prototypes, which are, however, modified in the use of mud plaster instead of a gypsum coat on the wall, and in the use of a richer palette (combined with painted background as found at Altin-tepe) in the Urartian wall-paintings.[52]

The subject matter of the paintings discovered in 1950 at Arin-berd consists of repeated series of geometric, floral, animal, and human forms arranged in succeeding registers of continuous bands along the walls. Rosettes, Assyrian-type pomegranate garlands, cone or bud garlands (see above, pp. 13–14), and a deity placed on the back of an animal were subjects found on fragments of wall paintings at the temple of Haldi at Arin-berd in 1951. The latest discovery in 1959–1960 of painted plaster in a large hall in the palace at Arin-berd shows a combination of motifs found earlier and a number of new forms which are arranged in superimposed registers which make up a frieze measuring 1.25 meters in width and reaching a height of 1.42 meters from the floor (fig. 4).

This large frieze contains a broad central band (decorated with concave-sided squares flanked by kneeling bulls and striding lions) placed between narrower registers (which contain rows of palmettes, battlements, sacred trees flanked by figures with pail and cone within borders of rosettes, and pomegranate garlands, respectively). While Assyrian prototypes for the kneeling bulls, the lions, concave-sided squares, rosettes, battlements, and the floral and vegetal garlands have been suggested by Oganesian, a strictly Urartian interpretation is evidence by some of the religious motifs and figures.[53] The winged and

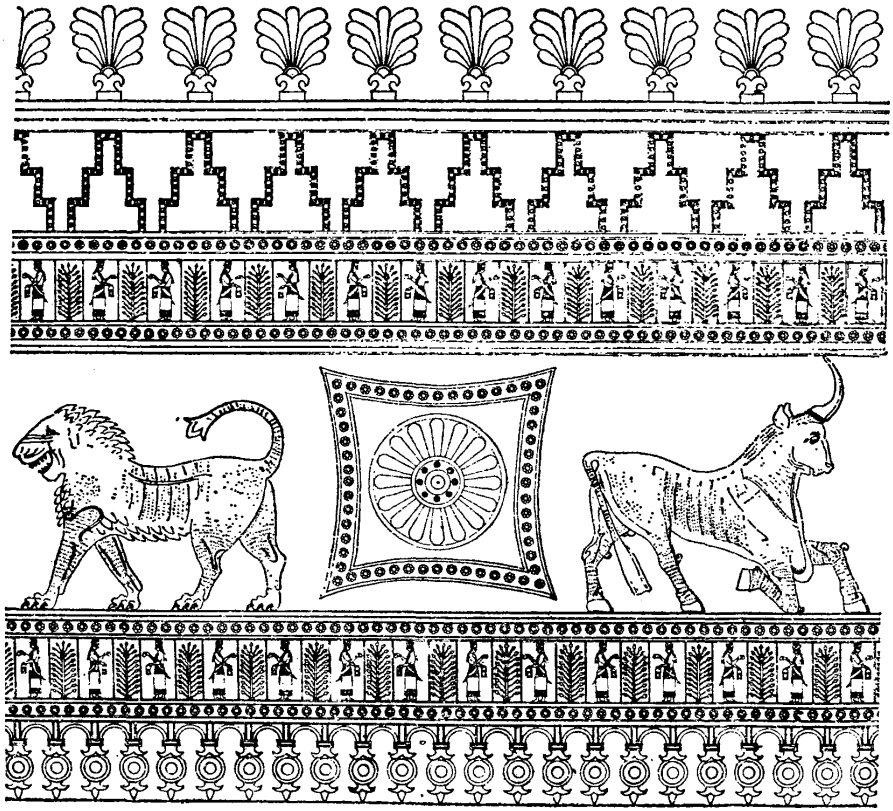

Fig. 4. Detail of sketch of a reconstructed wall painting from Arin-berd, reign of Argishti I, 786–764 B.C.

bearded figure depicted on the back of a lion probably represents the Urartian god Haldi for whom the smaller temple was probably built at Arin-berd. The black beard, horned crown, wings and the long robe show a dependence on Assyrian prototypes for this figure, but the lion vehicle of the god distinguish him as an Urartian deity which finds parallels in other representations from Urartu and north Syria.[54] Another theme which contains a possible religious implication is the representation of the sacred tree found in paintings at Arin-berd and also on the embossed and chased helmets of Argishti I and Sarduri II (see below, pp. 28 and 36). The principle of construction (which consists

of a central shaft and symmetrical lateral branches, with bud terminals framed in a rectangular composition) finds parallels in Assyrian representations of the sacred tree at Nimrud, where the terminal buds are replaced by palmettes (pl. 4). Whereas in Assyrian representations the tree is usually tended by griffin-demons and animals and less often by human figures, the sacred tree in the Urartian wall paintings is generally flanked by winged or wingless human figures with pail and cone. Unlike the griffin-demon with fringed overgarment, parted over the legs to show a short kilt, the Urartian figures all wear long fringeless robes (and ankle-length trousers at Arin-berd), which are reserved only for female figures in Assyrian art.[55] The Altin-tepe ivory figure, like similar ivory figures found earlier at Toprak-kale which show griffin-demons in short kilts and fringed garments, thus follows trends prevalent in Assyria and north Syria.[56] As at Nimrud (ninth century B.C.), Khorsabad (late eighth century B.C.), and Til Barsib (ninth to seventh century B.C.), Urartian compositions in the wall paintings at Arin-berd follow a strictly geometric division of the field into orderly panels and framed friezes in which repetitive motifs are regularly and symmetrically distributed. This strict observance of Assyrian compositional principles implies the availability of either Assyrian models for native Urartian artists, or the presence in Urartu of artists trained in Assyrian workshops. While there is no proof for either of these assumptions, a practical explanation is offered by the presence of imported artifacts (such as ivories found at Toprak-kale) which could have readily supplied all the Assyrianizing motifs (if not the Assyrian techniques of wall painting) in Urartian wall paintings.[57] A number of ivory fragments from Nimrud, dated to the eighth century B.C. (pl. 5), show a division of the field into panels and friezes decorated with repetitive geometric patterns, floral motifs, and elaborately carved textile designs consisting of consecutive squares with inscribed rosettes. The concern with decorative detail usual for the miniature style of ivory carving, often embellished with colorful inlays, evidenced in the Urartian paintings may also have ultimately influenced the style of Assyrian wall decoration.[58]

A silver cover of a vessel from Karmir-blur, bearing the inscription of Argishti I, is decorated with concentric zones of gold sheet soldered around a central knob and ornamented with antithetic rows of cone or bud garlands (pl. 6) which find their closest parallels in the wall paintings at Arin-berd. The carefully rendered ring-stem below each cone, not found on the bronze blinker of Menua's horse, may have been inspired by the greater value of the metals used in the production of the vessel cover (see above, p. 13).[59]

The bud garland pattern is also evidently represented on an embossed and chased bronze shield inscribed with the name of Argishti I around the rim, and discovered at Karmir-blur in 1951 (Room 34).[60] The face of the shield is convex and decorated with a central rosette and friezes of animal processions in concentric zones separated by bud garland borders; the back of the shield is provided with three handles.

Since no photographs of this shield are as yet available, our analysis must be limited to a drawing of the general decorative scheme (pl. 7), which becomes an Urartian general

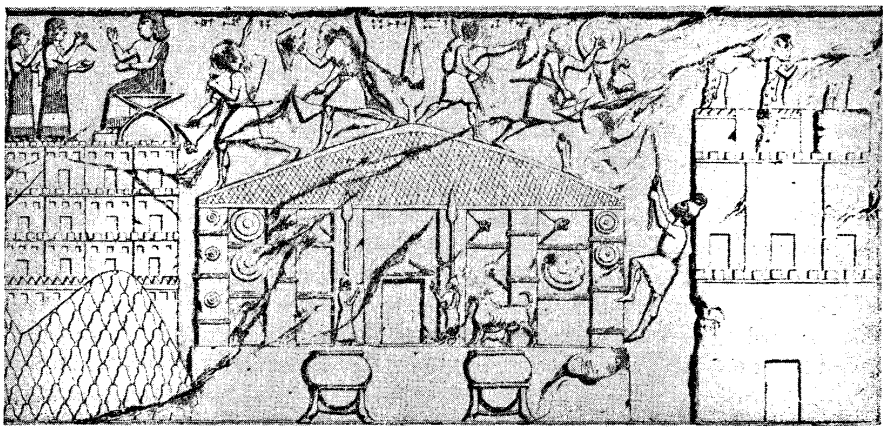

Fig. 5. Sketch of Assyrian relief from Khorsabad representing the sack of the temple at Musasir by Sargon's soldiers in 714 B.C.

convention for the decoration of shields. Separated by undecorated zones, concentric friezes of embossed and chased figures of lions (28), bulls (20) and again lions (8) are shown in procession towards the center; those on the lower half are shown right side up just as the animals on the upper half of the shield. All animals thus appear right side up, only if viewed from one position. It would appear then that a slight rotation of the shield would destroy the symmetry of this composition, a fact which implies the necessity for a single permanent position for the shield. When used as a weapon, the Urartian shield was hung in one position on the body (see below), but the ceremonial function of Urartian shields has been suspected since the discovery of the Assyrian relief from Khorsabad showing the facade of the Urartian temple at Musasir, sacked by Sargon's forces in 714 B.C. (fig. 5).[61] The inscription on Argishti's shield specifically states that the shield was dedicated to the god Haldi and manufactured *for* the city of Irpuni (Erebuni, Arin-berd) where it presumably hung in a temple until it was transported to Teishebaini (Karmir-blur). The shape and decorative scheme of Argishti's shield survived almost to the end of the Urartian kingdom as shown by the inscribed shields of Sarduri II (764–735, or ca. 755–735) and Rusa III (629–615), and supplied the inspiration for shields produced in the Greek world (see below).

Preserved examples of Urartian shields belong to two basic types; a large circular one made of bronze sheet, and a shield made of a perishable material and decorated with a bronze conical boss or umbo. The first type is characterized by its large bronze evenly convex face (diameter 70 centimeters to 1 meter), often decorated with concentric de-

signs and provided with an offset rim. Unlike the Greek hoplite shield on the back of which the main handle is centrally located, the largest handle on the back of the Urartian shield lies along a radial line, midway between the center and the rim of the shield. The two smaller handles, placed on a line parallel with the large one, probably supported a strap for suspension on the shoulder or arm.[62] As noted by Snodgrass, this method of carrying the shield distinguished the latter type from the single-grip Assyrian shields, but makes the Urartian example something of a forerunner of the multiple-handled Greek hoplite shield.[63] The Greek bronze-faced hoplite shield which came in use by the beginning of the seventh century B.C. is characterized by its large size (diameter 80 centimeters to 1 meter), evenly convex shape, sharply offset and undecorated rim, and its concentric decoration which consisted predominantly of guilloche or cable pattern and a blazon.[64] Aside from differences in the decorative scheme and the position of the handles, later Greek hoplite shields provide the closest parallels to the Urartian bronze shields.

The second type of extant Urartian shield is represented by several undecorated conical bronze and iron bosses (the umbo), originally fixed on shields of perishable material. The earliest datable examples of such metal shield bosses from Urartu bear the name of Argishti I.[65] This type of a shield should be added to the special category (Type A) described by Snodgrass, who has ennumerated examples of shield bosses from the Greek world, from the Caucasus (Trialeti) of the Bronze Age, and among the Luristan bronzes.[66] Assyrian representations of the ninth century B.C. and later show a variety of shield types which include the small round shield with a single grip, a large round shield with concentric decoration probably made of wicker, and a large rectangular shield with curved upper edges also made of wicker. A small shield with a central boss, shown carried by Assyrians and Urartians on the Balawat Gates, may have been either entirely faced with metal or it may have had only a metal boss perhaps comparable to the shield with umbo known from extant eighth century examples from Urartu.[67] On the other hand, if the "omphalos" shield represented on the Balawat Gates was entirely faced with metal (which may have been the case as suggested by a recent discovery from Marlyk, northwestern Iran, datable to the early first millennium B.C.), then the later Greek "omphalos" shields must be considered as derivations of eastern models as predicted by Snodgrass.[68] The siege of Musasir in 714 B.C. represented on the relief from Khorsabad (fig. 5) associates with an Urartian origin a third type of shield which is not preserved in extant examples. This is a small round and convex shield with an animal protome in the center which is anticipated by the weapon carried by Assyrian soldiers in reliefs datable to the reign of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859).[69] The shield with an animal protome is well known from a number of Cretan examples which have been regarded as derivations of the "Urartian" eighth-century type represented on the Assyrian relief from Khorsabad.[70] However, like the "omphalos" shield, the shield with an animal protome is not recorded in actual examples from Urartu, and its association

with an Urartian origin must remain hypothetical. It is perhaps important that both the actual and hypothetical Urartian shield types appear in Western Asia *earlier* than they do in the Greek world.

The closest parallels to the decorative scheme of the Urartian bronze shields appear on a number of sheet bronze shields from the cave of the Idaean Zeus in Crete, variously dated from the ninth to the seventh century B.C. The presence in the Cretan shield decorations of iconographic elements from Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Syria, and Urartu, has led to their attribution to a variety of artistic centers in Western Asia and the Aegean active during the eighth to seventh century B.C. While no exact counterparts for the Cretan shields are known from Western Asia, the Urartian compositional scheme on these shields is a clear indication of the westward expansion of Urartian cultural traits from the eighth century B.C. onwards. This phenomenon is probably the result of a variety of factors which may have included Argishti's policy of territorial expansion, the creation of the north Syrian city-states and their later unification under Assyrian rule, and the commercial demands of a western market for oriental goods.[71]

The booty taken by the Assyrian soldiers from the temple of Haldi at Musasir included a great number of gold and silver shields and spears which could only have had a religious significance. Furthermore, the temple of Haldi at Musasir was furnished not only with shields but it was also provided with an acroterion in the shape of a gigantic spearhead, possibly a symbol of the national god Haldi (fig. 5). Actual spearheads and other weapons were also found inside the temple at Altin-tepe, where they appear to have been placed as offerings.[72] One may ask whether the weapon was a symbol of the Urartian god or if it was also a form of his manifestation. There are only rare occasions in earlier periods in Western Asia when a deity appeared in the shape of a weapon. Examples known to us are the relief of the Hittite dagger-god from Yazilikaya (thirteenth century B.C.) and a spearhead flanked by two lions found in a temple at Alalakh, in North Syria, dated also to ca. thirteenth century B.C. These parallels, if studied in a wider context, may suggest certain affinities between some facets of the Urartian religion and beliefs of earlier peoples of Anatolia and northern Syria.[73]

That Urartian warriors of the eighth century B.C. dressed in metal armor is indicated by fragments of bronze scale armor found at Karmir-blur (Room 36) in 1952, to which belonged a bronze button bearing the inscription of Argishti I.[74] The inscription, in which Argishti dedicates the armor to the god Haldi, appears around a rosette with a double ring of petals around the central boss connected to a hook on the back (see above, p. 14). An article of horse armor which may be associated with the reign of Argishti I is an undecorated bronze blinker of a horse found in northwestern Iran, now in the collection of M. Foroughi. The inscripiton on the blinker omits Argishti's patronymic, but the similarity in shape and measurements of this cheek-plate to its companion piece, dated to the reign of Menua, supports the identification of its owner as Argishti I (see above, pp. 12–13).[75] The name of Argishti I also appears on a bronze

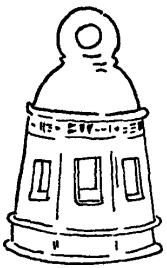

Fig. 6. Bronze bell from the Alishar post, northwestern Iran, in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad. Reign of Argishti I, 786–764 B.C.

bell which probably served as another piece of horse harness, found at the Alishar Post in Iranian territory close to Nakhchevan ASSR on the Aras River. The bell, which is decorated with rectangular openings, was among a large group of articles acquired by the Hermitage Museum in 1859 (fig. 6), but the unclear reports on these finds do not allow an attribution of the entire group to the reign of Argishti I (see below, pp. 53, 55).[76]

It is of interest that among the variety of metal articles inscribed with Argishti's name, it is only on the weapons and armor of the king that the inscriptions mention a specific dedication to the god Haldi.[77] Thus Haldi's name appears in the dedicatory inscription on a bronze arrowhead, found inside a quiver at Karmir-blur (Room 36), in 1952. This arrowhead is identical in shape to a second example bearing the inscription of Sarduri II, son of Argishti (see below, p. 42), and represents one of two types known from Karmir-blur. The first type is represented by the flat and broad leaf-shaped blade, laurel-shaped in section, with a long tang and two long barbs at the corners (fig. 7). The head has a full-length midrib which ends in a double boss at the juncture of the blade and tang which was designed to fit into the end of a wooden arrow, as shown by examples from Helenendorf, Ganja River region, in Transcaucasia. Some of the inscribed Urartian arrowheads of this type show only a single boss and in this respect they are very similar to bronze arrowheads from several sites in the Caucasus, Transcaucasia, northwestern Iran, and Luristan.[78]

The earliest extant examples of this type of arrowhead are from Anatolia (without boss), dated to the Anatolian Bronze Age, and they appear later in Egypt during the Nineteenth Dynasty (with boss). The Urartian and Transcaucasian "boss-and-barb" arrowheads appear, therefore, as eastern extensions of the Bronze Age Anatolian examples.[79]

The second type of arrowhead found at Urartian sites at Karmir-blur, Toprak-kale,

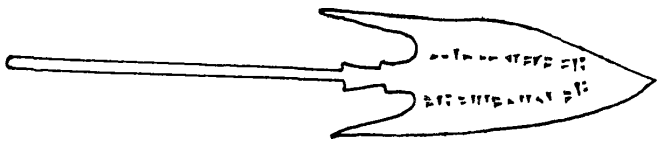

Fig. 7. Sketch of bronze arrowhead, with flat blade and tang, from Karmir-blur, at present in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad. Reign of Sarduri II, 764–735 B.C.

Haikaberd, and Arin-berd is represented by a small socketed bronze head having two to three edges, with or without a projecting spur on the socket.[80] This type is known from many sites in Asia, Europe, and Egypt and has been generally associated with the expansion of Scythian tribes in the seventh century B.C. T. Sulimirski regards the two-edged specimens from Phrygian sites in Anatolia, dated to the period of Cimmerian invasion at the end of the eighth to the beginning of the seventh century B.C., as the earliest examples of the socketed arrowhead. He associates the three-edged socketed arrowheads with a Transcaucasian origin, datable to the end of the eighth or the beginning of the seventh century B.C., and believes that this type evolved there from a combination of the earlier two-edged arrowhead (with pronounced midrib and tang) and a miniature spearhead.[81] Sulimirski's attribution of the origin of the socketed three-edged arrowhead to Transcaucasia may now require revision in view of the mass of data since published on such arrowheads found in Soviet excavations in the Volga and southern Ural regions. The latter are two- and three-edged socketed examples datable to the seventh century B.C., with antecedents in earlier two-edged heads from the same areas. K. F. Smirnov ennumerates examples of the two-edged variety datable from the mid second millennium B.C. to the eighth century B.C. (found in the Srubnaia culture of the Volga region, the beginning of the Andronovo phase in Kazakhstan, the late Bronze Age in Fergana, and in Western Siberia) which may be derived ultimately from the socketed two-edged spearheads from Eastern Europe and Siberia.[82]

The discovery of the socketed non-Urartian arrowheads in Urartian sites (pl. 8) has led to various speculations concerning the final date of the destruction of the citadel at Karmir-blur and the identity of the enemy forces. Sulimirski, who admitted that not all of the three-edged arrowheads found in Transcaucasia belonged to the Scythians, regarded the socketed arrowheads with two and three edges from Karmir-blur as indicative of the Scythian destruction of that citadel. He based his assumption on two facts: (1) Barnett's observation that, other than a pair of gold earrings, no articles datable to the years after 625 B.C. were known from Karmir-blur, and (2) the presence within the

citadel of Scythian remains, including horse skeletons and trappings, and articles made in the Scythian style.[83] Barnett would see the Medes as the enemy that destroyed Karmir-blur around the time of their attack on Nineveh in 612 B.C., while D'iakonov suggested that a coalition of Medes and Scythians made the final attack on the Urartian citadel in 608 B.C. or later.[84] Piotrovskiĭ, who associated the inscription found on the banks of River Razdan opposite Karmir-blur with the citadel of Teishebaini founded there by Rusa II in the middle of the seventh century B.C., believed that the Urartian occupation of the citadel at Karmir-blur lasted until the beginning of the sixth century B.C. The find of unfinished Scythian objects and artifacts in the craftsmen's quarters at Karmir-blur and the evidence provided by Assyrian literary sources appear to confirm Piotrovskiĭ's contention that by the late seventh century B.C., Scytho-Cimmerian tribes had united with the Urartians in Transcaucasia *before* the final destruction of the citadel at Karmir-blur. The archaeological evidence from Karmir-blur appears to present two separate phases of Scythian penetration into the citadel; an early phase when Scythian objects were both imported to and produced at Teishebaini, and a second phase which brought about the final destruction of the Urartian site (evidenced by the three-edged arrowheads imbedded in the walls of the citadel). The presence of Scythian horse trappings on the horse skeletons found in a storage chamber at Karmir-blur was attributed by Piotrovskiĭ to the last conflagration which ended occupation at the citadel. The discovery of tablets inscribed with the names of the latest Urartian kings at Karmir-blur now confirms Piotrovskiĭ's arguments in favor of a date in the late seventh or early sixth century B.C. for the final destruction of the citadel of Teishebaini at Karmir-blur.[85]

A decorated bronze helmet of Argishti I was found in a storage jar in Room 28, at Karmir-blur during the excavations conducted in 1950. The funnel-shaped contour of this helmet associates it with three inscribed helmets belonging to Argishti I and his son Sarduri II (see below, p. 36), and with numerous Urartian uninscribed examples.[86] The helmet is without chin-strap and ear-flaps and resembles Assyrian pointed helmets from the ninth century B.C. and later, but also examples from the Caucasus and at Hasanlu in northwestern Iran (pls. 9–13). Urartian helmets of the ninth century B.C., to judge by Assyrian representation on the Balawat Gates (pls. 14–15), consisted of a round cap with a crest across the top and a chin-strap. Such a helmet is found on a number of bronze figurines in the British Museum (from Toprak-kale) and the Louvre, and exists in an actual bronze example from Hasanlu, northwestern Iran.[87] The crested "Urartian" helmet, which is regarded as a survival from the Bronze Age Hittite type shown on the figure represented on the King's Gate at Hattusas (Boghaz-Köi), is possibly the ancestor of the crested helmets which developed separately in Assyria and Greece. S. M. Baŝtieva suggests a connection between the crested helmet indirectly associated with Urartu during the ninth century B.C. and helmets of north Syrian and Anatolian origin. She regards the Urartian adaptation of the Assyrian funnel-shaped type as a reflection of the change in the cultural and economic interests of Urartu in the eighth century B.C.[88]

The rim of the pointed helmet is decorated with embossed and chased figures within two parallel friezes, with double saw-tooth border design, which on the back and sides of the helmet repeat a rider alternating with a war chariot converging towards the front of the helmet where the lateral processions are terminated by four pairs of vertical panels which curve towards the center and end in lions' heads. The front of the helmet shows three registers of sacred trees with flanking figures which are alternately winged and bearded. The uppermost frieze contains within an elliptical frame the sacred tree consisting of a central shaft with lateral branches terminating in cone-shaped buds. The flanking figures wear long robes and horned helmets, and in the lower registers alternately show wings and beards, and hold a pail and a cone in a manner found in the paintings at Arin-berd (fig. 4). They are iconographically derived from Assyrian prototypes of the ninth to eighth century B.C. (e.g., pl. 4), but the consistent representation of long robes on all the figures distinguishes the Urartian theme from Assyrian art, where only the female figures are shown in straight long robes, while the men display the garment drawn back to reveal a bare leg.[89] The lions' heads shown on attenuated necks, while defining the limits of the lateral friezes, also suggest in their position the horned helmets of Western Asia. The gaping head of the lion represented in profile, with its rounded proportions, circular ear and pattern of the jowl, is reminiscent of the Late Hittite lions from northern Syria (see below, pp. 39 ff.).[90]

The sides and back of the helmet show a double frieze of riders alternating with war chariots repeated in identical groupings and with identical gestures. The rider is beardless and wears a pointed helmet, carries a javelin and a round shield, and sits on a prancing horse with raised forelegs. The horse's pose, with its pointed ears and knotted tail, as well as the gear of the rider, are all anticipated in Assyrian art of the first half of the ninth century B.C. at Nimrud, and the fan-shaped bridle ornament occurs on Assyrian chariot horses represented at Nimrud and on the bronze gates of Shalmaneser III (859–824) from Balawat (pl. 14).[91] The chariot horses on Argishti's helmet are typologically identical with the saddle horses and, like the Assyrian figures, show circular tassels behind the forequarters and a yoke band below the reins connecting the animals to the chariot. The chariot itself, with room for two men, and its eight-spoked wheels, also has parallels in earlier Assyrian reliefs.[92] To judge by examples preserved from the late Bronze Age, earlier Transcaucasian chariots were somewhat different from the Assyrian type found in Urartu. Both four-wheeled carts and two-wheeled chariots have been preserved in the kurgans, dated to the thirteenth to twelfth century B.C., located to the northwest of Lake Sevan (Lchashen village) in Transcaucasia. While the chariot wheels from this find had up to 28 spokes, the carts had solid round wheels like the more archaic Transcaucasian vehicle on four wheels known from the Trialeti kurgans (mid second millennium B.C.). Small models of chariots from the Lake Sevan area, like the actual example, show the Transcaucasian chariot to have possessed a curved arc for the rod connecting the yoke to the carriage, shown suspended over the horse.[93] The

chariots represented on Argishti's helmet, however, are strictly in the Assyrian tradition. But, in comparing Urartian art with that of Assyria, we must of necessity look back to examples of more than a century earlier, since hardly any works of art are preserved from the period which separated the reigns of Shalmaneser III (858–824) and Tiglath-pileser III (745–727), a fact which has been attributed to the decline of Assyrian power at that time.[94]

The similarity in the technical execution of the decoration on Argishti's helmet and that of the bronze gates of Balawat (ninth century B.C.) warrants their comparison (pls. 10–15). The overall compositional scheme, the arrangement of figures in consecutive friezes, the details of the trappings of the horses, the chariots and the armor of the warriors are all anticipated in the Assyrian bronze embossed and chased gates, yet there are sufficient elements to distinguish the Urartian decoration as the work of a local artist.[95] In contrast to the narrative character of the Assyrian relief, the Urartian artist repeats a formal group of figures in a symmetrical and decorative fashion. While the Urartian frieze may be interpreted as a military procession, it lacks the variety of gesture, pose and distribution of figures found in Assyrian narrative compositions. The same heraldic and formal groupings of figures is found on the front of the helmet where the leonine heads emphasize and frame the friezes of sacred trees with flanking figures in alternate groups. The Assyrian relief shows long-limbed horses with gracefully attenuated necks rather different from those represented on the Urartian rellef, which shows the small and compactly built local breed with its neck drawn back at a sharp angle to the body. Most of the warriors on the Urartian relief are beardless, which appears to have been customary for Urartian representations of human figures, while figures with divine attributes are sometimes bearded (i.e., winged god with a lion vehicle from the painted fragments from the temple of Haldi, Arin-berd; winged figures flanking the sacred tree on the Urartian helmets, pls. 11, 17).

The shape of Argishti's helmet is repeated in an undecorated bronze helmet from Karmir-blur (Room 37), found in 1953, which bears an embossed fork-shaped sign on the front and Argishti's dedicatory inscription to Haldi around the rim.[96]

SARDURI II, 764 or ca. 755–735 B.C., son of Argishti I.

Inscribed articles:

Bronze decorated helmet, from Karmir-blur.
At present in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad. (*Karmir-blur I*, figs. 40–41B, pl. 12; *Iskusstvo Urartu*, pls. XVI–XIX, figs. 41, 79.) Plate 16.

Bronze decorated shield, from Karmir-blur.
In the Historical Museum of Armenia, Erevan. (See also *VT*, pls. XXXVII, XXXIX; *Iskusstvo Urartu*, pls. XXII–XXV, figs. 39–40.) Plate 18.

Bronze shield boss, from Karmir-blur.
In the Historical Museum of Armenia, Erevan. (*Karmir-blur II*, fig. 34.) Plate 19.

Bronze lion's head, probably used as a vessel attachment, from Karmir-blur.
In the Historical Museum of Armenia, Erevan. (*Iskusstvo Urartu*, fig. 37.) Figure 9.

Bronze decorated quiver, from Karmir-blur.
In the Historical Museum of Armenia, Erevan. (*Karmir-blur I*, pls. 13–15; *VT*, pl. XL.) Plate 21.

Bronze arrowhead, from Karmir-blur.
At present in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad. (*Karmir-blur III*, fig. 30.) Figure 7.

Bronze horse's bit, from Karmir-blur.
In the Historical Museum of Armenia, Erevan. (*VT*, p. 154, not illustrated.) *Not illustrated.*

Bronze bowls, from Karmir-blur.
In the Historical Museum of Armenia, Erevan. (*Karmir-blur II*, fig. 30; *VT*, pl. XXXV, b.) *Not illustrated.*

RUSA I, c. 735–713 B.C., son of Sarduri II.

Inscribed articles:

Undecorated bronze bowls, from Karmir-blur.
In the Historical Museum of Armenia, Erevan. (*Karmir-blur II*, fig. 32.) *Not illustrated.*

Sarduri II (764 or ca. 755–735), like his father Argishti, has left a record of his annals which have been discovered in two parts: the text discovered in 1916 by I. A. Orbeli on a stele from the western niche of the Van rock, and the text inscribed on two blocks found in the church of Surb Pogos at Van. Since the events described in these inscriptions are not attributed to specific years in the reign of Sarduri, considerable variation of opinion exists concerning the sequence of these events and their chronological relationship.[97] In a recent study of these texts, Melikishvili has determined, on the basis of comparison with Assyrian texts, that the stele from the church of Surb Pogos (part of which is lost) relates events from the beginning of the reign of Sarduri II, while the stele from the "western niche" pertains to the later years. We find that in the first years of his reign (according to Melikishvili, 764–750) Sarduri is occupied in a campaign against the king of the city of Melitea (Malatya), followed by an Urartian victory over the Assyrian king Assurnirari V (753–746), an event which must be dated later than 753 B.C. A campaign against Babilu (possibly the Namru of Assyrian records)[98] follows a lost gap in the text. This campaign is assigned to 751–750 B.C., since it would have been precisely such an event that would have instigated Assurnirari V to campaign against Namru in 749 and 748 B.C. (if the Babilu-Namru identification is accepted). The inscription from the "western niche" continues the narration of events from the succeeding years, with each year separated from the next by the phrase: "For the god Haldi, I accomplished these deeds."

One possible date-peg in the remainder of the inscription from the "western niche" is the campaign against Kuštašpi, king of Kummuḫ. The Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III mentions that, in the third year of his reign (743 B.C.), Sarduri was allied with Kuštašpi against Assyria, and assuming that the preceding chronological sequence is correct, Sarduri's campaign against Kummuḫ can be dated to 746–744 B.C. The annals of Sarduri are concluded by events down to the years 740–739 B.C., although there is no allusion to the important war which took place in Syria between Sarduri II and Tiglath-pileser III of Assyria in 743 B.C. But then, Urartian annals, like those of Assyria, seldom dwelt on the defeats of the king.[99]

The two areas of special interest to Sarduri II were Transcaucasia and the north Syrian cities. The repeated campaigns into the country of Eriaḫi and Lake Sevan district provided Urartu with a ready supply of prisoners and cattle. Building inscriptions from Arin-berd (Erebuni) and Armavir (Argištiḫinili) and its vicinity suggest an interest in the maintenance of these Transcaucasian cities which served as bases against the north. Three generations of Urartian kings, down to Sarduri II, had subjugated the Diaueḫi, one of the peoples of the Kulḫai (Colchis). R. D. Barnett suggests that by their advance to the northwest the Urartians were able to make contact with the Mediterranean world, through Trapezus (Modern Trebizond), on the Black Sea and in the Colchian territory, traditionally founded by the Milesians in the year 757 B.C. The port of Trapezus would have provided an outlet for oriental goods passing along the trade route from Elam through Manna, which, according to Barnett, was then linked with the great road passing from Erzerum (near which Urartian objects have been found) to the Black Sea.[100]

Urartu's second major sphere of influence at this time was in north Syria to the west and southwest of the Van kingdom. Since Sarduri's first campaign against Melitea and his subsequent successful conflict with Assyria, Urartu had formed an alliance with Kuštašpi of Kummuḫ (Commagene), Sulumal of Melid (Malatya), Tarḫulara of Gurgum (Marash) and Mati'-ilu of Arpad. Again Assyria reacted, but this time, under the able leadership of Tiglath-pileser III (745–727) and with a reorganized army, the Assyrians broke up the Urartian camp in Commagene, and proceeded to subject the north Syrian cities.[101] The strong Assyrian opposition towards an alliance between Urartu and the north Syrian cities probably had several reasons, one being the monopoly of trade with the west which could travel via the north Syrian states, as suggested by R. D. Barnett and Piotrovskiĭ. A. A. Baramidze suggests that Urartian dominion in north Syria and southeast Anatolia would have ensured Urartu a plentiful supply of timber and metals, including iron, necessary for the manufacture of war armament. He argues that in view of the availability of iron deposits in Urartian territory itself, Urartu's desire for the control of the deposits aimed at denying these valuable raw materials to Assyria, which lacked iron deposits in its own territory.[102]

Rusa, son of Sarduri, ascended the throne around 730 B.C. and embarked upon the restoration of some of the territory which had broken away from the Urartian kingdom after the siege of 735 B.C. In Transcaucasia Rusa founded two towns which he named after the gods Haldi and Teusheba and the remains of his fortifications at Nor-baiazet and T͡sovinar, near Lake Sevan, are witness to his building activity in that area.[103]

So long as Urartian expansion was limited to northern territories in Transcaucasia, relations with Assyria remained peaceful, but, with Urartu's shift of interest to north Syria and the Urmia region, Assyria was once more on the war path. Sargon of Assyria (722–705) began his reign by a systematic subjection of Syria and Palestine, which had revolted in 720 B.C. In 719 B.C. Sargon campaigned against Manna, the old bone of contention between Assyria and Urartu. Sargon's records from this year begin the dramatic story of the Assyro-Urartian conflict which continued for the next five years, and from which one may deduce that the

territories to the northeast of Assyria were joined by a loose union, headed by Rusa of Urartu, who championed an anti-Assyrian cause.[104]

Sargon's early campaigns were aimed at frontier territories which acted as buffer states between Urartu and Assyria, while a direct conflict with Urartian forces had been avoided. Sargon was ostensibly following the same policy when in 714 he conducted his eighth campaign against the lands of the Mannaeans and the Medes. But suddenly we find the Assyrian forces turning northwards along the eastern shores of Lake Urmia, where they encounter Urartian troops led by Rusa at the foot of Mount Uauš. After the ensuing battle, the Assyrians march northwards around Lake Urmia and pass along the northern shores of Lake Van and reach Hubuškia, south of the lake, where the main body of the Assyrian troops marches back to Assyria, while Sargon at the head of a thousand picked fighters makes a sudden assault on the city of Musasir, before returning to Assyria. The details of this campaign are elaborated in the dramatic text of Sargon's letter addressed to Assur and the other gods of the city of Assur, and to its inhabitants. In spite of the great value of this text for the determination of the topography of the region and the names of persons and places, the information it provides is mainly descriptive, and the narrator avoids any reference to the motives of the protagonists and any objective view of the situation.[105]

Sargon's campaign of 714 B.C. began with attacks on the Mannaean lands and the Medes. The assault on Aukanê, a district of Median Zikirtu (southeast of Lake Urmia), proved fruitless, since the local ruler, Metatti, an ally of Rusa, made a timely escape—"he gathered together all the people of his land, took them up into the distant mountains, with great difficulty, and they were seen no more." [106] The arrival of Rusa on the scene was probably not entirely unexpected by Sargon, if we associate a letter of Beliddina to Sargon with this phase of the campaign.[107] In this letter Sargon is warned that messengers from Andia and Zikirtu had informed the Urartian king at Uasi that their lands had been attacked by the Assyrians, and that the Urartian kings had immediately set out for Zikirtu with the intention of giving battle to Sargon. About the encounter between the two protagonists, Sargon writes: "because I had never yet come near Ursâ (Rusa), the Urartian, and the border of his wide land, nor poured out the blood of his warriors on the (battle)-field, I lifted my hands, praying that I might bring about his defeat in battle, turn his insolent words against himself, and make him bear his sin." [108] The ensuing battle resulted in favor of the Assyrian troops, but Rusa escaped. Sargon's army then embarked on a long march through Urartian countryside, which is described with interest and admiration. The objective of the march is not stated, but the result was a savage destruction of Urartian forts and fields along the route which passed north of Lake Urmia and around the northwestern shores of Lake Van, arriving at Uaiais, the Urartian frontier fortress. However, this fortress, "whose workmanship was exceedingly skillfully carried out" proved impregnable to the Assyrians.[109]

Sargon thus left the last Urartian frontier town without making an attempt to attack the Urartian capital Tushpa. The king of Nairi, residing at Hubuškia, presented his gifts to the Assyrian king, and Sargon departed. But while the bulk of his army returned to Assyria along

the eastern banks of the Tigris River, Sargon at the head of a thousand picked fighters made his way to Musasir, where he made a surprise attack upon the undefended city. O. L. Oppenheim suggests that while Rusa and his troops were pursuing the retreating mass of the Assyrian troops, Sargon made his clandestine attack on Musasir. To judge by Assyrian intelligence reports, however, Rusa was engaged in combat against a wave of Scytho-Cimmerian tribes on Urartu's northern frontier.[110]

It is most likely that Urzana, king of Musasir, had made a pledge of neutrality, indicated by his correspondence with Assyrian authorities.[111] But Urzana's affiliation with Rusa of Urartu was only to be expected in view of their geographical and cultural proximity. Musasir housed an important temple of Haldi, the supreme god of the Urartian pantheon, and it guarded a considerable portion of the treasures of the Urartian kingdom. According to Sargon's report, it was here that the rites of crowning the Urartian king were celebrated. This report corresponds in its essentials with a bilingual inscription of Rusa, set up at Topzaua, southeast of Lake Urmia, an area which was probably part of the domain of Musasir. This is one of the longest inscriptions of Rusa, and is of particular interest since it relates possibly to events which shortly preceded the Assyrian campaign against Musasir:

"Rusa son of Sarduri (says) the following: Urzana, king of Ardini (Musasir) came before me, I took upon myself the trouble of (providing) subsistence for all his army.

"As a result of this blessing, to the gods on a high road, a dwelling I built for the (god) Haldi, for the prosperity of Rusa. I installed Urzana as ruler of the region, I made him reside in the city of Ardini (Musasir).

"In the same year, I, Rusa son of Sarduri, returned to the city of Ardini (Musasir). Urzana, on the high throne of his ancestors, the kings, mounted me . . . Urzana before the gods in the house of the gods in my presence made the libations. At this time, for the god Haldi, the lord, I erected within the gates, a temple, the abode of his divinity. Urzana provided me with auxiliary troops . . . , war chariots, whatever was available to him; I took with me the auxiliary troops, and with the command of the god Haldi, I, Rusa, went off to the mountains of Assyria. I made (there) a slaughter. After this Urzana grasped my hand, I supported him . . . , I installed him in his place of lordship, so that he could rule. The inhabitants of the city of Ardini (Musasir) were present (for this event), what I sacrificed I gave entirely to the city of Ardini (Musasir); I ordered a holiday for the people of the city of Ardini (Musasir). Then I returned to my country.

"I, Rusa, servant of the god Haldi, faithful pastor of the nation, (who) with the aid of Haldi and the force of the troops, do not fear opposition. God Haldi has given me power, authority (and) joy in the course of all my life. I ruled the country of Biaini (Urartu) (and) have subjugated hostile countries. The gods have given me long days of joy, (and) besides the days of joy . . . after that . . . peace was established.

"Whoever destroys (this inscription), whoever breaks (it), whoever commits (such an act), may the gods Haldi, Teisheba, Shivini (and all the gods) destroy his family and his name." [112]

Sargon's sack of Musasir was a political as well as an economic and moral disaster for

Urartu. The exact circumstance of the death of Rusa is not known, and there are conflicting reports even in the Assyrian sources. Sargon's annals for the eighth year report Rusa's suicide, but the letter to Assur intimates illness, which Sargon attributes to the shock of the news about the sack of Musasir, "Ursâ (Rusa) heard and sank down to the ground, he rent his garments and bared his limbs, he pulled off his headband, tore his hair, beat upon his breast with his hands, threw himself on his back, his heart stood still, his body burned, in his mouth were cries of pain. Over Urartu, to its farthest border, I spread mourning and cast eternal weeping over Nairi." [113]

The bronze decorated helmet of Sarduri II, found at Karmir-blur (Room 38) in 1947, in shape and arrangement of decoration closely resembles the earlier helmet of Argishti I (see above, pp. 27–29), from which it differs only in the stylistic details of its decoration. The lion's head on Sarduri's helmet has a simplified double line for the jowl different from earlier lion's heads, which showed a spiral curve at the base of the jowl below the neck (pls. 16 and 17). An extensive use of tiny punched circles on the central composition depicting the sacred tree and flanking figures on Sarduri's helmet distinguishes the latter decoration from analogous details represented on Argishti's helmet (pl. 11). The difference in the artist's hand demonstrated in the decoration of the helmets of Argishti I and Sarduri II may be explained on grounds of the chronological difference between the two works, a fact which is suggested by variations in their inscriptions.[114]

Shields inscribed with the name of Sarduri II are of two types: the bronze shield boss (umbo) intended for frames of a perishable material, and the circular sheet bronze shield. Both types, found at Karmir-blur in 1950 and 1953 (Room 38), follow prototypes known from Argishti's reign (see above, pp. 21 ff.). As on Argishti's decorated bronze shield, Sarduri's inscription appears around the rim followed by concentric animal friezes between borders of bud garlands (see above, p. 21) and an undecorated zone. Notable differences between the two decorative schemes, however, are the fewer animal figures and the undecorated circular center on Sarduri's shield (fig. 8, pls. 18–20).[115] The animals represented in such friezes on Urartian shields generally advance in formal processions and introduce a compositional scheme different from the decorative or heraldic groupings and hunting scenes known from Assyrian art.

The striding bulls, represented in profile (fig. 8, pl. 19), are shown with horns pointed forward and tail pointed down at a sharp angle to the line of the back. Bands of wavy lines and continuous rows of chased spirals are placed along the back, shoulders, hindquarters and at the end of the tail, and muscular markings are rounded; a "wish-bone" pattern is repeated on the foreleg and a "knuckle-bone" shape on the hindlegs. Assyrian representations of bulls, from the ninth century B.C. and later, show analogous proportions, the same distribution of hair along the back, belly and tail, but they have strongly marked ribs and definite markings on the hindquarters, and lack the bold geometricised "wish-bone" and "knuckle-bone" of the Urartian bulls.[116] Besides the processional

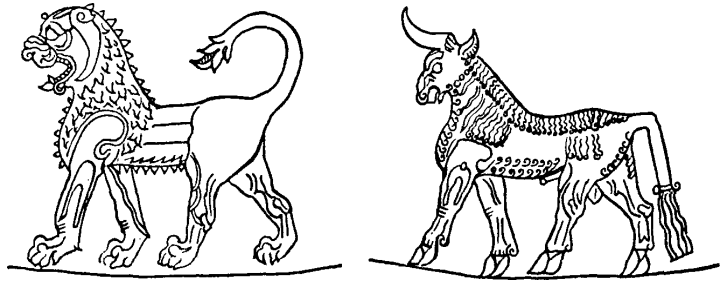

Fig. 8. Sketch of a detail from the chased and embossed bronze shield of Sarduri II, 764–735 B.C., from Karmir-blur, in the Historical Museum of Armenia, Erevan.

friezes, bulls are represented in kneeling positions or as vehicles for standing figures as shown by the bronze figurines from the Toprak-kale throne (pl. 52), the chased and embossed decoration of bronze strips from Karmir-blur (fig. 14), and the stone relief from Adilcevaz.[117] The identification of the stylized curls and rib markings as covers or rugs on the backs of bulls, proposed by Burney and Özgüç, may be rejected on grounds that similar markings appear also on the backs of bulls represented in hunting scenes on a bronze strip from the vicinity of Arin-berd (fig. 11).[118]

The lion procession on Sarduri's shield shows the striding animal in profile, tail curled over the back and with gaping jaws (fig. 8, pls. 19–20). The details of the compact body are stylized and decorated with precise and definite incisions; the mane and the hair on the belly and tail are shown by a series of V-shaped or saw-tooth strokes which find an earlier parallel in the wall paintings from the temple at Arin-berd (fig. 4).[119] The short, round profile of the lion's head resembles the heads on Sarduri's own helmet which are similar even in the indication of a small circle incised above the muzzle (pl. 17). Compared to the earlier Urartian lions' heads (pl. 11), Sarduri's lions have a more simplified jowl, shown as a tapering band extended from the round ear to the base of the neck where it ends abruptly. In addition to the usual "wish-bone" leg marking, Sarduri's lions have shoulder markings shown as double incised lines which curve into a spiral at the end, and double curved lines on the legs. The palmette wrinkles on the head, prominent claws (and curled tails of the shield figures) of these lions relate them to Assyrian prototypes,[120] while their round heads and button-shaped ears associate them with Urartian representation, particularly with examples contemporary with those on the helmet of Sarduri II (see above, p. 36), and with a bronze lion's head from Karmir-blur, found in 1957.

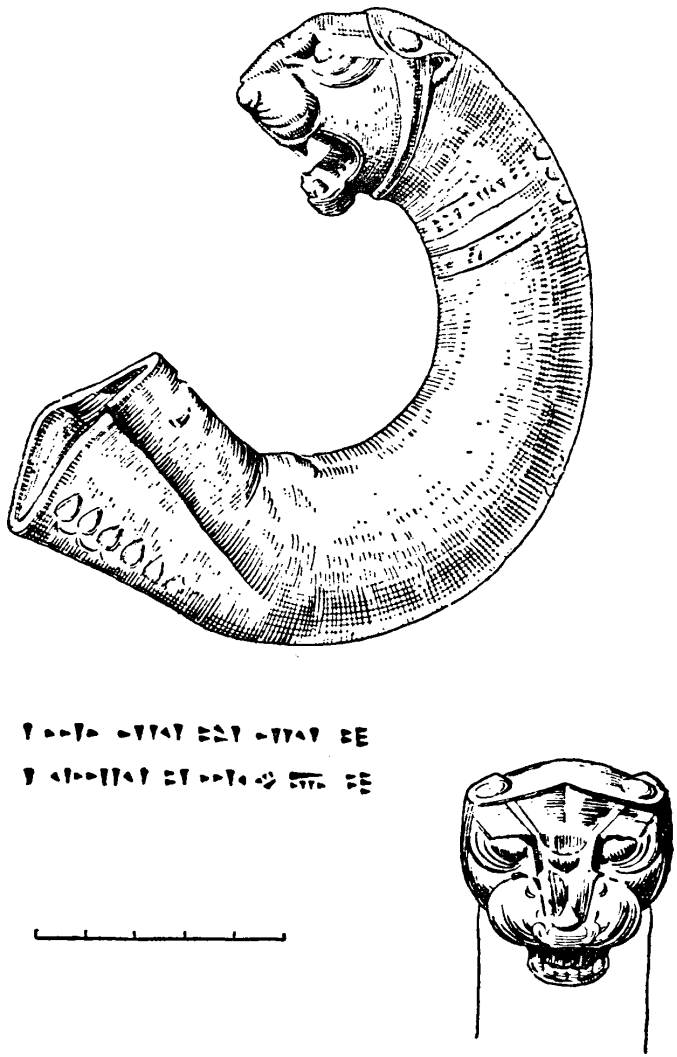

Fig. 9. Sketch of a cast bronze lion's head on a hollow neck, probably used as a vessel attachment, from Karmir-blur, in the Historical Museum of Armenia, Erevan. Reign of Sarduri II, 764–735 B.C.

Probably a vessel attachment, this bronze lion's head (fig. 9) is cast in the round and attached to a hollow attenuated neck which recalls the long-necked heads represented on the front of the helmets of Argishti I and Sarduir (pls. 10, 16). A double line of inscription placed above a vertical strip of bud garlands engraved along the neck gives the name and patronymic of Sarduri II. The cone or bud garland appears here in the simplified form found on Sarduri's shield and on the bronze blinker of Menua's horse, and not in the more elaborate form seen in the wall paintings and on the silver vessel cover from the reign of Argishti I (see above, pp. 13–14, 19, 21, 36). The short and round lion's head, with its palmette wrinkles, gaping jaws and button ears joined by a double line to the base of the neck, is typical for other Urartian lions represented in profile (fig. 8, pls. 7, 20) during the mid-eighth century B.C. and different from Assyrian representations.[121] The outline of the mane around the face of the Urartian lion is a definite line or fold which forms a deep angle on the forehead and curves around each ear, producing a button-shaped projection. Barnett has compared the gable pattern on the brow of the Urartian lion with the same detail found on lions of the latest phase of Late Hittite art from Sakcegözü and Zincirli (730–700). To this parallel between the Urartian lions and those of the Late Hittite period may be added the deep fold around the face and the button-shaped ears which are ultimately derived from Hittite prototypes of the second millennium B.C.[122]

The Urartian representation of the complete figure of the lion (fig. 8), however, depends heavily on Assyrian models in the slender proportions, muscular markings, curled-up tail and mane distribution.[123] This symbiosis of Late Hittite and Assyrian elements in Urartian art is a vivid expression of Urartu's cultural affiliation. Urartu's strong ties with the north Syrian states were broken only during the last year of the reign of Sarduri I (735 B.C.), when Assyria's decisive campaigns gradually brought the north Syrian states under the domination of Assyria by the end of the eighth century B.C.

Although vessel attachments in the shape of various animal heads are usual for the Iron Age cultures of Transcaucasia and surroundings, the Urartian lion's head attachment provides a unique example of a specific type hitherto unknown among finds from Western Asia.[124] A descendant of the ancient art of Western Asia in the discipline of its formal expression, the Urartian lion's head on its curved and elongated neck provides a close link with numerous protomes used as cauldron attachments in Greece and Etruria during the first half of the first millennium B.C.[125] The closest parallels to the Urartian head are six protomes from Vetulonia (Circolo dei Lebeti), two from Praeneste (Barberini tomb), ten from two analogous cauldrons from Cervetri (Regolini-Galassi tomb), six from a different cauldron from the same tomb, two of unknown provenience in the Louvre and in Berlin, and an example from Olympia.[126] As there is little doubt that all these protomes served as attachments for bronze cauldrons on which they sometimes appear in their original position, we may safely assume a similar function for the Urartian lion's head which curves inwards in the manner of the protomes on one of the cauldrons from Cervetri.[127]

Even without knowledge of the discovery of the Urartian lion's head at Karmir-blur, R. Maxwell-Hyslop and E. Akurgal specifically named Urartu as the place of origin of some of the protomes on bronze cauldrons found in Greece and Etruria.[128] Less specific original oriental centers were proposed by P. Amandry who regarded the lion protome from Olympia as a product of Mesopotamian art on the basis of the technique of its execution, and R. Pallottino who distinguished Urartu as only one of the Asian sources which inspired the production of the protomes in the west.[129] In his study of the Etruscan lion, W. L. Brown associated the lion protomes from Vetulonia and Olympia with Assyrian art of the eighth to seventh century B.C., the Barberini protomes with a mixed oriental style (consisting of Assyrian, Syrian, and Anatolian features), and assigned the rest of the protomes from Etruria (Regolini-Galassi, Berlin 11874, Louvre 2620) to Etruscan workshops.[130] A stylistic comparison of the Urartian lion protome with those from Greece and Etruria reveals for each representative example a different proportion of Assyrian, Syrian, and Anatolian features. As noted by Brown, the Barberini protomes, which share with the protomes from Vetulonia and Olympia a strong reliance on Assyrian prototypes, have the rounded ears of north Syrian lions.[131] It is, however, the Olympia protome (and presumably the poorly reproduced protomes from Vetulonia, reportedly similar to the latter) that comes closest to the Urartian lion's head in the proportions of the head and mouth, and probably in the direction of the curve of the neck.[132] But the smaller eye sockets and the broad roll of reticulated mane on the throat of the Olympia lion associate it with Assyrian rather than Urartian lions. Brown's group of protomes of "Etruscan provenience" which includes the three cauldrons in the Regolini-Galassi tomb, Louvre 2620, and Berlin 11874, is stylistically farthest removed from the Urartian protomes. A mixture of Assyrian, Syrian, and Anatolian elements appears in a gold lion's head attachment from Ziwiye, northwestern Iran, which Ghirshman has compared with Urartian representations of lions.[133] The rounded head and button ears of the Ziwiye lion associate the latter with the Urartian and the north Syrian tradition, but the detailed indication of the mane, the curls on the brow, and the ribbed nostril pattern of the Ziwiye lion place that head in an artistic center other than Urartu. Ghirshman regarded the Ziwiye griffin and lion protomes as attachments made for a funerary cauldron made for the tomb of the Scythian chieftain buried at Ziwiye in the seventh century B.C. The small proportions of the Ziwiye protomes and the material of their manufacture, however, distinguish them from contemporary examples of cauldron protomes found in Greece and Etruria.[134] Stylistic differences and the combination of the techniques of casting and hammering[135] found in the Urartian lion protome (and met later in the bronze candelabrum from the reign of Rusa II, see below, pp. 62 ff.) which are not exactly duplicated in any of the *comparanda* cited above, lead us to distinguish the latter as products of workshops other than those responsible for the Urartian lion protome and subsequent Urartian lion representations (see below, p. 68).

Metalworking centers which attempted imitation of cauldrons outside of Urartu may have been inspired simply by the technical excellence of the Urartian prototypes. On the other hand, the desire to reproduce such cauldrons may have been strengthened by an understanding of the ceremonial function of these great vessels. Like the "siren" attachments (see below, pp. 54 ff.), the Urartian lion protome probably peered over the contents of a round bronze cauldron resembling those represented outside the Urartian temples of Musasir on the Assyrian relief and found on its stand in the Urartian chamber tomb at Altin-tepe (fig. 5, pl. 30). The association of such cauldrons and their stands with tombs and temples both in Urartu and in the west has instigated a number of speculations concerning the meaning and function of the cauldrons and their decoration. K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop, in associating the lion protomes with Nergal, the Mesopotamian god of the underworld, would derive the ritual use of the cauldron in Etruria from the Assyrian cult of the dead.[136] Despite the funerary use of the cauldron in association with the Etruscan tombs, the representations of such cauldrons in the art of Western Asia traced by the same author do not suggest a strictly funerary function of such vessels in the orient.[137] Furthermore, our ignorance of the circumstances connected with the death of persons buried in the Etruscan tombs does not warrant a definite association of the lion protomes with Mesopotamian spirits of sickness. In the Assyrian representation of the Urartian temple such cauldrons are placed before the facade of the temple where they may have been used in religious sacrifices to which allusions are made in the inscription of Rusa I from Topzaua (see above, pp. 35–36). As vehicle of the god Haldi, the lion may have had specific religious associations for the Urartians, who interpreted the motif according to their local beliefs. M. Pallottino gives a socio-economic interpretation for the presence of luxury goods such as the orientalizing cauldrons in Greece and Etruria. He notes that in non-monarchical Greece such items are found chiefly in large sanctuaries, while in Italy (as in Assyria) they belonged to the ruling classes who carried their wealth to their graves.[138] It is, therefore, not surprising that in the theocratic Urartian state where the ruling dynasty assumed priestly functions, ceremonial and luxury items, such as the large bronze cauldrons, are associated both with religious and with secular contexts.[139]

While reproductions of the cavalcade on Sarduri's helmet are not yet available for study, the same scene represented on Sarduri's two inscribed bronze quivers might be used to fill this gap (pl. 21). The bronze quivers, which were found at Karmir-blur in 1940 (Room 5), and in 1948 (Room 13), have a shaft, ca. 65–70 centimeters long, 10 centimeters in diameter, made up of a curved bronze plate with two rings at the upper and lower corners intended for straps.[140] One side of the quiver was of a perishable material, probably leather, placed against the body of the warrior, a type of quiver regularly shown on Assyrian reliefs from the ninth century B.C. and later, and known from actual bronze parallels from the Urartian burials at Altin-tepe and Kayalidere, and from Hasanlu in northwestern Iran.[141] Sarduri's quivers are decorated with parallel

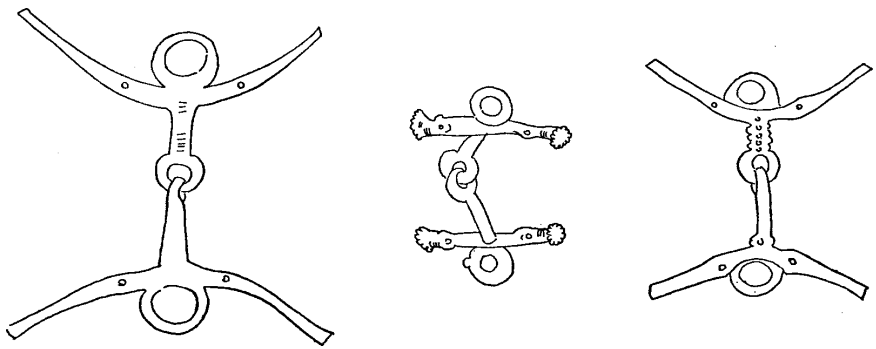

Fig. 10. A. (Left) Bronze bit from Dolanlar, Transcaucasia, ca. seventh century B.C. B. (Center) Bronze bit from Mingechaur, Transcaucasia, ca. seventh century B.C. C. (Right) Bronze bit from the northern Caucasus, ca. seventh century B.C.

friezes of chased and embossed figures of riders alternating with war chariots, arranged between embossed bands followed by a chased saw-tooth pattern. While the saw-tooth border appears also on Sarduri's helmets, the embossed bands occur only on the quivers. The cavalcade on Sarduri's quivers is clearly copied from that represented on Argishti's helmet (see above, pp. 27–29; pls. 12–13), showing similar proportions of figures and grouping of elements, with minor variations in the chased decoration, such as the triangular tassels shown above the forelegs of the saddle horses on Sarduri's quiver.[142]

Sarduri's inscribed arrowheads, found inside his quiver at Karmir-blur (Room 36), in 1952, are laurel-shaped in section (fig. 7) with a broad flat blade and a long tang resembling the arrowhead of Argishti I (see above, pp. 25–27).[143] A large number of similar arrowheads found near Helenendorf, in the region of the Ganja River in Transcaucasia, suggest the method of attachment by means of the insertion of the tang into the wooden tip of the arrow shaft tied at the points of their juncture.

A bronze horse's bit, bearing an inscription of Sarduri II, found at Karmir-blur (Room 48) in 1954, displays a superficial resemblance to the bronze snaffle-bit from Menua's reign (fig. 3).[144] Menua's snaffle-bit was provided with movable cheekpieces passed through a bronze mouthpiece, a type of bit which was widespread in Transcaucasia during the late Bronze Age and later (see above, pp. 14–15), while Sarduri's bit associates it with a later group of bits found generally from the end of the eighth century B.C. in Transcaucasia and Assyria (see below, pp. 50–52), showing the cheek- and mouthpiece cast together and then hooked to its pair. This later type is distinguished from the earlier also by the presence of spikes or studs, usually found on the mouthpiece

and intended to insure additional control. Assyrian examples of this type of bit were found at Nimrud and Egypt, dated to the end of the eighth century B.C., and have parallels in a large group of bits from Georgia and Transcaucasia.[145] It would appear then that Sarduri's bit, while directly related to the more archaic type represented by Menua's bit, functioned in a manner similar to Western Asiatic bits of the type prevalent from the end of the eighth century B.C., and represents perhaps a transitional stage between the two types.

A variation of the later type of bit is found in an Urartian tomb at Nor-aresh, near Erevan, showing curved cheekpieces decorated with globular terminals.[146] Other Transcaucasian examples show the cheekpiece as curved or straight (fig. 10). The latter type, with animal-head terminals on the cheekpieces, has now been found in an Urartian burial at Altin-tepe, near Erzincan in eastern Anatolia, dated to the reign of Argishti II (713–685) (pl. 22). The twisted mouthpiece and the animal-head terminals, as well as the straight line of the cheekpieces, are perhaps an indication of the later date of the Altin-tepe bit (early seventh century B.C.)[147] (see below, pp. 50–52).

Sarduri's inscriptions on articles other than weapons make no specific dedication to the god Haldi, but are rather statements of possession, such as those on the bronze bowls found in storage jars at Karmir-blur (Room 25) in 1949. The circular inscription on the bottom of these bowls is usually topped with pictographic signs of uncertain meaning showing a tower, a tree, and usually a lion's head.[148] A goblet-shaped article of thin bronze sheet, bearing Sarduri's name, found in 1957 at Karmir-blur (Room 14), appears to have served as a casing for a wooden furniture leg. Its walls are decorated with zones of saw-tooth pattern found also on Saduri's quiver and helmet, and the base has an engraved rosette.[149]

Hardly any inscribed articles have survived from the reign of Rusa I (ca. 735–713[?]), a fact which may owe as much to the political turmoil in Urartu at that time as it does to the chance of archaeological discovery. The only articles bearing the name of Rusa I are an undecorated bronze shield and five bronze bowls discovered at Karmir-blur in 1949.[150] On the inner base of these bowls Rusa's inscription appears in a circle with a tower and tree and a lion's head in the center, similar to the hieroglyphic signs on Sarduri's bowls.

II

TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

ARGISHTI II, 713–685 B.C., son of Rusa I.

Inscribed articles:

Decorated bronze strip, from Altin-tepe.
In the Ankara Museum. Plate 23.

Bronze horse's bit, from Altin-tepe.
In the Ankara Museum. Plate 22.

Bronze chariot part in the shape of a horse's head, from Altin-tepe.
In the Ankara Museum. Plate 27.

Bronze cauldron attachments and tripod, from Altin-tepe.
In the Ankara Museum. Plates 30–32.

Bronze and silver furniture legs and decoration, from Altin-tepe.
In the Ankara Museum. Plate 42.

Jewelry and other articles of personal adornment, from Altin-tepe.
In the Ankara Museum. Plates 44–45.

Argishti II (713–685), son of Rusa, probably ascended the Urartian throne upon the death of his father in 713 B.C. His name is mentioned in records of Sargon's fourteenth year of reign, where he is accused of plotting with Mutallum of the land of Kummuḫ (Commagene), "a wicked Hittite." Kummuḫ was captured in 708 B.C. and an Assyrian governor was appointed there. Argishti's name appears also in connection with the city of Harda in letters to Sargon. Argishti's own inscriptions commemorate the building of cities, vineyards, and irrigation canals, and feats of physical prowess (one inscription proudly marks the place whence Argishti shot an arrow over the distance of 950 cubits).[151] Argishti's reign probably outlasted that of the Assyrian king Sennacherib, who was murdered in a palace uprising (681 B.C.), and whose murderers subsequently escaped to Shupria. A memory of this event is preserved in the Second Book of Kings (chapter 19, verse 37) where Ararat, rather than Shupria, is the place where the murderers are said to have taken refuge to escape punishment.

Until recently, inscribed artifacts from the reign of Argishti II were limited to a single seal impression (bulla) of an Urartian stamp-cylinder, bearing a tentatively interpreted inscription.[152] This clay impression, found at Karmir-blur in 1952, repeats twice a sacred tree flanked by a pair of fantastic figures, each shown with wings, a lion's body and a human torso. While the action of the figures is anticipated on the helmets of Argishti I and Sarduri II (pls. 11, 17), their anatomical attributes resemble those found in the figures in the wall paintings from Altin-tepe and on a cast bronze statuette in the Hermitage Museum which originally formed part of a bronze throne from Toprak-kale (pl. 53). Like the figures on the helmets, the creatures on the seal wear horned helmets, but otherwise resemble the beardless, six-limbed statuette from Toprak-kale.[153] Of special interest is the stylized sacred tree, made up of superimposed double volutes topped with cones. The absence of a central shaft, which was an essential part of the earlier Urartian sacred trees and of Assyrian trees in general (pl. 4), distinguishes the seal

representation from the latter and associates it with a number of finds from the Scythian burials at Kelermes and Litoy (Melgunov treasure), from Ziwiye and Transcaucasia, all datable to the seventh and the early sixth century B.C.[154] These parallels did no more than to suggest a date in the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century B.C. for the Urartian seal impression, which was associated with the reigns of either Argishti II or Sarduri III (639–635), son of Rusa. Recent excavations at Altin-tepe and Karmir-blur, however, have produced evidence for a more definite dating of the sacred tree shown in the Urartian seal impression. In the wall paintings from Altin-tepe, tentatively dated to a period shortly after the reign of Argishti II, the sacred tree appears with a central shaft according to the earlier Assyrian convention, quite unlike the shaftless tree on the Urartian seal impression under discussion. On the other hand, seal impressions on the recently published clay tablets from Karmir-blur, dated to the reigns of Rusa II and Sarduri III (ca. 640 B.C.) and later kings, show the sacred tree as a series of interlocking tendrils.[155] These comparisons, therefore, indicate a period no earlier than the reign of Rusa II (685–639) for the date of the Karmir-blur bulla.

The seal impression mentioned above probably belongs to a cylinder-stampseal which represents one of the five categories of Urartian seals outlined by Piotrovskiĭ.[156] Although the Assyrian-type cylinder seal with longitudinal perforation was known in Urartu, as shown by the seal of Urzana of Musasir,[157] the typical Urartian cylinder is distinguished by a top loop for suspension and a design on the base which served the function of a stamp seal.[158] The discovery of the Urartian tombs at Altin-tepe, near Erzincan in eastern Anatolia, has now considerably enriched our knowledge of the material culture of Urartu and specifically that dating from the reign of Argishti II. These tombs, which were built of well-dressed masonry on the slope of a hill and covered with earth and stones, were first accidentally discovered in 1938 and 1956, and since 1959 have been reexamined by a Turkish archaeological team under the supervision of T. Özgüç.[159] The tombs were inhumation burials, both with and without coffins, belonging to members of the Urartian ruling aristocracy whose material affluence is reflected in the rich furnishings of these tombs.[160] The undisturbed burial excavated by the Turkish team in 1959 has yielded a complete inventory of tomb furnishings which supplement and aid in the reconstruction of the tomb furnishings found earlier. The corpus of material from the Altin-tepe burials belongs to the time of an Urartian prince who was a contemporary of Argishti II, thus providing us with a category of articles which are datable to the transitional period (seventh to the beginning of the sixth century B.C.), between the first and second phases.

The preservation of Urartian heirlooms at Karmir-blur cautions against a definite identification of the date of the Altin-tepe tombs with that of their contents. However, in the absence of chronological evidence to the contrary, and under the assumption that the Altin-tepe grave-goods constituted the personal possessions of the deceased (presumably made in his lifetime), in the following discussion this grave inventory is

tentatively placed within the reign of Argishti II in whose reign the tombs were presumably built.

One of the categories of finds from Altin-tepe that is datable to the reign of Argishti II consists of articles of dress and personal adornment, which were found by the excavators in the unopened tomb and constitute the largest group of Urartian articles of precious metal yet discovered. In the first chamber (or ante-room) of this burial was found a decorated bronze strip folded and placed with some articles of horse trapping inside a bronze cauldron. Originally sewn on a leather or fabric backing (pls. 23 and 24), this bronze strip, or "belt," is of a type known from other Urartian sites and from neighboring territories where it is usually decorated with embossed and chased designs shown in a triple frieze along the length of the "belt." [161] The Altin-tepe bronze strip shows three identical processions of figures placed at regular intervals against an undecorated background surrounded by a border of a single cable pattern. Horsemen, winged horses, lions, goats, and fantastic animals are repeated thrice and treated as self-contained compositions without any connection to the next figures. Although the figures are not connected by an immediately meaningful content, they are placed in an orderly composition with rhythmic intervals between figures, which have a formal interrelation in the raised forelegs of every animal. The outlines are precise and definite and details are indicated by chased dots and parallel lines. The horsemen wear pointed helmets and raise a spear in one hand while grasping the reins in the other, in a manner found among the riders from a hunting frieze shown on a "belt" from Nor-aresh (near Erevan) in Transcaucasia (fig. 11). It is likely that the Altin-tepe belt also represents a hunting scene, elements of which are suggested by the raised forelegs of the animals, and also by the fact that the riders are without shields but are equipped only with spears as hunters.

The only published detail of the animal procession is a winged horse (2.5 x 2.5 centimeters) with extended wings and leaping pose, and with proportions resembling earlier Urartian representation (pl. 24).[162] These figures are indeed our only datable representations of the winged horse from Urartu, a motif which has antecedents in Assyria and successors in Greek art. It is only from the seventh century B.C. that the *pegasos* is represented as a winged horse in Greek art, where the wings are shown in a curved position as in Phoenician art, but the Urartian horse, with raised forelegs and straight wings, finds a close parallel in the embossed decoration of a bronze plaque from Luristan in the Archaeological Museum, Teheran (pl. 25).[163]

The compositional layout of the Altin-tepe "belt" provides a valuable pivotal point for a stylistic analysis of other belt designs from less certain contexts. The Urartian strip from Nor-aresh (fig. 11), near Arin-berd, shows each frieze framed with double lines which also define the panels at the end of the horizontal friezes. The heraldic lions in the vertical panels, the clear statement of the hunt suggested by the pierced animals, and the representation of the sacred tree with a central shaft, are all factors which associate this belt with Urartian art from the reigns of Argishti I and Sarduri II, about the mid-

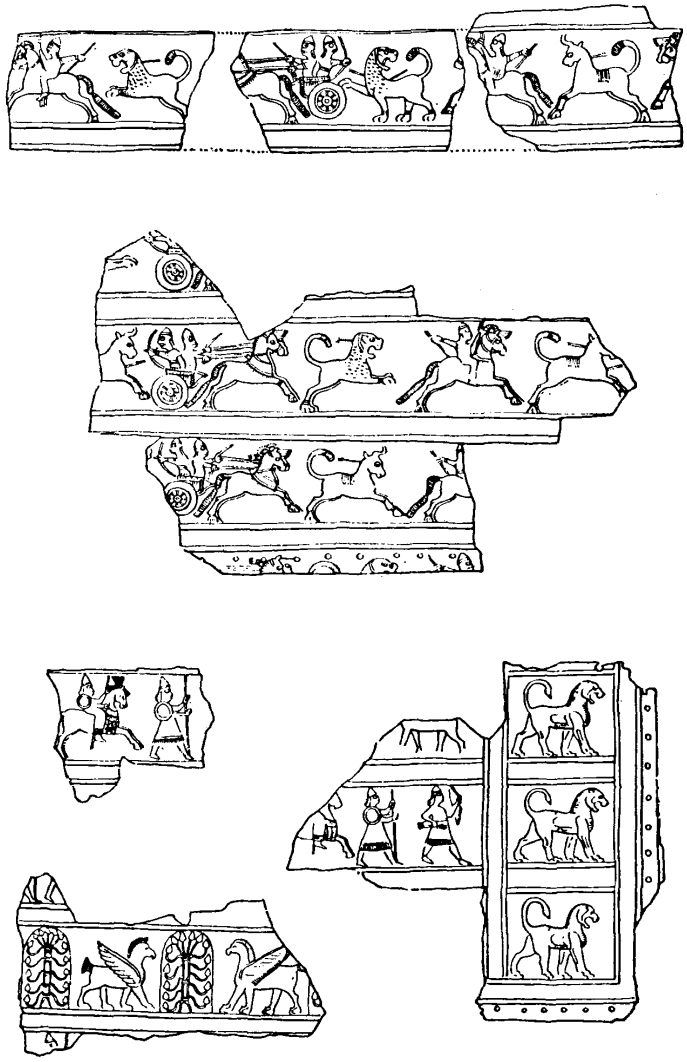

Fig. 11. Sketch of a fragmentary bronze strip from Nor-aresh, near Erevan, in the Historical Museum of Armenia, Erevan.

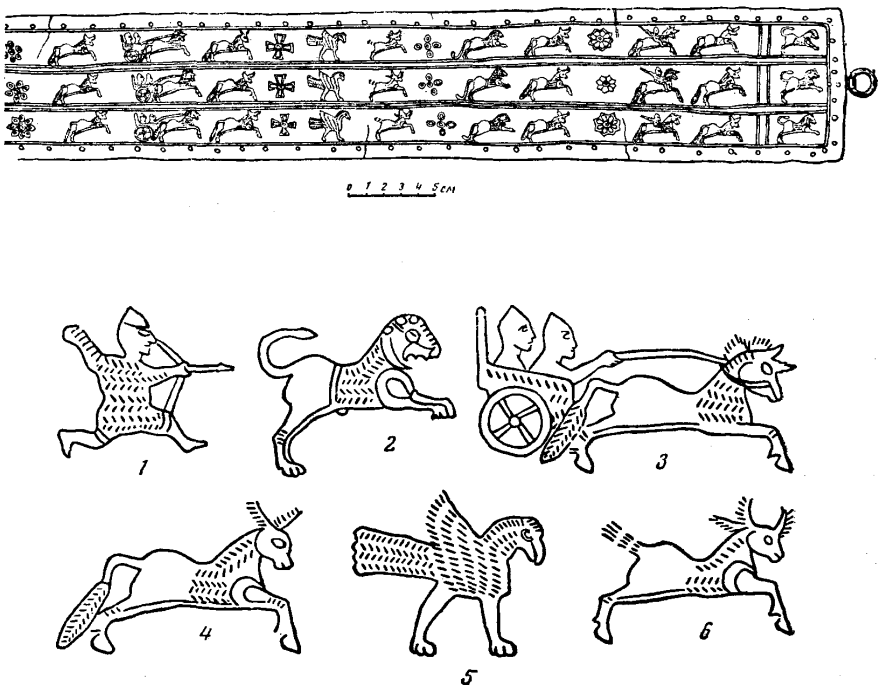

Fig. 12. A. (Top) Sketch of a bronze belt from Tli, Transcaucasia (southern Ossetia). B. (Bottom) Detail of figure 12:A.

eighth century B.C.[164] A more schematized version of the hunting scene, but also shown in framed friezes and panels, is displayed on a bronze belt from Tli, in Transcaucasia (fig. 12).[165] The riders, chariots, animals, fantastic figures, and rosettes are shown in framed processions, but the figures are separated from one another by regular intervals as on the Altin-tepe strip. The Tli "belt," in which a clear statement of the hunt appears together with a formal arrangement of figures in individual units, may be placed stylistically between the bronze strip from Nor-aresh and the one from Altin-tepe, and is thus perhaps datable to the end of the eighth century B.C. The Altin-tepe strip, which is the next in the series (pl. 23), shows no frames or panels, but the figures are arranged at regular intervals, interspersed with rosettes and fantastic elements which minimize the narrative meaning of the hunt, which is preserved only in the raised forelegs of the animals and the attributes of the riders. This strip, which is datable to the end of the

eighth or the beginning of the seventh century B.C., has an arrangement very close to the decoration of a bronze belt from Gushchi (Lake Urmia) (pl. 26), for which a slightly later date may be suggested on account of the increased number of ornamental palmettes and circles in the design.[166] The last stage of this type of composition may be seen in the design of "belts" from Zakim, Ani-pemza and Karmir-blur, which show individual figures placed against a highly decorated background of a network of volutes, palmettes, and circles, or placed within borders of similar motifs (figs. 13 and 14). The theme of the hunt is only suggested in the raised forelegs of the animals.[167] The linked volutes forming the sacred tree, which is shown without a central shaft, the free use of descriptively irrelevant decoration, and finally the religious figures on these belts, associate them with the latest phase of Urartian art towards the end of the seventh and the beginning of the sixth century B.C.

The earlier assumption that such decorated bronze strips were used as belts in Urartu has been questioned recently by R. W. Hamilton.[168] The latter has brought attention to the excessive length of these strips, the absence of clasps on the ends of the bands, their fragmentary condition, and the occurrence of horse trappings with the Altin-tepe "belt," which have led this author to suppose that such bronze strips served as a rim for the Urartian chariot cart.[169] However, the discovery of the Urartian bronze strip in an inhumation burial excavated in 1958 at Tli, in southern Ossetia, overlooked by Hamilton, provides information pertinent to this subject. The Tli "belt," believed to have been a trophy by the excavator, preserves a ring for attachment on one end, and was found folded and intact on the bones of one of the skeletons in the burial (apparently placed in that position at the time of a second interment).[170] Furthermore, just as in the cremation burials containing such bronze strips from Igdyr, no items of horse gear were found with the deceased in the inhumation burial at Tli.[171] The evidence from the Igdyr and Tli burials would, therefore, negate a definite association of such bronze strips with horse trappings in those instances. The excessive length of a number of these strips still invites speculation as to their actual use, which need not have been the same for every example. The fact that bronze strips, which are generally found in Urartian cemetery sites, fine their closest typological parallels among belts found on skeletons in other Iron Age burials in the Caucasus still lends support to the original identification of some of these metal strips as belts.[172]

In the first chamber of the tomb excavated in 1959 were found bronze parts of a war chariot and horse trappings and bits. The horses' bits are reportedly of two types: the first is described as resembling Menua's bit from Karmir-blur (fig. 3) and thus of the earlier Transcaucasian and Western Asiatic variety with movable cheekpieces (see above, pp. 14–15), while the second type has rigid cheekpieces (pl. 22) and belongs to the variety used from the end of the eighth century B.C. in Assyria, Transcaucasia, and elsewhere, and perhaps anticipated by Sarduri's bit from Karmir-blur (see above, pp. 42–43).[173] The presence of the rigid bit at Altin-tepe may be taken as an indication of the existence

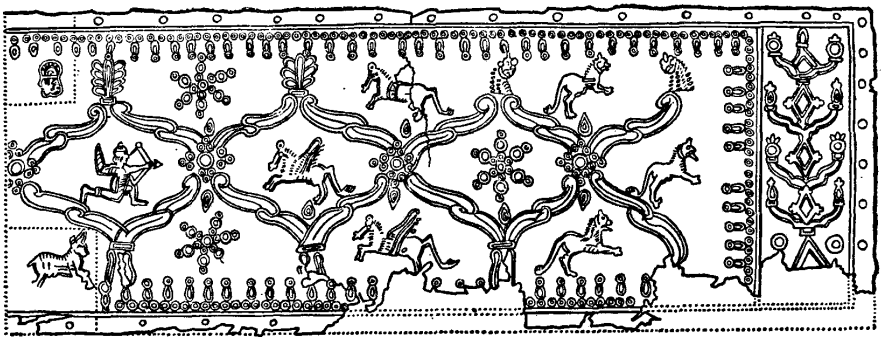

Fig. 13. Sketch of a bronze strip from Zakim (Kars), in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.

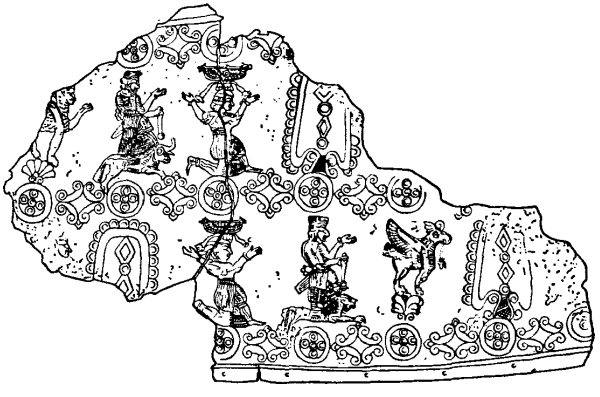

Fig. 14. Sketch of bronze strip from Karmir-blur, in the Historical Museum, Erevan.

of two different horse breeds in Urartu; a larger and more powerful horse which was evidently introduced during the reign of Sarduri II (ca. 755–735) (see above, pp. 42–43), and the local small Transcaucasia breed which required only the soft bit (see above, pp. 14–15).

The chariot parts found in the same chamber consist of bronze terminals of chariot poles in the shape of a horse's head cast solid and chased, measuring 7 centimeters (pl. 27). This head, with its protruding eyes, pointed ears, and mane indicated with parallel lines, closely resembles a bronze horse's head found at Karmir-blur in 1957, which originally probably also served as a terminal of a chariot pole (pl. 28). The latter, which is larger (17 centimeters) and finely modelled, shows an identical treatment in the contour of the mane and forelock, but is without the indication of trappings. The use of animal-head terminals on chariot poles may have been widespread in Assyria and Transcaucasia (see above, pp. 28–29), but our only parallels come from representations of chariots on Assyrian reliefs (pl. 29).[174] The antiquity and place of origin of the animal-headed chariot pole are subjects for speculation. Although the Assyrian type chariot is clearly represented on the Urartian helmets (see above, pp. 28–29, pls. 13, 16), and shown on the bronze model from the shores of Lake Sevan, there is reason to believe that some Urartian war chariots preserved archaic features from Bronze Age Transcaucasian and Caucasian chariot types.[175]

The inventory of the other Altin-tepe tombs, opened accidentally in 1938 and 1956, appears to belong to the same period as the tomb excavated in 1959 and their contents likewise constituted vessels, furniture, articles of dress, ornaments, and weapons.[176] Among the large number of vessels from the three Altin-tepe tombs, the most outstanding for its size and fine workmanship is a large cauldron (.51 meters high, .72 meters broad) of beaten copper on a massive tripod stand (pl. 30), discovered in the chamber tomb opened in 1938, and now in the Ankara Museum. The cauldron is provided with four attachments placed around the rim, each cast and chased in the shape of a bull's head attached to a T-shaped plate riveted to the rim of the cauldron (pl. 31: A–B). This bull's head attachment has been compared to two attachments from Toprak-kale in the British Museum (pl. 33), decorated in greater detail, which originally also probably belonged to a set of four cauldron attachments.[177] The Toprak-kale bulls' heads have detailed chasing in the stylized collar of locks, stylized curls, and wavy lines on the forelock, herringbone pattern on the eyebrows and the T-shaped plate to which the head is attached, and the details of the muzzle and eyes are indicated by chased lines with a minimum of modelling. The linear and ornamental treatment of this bull's head has parallels in Assyrian art, where the motif of the bull's head appears in the decoration of furniture and weapons particularly from the ninth and eighth centuries B.C., but there the bull is shown with short horns and a curved forelock.[178] The square forelock is perhaps the most typical and unique feature of the Urartian bull's-head attachments and appears on all the bulls' heads found in Urartian territory. The stylistic

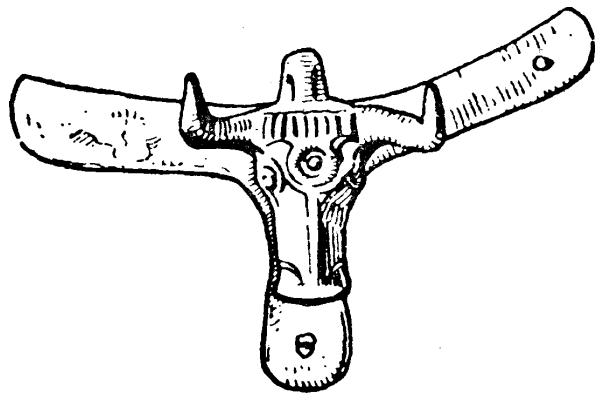

Fig. 15. Sketch of a bronze bull's head attachment from Karmir-blur, in the Historical Museum of Armenia, Erevan. Probably late seventh century or early sixth century B.C.

development of the Urartian bull's head attachments, as is convincingly argued by G. M. A. Hanfmann, appears to show a gradual trend towards the simplification of chased details and a growing emphasis on modelled planes, illustrated by the stylistic difference between the Toprak-kale bull's head attachments (pl. 33) and the small simplified heads which probably come from the latest period of Urartian art, from Karmir-blur (fig. 15).[179] According to this pattern of stylistic development we would place as earliest in the group of Urartian bull's-head attachments the examples from Toprak-kale, which perhaps date from the end of the eighth century B.C. (perhaps from the reign of Rusa I), and the Karmir-blur heads as the latest, with a series of other heads which fall between these termini.[180] Bulls'-head attachments of unquestionably Urartian manufacture may be tentatively arranged in the following stylistic and chronological order: Toprak-kale, Altin-tepe, Alishar post in Transcaucasia,[181] Gushchi (Lake Urmia),[182] and the Karmir-blur heads. The Altin-tepe heads (pl. 31: A–B) with the chased ringlets on the forelock and collar, combined with the rounded countours and the plastic treatment of the head, are stylistically slightly later than those from Toprak-kale, but earlier than the Alishar head (pl. 34) which has a simplified collar of wavy lines. The Gushchi heads do not show the collar at all and are more plastically rendered and are thus from a later stage which is succeeded by the oversimplified heads from Karmir-blur (fig. 15).

These Urartian bull's head attachments are distinguished from similar heads made elsewhere in the ancient world by their square forelock, long horns, and the T-shaped

plate used for attachment to the cauldron, all of which are found on the examples mentioned above.[183] Bull's-head attachments from Greece and the west, as well as the type represented in Achaemenid Persian art, show a rounded forelock,[184] while the bull's head attachments from Gordion and Ankara lack the square forelock and carry ring handles (not found on the Urartian examples).[185] The ring handles of the latter attachments associate them with the Phrygian metal vessels which generally have ring handles and these probably travelled farther west. Greek imitations of the bull's-head attachment show a dependence upon the Anatolian rather than the Urartian prototypes in the rounded forelock, and the horseshoe or round plate which often replaces the T-shaped plate used for the attachment of the bulls' heads to the vessel. Thus, the bull's-head attachment from the Great Tumulus at Gordion (end of eighth century B.C.), with its triangular forelock and ring handle attached to the T-shaped plate, finds a close parallel in the bull's head attachment from Cumae in the National Museum at Copenhagen.[186]

Other types of Urartian cauldron attachments have not been found in firmly datable contexts, but in view of the controversy about the origin of such metal articles in the west, we might digress briefly to specify some Urartian stylistic features observable in cauldron attachments in shapes other than the bull's head. Cauldron attachments in the shape of a griffin protome, found in Greek sanctuaries from the seventh century B.C. and later, are so far wholly absent in Urartian art, but the discovery of a bronze griffin attachment in a pre-Cimmerian level at Gordion (end of the eighth to the beginning of the seventh century B.C.), provides us with a prototype in Phrygian art which may have been one source of inspiration to Greek craftsmen of the seventh century B.C. This Phrygian griffin displays long ears, a knob on the head, and open beak, characteristic also for the Greek griffins.[187]

A third group of bronze cauldron attachments are the so-called "siren" figures which show a human torso connected to a T-shaped plate in the shape of a bird's outstretched wings and tail, which, like the bull's head attachments, are cast solid in the lost wax process and chased. The siren attachments from Urartian territory are provided with a loop on the back (probably for a ring) and two openings below the arms and wings. The heads are generally oval in shape with a straight hairline and large rolled locks on each shoulder, with the hair indicated by parallel lines and not the tight curls typical of Assyrian art.[188] The collar is decorated with chased bands of tiny circles and triangles and over each shoulder passes a broad band which is represented in relief on some examples. Only six such siren figures have been found in Urartian territory, but since none come from a firmly datable context, we might seek a guide for the stylistic development of these figures by analogy with the bull's-head attachments mentioned above (see above, pp. 52 ff.).[189] Thus, in general, the more elaborately chased and linear siren figures might be placed earlier than the simplified and more plastically modelled figures. The most elaborately decorated and linear example in the group of six sirens from Urartian territory, found at Van and now in the Berlin Museum, displays a lobed hairline

and scalloped wings and tail, herringbone pattern of hair and wings, punched circles on the dress and triangular grooves along the shoulders. Seen from the back, the figure appears to emerge from a winged sun disc with flanking tendrils, resembling the treatment of the same motif in the art of northern Syria during the early part of the first millennium B.C.[190] The tendrils and tight scale pattern represented on the back of the wings of this figure are not found on the second Urartian siren attachment in the Vogüé Collection in Paris, which shows a double-headed figure wearing crowns resembling Urartian helmets of the ninth century B.C.,[191] but like the first siren this figure shows an elaborately chased herringbone pattern on the wings and around the rim of the central disc. Stylistically later than the above examples are three siren figures from Toprak-kale in the Istanbul Museum (pl. 35), which have strongly modelled features and a chased pattern on the torso resembling the last figure in the series from the Alishar post in Transcaucasia, now in the Hermitage Museum (pl. 36). The latter is perhaps the very latest in the series, since the features and the cords on the shoulders are treated in high relief. The Alishar siren appears to be stylistically parallel to the bull's-head attachment also from the Alishar post and presumably from the same burial (see above, p. 53). This bull's head was placed stylistically between the Altin-tepe heads (dated to the reign of Argishti II, 713–685) and the somewhat later Gushchi heads, suggesting a date in the early seventh century B.C. for the Alishar siren. Since the Alishar siren is stylistically a *terminus ad quem* for the other Urartian siren figures, the earlier figures must date back from the seventh to perhaps the end of the ninth century B.C.

The siren attachments from the Great Tumulus at Gordion (pls. 37–40) are stylistically close to the later Urartian sirens from Toprak-kale in Istanbul, and their presence in the context datable to the late eighth to early seventh century B.C. supports our stylistic evidence.[192] The bearded male "siren" attachments with the shaved upper lip from Gordion (pls. 39–40) have counterparts in the double-headed attachments from Tomba dei lebeti in Vetulonia, but are without parallel among the discoveries made in Urartian territory. The analogy between these male attachments and Late Hittite sculpture from northern Syria might suggest, however, the existence of workshops in territories neighboring on Urartu, which, since the seventh century B.C., produced metalwork in a mixed style strongly influenced by the Urartian tradition. It is at this period and from this background that articles such as bronze cauldrons and their attachments were imported from Western Asia into Greece and Etruria. Thus, the siren attachments from the Etruscan tombs (Tomba dei lebeti in Vetulonia, Benardini tomb in Praeneste), even if imports from Western Asia as believed by some investigators, need not be direct imports from Urartu.[193] Greek siren attachments from Olympia, Delphi, Athens, Boeotia, and Rhodes, are probably local Greek copies, which are associated with archaic Greek art of Corinth-Argive origin of the sixth century B.C., which relies on Urartian and perhaps other Western Asiatic prototypes of the seventh century B.C.[194]

Returning to the study of Urartian works of art and artifacts datable to the reign

of Argishti II, we might ask whether the large bronze cauldrons placed on stands inside the tombs in Urartu, Gordion, in the Greek world, and in Etruria, may have had a definite cult significance connected with the dead, or if they were associated with the cooking of sacrificial food, a possibility suggested by the presence of similar cauldrons on stands represented before the facade of the Urartian temple of Musasir (fig. 5).

The search for the meaning of the Urartian cauldron attachments in general, and that of "siren" figures in particular, has led to various interpretations which are based essentially on indirect evidence.

A. Furtwängler who regarded the Urartian "siren" attachments as solar symbols, derived the "siren" motif from Assyria, while M. Holleaux preferred an Egyptian origin transmitted via Phoenician copies.[195] C. F. Lehmann-Haupt saw the Urartian cauldron attachments as cult objects and identified the "sirens" as a personification of an Urartian solar goddess.[196] The latter author suggested an Urartian rather than an Assyrian origin for this motif. C. Hopkins saw cauldron attachments in the shape of serpents as solar symbols and extended the same symbolism to cover all winged figures of the type related to the attachments. The cauldron itself was equated with the ball of the sun by Hopkins.[197] B. Goldman derived all T-shaped clamps on vessels from the motif of the bird in display position and accepted the identification of the latter as the winged solar disc. The bull's-head attachments were then regarded by Goldman as solar symbols by virtue of their resemblance to the "siren" attachments.[198]

The following points may be noted in reference to the various observations cited above. The question of priority in the use of the winged disc, raised by Furtwängler, Holleaux and Lehmann-Haupt, is no longer an issue since the work of H. Frankfort on this subject.[199] As Frankfort has shown, the association of the winged disc with the sun-disc is not valid for all examples of its use in Western Asia. Goldman's derivation of the "siren" attachments from the winged disc, stressed also by Lehmann-Haupt (who noted the ring around the human torso of the Berlin "siren"), is based on Assyrian *comparanda* which show the winged figure of Ashur emerging from the disc. But Frankfort has equated the winged disc in Assyria with the sky, to which were added attributes appropriate to a given occasion (or a given deity?).[200] Even more tenuous is the solar association of the bull's-head attachments which is determined by Goldman on the basis of the analogy between the latter and the "sirens." The bull, a vehicle of the Urartian weather-god Teisheba, would more appropriately relate to a sky symbolism rather than the sun-disc.[201] Finally, the silence of the Urartian texts on the subject of the religious significance of the Urartian cauldron attachments, and the absence of other explanatory data on this subject caution against supplying easy labels for the understanding of the meaning of these figures, which pose an iconographical problem perhaps not to be solved until more evidence appears from Urartian territory.

The Altin-tepe cauldron stood on a massive bronze tripod (.66 meters high, .58 meters in diameter), which was made up of a ring support on three groups of straight and

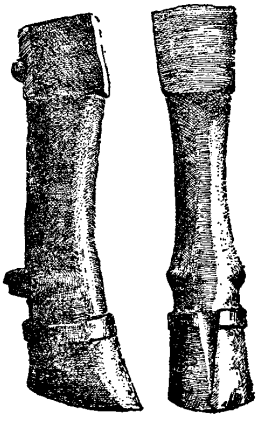

Fig. 16. Sketch of two views of a bronze furniture leg in the shape of a bull's hoof from Karmir-blur, in the Historical Museum of Armenia, Erevan.

curved bars (pls. 30, 32). The bars rise in groups of three from heavy feet decorated with horizontal lines shown in relief and bull's-hoof terminals.[202] The earliest example of a tripod with legs terminating in bulls' hooves appears at the end of the third millennium B.C. in North Syria and is also known from Assyria of the eighth century B.C. and later, where it is associated with the Urartian temple at Musasir (fig. 5).[203] Tripods from Greece and Etruria during the sixth century B.C. are generally characterized by a ring mounted on three slender legs and three curved rods, fitted into sockets shaped in the form of animals' legs.[204] These western tripods are distantly related to Sub-Mycenaean and Proto-Geometric bronze tripods (ca. twelfth to ninth century B.C.), which are constructed in the same manner, with a set of triple curved rods and triple legs provided with spiral capitals, and three heavy feet.[205] However, there exists a gap between the Greek Proto-Geometric bronze tripods and those produced in the west from the sixth century B.C. and later. W. Lamb suggests that ceramic tripods may have formed a link between the two periods, but it is more likely that under the impact of trade with the east where similar tripods were produced in the eighth to seventh centuries B.C., Greek metalworkers once more returned to the manufacture of the tripod stand of the type their ancestors had known in the twelfth to ninth centuries B.C.[206]

The bulls' hooves of the Altin-tepe tripod have parallels in other Urartian bronze articles from Altin-tepe, Toprak-kale, Kayalidere and Karmir-blur[207] (fig. 16, pls. 32, 41). The Altin-tepe bulls' hooves are generally modelled in the round with an emphasis

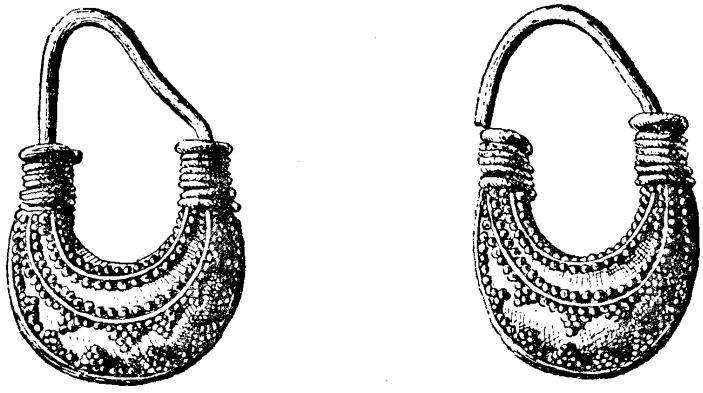

Fig. 17. Sketch of gold earrings decorated in the granulation technique from Karmir-blur, in the Historical Museum of Armenia, Erevan.

on the plastic and rounded contours with the details brought out in relief rather than by means of chased lines. The bronze casing of the wooden furniture from the Altin-tepe burials likewise shows a plastic treatment with a minimum of chasing.[208] The bulls' hooves from Toprak-kale and Karmir-blur are similar but have straighter contours and are slightly tapered towards the top in contrast to the Altin-tepe hooves, which have their broadest diameter at the top. The Karmir-blur hoof, probably not earlier than the foundation of Teishebaini in the seventh century B.C., stylistically corresponds to the hooves on the candelabrum from Toprak-kale (pls. 47–48), now to be dated to the reign of Rusa II (685–639), son of Argishti II (see below, pp. 63–64).

The feline paw, also used as bronze casing for wooden furniture at Altin-tepe (pl. 42), is a familiar motif found in the massive bronze paws (19.5 centimeters) from Toprak-kale, and now in the British Museum. It is provided with lateral rings around the rim of the leg used for attachment, and is faced with a central flat hemispherical area decorated with two stars and a winged disc. The grooves in this decoration were probably originally inlaid, as is shown by analogy with a bronze paw from Altin-tepe, which shows traces of wood in the hollows of the paws and knuckles.[209] Assyrian furniture legs from the ninth century B.C. and later show the use of terminals in shape of a feline paw, yet they are distinguished from the Urartian examples by the absence of the lateral rings at the rim, a feature which is found, however, in examples from Achaemenid Persia.[210] A hollow bronze feline paw from Hasanlu, northwestern Iran, datable to the eighth to seventh century B.C., shows a combination of Assyro-Urartian features in the absence of lateral rings and the presence of the flat hemispherical area on the front of the leg which was original perhaps decorated with inlays of wood (pl. 43).

The availability of sources of timber in eastern Anatolia and in Urartian territory is suggested by the extensive use of wooden furniture encased or strengthened with metal casing. The legs of the chairs and stools from Altin-tepe (measuring ca. 50 centimeters in height) were strengthened with metal tips and the cornerpieces and crossbars also had metal parts. The decoration of the crossbars consisted of double volutes riveted onto the wood, and the legs were usually provided with metal rings of falling leaves, either hammered from thin metal sheet, or cast solid. Assyrian and north Syrian furniture displays these same motifs from the ninth century B.C. and later, thus establishing a precedent for the double volutes and leaf-rings on Urartian furniture.[211]

From the rich find of Urartian jewelry at Altin-tepe, only a few examples are as yet published. Among these is a rectangular gold bead with four perforations, decorated with granulation arranged in triangular and rhomboid shapes (pl. 44), a type of bead which is also found in a triple-string gold necklace from the Melgunov treasure (early sixth century B.C.).[212] A number of small gold discs (bracteates), originally sewn on clothing and found beside the bodies in the Altin-tepe burial excavated in 1959 (pl. 45), are likewise decorated in granulation in a manner found on a conical gold pin from Karmir-blur. The sewing of metal discs on clothing was customary among different peoples neighboring on Urartian territory during the early part of the first millennium B.C., and was practiced by the Scythians, Etruscans, and the people buried in the sixth-century B.C. tombs at Gordion[213] (see above, pp. 14, 24).

A similar granulation pattern appears on a pair of gold earrings found at Karmir-blur in 1946 (fig. 17), consisting of crescent or "leech" shaped hollow tubes, with gold wire coiled around one end and extended to the other end, a shape well known in Ionia from the Mycenaean period and later. The Ionian and Greek examples of this type of earring, which is usually decorated in granulation, travelled with Greek trade over a wide area in the seventh century B.C. and later, and are known from the sixth century burials at Gordion (pl. 46), where they appear as imports from Lydia or Ionia.[214] Assyrian earrings from the ninth to seventh century B.C. are characterized by the presence of one or three conical projections on the crescent or ring, and are essentially of a different type from the "leech"-shaped example found at Karmir-blur, which has its closest parallels in Ionian works of the seventh to early sixth century B.C.[215] However, the analogy between some Urartian articles with those found in the cremation burials at Gordion dated to the sixth century B.C., might suggest a date as late as the beginning of the sixth century B.C. for the Urartian earrings. The Urartian jewelry from Karmir-blur and Altin-tepe have a general resemblance to the unpublished examples recently discovered at Patnos (Girik-tepe) (see M. Mellink, below, n. 159), which in turn contain traits characteristic of the jewelry from Marlyk, northwestern Iran.[216]

III
SECOND PHASE

RUSA II, 685–639 B.C., son of Argishti II.
SARDURI III, 639–635 B.C., son of Rusa II.

Inscribed articles:

Seal impression of Rusa II and Sarduri III on clay tablet, from Karmir-blur.
In the Historical Museum of Armenia, Erevan. (*VT*, pl. XXXIII:2.) *Not illustrated.*

Seal impression on clay, from Karmir-blur.
In the Historical Museum of Armenia, Erevan. (*Karmir-blur III*, fig. 7.) *Not illustrated.*

Bronze candelabrum, from Toprak-kale.
In the Hamburg Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe. Plates 47–49.

Rusa II, son of Argishti (685–639), a contemporary of Esarhaddon of Assyria (681–668), was responsible for a large number of building projects at Toprak-kale (Tushpa), near Adilcevaz (the "city of the god Haldi"), at Maku and at Echmiadzin. Piotrovskiĭ believes that the inscription from the latter site, discovered on the right bank of the River Razdan, opposite the citadel of Teishebaini, concerns building activity in the region of Karmir-blur.[217] Extensive excavations at Karmir-blur (ancient Teishebaini), conducted by the joint expedition of the Hermitage and the Armenian branch of the Akademi Nauk SSSR, headed by Piotrovskiĭ, in a series of continuous expeditions since 1945, have revealed many aspects of the history of this important administrative center in Transcaucasia. The citadel of Teishebaini with its surrounding city was founded by Rusa II, son of Argishti, during the middle of the seventh century B.C. and flourished down to the end of the Urartian kingdom. The thorough and conscientious analysis of the finds at Karmir-blur has yielded invaluable data on the various aspects of Urartian culture, particularly during its last stages.

Piotrovskiĭ believes that during the middle of the seventh century B.C. Urartians were united with Scytho-Cimmerians, who had by that time penetrated into Transcaucasia. The find of an unfinished Scythian bird's head in the craftsmen's quarters at Karmir-blur, and literary sources from Assyria, seem to support Piotrovskiĭ's conclusion. In 676–675 B.C., Rusa II is found leading the Cimmerians in the west against the Phrygians, while temporarily on good terms with Assyria. But in 673 B.C. Cimmerian troops led by the Urartians attacked the province of Šubria, then under Assyrian rule. Assyrian texts from the time of Esarhaddon imply a general state of apprehension felt by the king concerning the possibility of attack from Assyria's northern and eastern borders. D'iâkonov suggests that in 674 B.C. these Scytho-Cimmerians were part of a federation of tribes in Media and Manna, and that, together with Elam, they prepared to put up a united front from the Kura River to the Persian Gulf against Assyrian domination. But the catastrophic destruction of Susa by Ashurbanipal in 636 B.C. dashed any hopes of union with Elam, and also put an end to the flourishing commerical

contacts which may have existed between Elam and the west via an Urartian intermediary, as suggested by R. D. Barnett.[218] But as a precaution Rusa of Urartu sent ambassadors to congratulate Ashurbanipal on this occasion, "He sent his nobles to greet me, at Arbela. Nabû-damik, Umbadarâ, nobles of Elam, with tablets (containing) the insolent message, I sent before them." [219] Here Ashurbanipal demonstrates to Rusa's ambassadors, by an object lesson, the fate of a hostile king who sent an "insolent message" to Ashurbanipal. The two Elamite messengers had earlier witnessed the severed head of their king, Teumman, brought back from Elam by Ashurbanipal.

Sarduri III (639–635), son of Rusa II, appears to have shared the throne with his father as suggested by the occurrence of both names on a seal impression from Karmir-blur.[220] At the time of Rusa's death (ca. 644 or 639 B.C.), Sarduri III, otherwise a shadowy historical personage, sent an embassy to the court of Ashurbanipal.[221]

The name of the citadel of Teishebaini occurs on a bronze lock, found at Karmir-blur in 1946, and it is there associated with the name of the founder of that city, Rusa II, son of Argishti II. Another inscription inside a bronze bowl from Karmir-blur introduces a new phase in a script which returns to the Assyrian type of cuneiform: "Of the small city of (king) Rusa," a phrase which is used by Rusa II elsewhere.[222]

Urartian art from the period of the joint rule of Rusa II and his son Sarduri III is definitely recorded by a sealing on a clay tablet from Karmir-blur.[223] This faintly discernible impression of a cylinder seal shows a pair of winged fantastic beings flanking the sacred tree represented by means of superimposed tiers of branches without a central shaft. The treatment of the motif of the sacred tree on this sealing is identical to that found on the seal impression discussed earlier (see above, pp. 45–46) and associated with the reign of Sarduri III, son of Rusa II.[224]

In 1898 the German expedition at Toprak-kale, in a building situated south of the temple of Haldi, found a bronze candelabrum which acted as a support (136.5 centimeters high) for a flat dish with raised edges which probably served as a lamp cup (pls. 47–49). Recent restoration work on the candelabrum at the Hamburg Museum has brought to light an inscription which dispels all doubts concerning the Urartian origin of the piece and also helps to give a more exact dating of it (pl. 49:B). The inscription gives the name of Rusa but not his patronymic, written in the Assyrian type of cuneiform, used both by Rusa II (685–639) and Rusa III (629–615), son of Erimena.[225] In construction the candelabrum resembles three undecorated iron stands from Karmir-blur, consisting of a lamp cup on a shaft supported on three legs. Rusa's candelabrum has a hollow shaft rolled from a single metal plate and decorated with five leaf rings which are cast in the lost wax process. Each leg terminates in a "zoomorphic juncture," a bull's hoof held in the jaws of a lion, also cast by the same method, and provided with additional balance by means of a fluted hemisphere below the shaft.[226] The resemblance of the shaft, with its leaf ring decoration, to a sacred tree is increased by the presence

originally of three figures of couchant lamassus (pl. 49:A), one placed on each leg around the base of the shaft. The sharp, angular and precise contours and the regularly spaced decoration on this piece create an overall impression of controlled rhythm and order, to which the secondary decorative elements conform. The individual figures and details represented in the round all betray a sharp angularity which helps to produce a sober and formal general image. Another bronze candelabrum, in the Erlangen Museum, although similar in construction to Rusa's candelabrum, is stylistically entirely different in the use of soft rounded contours which lack the tight arrangement of Rusa's candelabrum. The Erlangen tripod is stylistically closer to the art of northern Syria than it is to that of Urartu, which might suggest for that tripod an Urartian model but not Urartian workmanship.[227] A closer study of the lion's head (pl. 48) with its gaping jaws reveals the same clear and well-defined contours used in the small details, such as musculature of the head, the mane represented by a series of hook patterns, the chased circles above the eyes joined by an elliptical line on the forehead, and a geometricized stepped pattern represented on the nostril. The round proportions of the lion's head, its palmette wrinkles, gable pattern on the forehead and button ears associate this head with the lion's head from the reign of Sarduri II (fig. 9), but the artist of Rusa's lion has gone further in the abstraction of the wrinkles on the nostril and has produced a more emphatic and shorthand creation. These last features are not found on Assyrian lions, but Achaemenian lions have a similar but not identical nose pattern. The stylizations of the lion's head from Rusa's candelabrum are matched by heads from a number of cast bronze figures which originally formed part of a throne from Toprak-kale (pl. 50).[228] A bronze figurine of a couchant lion from the vicinity of Anzavur, near the Urartian site at Patnos, shows the same geometric treatment of the nostril as a stepped pattern and displays also the Urartian "wish-bone" leg marking, on the basis of which the Anzavur lion should be assigned to Urartian art of the seventh century B.C.[229]

The Assyrian concept of the lamassu is expressed in the couchant bull-men cast in the round and originally placed on each of the tripod legs of Rusa's candelabrum (pl. 49:A), to which a twin apparently existed in the museum of the Echmiadzin Monastery, now brought to the Historical Museum of Armenia SSR.[230] The long wing, extended behind the figure and decorated with parallel ridges, the round horned and feathered cap, the beardless face framed by short curled hair, and the short neck find parallels in the more elaborately chased figures from the Toprak-kale throne. The small solar disc on the crown of this figure is repeated on an Urartian rock relief from Adilcevaz (which represents a figure standing on a bull and tending a sacred tree), and the round flat-topped crowns, while general in Urartian art, are probably of north Syrian origin, a source which is also perhaps responsible for the long body and wings of such Urartian figures.[231]

The bovine hoof held in the jaws of the lion head from Rusa's candelabrum (pl. 48) belongs stylistically in an intermediate position between the Altin-tepe furniture legs and an example from Karmir-blur (perhaps from the later part of the seventh century

B.C.) (see above, p. 57), The bull's hooves from the Toprak-kale throne-figures (pls. 51 and 52), however, are the closest stylistic parallels to those from Rusa's candelabrum. Although Rusa's patronymic is not given in his inscription on the candelabrum, we are now relatively certain in attributing the piece to the reign of Rusa II (685–639) on the basis of stylistic evidence of the lion's head with its stepped pattern on the nostril, which could not have evolved before the beginning of the seventh century B.C., since its direct stylistic ancestor from the reign of Sarduri II (764–735) lacks this detail about the middle of the eighth century B.C. (fig. 9). Furthermore, on the basis of close parallels between these details from the candelabrum and the lion figures from Anzavur and from the Toprak-kale throne, we are compelled to assign this large group of finds to the reign of Rusa II. This attribution appears to be supported by other details, such as the similarity between the bull's hoof and the lamassu figure from the candelabrum with figures from Toprak-kale throne (pls. 49:A, 51, 53). The latter show the same arrangement of curls about the beardless face with small features, short neck, flat-topped crown, and general proportions, found on the lamassu from the candelabrum, which they resemble also technically. Likewise the "eunuch" or attendant figure from Toprak-kale in the Berlin Museum for which a date close to that of the throned figures has been suggested, should also belong to this stylistic group.[232] The "eunuch" and the throne figures from Toprak-kale have similar tight and angular contours and were originally made resplendent by means of a gilded surface and inlays of different colored stones and pastes.

R. D. Barnett had suggested for the Toprak-kale throne figures and "eunuch" a date in the late eighth century B.C. (or the reign of Rusa I), based on the presence of strong Assyrian elements in these works which he associated with Urartian art prior to the Assyrian sack of Musasir in 714 B.C. Our stylistic evidence, based on the internal development of Urartian art, however, would suggest a date in the seventh century B.C. for this group which, to judge by the remarkable finds at Altin-tepe, was a period of relative affluence for the Urartians even after the sack of Musasir and the Cimmerian invasions. A seventh-century date for Rusa's candelabrum is now supported also by the epigraphical evidence which in addition to giving Rusa's name shows the Assyrian type of cuneiform used by Rusa II (685–639) and Rusa III (629–615), but not characteristic for the inscriptions of Rusa I. To determine which of the two Rusas is intended we might turn to some external evidence in the art of the north Syrian states during the early first millennium B.C. The cast bronze griffin from Toprak-kale in Berlin (pl. 54), originally part of the throne reconstructed by Barnett, may be compared to the great stone bird from the palace of Kapara at Tell Halaf (894–808)[233] (pl. 55), which displays similar proportions of head, closed beak, serried wings, and rounded feathers represented on the chest. The elongated torso and short legs of the griffin from Toprak-kale, shared by the other throne figures, also has a north Syrian prototype in the wall paintings in the palace of the Assyrian governor of Til Barsib on the Euphrates (ca. 770–760).[234] Such features, as well as the parallels in the representation of the lion's head (see above),

suggest some artistic affinities and contacts between Urartu and the north Syrian states, the stimulus for which was not renewed after the subjugation of the north Syrian states by Assyria at the end of the eighth century B.C.[235] Thus, the late reign of Rusa III (629–615) may be reasonably ruled out. By analogy with candelabra from Western Asia and Etruria, the Urartian bronze stand is believed to have served as a lamp stand or an incense altar.[236] Lehmann-Haupt, who attached cult significance to the Urartian candelabrum, regarded it as the incense altar of the Urartian sun-god Ardini, while Hoffmann associated the candelabrum with the motif of the sacred tree expressed in a stylized manner.[237] The solar-symbolism in this context, evident to Lehmann-Haupt, is nowhere fully discussed by him; but an association of the composition of the Urartian candelabrum with the motif of the sacred tree seems warranted by Assyro-Urartian iconography where the stylized sacred tree is often found guarded by winged genii, the Assyrian lamassu (see above, pp. 20ff., 45–46, 62ff.). The use of terminals in the shape of animal feet which provide support for such stands is found in other Western Asiatic altars, but the "zoomorphic juncture" expressed in the legs of the Urartian candelabrum shows a peculiarly local interpretation of that theme.[238]

RUSA III, 629–615 B.C., son of Erimena.

Inscribed articles:

Bronze decorated shield, from Toprak-kale.
In the Berlin Museum (V. A. 805) (*Armenien* II:2, p. 500). *Not illustrated.*

Bronze decorated shield, from Toprak-kale.
In the British Museum (B.M. 22481). Plate 56.

Bronze decorated shield, from Toprak-kale.
In the British Museum (B.M. 22482). Plate 58:A and B.

Bronze decorated shield, from Altin-tepe.
In the Archaeological Museum, Ankara. Unpublished. *Not illustrated.*

Bronze open-work frieze, from Toprak-kale.
In the British Museum (B.M. 91289, 91209). (Barnett, *Iraq* XII, pl. VIII:2.) Plate 59.

The reign of Erimena (verified as a ruler by his inscription from Karmir-blur and computed to 634–630),[239] was followed by that of his son, Rusa III (629–615), whose inscriptions have been preserved on a stone slab from Armavir and on various bronze articles from Toprak-kale[240] (see below). Rusa III was succeeded by Sarduri IV (614-after 608), the last occupant of the Urartian throne as evidenced by existing inscriptions.[241] Sarduri may have reigned as late as 590 B.C., at which time Urartian economy and political power rapidly declined under pressure resulting from the power struggle which engaged the Assyrians, Babylonians, Scythians, and Medes. By 590 B.C. Urartian territory was annexed by the Medes on their westward move towards Lydia.[242]

The reign of Rusa III (629–615), son of Erimena, represents the last phase of Urartian art, or at least the art that was produced for the ruling dynasty in Urartu. Besides a stone inscription, there are seven shields, a round bowl and two openwork fragments of a bronze frieze which bear this king's inscription. We are here concerned with the openwork frieze and three shields, which are the only decorated examples in this group. A fragmentary decorated shield in the Berlin Museum (V.A. 805) is here omitted on account of the poor quality of the available reproductions.[243]

The larger of the two remaining decorated shields (85.2 centimeters diameter), in the British Museum (B.M. 22481) is very similar to an unpublished decorated shield inscribed with the name of Rusa III, found in 1959 at Altin-tepe and now in the Archaeological Museum, Ankara. Both shields have a central rosette and three rows of lions and bulls, with a single strand of cable pattern used for the division of zones (pls. 56–58).[244] As on the shields of Argishti I and Sarduri II from the eighth century B.C. (pls. 7, 18–20), the rows of animals are arranged so as to converge on a single line drawn across the circular composition with all the animals shown right-side-up when viewed from the correct position (see above p. 21 ff.). In spite of the traditional aspects

of the composition, the details of the animals in the shield of Rusa III show significant changes; thus, the triple rosette in the center of the shield has now a serrated contour like that represented on the openwork bronze frieze in the British Museum (pl. 59), and the bud garland border is replaced by a cable pattern resembling that on the "belt" from Altin-tepe (pl. 23). The striding bulls have the same proportions as those represented on the earlier shields, but their body markings are simplified; all wavy lines and spiral curls are replaced by parallel straight lines, punched dots, and circles. The row of spiral locks traditionally shown on the belly line (fig. 8, pls. 7, 18–20, 52)[245] is here replaced by a row of punched dots, and the knuckle-bone motif on the hind legs of the earlier bulls, spirals on the tail, and the chest markings, are all eliminated or replaced by a bank of short parallel lines.

The striding lions (pl. 57:B), shown on two registers, are so similar to the lions represented on a second shield of Rusa III (B.M. 22482), as to permit a simultaneous analysis of the two (pl. 58:B). The passant pose, gaping jaws, prominent claws, and curled tail are elements which descend directly from the earlier Urartian lion representations (fig. 8, pls. 7, 18–20), but they are distinguished from the latter in the simplification of the chased surface decoration. The locks of the mane in the later lions are short disconnected strokes, and straight lines drawn as parallels or at an angle replace all earlier leg markings. The draughtsmanship on Rusa's shield is confident and rapid, executed by an experienced hand which is responsible for both shields belonging to Rusa III, in the British Museum. The smaller shield (77 centimeters in diameter), apparently called for only two registers of animals, but otherwise the two shields are very similar.

The abbreviated statement found on the shield figures is also seen in the designs of a bronze openwork frieze from Toprak-kale, in the British Museum (pl. 59), bearing the inscriptions of Rusa III.[246] The embossed and chased openwork design, originally inlaid, repeats the figure of a kneeling bull, with its forelegs bent before a rosette, placed above a stylized mountain (?). The hemispherical shape of the symbolic mountain has parallels in several representations of the sacred tree from the sixth century B.C., yet the pose of the bulls goes back to prototypes from the eighth century B.C. and earlier (fig. 4).[247] The simple body markings and punched circles on the tail of this bull link it to those represented on the shield of Rusa III (pl. 57:A), yet a more archaic note may be observed in the row of tiny spiral curls placed along the contours of the belly, back, and chest of this bull. The presence of the latter in a work definitely datable to the reign of Rusa III would lead us to reject the limitations suggested by Akurgal's category of the "ringlet style," dated by him to the eighth century B.C. exclusively.[248]

IV

THE LATEST PHASE AND OFFSHOOTS

Urartu's exchange of ideas and artistic conventions was not limited only to Assyria, north Syria, and the west, but clear evidence of Urartian influence and contact is found in material from northwestern Iran and from Scythian tombs in the Caucasus.

Akurgal has drawn attention to the reversed N-shaped incision on the hindquarters of lions from the shields of Rusa III (pls. 57:B and 58:B), which finds a parallel on the bronze sphinx from Toprak-kale, in the Hermitage Museum, and accordingly he attributed to an Urartian stone sculptor a relief showing a similar motif on a lion from Erzincan in the Ankara Museum. The N-shaped pattern (not reversed) is found on the fantastic animals from the procession represented on the gold sheath of a sword from the Scythian burial at Kelermes in the Kuban, which also shows the "wish-bone" leg marking of Urartian type, spiral curls on the tails of bulls, and button ears on the lion heads.[249]

Some animal figures represented on objects from the Ziwiye treasure in northwestern Iran, also show the N-shaped pattern (not reversed). The latter, however, show this detail inconsistently, as evidenced by the gold pectoral on which only goats are thus marked.[250] It is usually among the less Assyrianizing figures from Ziwiye that the N-shaped marking (reduced to two strokes on the hindquarters) is observed, while those under Assyrian influence show different markings.[251] A number of lion figures represented in the round from the Ziwiye treasure show the button ears and gable pattern on the forehead, but they lack the Urartian stepped pattern of the nostril.[252] In its shape, the gold pectoral from Ziwiye has Urartian parallels both in the representational art and in actual figures from Nor-aresh, Karmir-blur and Toprak-kale (pl. 53).[253] The Toprak-kale pectoral is a thin crescent-shaped electrum sheet (3.2 centimeters wide)

with an engraved design of an enthroned figure in long robes holding a cup, confronted by another similarly dressed figure. This scene appears with minor variations on a number of round pendants from Karmir-blur and Toprak-kale, and is also perhaps the intended theme of the seated bronze figurine in the Historical Museum of Armenia.[254] The religious associations of the pectoral, and probably of the scene represented on it, are confirmed by the discovery of the crescent-shaped pendant inscribed with a prayer, found at Karmir-blur in 1940.[255] The mixed style of the decoration of the Ziwiye pectoral, in which the linked volutes constituting the Urartian sacred tree appear together with Scythian, Assyrian, and Phoenician elements, would provide sufficient reason for us to reject such themes from Ziwiye as Urartian works. The presence of Phoenician elements in these works speaks rather in favor of the attribution of these articles to the period of the Scythian activity in Western Asia. While geographically neighboring on Urartian territory, the Scythians in the latter part of the seventh century B.C., were also on intimate terms with Assyria, which could have thus introduced the Scythians to the products of the Phoenicians.[256]

The presence of Urartian themes and motifs evident in finds from Ziwiye, Kelermes, and perhaps the Melgunov treasure, has stimulated different speculations as to the origin of these objects. H. Kantor suggests possibly an Urartian origin, Barnett believes them to be the work of Medes, and Ghirshman argues in favor of the attribution of, at least, the Ziwiye treasure to the Scythians. Sulimirski and Godard would see the orientalizing elements in Scythian burials of southern Russia as a result of the return of the "orientalized" Scythians to the northern shores of the Black Sea after their expulsion from Western Asia by the Medes.[257] The presence of Scythians, Medes, and Urartians in Western Asia during the latter part of the seventh century B.C. and the beginning of the sixth century B.C., might make feasible any of these attributions, yet despite the presence of definite Urartian elements, the mixed style of these finds suggests an artistic milieu of a more heterogeneous constitution than that which produced the Urartian shields of Rusa III.

Barnett's attribution of the objects from Kelermes and the Melgunov treasure to Median craftsmen would agree with the same author's earlier opinion that Median troops brought about the destruction of Karmir-blur around the time of their attack on Nineveh in 612 B.C. This opinion, which was shared earlier by I. M. D'îâkonov, would make the Medes the *transmitters* of those Urartian elements which are evident in the sixth-century B.C. articles from Kelermes and the Melgunov treasure. On the other hand, Piotrovskiĭ believes that the destruction of Urartian centers in Transcaucasia took place as late as ca. 590 B.C. when Scythians among other nomadic tribes inflicted the final blow on the Urartian state.[258] Piotrovskiĭ's contention, now supported by the evidence supplied by the cuneiform tablets from Karmir-blur,[259] permits a belief in the existence of Urartian artistic models which may have exerted a *direct* influence on crafts-

men working not only for the Scythians, but also for the Medes in the early part of the sixth century B.C. It is noteworthy that the current of Urartian culture was sufficiently strong in the Median kingdom of the sixth century B.C. to have made specific contributions to the culture of the Achemenid Persians.[260]

CONCLUSION

A retrospective evaluation of the foregoing study permits the formulation of certain observations regarding the value of a chronological approach to the study of Urartian art and artifacts. While the quantity and type of relevant examples indicate the obvious limitations inherent in a study of this type, special advantages are derived from the analysis of the exact if small data which provides a clear point of reference for the study of related and poorly-documented works of art. Thus the chronological approach has served both to clarify the *development of Urartian art*, and to permit a correct *placement of other important uninscribed works*, for example, the Toprak-kale throne figures, and the candelabrum in Hamburg.

The development of Urartian art is observed primarily through the medium of decorated metalwork which constitutes a large body of datable examples distinguished by an artistic style expressive of a unique taste for sober, formal, and decorative themes. Like earlier Assyrian models, Urartian artists of the eighth century B.C. (before the reign of Argishti II), show a preference for processions of figures placed in panels or friezes with well-defined limits and repetitive and continuous border patterns such as the bud garland. Such compositions are found both in Assyrian examples of monumental art and in portable artifacts such as Assyrian ivory carvings decorated with elaborate patterns (particularly in the representation of textiles) which may have provided a model for Urartian craftsmen of the eighth century B.C.[261] Peculiar to Urartian art are animal processions which appear in the circular compositions of the shields, where they are arranged according to a decorative scheme which may be viewed from only one position. This decorative scheme is tenaciously preserved in the later shield decorations from the last period of the Urartian kingdom and presents an instance of conservatism not found in other Urartian compositions. This fact, together with the presence generally of dedicatory inscriptions to the Urartian national god Haldi on weapons, suggests an association of these weapons with the deity in whose shrine they were probably placed.

The Late Hittite tradition of the north Syrian states constituted a second important source of stylistic and iconographic inspiration for Urartian art of the eighth century B.C. From north Syria is derived the representation of a lion's head with a rounded profile, brow-line and button ears, features which also appear in the complete lion figures on the Urartian shields where they are combined with Assyrian type bodies. The lion's-head attachment of a bronze vessel datable to the mid-eighth century B.C. now adds to the repertory of Urartian bronze cauldron attachments, hitherto limited to the siren and bull's-head group. This category of motifs which is associated with portable ceremonial vessels, exerted a notable influence on the Orientalizing art of Greece and Etruria where a memory of the Urartian prototypes was preserved even after the disappearance of the ultimate source.

Urartian art of the seventh century B.C. (reign of Argishti II), shows certain stylistic changes and developments evident in the disappearance of the panelled compositions and framed friezes and a growing preference for free and decorative compositions with a minimum of narrative reference. The latest compositions, found on a number of embossed and chased bronze strips, are often ornamented with a network of rosettes and volutes in which the figures appear as individual decorative units without a narrative context. The continuous border pattern represented by a chain of buds in the previous century is replaced by a cable pattern where the demand for the continuous border still prevailed. Otherwise border designs of the seventh century B.C. consisted of contiguously arranged single motifs rather than continuous chains. The tendency towards free compositional arrangements is accompanied by a more summary treatment of individual figures, which have more definite and less detailed markings. While the summary rendition of the animal figures on the shields betrays their late date, the shield compositions preserve the older scheme. Stylistic innovations of the seventh century B.C. may be exemplified by the indication of wrinkles on the nose of the lion by means of a stepped pattern, which appears to be a local development based on earlier Urartian prototypes, and the representation of the sacred tree by means of double linked volutes without a central shaft.

The distinction drawn by M. Van Loon between an Urartian "court" and a "popular" artistic style may explain some features peculiar to the provincial art of peripheral regions, such as that of the Urartian level at Altin-tepe.[262] Yet even there the innovations of the "court" style are clearly echoed in local works as shown by the occurrence on the Altin-tepe bronze strip, dated to the seventh century B.C., of the cable pattern which constitutes the border ornament on inscribed Urartian shields of that same century.

Although the persistence of Urartian motifs and perhaps even Urartian craftsmanship in the early part of the sixth century B.C. may be considered as a likely assumption, we would reject from the normal pattern of Urartian art the mixed style manifested in the decoration of the objects from Ziwiye, Kelermes, and the Melgunov treasure which display Urartian motifs. The consistent and coherent cultural tradition which evolved

in Urartu from the ninth to the beginning of the sixth century B.C., and particularly the skill displayed in the manufacture of Urartian bronze articles, appear to have inspired not only Urartu's contemporaries in Western Asia, the Aegean and Etruria, but perhaps also the later culture of the Achaemenian Persians who inherited Urartian elements from the Medes and the Scythians.

NOTES

NOTES

1. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien* (1926, 1931), also *Materialien* (1907).
2. M. Van Loon, *Urartian Art, its Distinctive Traits in the Light of New Excavations*, Netherlands historisch-archaeologisch Institut, Istanbul 1966, 6 ff.
3. The stylistic approach is taken by E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens von Homer bis Alexander*, Berlin 1961; see review by R. S. Young, in *AJA* 68:1, 1964, 73–75.
4. The usual formula of maledictions is aimed at the molester, his family, and his name. See Melikishvili, *UKN*, 264; M. de T͡seretheli, "Études Ourartéennes III, la stèle de Sidikan-Topzaoua," *RA* XLIV:4, 1950, 185–192.
5. Melikishvili, *op. cit.*, 93–114.
6. The ambiguous inscription of Rusa, son of Sarduri ("With my two horses and one charioteer, my hand attained the kingdom of Urartu"), which is reported to have existed on the group statue of the latter in the Urartian temple at Musasir, has been shown to refer to the policy of territorial expansion adopted by Rusa. The quotation comes from Sargon's letter to Assur, describing the events of his eighth campaign, see *Luckenbill* II, No. 173. The original text is published by F. Thureau-Dangin, *Une Relation de la Huitième Campagne de Sargon (714 av. J.-C.)*, Paris 1912, 63, l. 404. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien* II:2, 685, 855, takes this quotation to mean that Rusa was a usurper to the throne of Urartu, and that he was descended from another Sarduri who was related to the Urartian king of the same name who was the predecessor of Rusa (see also, Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, xviii–xix). This argument seems unnecessary, however, since there is nowhere a reference to such a usurpation. Sargon's quotation of this inscription may have been motivated by an entirely different reason as interpreted by A. L. Oppenheim, "The City of Assur in 714 B.C.," *JNES* XIX:2, 1960, 141–142.
7. This point is also illustrated by Urartian architectural remains. The domestic quarters at Teishebaini (Karmir-blur), excavated in 1954, recall features of Mesopo-

tamian houses in layout and plan, but the materials used there, together with the presence of multiple dwellings within a single housing unit, represent an adaptation of the foreign metropolitan standards to local needs and materials. See Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, 200; Oganesi͡an, *Karmir-blur IV*, 9–35; A. A. Martirosi͡an, "Raskopki zhilykh kvartalov goroda Teishebaini v 1955–1956 gg," *Sovetskai͡a arkheologii͡a* 1, 1958, 162–170. The arrangement of more than one lodging in a single housing unit also characterizes Urartian houses at Zernaki Tepe, near Van, see C. A. Burney, G. R. Lawson, "Measured Plans of Urartian Fortresses," *Anatolian Studies* X, 1960, 185–188.

8. T. Özgüç, *Altin Tepe, Architectural Monuments and Wall Paintings, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayinlarindan*, V seri, no. 24, Ankara 1966, 51, 54, 57.
9. Numerous inscribed articles from Karmir-blur show that these were originally made for the city of Erebuni (Arin-berd) whence they were transported to Teishebaini, see Piotrovskiĭ, *Karmir-blur II*, 51 ff.
10. Most of the Urartian inscription to which reference is made here are derived from the recent publication of a collection of the Urartian inscriptions by G. A. Melikishvili, *UKN*. Here the author provides a complete bibliography with the history and description of each inscription. For the inscription of Sarduri, see: *UKN*, 1. The annals of Shalmaneser of Assyria (858–824 B.C.) mention a conflict with Sarduri (Seduri) of Urartu in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of the Assyrian king: see *Luckenbill* I, No. 584. Sarduri I is most probably the same Urartian king against whom the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III fought a campaign in the twenty-seventh year of his reign (830 B.C.), see *UKN*, 1–3. It is conceivable that Sarduri I founded a dynasty after the Assyrian destruction of the earlier Urartian capital at Arzaškûn in 856 B.C., see M. Van Loon, *Urartian Art, op. cit.*, 7 ff. On the problem of the identification of Arzaškûn, see C. A. Burney, "A first season of excavations at the Urartian citadel of Kayalidere," *Anatolian Studies* XVI, 1966, 61–62.
11. Shalmaneser I mentions a campaign against Uruatri, which he conducted at the beginning of his reign, *Luckenbill* I, No. 114. In the inscription of Tukulti-Ninurta I, the term, "countries of Nairi," replaces that of Uruatri, *Luckenbill* I, No. 144. Piotrovskiĭ concludes that, since eight separate countries are called by the single term, Uruatri, we should assume that during the thirteenth century B.C., Urartu was composed of a union of tribes, rather than a state, *VT*, 43. The use of the term, "countries of Nairi," may indicate that Uruatri ceded its position as the head of the union of tribes of the countries of Nairi, see: Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, 44 ff. The countries of Nairi, mentioned in the inscriptions of Tukulti-Urta I and Tiglath-pileser I (thirteenth to twelfth century B.C.), are closely connected with the "Upper Sea." While Piotrovskiĭ interprets this to mean the tribes living in the region of Lake Van, and to the south and west of it, G. A. Melikishvili suggests that the term, "Upper Sea," refers

to the Black Sea, and not to Lake Van. The term Nairi would then have been associated with a much more extensive geographical area than the Lake Van region. This author correlates the Daiaeni of Tiglath-pileser I with the Diauehi of Urartian inscriptions, in the region of modern Erzerum and Karasu River. The area of Daiaeni could also fit the description of Nairi, which would thus extend from the Black Sea to the northern frontiers of Alzi, Shubari and others. See: G. A. Melikishvili, "Assyria i 'strani Nairi' na rubezhe XXI–XI v. do n.e.," *VDI* 84:2, 1963, 115–129, Melikishvili, "Diaukhi," *VDI*, 34:4, 1950, 26–42. Military records from the third year of the reign of Tiglath-pileser I (1116–1090 B.C.), inscribed on a clay prism, from the corner of the temple of Anu and Adad at Assur, demonstrate the fruitful results of such military raids, *Luckenbill* I, No. 236. *Luckenbill* I, No. 447 (Year 2), No. 461 (Year 5), Urartu is mentioned in the "Standard Inscription" from Nimrud, No. 487. Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, 43–51, presents convincing evidence in his critique of the points raised by Lehmann-Haupt and others, on the theory of the migration of the Urartians from the west. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, II:2, 596; Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien*, 123–124.

12. This is also a time of Urartian military expansion on its northern and southern frontiers. The bilingual stele from Keliashin (southwest of Lake Urmia) commemorates the subjection of the city of Ardini (Musasir, in the Assyrian text), which together with the country of Mana (Manna, in the Assyrian version) immediately to the south of Lake Urmia, henceforth became the stage for Assyro-Urartian conflict. The text of the Keliashin stele is written in the characteristic style of Urartian inscriptions, in which the king generally addresses the supreme Urartian god Haldi, then presents his message, and ends by placing a curse on any who should tamper with the inscription. Inscriptions from Van: *UKN*, Nos. 4–18; Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, 61–65. On the question of the origin of the Urartians, see W. C. Benedict, "Urartians and Hurrians," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 80:2, 1960, 100–104. References to Urartian military expansion: *UKN*, 20–23 (No. 20, note 20); Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, 62. Keliashin stele: *UKN*, 19; M. de T͡seretheli, "Études Ourartéennes, IV—La Stèle de Kélichine," *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale*, XLVII:3, 1953, 131–140.
13. Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, 63; *UKN*, 28; C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Corpus Inscriptionum Chaldicarum*, Berlin/Leipzig 1928–1935, 20, pl. 12, F. T.; *UKN*, 29.
14. Diauehi: *UKN*, 36. The city of Shashilu, which here is mentioned in connection with the country of the Diauehi, is mentioned also in No. 37. T͡solakert: *UKN*, 30–31. The fortress city founded by Menua on the northern slope of Mount Ararat (*UKN*, No. 70) is believed by Piotrovskiĭ to have served as an Urartian administrative center, and a base for the control of the north, *VT*, 64. Menua's canal: *UKN*, 43–98; Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, 63.
15. *UKN* 110, 204–205, note 4, calculates 22 cubits to equal 11.20 meters, or 33 feet;

Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien* II:1, 53–54, believes the horse mentioned in this inscription to have been imported from southern Cappadocia on the basis of comparison of the horse's name, Arṣibi, with the name of the country of Arsapi, mentioned in a cuneiform text of the mid-second millennium B.C. written to the Egyptian king, from Tell el Amarna. The time difference, however, seems too great to warrant an exact association of the two. See also J. Friedrich, "Beiträge zu Grammatik und Lexikon des Chaldischen, II," *Caucasica* 8, Leipzig 1931, 136.

16. For a comprehensive treatment of horse armor during the Iron Age, see A. M. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons from the End of the Bronze Age to 600 B.C.*, Edinburgh 1964, 163–165. Bronze and ivory nose-plates and blinkers recently found in Cyprus show that these articles were definitely associated with chariot horses during the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., V. Karageorghis, "Horse Burials on the Island of Cyprus," *Archaeology* 18:4, 1965, 282–290. Professor J. K. Anderson, University of California, Berkeley, has kindly brought to my attention an archaic sarcophagus from the Cesnola Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (No. 74.51.2453) which shows, in an orientalizing style, chariot horses with blinkers and saddle horses without them. See J. H. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus, The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York 1914, 1365A–B.
17. *Karmir-blur III*, 43, fig. 33.
18. The following are examples of north Syrian type frontlets which have been published so far:

    Zincirli: stone horse's head on which are shown a frontlet and blinkers, F. von Luschan and W. Andrae, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* V, *Die Kleinfunde*, Berlin 1943, 101–111, fig. 122 = R. D. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories with Other Examples of Ancient Near Eastern Ivories in the British Museum*, London 1957, fig. 37.

    Samos: bronze frontlet, dated before 640 B.C., and illustrated in H. J. Kantor, "A Bronze Plaque from Tell Tainat," *JNES* XXI:2, 1962, fig. 13A = *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, athenische Abteilung* 72, 1957, 47, inv. B1151.

    Miletus: three bronze frontlets, dated to ca. eighth century B.C., of which two are in Berlin (illustrated in R. B. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*, figs. 38–39 = H. J. Kantor, "A Bronze Plaque from Tell Tainat," *op. cit.*, fig. 13B), and a third comes from a more recent excavation in Miletus (illustrated in C. Weickert, "Die Ausgrabung beim Athena-Tempel in Milet 1955," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 7, *Deutsches archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Istanbul* 1957, 128, pl. 43:3).

    Nimrud: several ivory fragments belonging to the "Loftus Group," dated to late ninth to late eighth century B.C., Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*, 51–52, 101, pl. LXIII: S.146–148. Ivories from Fort Shalmaneser, dated to ninth to seventh

century B.C., M. E. L. Mallowan, "The Excavations at Nimrud (Kalḫu), 1958," *Iraq* XXI:2, 1959, 97; Mallowan, "Fort Shalmaneser—an Interim Report," *Iraq* XX:2, 1959, 105–106, 126–127.

Tell Tainat: bronze late eighth century B.C., see H. J. Kantor, "A Bronze Plaque from Tell Tainat," *op. cit.*, 93–117, pls. XI–XV.

Gordion: ivory frontlets, dated to late eighth century B.C., see R. S. Young, "The 1961 Campaign at Gordion," *AJA* 66:2, 1962, 166–167, pl. 46.

19. H. J. Kantor, "A Bronze Plaque from Tell Tainat," *op. cit.*, 96; E. A. Wallis Budge, *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum*, London 1914, pls. XVII:2, XX:1, from the palace of Ashurnasirpal at Nimrud, 883–859 B.C. For the Cypriote frontlets, see V. Karageorghis, "Horse Burials on the Island of Cyprus," *op. cit.*, 287, figs. 2, 4, 12 (from Salamis); M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, Die Bibel und Homer*, Berlin 1893, pl. LXX:1–3, 7 (from Tamassos). The Egyptianizing motifs seen on pl. LXX:1 have been interpreted by Snodgrass, *op. cit.*, 165, as evidence of the Phoenician origin of the Cypriote horse harness. Since the hinged frontlets from Cyprus are essentially different in shape from the north Syrian (-Phoenician?) triangular types, the Egyptianizing motifs on the Cypriote frontlets need no more than suggest a mixture of influences which existed in Cyprus during the Iron Age; V. Karageorghis, "Une Tombe de guerrier à Palaepaphos," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* LXXXVII, 1963, 272–273, fig. 9 (from Palaepaphos). Similar frontlets are also known from Lindos, C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos, Fouilles de l'acropole 1902–1914*, I, *Les petits objets*, Berlin 1931, 195–202, figs. 614, 615, 617, 619, 623.
20. H. J. Kantor, "A Bronze Plaque from Tell Tainat," *op. cit.*, 96; A. H. Layard, *A Second Series of the Monuments of Nineveh*, London 1853, pl. 24 (reign of Sennacherib, 705–681 B.C., from Nineveh); A. Paterson, *Assyrian Sculptures, Palace of Sinacherib*, The Hague 1915, pl. 42 (reign of Ashurbanipal, 668–626 B.C., from Nineveh). But bronze frontlets apparently were still in use in Achaemenian times, Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* VI:4, 1 ff.
21. For a treatment of the finds in the Greek world, see Snodgrass, *op. cit.*, 163–166.
22. Tsymbalka: E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, Cambridge 1913, 75, n. 8, figs. 54–55; Cypriote frontlets: Karageorghis, "Horse Burials on the Island of Cyprus," *op. cit.*, figs. 4, 12. Compare the palmettes on the nosepiece and the antithetic bird heads used as lateral ornaments on these frontlets.
23. The fish-shaped Scythian cheek-plates, or blinkers, may have also been ultimately derived from the spade-shaped blinkers of Western Asiatic origin, see E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, fig. 78.
24. *Karmir-blur III*, 43.
25. A. P. Manc̑evich, "Bronzovye plastiny iz prikuban'i͡a" *Izcledovani͡a v chest akad. D. Dechev (Studia in honorem acad, D. Dečev), Academie Bulgare des Sciences*, Sofia 1958, 459–468.

26. The ultimate origin of the frontlet, like that of the blinker, may lie in the Bronze Age, see Snodgrass, *op. cit.*, 164, n. 27, and below, note 32.
27. M. E. L. Mallowan, "The Excavations at Nimrud (Kalḫu), 1952," *Iraq* XV:1, 1953, 23; J. Lines, "Ivories from Nimrud," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* XIII:8, 1955, 236–238; Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*, 101.
28. Both blinkers were found by commercial diggers and are at present in the collection of M. Foroughi, Teheran. See R. Ghirshman, "Notes iraniennes XIV, Deux oeillères en bronze des rois d'Urartu," *Artibus Asiae* XXVII:1/2, 1964, 49–60. The plate bearing Menua's name measures 17 centimeters in length, 8.8 and 5 centimeters in breadth. Argishti's plate is 17 centimeters in length, 8.8 and 5.1 centimeters in breadth.
29. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*, 101, fig. 37; Karageorghis, "Horse Burials on the Island of Cyprus," *op. cit.*, fig. 2.
30. To the long list of references on blinkers given by Snodgrass, *op. cit.*, 164–166, should be added the following examples:

    Nimrud: M. E. L. Mallowan, *Iraq* XV, 1953, 22–3, pl. II, which is only one of a pair discussed by Barnett (*A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*, 28, 101) who suggests that these blinkers together with an ivory frontlet (found in the same well in the Northwest Palace at Nimrud, *op. cit.*, pl. LXIII, S.146) in the British Museum, may have formed a set of sacred horse harness.

    Gordion: several pairs of ivory blinkers discovered in the Phrygian level (late eighth century B.C.), R. S. Young, "The 1961 Campaign at Gordion," *AJA* 66:2, 1962, 166–167, pl. 74.

    Cyprus: recent finds of bronze, ivory and gold blinkers at Salamis in Cyprus (Tombs 31, 19, 3, dated to the seventh century B.C.); see Karageorghis, "Horse Burials on the Island of Cyprus," *op. cit.*, fig. 13.

    Iran: bronze blinker decorated with sphinx and cartouche-like symbols in the collection of Azizbeglu, Teheran; see Ghirshman, "Notes iraniennes XIL," *Arbitus Asiae* XXVII:1/2, 1964, fig. 9.
31. The cheek-plate bearing Argishti's name, which has similar dimensions, should likewise be regarded as a local product.
32. P. Jacobsthal, "Scheuklappen," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* I–II, 1923–1924, 266–267, fig. 4; Snodgrass, *op. cit.*, 164, n. 27. Ivory blinker in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 60.145.4; Karageorghis, "Horse Burials on the Island of Cyprus," *op. cit.*, 288.
33. M. E. L. Mallowan, "The Excavations at Nimrud (Kalḫu), 1952," *Iraq* XV:1, 1953, 23; Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*, 101.
34. J. Lines, "Ivories from Nimrud," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* XIII:8, 1955, 236–238. Horse frontlets and blinkers are generally found only in the

richest Scythian tombs in South Russia, see E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, Cambridge 1913, 74 ff., 152 ff.

35. Details of the bud or cone garland represented on the fragments of wall paintings from Arin-berd, dated to the reign of Argishti I, are published by K. L. Oganesi͡an, *Arin-berd* I (*Arkhitektura Èrebuni*), Erevan 1961, 50, figs. 28–29. The Arin-berd garlands are identical to those represented on the silver vessel cover bearing Argishti's inscription, and the garlands represented on the wall paintings from the "Temple-Palace" at Altin-tepe, T. Özgüç, *Altintepe, Architectural Monuments and Wall Paintings, Turk Tarih Kurumu Yayinlarindan*—V. Seri, No. 24, Ankara 1966, 56, figs. 38–39.
36. The constructions and the wall paintings from Levels I–II at Altin-tepe are dated by T. Özgüç to the second half of the eighth century B.C. The "Temple-Palace" complex belongs to Level I, dated by Özgüç to the reign of Sarduri (II), son of Argishti I (764–735 B.C., dates proposed by Melikishvili, *UKN*, 294 ff., are followed here), while the "apadana" building complex is assigned to a later Second Level, see *op. cit.*, 46, 56–57. In an earlier publication of the excavations at Altin-tepe, Özgüç dated the Altin-tepe tombs to the reign of Argishti II (713–685 B.C.) on the basis of the evidence provided by a fragmentary inscription found inside one of the tombs (see *Belleten* XXV:98, 1961, 274). It is presumably on the strength of this evidence, as well as on stylistic grounds, that Özgüç dates Level I to the reign of Sarduri (II), son of Argishti I. Level II, which was built partly over the enclosure wall of the "Temple-Palace" complex, therefore, is a later construction which must have been built some time before the site was abandoned in 600–585 B.C. (*Altintepe, op. cit.*, 56). That the wall paintings from the "Temple-Palace" complex date from the earliest building period on the hill at Altin-tepe is borne out by the fact that the southeastern corner of the portico wall (presumably the one bearing part of the series of paintings preserved in fragments) was superimposed by the "apadana" wall (*op. cit.*, 42–44). Details of the cone or bud garland pattern were among the few fragments preserved from the wall of the colonnade hall around the "Temple-Palace" complex, and thus belong to the earliest building period at Altin-tepe.
37. E. A. Wallis Budge, *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum*, London 1914, pl. L:2, provides the closest parallel to the Urartian bud garlands. For pomegranate and bud-lotus garlands in various combinations, see W. Andrae, *Coloured Ceramics from Ashur and Earlier Ancient Assyrian Wall-Paintings*, London 1925, pl. 5:e (from Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta); figs. 41, 45, 47 (Late Assyrian, from Ashur); figs. 9–10 (Late or post-Assyrian, from Ashur); F. Thureau-Dangin and M. Dunand, *Til-Barsib, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique*, Tome XXIII, Album, Paris 1936, pl. XLV.
38. *Karmir-blur III*, 43–44, fig. 36. The disc measures 9.5 centimeters in diameter. See *ibid.*, fig. 37, for a second circular plaque, without decoration, bearing the name

of Menua. For other decorated and plain bronze buttons without inscriptions, see C. A. Burney, "A first season of excavations at the Urartian citadel of Kayalidere," *Anatolian Studies* XVI 1966, 78, pl. XI:a,d.

39. T. Özgüç, *Belleten* XXV:98, 1961, 270, 274.

40. Gold buttons were used on garments and headdresses of both men and women among the Scythian and Sarmatian tribes, see Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, 62 ff. Minns (*op. cit.*, 66) suggests the existence of a relationship between the phalerae and Chinese-type round mirrors with a loop on the back.

41. From the Tak-Kilisia burial, in Transcaucasia, dated to the early Iron Age, see B. A. Kuftin, *Archaeological Excavations in Trialeti* I, *Academy of Sciences of the Georgian SSR, the Institute of History*, Tbilisi 1941 (in Russian, with English summary), fig. 52. For other interpretations given for similar discs with central knobs from the Greek world, see Snodgrass, *op. cit.*, 38 ff., n. 6. Bronze conical "pendants" are known from the Urartian cemetery at Igdyr, in Transcaucasia, and these resemble the conical "pendants" from the Colchidic Bronze Age graves in Abkhazia at Eshery, see the translation of B. A. Kuftin's work in R. D. Barnett, "The Urartian Cemetery at Igdyr," *Anatolian Studies* XIII, 1963, 179, fig. 33. A more extensive use of the phalerae is generally associated with the advent of Sarmatian tribes in Western Asia and Eastern Europe after the middle of the first millennium B.C., see M. I. Rostovtsev, *Animal Style in South Russia and China*, Princeton 1929.

42. *Karmir-blur III*, fig. 34; a photograph is illustrated in Piotrovskiĭ, "Urartskie nadpisi iz raskopki Karmir-blura 1952," *Épigrafika vostoka* IX, 1954, 73–77, fig. 3. From Azarbaijan and the Lake Sevan region, Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, fig. 22:b, v; B. A. Kuftin, *Arkheologischeskie raskopki v Trialeti* I (*Akademiia nauk Gruzinskoĭ, SSR, Institut istorii*), Tbilisi 1941, fig. 57; J. K. Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1961, 46 ff.

43. Kuftin, *op. cit.*, pl. XLII. G. Nioradze, "Der Verwahrfund von Kvemo-Sasirethi," *ESA* VII, 1932, 89–92, figs. 9–10; Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, 55, fig. 22a. A similar type of bit was found at Tell el Amarna, see F. Hančar, *Das Pferd in prähistorrischer und früher historischer Zeit* (*Institut für Völkerkunde der Universität Wien* XI), Wien/München 1955, fig. 19. Compare the wheel-shaped bits with those found at Gaza and Ras Shamra from the sixteenth to fifteenth century B.C.; see H. A. Potratz, "Die Pferdgebisse des zweistromländischen Raumes," *Archiv für Orientforschung* XIV, 1941, 11, figs. 15, 16.

44. Assyrian bits: J. K. Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship*, 68–69, pls. 3, 4:a; Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, 152, fig. 18; Kuftin, *Arkheologischeskie raskopki v Trialeti* I, fig. 57:4. Animal representations appear also on the cheekpieces of a Luristan bit which shows human fists at the ends of the mouthpiece. See A. Godard, "Les Bronzes du Luristan," *Ars Asiatica* XVII, 1931, pl. XL. Nioradze, "Der Verwahrfund von Kvemo-Sasirethi," *ESA*, VII, 1932, fig. 10; J. K. Anderson, *op. cit.*, 65, notes that

while cheekpieces in the form of animals were common in Italy, they were foreign to Greece and unusual in Assyria.

Scythian bits: Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, figs. 80–81, 83; G. Azarpay, "Some Classical and Near Eastern Motifs in the Art of Pazyryk," *Artibus Asiae* XXII:4, 1959, 327, fig. 27.

45. Judging by the skeletal remains as well as the representations of the Urartian horse, it appears that the local breed was a short and small animal, ca. 1.25 meters high, with small head, pointed ears and slender legs, see Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, 156; Anderson, *op. cit.*, pl. 32:b.
46. Anderson, *op. cit.*, 64 ff.
47. But the spoils of the campaign against the Diauehi (the Daochoi of Xenophon) would have provided sufficient reason for a later assault by Argishti's successor, "I enslaved the king of the Diauehi, I spared [him] on condition [that he would pay] tribute. [This is] the kind of tribute the Diauehi presented [king] Argishti: 41 minas of pure [?] gold, 37 minas of silver . . . ten thousand minas of copper, 1000 saddle horses, 300 head of large horned cattle, . . . ten thousand head of small horned cattle. [This is] the kind of tribute . . . for the [country of] Diauehi I established so that [she] should pay yearly . . . minas of pure [?] gold, 10,000 minas of copper . . . oxen, 100 cows, 500 sheep, 300 saddle horses. . . ." This inscription is possibly from the second year of Argishti's reign (*UKN*, 128 B1), which, according to Melikishvili, dates ca. 785 B.C. The annals of Argishti from Van mention conflict with Assyria during the sixth, seventh and ninth years of the reign of Argishti (*UKN*, 250–252). Assyrian eponym lists make references to Urartian campaigns of Shalmaneser IV, for the years 781–778, 776, and 774 B.C. (*Luckenbill* II, 434), thus, Melikishvili suggests the years 786–764 for the reign of Argishti (*UKN*, 242–246). If the first Assyrian campaign of 781 corresponds with the sixth year of the reign of Argishti, then the first year of the reign of Argishti is 786 B.C. I. M. D'îâkonov (*VDI*, No. 2, 1956, 69–71), however, believes the year 774, or the last Assyrian campaign, to correspond with the sixth year of Argishti's reign, thus giving the year 780–756 for the latter's reign which is at variance also with the dates given in the list of Piotrovskiĭ. Piotrovskiĭ apparently associates the Assyrian campaign of 776 B.C. with the sixth year of the reign of Argishti I. As any of the Assyrian campaigns of 781–778, 776, and 774 B.C. could theoretically correspond with the sixth year of Argishti's reign, a maximum difference of seven years may be expected between the chronological lists proposed by Melikishvili and D'îâkonov.

The following are the three different chronologies proposed for the Urartian king list by Melikishvili, D'îâkonov, and Piotrovskiĭ. Taking 781–772 B.C. as the dates for the reign of Shalmaneser IV of Assyria, Melikishvili (*UKN*, 245, 294–297) proposes:

Argishti I	786–764
Sarduri II	764–735
Rusa I	735–714

D'i̯akonov's arguments for the dates down to the reign of Sarduri III are found in the review of G. A. Melikishvili, *Drevnevostochnie materialy po istorii narodov Zakavkaz'i̯a, I, Nairi-Urartu*, Tbilisi 1956, in *VDI*, 2 1956, 69 ff. D'i̯akonov's dates for the Urartian kings after Sarduri III were proposed after the recent discovery of inscribed tablets at Karmir-blur, see I. M. D'i̯akonov, *Urartskie pi'sma i dokumenty, akademii̯a nauk SSSR, Inst. Arkheologii*, Moskva/Leningrad 1963, 28–29, n. 42.

Argishti I	c. 780–756 (?)
Sarduri II	c. 755–735
Rusa I	c. 735–(?) 713
Argishti II	713–685
Rusa II	685–639
Sarduri III	639–635
Erimena	634–630
Rusa III	629–615
Sarduri IV	614–after 608

Piotrovskiĭ (*VT*, 41–42) proposes the following dates, which, however, must be revised for the reigns of later Urartian kings in view of the recent discovery of the inscribed texts from Karmir-blur.

Aramu, mentioned in Assyrian annals in 860, 858, 846.

Sarduri, son of Lutipri, contemporary of Shalmaneser III, who campaigned against him in 834.

Ishpuini, son of Sarduri, mentioned in the Assyrian campaign of 824. Contemporary of Shamshi-Adad.

Menua, son of Ishpuini (810–781), contemporary of the Assyrian queen, Adad-nirari III and Shalmaneser IV.

Argishti, son of Menua (781–760), contemporary of Shalmaneser IV and Assur-dan III.

Sarduri, son of Argishti (760–730), contemporary of Assur-dan III, Assur-nirari IV, and Tiglath-pileser III mentioned for the years 743 and 745 of latter.

Rusa, son of Sarduri (730–714), contemporary of Tiglath-pileser III, Shalmaneser V, and Sargon II. His death is mentioned for the year 714, in Sargon's annals.

Argishti, son of Rusa (714–685), contemporary of Sargon and Sennacherib.

Rusa, son of Argishti (685–645), contemporary of Esarhaddon Ashur-

banipal. Mentioned in Esarhaddon's oracle tablets and in Ashurbanipal's annals.

Sarduri, son of Rusa (645–625), contemporary of Ashurbanipal and later Assyrian kings, mentioned by Ashurbanipal for the year 639.

Erimena (625–605), known only from the inscriptions of his son.

Rusa, son of Erimena (605–590).

A chronological list of the reigns of Urartian kings is necessarily dependent upon the unsettled question of the date of the reign of Argishti I which is determined on the basis of both the external evidence of Assyrian chronology and the choice of one out of the six Assyrian campaigns conducted against Urartu between 781 and 774 B.C.

In view of the important references to the late Urartian period provided by D'i͡akonov's analysis of the inscribed tablets from Karmir-blur, and for the sake of consistency, we follow in general D'i͡akonov's chronological table, unless stated otherwise.

Relevant dates of some Assyrian kings:

Shalmaneser I	1272–1243
Shalmaneser II	1030–1019
Ashurnasirpal II	883–859
Shalmaneser III	858–824
Shamshi-Adad V	823–810
Adad-nirari III	810–783
Shalmaneser IV	782–772
Ashurnirari V	753–746
Tiglath-pileser III	745–727
Sargon II	721–705
Sennacherib	704–681
Esarhaddon	681–669
Ashurbanipal	669–626
Fall of Nineveh	612

48. Arin-berd: *UKN*, 127, II:5–24, 127, II:25–50; Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, 69–70; Argišti-ḫinili: *UKN*, 137.

49. *UKN*, 138–139, 145–147b; B. B. Piotrovskiĭ, K. L. Ohanesi͡an, "Die Ausgrabungen in Arin-berd und Karmir-blur," *Trudy dva͡tsat' pi͡atogo mezhdunarodnogo kongressa vostokovedov* I, Moskva 1962, 293–294; K. L. Oganesi͡an, *Arin-berd Arkitektura Érebuni, Arkheologicheskie raskopki v Armenii* IX, Erevan 1961, 58 ff.; Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, pls. XVIII–XXI; B. B. Piotrovskiĭ, *Iskusstvo Urartu VIII–VII vv. do n. e.*, Leningrad 1962, 113–114, pl. XXXI.

Urartian fortresses are usually of two types, depending on the function of the stronghold. The castle-rock at Van, where the Urartian capital Tushpa was located, was protected by a ring of fortresses which encircled Lake Van in the central Armenian highlands. Most of these fortresses served mainly a defensive purpose: built with exaggerated solidity, they were protected not only by the fortification walls and the manipulation of the geographical landmarks, but also by difficult entries. Such entrances ranged from a tortuous rock-cut tunnel, with a porthole opening, to a rocky lakeside approach which could be stormed only by means of boats and rafts. The second type of fortress was that which served as an administrative center or as a base for military campaigns.

Urartian bases and administrative centers are usually located in the outskirts of the Van Kingdom, as at Arin-berd, Karmir-blur, Nor-baiazet and T͡sovinar in Transcaucasia, and Altin-tepe in eastern Anatolia, where the Urartian governor and his garrison resided in a citadel usually separated by strong walls from the settlement. Urartian methods of construction underwent certain changes in the course of time, permitting a chronological division into two phases. Fortification walls of the first phase (ninth to eighth century B.C.) are constructed either entirely of large blocks of stone as at the castle-rock at Van, or the walls have a stone foundation with the upper part continued in adobe brick. The second phase (seventh to the beginning of the sixth century B.C.) is distinguished by the use of smaller stone blocks which are generally used only for the foundation of the walls, the upper parts of which were completed in adobe brick, a method which is employed throughout the fortification walls at Karmir-blur. See C. A. Burney, "Urartian Fortresses and Towns in the Van Region," *Anatolian Studies* VIII, 1957, 37–53; Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, 197–8; Özgüç, *Belleten* XXV:98, 277.

50. For inscriptions of Argishti I pertaining to Erebuni recently discovered at Karmir-blur, see B. B. Piotrovskiĭ, "Urartskaîâ nadpis' iz raskopok Karmir-blura, sviâzannaîâ s osnovaniem Érebuni," *Épigrafika vostoka* XVII, 1966, 3–5; Oganesîân, *Arin-berd*, *op. cit.*, 9, 12–13.

51. Patnos (Anzavurtepe): north of Lake Van, wall paintings from a temple and adjacent room, dated to the reign of Menua, and in use until the reign of Sarduri II (764–735, or c. 755–735 B.C.), see K. Balkan, *Anatolia* V, 1960, 99 ff.; Özgüç, *Altin-tepe*, *op. cit.*, 47, n. 24.

Çavuştepe: wall paintings from the southern and northern sides of the lower citadel show representations of trees and flowers in blue, brown, black, and red. The temple was dedicated by Sarduri II (764–735, or ca. 755–735 B.C.), see E. Bilgiç, in "Recent Archaeological Research in Turkey," *Anatolian Studies* XIV, 1964, 22–23; A. Erzen, "Çavuştepe kazisi," *Belleten* XXVIII:111, 1964, 569–570. See also the series of reports on the excavations at Çavuştepe by M. J. Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor," *AJA* 69, 1965, 141; *AJA* 70, 1966, 150–151; *AJA* 70, 1966, 281.

Karmir-blur: burned fragment showing palmettes, circles, and rosettes in a circular frame, see Piotrovskiĭ, *Iskusstvo Urartu*, 115–116, pl. XXX.

Altin-tepe: Level I: tentatively dated to the reign of Sarduri II, son of Argishti I. Level II: tentatively dated to the seventh century B.C., see Özgüç, *Altintepe*, 56–58.

52. The colors used at Arin-berd are predominantly blue and red with some green, found also at Altin-tepe where light brown is frequently employed. Yellow is absent at Altin-tepe, but exists in the fragments from Çavuştepe, while a more limited palette of red and blue is found at Patnos and Karmir-blur. See above, note 51. In the Assyrian wall paintings from Khorsabad, blue, red, black, green, and brown pigments are used on a white ground, while in the Assyrian paintings at Til Barsib green pigment is lacking, see A. Moortgat, *Alt-Vorderasiatische Malerei*, Berlin 1959, 15–17; A. Parrot, *Nineveh and Babylon*, Thames and Hudson 1961, 99, 263, 266, figs. 108–120, 341–347. For a reconstruction of the Urartian wall surface, see Özgüç, *Altintepe*, fig. 13; Oganesi͡an, *Arin-berd*, figs. 10, 27, 38.
53. K. L. Oganesi͡an, "Raskopki urartskogo goroda Érebuni," *Sovetskai͡a arkheologii͡a* 3, 1960, 289–296; Piotrovskiĭ, *Iskusstvo Urartu* 113 ff.; *idem.*, *VT*, pls. XX–XXI; Oganesi͡an, *Arin-berd*, 58–74, figs. 28–38.
54. Deities on animal vehicles appear on the Urartian stone seal from Karmir-blur, Piotrovskiĭ, *Iskusstvo Urartu*, fig. 71; on a stone relief from Adilcevaz, C. A. Burney, G. R. J. Lawson, "Urartian Reliefs at Adilcevaz on Lake Van," *Anatolian Studies* VIII, 1951, figs. 1–2, pl. XXXIII; and on fragments of bronze belts from Karmir-blur, Piotrovskiĭ, *Iskusstvo Urartu*, figs. 42–43. North Syrian examples of this motif are:

Arslan Tash: Parrot, *Nineveh and Babylon*, fig. 84
Til Barsib: *ibid.*, figs. 85–89
Tell Halaf: *ibid.*, figs. 95–96
Zincirli: Frankfort, *AAAO*, pl. 163
Yazilikaya, a Hittite antecedent: *ibid.*, pl. 130, c.
See also Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*, *op. cit.*, 87–88, fig. 31.

55. Oganesi͡an, *Arin-berd*, *op. cit.*, fig. 35.
56. Toprak-kale: Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*, pl. CXXXI, W 14.

Altin-tepe: T. Özgüç, "The Urartian Architecture on the Summit of Altintepe," *Anatolia* VII, 1963, pl. XVI.

This motif appears in other media in Urartian art, i.e., stone seal from Karmir-blur, see Piotrovskiĭ, *Iskusstvo Urartu*, fig. 72; stone box from Karmir-blur, *ibid.*, fig. 66.

57. Nimrud: A. H. Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, London 1853, pls. 86–87

Khorsabad and Til Barsib: Parrot, *Nineveh and Babylon*, figs. 108–120, 341–347.

An exception to this rule is the evidently random composition found in the early group of paintings from Altin-tepe, see Özgüç, *Altintepe*, *op. cit.*, 57. The ivories from Toprak-kale were apparently imports from northern Syria, see Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*, pls. CXXVIII–CXXXI.

58. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*, pls. CXIII–CXIV. These incised ivory panels belong to the "Assyrian Style," and originally were part of a door or a quiver. On influences of ivory carving in Assyrian reliefs, see L. Woolley, *Mesopotamia and the Middle East*, Art of the World series, London 1961, 183–184.
59. The date of discovery of the lid is not given; see Piotrovskiĭ, *Iskusstvo Urartu*, 88. Here Piotrovskiĭ confirms the similarity between the bud garland on the vessel cover and the shield of Argishti I, see also *VT*, pls. XLII–XL. The bud garland on the wall painting at Arin-berd is described in Piotrovskiĭ, *Iskusstvo Urartu*, 113.
60. *Karmir-blur II*, 51; *Karmir-blur III*, fig. 17, pl. XII (back view), the measurements of this shield are given as between .7 to 1 meter; *UKN*, 147.
61. Despite the questionable aspects of the facade of the Urartian temple in the Assyrian relief from Khorsabad (see W. Kleiss, "Zur Rekonstruktion des urartäischen Tempels," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 13/14, 1963–1964, 1–14), the discovery of bronze shields and other objects before the facade of the Urartian temple at Altintepe supports Sargon's report regarding the use of gold shields as wall hangings on the facade of the Urartian temple at Musasir, see *Luckenbill* II, 96, No. 173; Özgüç, *Altintepe*, 417, and the more recent find of shields and other items by Piotrovskiĭ at Karmir-blur, "Urartskaîa nadpis' iz raskopok Karmir-blura, svîazannaîa s osnovaniem Èrebuni," *Épigrafika vostoka* XVII, 1966, 4.
62. *Karmir-blur III*, pls. XII–XIII; Piotrovskiĭ, *Iskusstvo Urartu*, 66; Barnett, "The Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale, near Van," *Iraq* XII:1, 1950, fig. 8, pls. 9, 10:I (Toprak-kale); Özgüç, *Altintepe*, pl. XXXIV:7 (Altin-tepe); C. A. Burney, "A first season of excavations at the Urartian citadel of Kayalidere," *Anatolian Studies* XVI, 1966, 101, pl. XXI: b–c.
63. Snodgrass, *op. cit.*, 66–67.
64. *Ibid.*, 61 ff. It is interesting to note that the bud garland pattern is replaced by the guilloche pattern on later Urartian shields (of Rusa III, 629–615 B.C.), which may suggest a reverse influence from the Aegean on late Urartian shields.
65. *Karmir-blur II*, 63–64, figs. 33:2–5, 34; *UKN*, 150a; C. A. Burney, "A first season of excavations at the Urartian citadel of Kayalidere," *Anatolian Studies* XVI, 1966, 93, pl. XVIII:a (iron boss with lateral arms and nails probably used on wooden shields).
66. Snodgrass, *op. cit.*, 37 ff. Caucasus: B. A. Kuftin, *Arkheologicheskie raskopki v Trialeti* I, *op. cit.*, 98, pl. CIII. The gold plaque with concentric decoration from Trialeti, Kurgan XVII, is dated by Kuftin to the mid-second millennium B.C. For a similar bronze plaque (diameter 23 centimeters) from Luristan, of the Iron Age, see

A. Godard, *Les Bronze du Luristan*, *Ars Asiatica* XVII, 1931, pl. 25:73. See also G. Merhart, "Über blecherne Zierbuckel (Faleren)," *Jahrbuch des römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz*, Mainz 1956, 99 ff.; and T. J. Arne, "Luristan and the West," *ESA* IX, 1934, 276 ff., fig. 18. Arne associates these articles from Luristan with European examples. Bronze plaques similar to the Caucasian and Luristan examples are known also from Palestine, see S. Przeworski, "Altorientalische Altertümer in skandinavischen Sammlungen," *ESA* X, 96, fig. 19. These examples resemble the shape of the larger bronze "omphalos" shield from Marlyk, northwestern Iran, dated to the early first millennium B.C., see below, note 68.

67. R. D. Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs and their Influence on the Sculptures of Babylonia and Persia*, Batchworth Press 1960, pls. 12, 26 (from Nimrud, reign of Ashurnasirpal II, 883–859 B.C.), pls. 145–147 (small round shields represented on the Balawat Gates in the British Museum, reign of Shalmaneser III, 858–824 B.C.); pl. 40 (small round shield with single grip, carried by mercenaries in the Assyrian army, Nimrud, reign of Tiglath-pileser III, 745–727 B.C.); pls. 44, 54 (large round shields with single grip from Nineveh, reign of Sennacherib, 705–681 B.C.); pls. 76–77, 110-111, 126 (large round convex shield and large rectangular shield with curved upper corners, both apparently made of wicker, Nineveh, reign of Ashurbanipal, 668–626 B.C.); pl. 129 (small round shield with single grip and concentric decoration, Nineveh, reign of Ashurbanipal).

68. E. O. Negahban, *A Preliminary Report on Marlik Excavation, Gohar Rud Expedition, Rudbar 1961–1962, Joint Publication of the Iranian Archaeological Service and the Institute of Archaeology*, University of Tehran, Tehran 1964, fig. 52 (diameter 37 centimeters, height of boss 11.5 centimeters). Snodgrass, *op. cit.*, 54–55.

69. The ninth century B.C. Assyrian examples have bosses and an offset rim as noted by Snodgrass, *op. cit.*, 52; A. H. Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, pls. 13, 18, 21, 27.

70. Snodgrass, *op. cit.*, 52; E. Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs*, Stuttgart 1931, list nos. 1–25, pls. 1–32.

71. G. Karo, "Orient und Hellas in archaischer Zeit," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, 1920, pp. 144–145; E. Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs*, Stuttgart 1931, pls. 1–3, 6–7, 10, 12 (from Palaikastro); Sydney Smith, "The Greek Trade at al Mina," *The Antiquaries Journal* XXII:2, 1942, 103; T. J. Dunbabin, *The Greeks and their Eastern Neighbours, Studies in the Relations between Greeks and the Countries of the Near East in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C.*, London 1957, 15–29. On the question of the date of the shields, see S. Benton, "The Date of the Cretan Shields," *Annual of the British School at Athens* XXXIX, 1938–1939, 52–64; Snodgrass, *op. cit.*, 51–52; M. Pallottino, "Orientalizing Style," *Encyclopedia of World Art* X, 1965, 788–790.

72. F. Thureau-Dangin, *Une Relation de la huitième Campagne de Sargon*, Paris 1912,

11, 378–379. T. Özgüç, *Belleten* XXV:98, 278. It appears that as late as the nineteenth century there existed a belief in the miracle of the sacred spear cherished in the Armenian church of Echmiadzin, about which J. Morier writes: "they hold it for certain, that the head of the sacred spear which is kept as a relic in the church, has amongst its many virtues the power of stopping the progress of the plague. This terrible disorder had broken out with violence at Tiflis, and was making great havock amongst the inhabitants. A deputation was in consequence sent to the Patriarch, requesting the loan of the spear head in order that the evil might meet with a speedy termination. We happened to be present when the deputation arrived. The Patriarch received it in great form, and long consultations were held, whether the sacred instrument should be permitted to go out of the walls of Etchmiatzin or not. At length it was determined that it should proceed to perform its holy office, and after a multitude of ceremonies, such as chantings, prostrations, kissings, and ringing bells, it was delivered over to the deputation, who forthwith returned to Tiflis. We afterwards learnt that it was most devoutly believed by some at Tiflis that as soon as the spear head entered the city through one gate, the plague in the shape of a cow with a human head darted out through another, and that then the disorder instantly ceased." See J. Morier, *A Second Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor, to Constantinople, Between the Years 1810 and 1818*, London 1818, 324–325, 333–334.

73. E. Akurgal, *The Art of the Hittites*, New York 1963, pls. 81–83; L. Woolley, *Alalakh, an Account of the Excavations at Tell Atchana in the Hatay, 1937–1949*, pls. 81–83; Oxford 1955, 276, pl. LXX. Woolley believed the sacred spear from Alalakh and a sacred (?) axe from Ugarit to reflect the influence of Hittite culture, see *Mesopotamia and the Middle East*, London 1961, 144; G. Azarpay, "Two Urartian Boot-Shaped Vessels," *Artibus Asiae* XXVII:1/2, 1964, 61–71.
74. *UKN*, 149a; *Karmir-blur III*, 32–35.
75. R. Ghirshman, "Notes iraniennes XIV, Deux oillères en bronze des rois d'Urartu," *Artibus Asiae* XXVII:1/2, 1964, fig. 2.
76. *UKN*, 149c; Piotrovskiĭ, *Iskusstvo Urartu*, 1, fig. 3. These objects were apparently found by the Kurds in the two rock-cut chambers which were probably Urartian burials. The funerary nature of the inventory of objects, and perhaps also that of the chambers, appears to be supported by the presence in the group of a vessel with openings on the shoulders and a clay stopper, resembling those used in Urartian cremation burials. Piotrovskiĭ's list of these objects includes a reference to a letter, in the archives of the Hermitage Museum (No. 1, 1858, No. 62), which shows a drawing of this vessel. See *Iskusstvo Urartu*, 5.
77. Other objects bearing Argishti's inscriptions: *UKN*, 150 (bronze umbo), 152 (bronze bowl). *UKN* 149b; *Karmir-blur III*, 40, fig. 29. The arrowheads were found inside two quivers, one decorated and one plain, with uncertain inscriptions (*Karmir-*

blur III, 38–39). The undecorated quiver is like the one found in Room 28, at Karmir-blur in 1950, which bore an inscription of Argishti (*UKN* 149, *Karmir-blur II*, 35, 50). Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, pl. XLI, bottom is probably a detail of the helmet of Argishti (*Iskusstvo Urartu*, pl. XXI), and not of the quiver as stated there.

78. Arrowhead bearing Argishti's inscription: *Karmir-blur III*, 40, fig. 30; *UKN* 176 a–b; other Urartian arrowheads of this type with one or two bosses: *Karmir-blur I*, 39, fig. 22, *Karmir-blur II*, fig. 11. A second bronze arrowhead inscribed with the name of Argishti I, from Karmir-blur (Room 36), is of the simple leaf-shaped, tanged variety. It is not clear whether the barbs were omitted or broken, *Karmir-blur III*, 40, fig. 29. K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop, "Bronze Lugged Axe- or Adze-Blades from Asia," *Iraq* XV:1, 1953, p. 74; J. Hummel, "Zur Archäologie Azerbeidzans," *ESA* VIII, 1933, pp. 225 ff., no. 10, fig. 18. For other variations, see examples from Transcaucasia in Kuftin, *Arkheologicheskie raskopki v Trialeti* I, p. 56, figs. 52, 85:2–3, from Beshtasheni, which he compares with Luristan arrowheads. For the Luristan types see A. Godard, "Les Bronzes du Luristan," *Ars Asiatica* XVII, Paris 1931, p. 49, pl. XVI, 50. Also from Mingechaur in Transcaucasia, S. M. Kaziev, "Arkheologicheskie raskopki v Mingechaura," *Materialʹnaîâ kulʹtura Azerbaĭdzhana, Akademiîâ nauk azerbaĭdzhanskoĭ SSR*, Baku 1949, 18, fig. 6, ca. ninth to seventh century B.C. The Iron Age arrowheads from northwestern Iran often included the flat leaf-shaped and tanged type. Variations on this type are exemplified by the recent discoveries at Marlik, see E. O. Negahban, *A Preliminary Report on Marlik Excavations, Gohar Rud Expedition, Rudbar 1961–1962, Joint publication of the Iranian Archaeological Service and the University of Tehran* 1964, fig. 49.

79. Snodgrass, *op. cit.*, 146 ff., fig. 9, outlines the development of this type of arrowhead in the ancient world.

80. Toprak-kale and Haikaberd: I. M. D'îâkonov, "Poslednie gody urartskogo gosudarstva," *VDI*:2, 1951, 38; Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, 238, fig. 79.

    Karmir-blur: *Karmir-blur I*, fig. 63, II, fig. 11; Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, fig. 81.

    Arin-berd: Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, 241 (but on account of slight typological differences the Arin-berd arrowheads are assigned to the Achaemenian period).

81. For a full account of the socketed arrowheads known from Western Asia, see T. Sulimirski, "Scythian Antiquities in Western Asia," *Artibus Asiae* XVII:3/4, 1954, 282–318.

82. K. F. Smirnov, *Vooruzhenie savromatov, Materialy i issledovaniîâ po arkheologii SSR*, 101, Akademiîâ nauk SSSR, Institut arkheologii, Moskva 1961, 38 ff., tables I:A, II:A.

83. Sulimirski, *op. cit.*, 299, 313 ff.; R. D. Barnett, W. Watson, "Russian Excavations in Armenia," *Iraq* XIV:2, 1952, 142.

84. R. D. Barnett, "The Archaeology of Urartu," *Compt. rendu du III^e Rencontre*

Assyr. Internat., Leiden 1954, 17; *idem.*, "Median Art," *Iranica Antiqua* II, 1962, 93. I. M. D'iakonov, "Poslednie gody urartskogo gosudarstva," *VDI*:2, 1951, 38–39, first proposed a date ca. 609 B.C. for the final destruction of Karmir-blur, but later he suggested a date after 608 B.C. The latter date was suggested in the light of the new discovery of inscribed tablets at Karmir-blur, see *Urartskie pis'ma i dokumenty*, Adad. nauk SSR, Inst. arkheologii, Moskva/Leningrad 1963, 28 ff.

85. Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, 113–114, 116; D'iakonov, *Urartskie pis'ma i dokumenty*, *op. cit.*, 28 ff.

86. *UKN*, 148; *Karmir-blur II*, 40–50, a drawing of the complete design is shown opposite p. 40, pls. 11–15; Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, 167, pl. XXXVI; Piotrovskiĭ, *Iskusstvo Urartu*, pls. XX–XXI. The inscription on the helmet reads: "*Dhal-di-e e-úri-e i-ni ku-bu-sĕ-e Iar-gi-iš-ti-še Ime-nu-a-(hi)-ni-še (uš-tú)-ú-ni*, To Haldi, the lord, Argishti, son of Menua, presented this helmet."

87. Barnett, Falkner, *The Sculptures*, XX, 39, compare the funnel-shaped helmet ("Type D") (*op. cit.*, pl. XLIX) with an actual helmet from Olympia (ca. sixth century B.C.?), bearing a dedicatory inscription to Zeus, and a reference to that helmet as "Median" (see "Olympia fouilles allémandes," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* LXXXV:2, 1961, 722, pl. XXV). Piotrovskiĭ gives an example of this type of helmet from the Beshtasheni tomb at Trialeti, "Koban" type, and from northern Ossetia (Faskay). For the ninth century B.C. type of crested helmet on bronze figurines from Toprak-kale in the British Museum, and on a larger figurine from the Pertié collection in the Louvre, see Barnett, *Iraq* XVI:1, 72, pl. II:2, and fig. 7. A similar helmet is represented on a relief from Zincirli, see K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop, "An Urartian Archer on the Zincirli Chariot Relief," *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology* 2, London 1959, 65–66. For an example of this type of helmet found at Hasanlu, in northwestern Iran, see Barnett, Falkner, *The Sculptures*, XX, fig. 2:15.

88. Hittite relief: E. Akurgal, *The Art of the Hittites*, New York 1963, pls. 64–65; Snodgrass, *op. cit.*, 14; S. M. Batsieva, "Bor'ba mezhdu Assirieĭ i Urartu za Siriiu," *VDI*:2, 1953, 17–36.

89. *Karmir-blur II*, pl. 12. The same detail appears with a wrong attribution to Sarduri (Room 10), in Barnett, *Iraq* XIV:2, pl. XXXIII:2. This detail clearly belongs to Argishti's helmet found in Room 28, since Sarduri's helmet is badly damaged in this part (see Barnett, *Iraq* XIV:2, fig. 15, or *Karmir-blur I*, figs. 40–40a). F. W. König suggests that the theme of the sacred tree is placed on the front of the helmet to serve as an apotropaic device. See *Handbuch der chaldischen Inschriften, Archiv für Orientforschung* 8:I–II, Graz 1955–1957, 268. For another interpretation of the sacred tree in Urartian art, see F. Hančar, "Der heilige Baum der Urartäer in vorarmenischer Zeit," *Handes Amsorya, Zeitschrift für armenische Philologie* 10–12, 1961, 698–722.

90. *Karmir-blur II*, pl. 12. The arrangement of the long-necked lions on the Urartian

helmets finds a close parallel in the bronze horned helmet from Luristan, in the Archaeological Museum, Teheran, see R. Ghirshman, *Persia from the Origins to Alexander*, Thames and Hudson, 1964, fig. 418. Some of the details of the lion's head have parallels in Late Hittite lions from the ninth century B.C.

91. Piotrovskiĭ, *Iskusstvo Urartu*, pl. XX: R. D. Barnett, M. Falkner, *The Sculptures*, pl. CXV. Frankfort, *AAAO*, pls. 84, 88; Barnett, *Palace Reliefs*, pls. 27, 167.
92. Barnett, *Palace Reliefs*, fig. 167; Frankfort, *AAAO*, pl. 88, shows a type of yoke band which is usual for the ninth, but rare during the eighth century B.C., as in the reliefs of Tiglath-pileser III, see Barnett, Falkner, *The Sculptures*, 39, pl. XV; Barnett, *Palace Reliefs*, pl. 141; Frankfort, *AAAO*, pl. 84.
93. Piotrovskiĭ, "Urartskai͡a kolesni͡a," *Drevniĭ mir, akademiku v.v. Struve, A. N. SSR, Narodov Azii*, Moskva 1962, 340–343; A. O. Mnat͡sakani͡an, "Raskopki kurganov na poberezh'e oz. Sevan v 1956 g." *Sovetskai͡a arkheologii͡a* 2, 1957, 146–153; Mnat͡sakani͡an, "Drevnie povozki iz kurganov bronzovogo veka na poberezh'e oz. Sevan," *Sovetskai͡a arkheologii͡a* 2, 1960, 139–152; Kuftin, *Arkheologicheskie raskopki v Trialeti* I, *op. cit.*, fig. 102. Transcaucasian chariot models: Mnat͡sakani͡an, *Sovetskai͡a arkheologii͡a* 2, 1960, figs. 4, 5, 7. A representation of this detail is found on a seventh century bronze belt from Akthala in the Caucasus, see J. de Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Caucase* I, Paris 1889, fig. 145 = Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, 152, fig. 17. For the use of the chariot in Greece of the Iron Age, see Snodgrass, *op. cit.*, 159–163. See below, notes 174, 175.
94. Barnett, Falkner, *The Sculptures*, xxv; Frankfort, *AAAO*, 91. Argishti's contemporaries in Assyria were: Adad-nirari III (805–782 B.C.), Shalmaneser IV (781–782 B.C.), Aššur-dan III (771–754 B.C.). See also M. Van Loon, *Urartian Art*, *op. cit.*, above, notes 2, 9 ff.
95. Barnett, *Palace Reliefs*, *op. cit.*, figs. 137 ff.
96. *Karmir-blur III*, fig. 16, 25–26. The sign on the helmet is believed by Piotrovskiĭ to be a reference to the thunder god Teisheba.
97. *UKN*, 242–246 (annals of Argishti), 273–305 (annals of Sarduri). Compare the variance even in the recent publications, *UKN*, 294 ff., Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, 78–79.
98. I. M. D'i͡akonov, "Assyro-vavilonskie istochniki po istorii Urartu," *VDI* 2:36, 1951, 303–304, n. 6.
99. *Luckenbill* I, No. 769. Melikishvili (*UKN*, 298 ff.) gives a list of campaigns conducted by Sarduri II for the years 764–750, 753–752, 751–750, 750–748, 748–746, 747–745, 746–744, 745–742, 744–741, 743–740, 742–739 B.C. A question mark follows the terminal dates in each of these groups. A complete list of names of persons and places involved in these campaigns is given under each heading, i.e., for the years 764–750 (?) B.C., we find: cities of Tumeiški, Sasini, Melitea, Zapša, Ḫilaruada, Ḫura; countries of Qala'ni, Karniši, Mušani; fortresses in the cities of Ḫazani, Gaúraḫi, Tumeiški, Asini, Maninu, Aruši, Qulbitarrini, Taše, Queraitaše, Meluiani.

100. *UKN*, 164–166, 170–172, Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, 80–81. R. D. Barnett, "Oriental Influences on Archaic Greece," *The Aegean and the Near East, Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman on the Occasion of her Seventy Fifth Birthday*, New York 1956, 211, 229–231; G. A. Melikishvili, "Kulkha," *Drevniĭ mir, Akademiku V. V. Struve*, Moskva 1962, 319, 326; see also above, note 10.

101. See above, note 99; *Luckenbill* I, No. 769. A late inscription of Tiglath-pileser III (of ca. 734 B.C.) in the British Museum thus gives a resumé of the conflict with Sarduri: "Sarduri of Urartu revolted against me and made common cause with Mati'-ilu, son of Agussi. Between Kishtan and Halpi, districts of Kummuḫu (Commagene), I defeated him. He became frightened at the awful brilliance of my arms and to save his life mounted a mare and escaped to Mount Sibak, a steep mountain, at night, and ascended it. Sarduri of Urartu I shut up in his city Turushpâ. Large numbers (of his men) I slew in front of the gate of his city. My royal image I fashioned and set up before Turushpâ. A stretch of 60 *beru* (double hours) I advanced victoriously through the wide Urartu, from north to south, and found none to oppose" (*Luckenbill* I, No. 813). This date is almost identical with that of another slab from Nimrud, in the British Museum (basement No. 616, 51-9-2, 36), dated in or soon after 734 B.C., *Luckenbill* I, No. 785.

This later resumé does not relate a single act, but covers a period of probably eight years as indicated by the Assyrian eponym lists. After the campaign of Tiglath-pileser III against the north Syrian city of Arpad, which eventually fell under Assyrian blows, an Urartian campaign was conducted in 735 B.C., at which time Assyrian forces marched into Urartu as far as the capital city of Tushpa, which they besieged unsuccessfully, an act which is referred to in the last part of the inscription cited above. This campaign was followed up by others against the north Syrian principalities, which thenceforth fell under strong Assyrian influence (*Luckenbill* II, 436; Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, 81–83).

102. Barnett, "Oriental Influences on Archaic Greece," *op. cit.*, 228 ff.; Barnett, "The Archaeology of Urartu," *Compte-rendu du III^e Rencontre Assyr. Internat.*, Paris 1952, 16 ff. A. A. Baramidze, "K voprosu o znachenii severnoĭ Sirii dlîa Urartu," *Vestnik gosudarstvennogo muzeîa Gruzii im. akad. S. N. Dzhanashina* XX-B, Tbilisi 1959, 209–303. See also: S. M. Baſsieva, "Bor'ba mezhdu Assiriĭ i Urartu za Siriîu," *VDI*, 2, 1953, 17–36. Sidney Smith, "The Greek Trade at Al Mina," *The Antiquaries Journal* XXII:2, 1942, 92–94, gives another explanation by associating a suppressed element in the population of north Syria with the hieroglyph-writing people who demonstrate certain cultural connections with the older Hittites of Anatolia. This suppressed element, according to this author, reasserted itself under Urartian supremacy in north Syria.

103. *UKN*, 265–266; Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, 89–91. An allusion to the active policy of restoration adopted by Rusa is perhaps recorded in the controversial interpretation of

the inscription on a group statue of Rusa and attendants, which Sargon's letter mentions as having been found by the Assyrian soldiers, in the temple of Haldi at Musasir, "With my two horses and one charioteer, my hand attained the kingdom of Urartu." The quotation comes from Sargon's letter to Assur, describing the events of his eighth campaign, *Luckenbill* II, No. 173. The original text is published by F. Thureau-Dangin, *Une Relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon (714 av. J.-C.)*, Paris 1912, 63, 1.404. Lehmann-Haupt (*Armenien* II:2, 685, 855) takes this quotation to mean that Rusa was a usurper to the throne of Urartu, and that he was descended from another Sarduri who was related to the Urartian king of the same name who was the predecessor of Rusa (see also, Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, XVIII–XIX). This argument seems unnecessary, however, since there is nowhere any reference to such a usurpation. Sargon's quotation of this inscription on Rusa's statue may have been motivated by an entirely different reason, as interpreted by A. L. Oppenheim, "The City of Assur in 714 B.C.," *JNES* XIX:2, 1960, 141–142.

104. A. T. Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, Chicago, 1923, New Impression 1960, 206 ff. We find Mitatti of Zikirtu supporting Mannaean cities in their rebellion against their pro-Assyrian king, Iranzu, while Rusa of Urartu likewise foments a revolt among other neighboring territories. Sargon responds with an attack on the Mannaean cities and a deportation of peoples won over by Rusa (*Luckenbill* II, No. 6). In 716 Rusa and Mitatti again engender a rebellion among the Mannaeans, who assassinate their king, the pro-Assyrian successor of Iranzu, Aza, in favour of Bagdattu of Uišdiš. Sargon quickly reacts, "in Mount Uauš (Sakhand), the mountain where they had cast out the body of Aza, I flayed Bagdattu, and showed him to the Mannaeans. Ullusunu, his brother, I placed on the royal throne, the whole of the Mannaean land I made subservient to him" (*Luckenbill* II, No. 10). But Ullusunu immediately joined Urartu and encouraged neighboring Allabria and Itti to become vassals of Urartu. "In the anger of my heart I overran these lands like (a swarm) of locusts and Izirtu, the royal city of the Mannaeans, I overwhelmed as with a net. Multitudes of them I slew. Izirtu I burned with fire and I captured the cities of Zibia and Armaid. Ullusunu, the Mannaean, and all of his land gathered together as one man and seized my feet. I had mercy upon them. I forgave Ullusunu his transgression, on the royal throne (I placed him) . . ." (*Luckenbill* II, No. 10). The next year Sargon reports the restoration to Ullusunu of 22 Mannaean fortresses which Rusa of Urartu had taken as booty. In the same year, Sargon makes an assault on the land of Andia, which had also gone over to Urartu, but receives tribute from Ianzû of Nairi (south of Lake Van) (*Luckenbill* II, Nos. 12–13).

105. Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, 229 ff., A. L. Oppenheim, "The City of Assur in 714 B.C.," *JNES* XIX:2, 1960, 133–147, should be added to the extensive bibliography given in Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, 95. Fortunately the answers to some of these questions are partly furnished by two other sources: Urartian in-

scriptions and unofficial intelligence reports and letters written by Assyrian agents to Sargon or to the crown prince Sennacherib, who resided at Kalḫu. Neither of these two sources bears dates, but it is clear that the inscriptions of Rusa must date before 714 B.C., and some of the Assyrian letters from the Kuyunjik archives are most probably earlier than the date 710–719 B.C., originally proposed by Olmstead (Leroy Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire*, Parts I–IV, Vols. XVII–XX, Ann Arbor, 1930–1936; Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, 258 ff.). Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, 95 ff., argues convincingly against the attribution of *all* Kuyunjik letters to the years 710–709 B.C. He argues the following points: that these letters do not give the name of the Urartian king (except No. 424, Argishti; No. 441, Rusa), and that the name of Sargon's capital, Dur-Sharrukin, is usually absent in the letters bearing news about Urartu (except No. 544). That these letters would have been written over a period of time, and not all in one year, as No. 382, where Ashurrisua reminds the king of the long service paid by this agent to both the king and his father. Also, No. 515 shows Zikirtu as an ally of Urartu, while this situation is changed in No. 205. That Sennacherib's letter to Sargon, No. 197, provides conclusive evidence of an earlier date for this letter. It mentions a letter brought from Tabal, from the house of Ahatabisha. The latter was Sargon's daughter who was given in marriage to Ambaris, king of Tabal, who was encouraged to rebellion by Rusa of Urartu and Meta of Muški. In spite of his political marriage, Ambaris rebelled, and was defeated and taken to Assyria by Sargon in 713 B.C.

Letter No. 381 mentions the rebellion of Manna at the instigation of Urartu, which would have been unlikely after 714. Finally, Piotrovskiĭ asks whether some of these letters would not relate to events during Sargon's eighth campaign. The archives discovered at Nimrud in 1952 brought to light at least one letter which dates as early as the latter part of the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (745–727 B.C.), while another from the same collection mentions Rusa (Ursa) by name. Piotrovskiĭ has drawn attention to the possibility of an earlier date also for some of the Kuyunjik archives, and in particular those letters which refer to Urartu. He has shown that Letter No. 197 definitely belongs to a date prior to 713 B.C., since it mentions a report from the house of Ahatabisha sent from Tabal to Sargon. Ahatabisha's residence at Tabal was terminated when Sargon made the punitive campaign against Tabal in 713 B.C., thus this reference must antedate the campaign. In the same letter Sennacherib reports to Sargon events in Urartu as relayed to him by informants. We learn that the Urartians were engaged in a bitter struggle against the Cimmerians (*Gamir* of the Assyrians): "unto the garrisons of the fortified cities which command the border I sent for news of the king of Urartu. (They replied), saying, 'When he went to the land of Gamir, his army (met) with a debacle. Three of his officers, together with their troops, were slain. He himself escaped, (and) entered his own land. His camp has not yet been attacked.' This is the news from Nabuli. His

brother of the city of Musasir and his son have gone to greet the king of Urartu. A messenger of the Hubuškian has also gone to greet him. The garrison of every fortress on the border sends reports like this. . . ."

A portion of the Cimmerians, possibly coming via the Caucasus, established themselves in eastern Asia Minor, whence they attacked the Urartian kingdom from the west, thus requiring a concentration of Urartian forces in the northwest and away from the Assyrian frontier. There is no reason to suppose that Sargon would have overlooked the opportunity, provided by a Cimmerian victory over Urartian troops in the northwest, to strike a double blow in the southeastern frontiers of Urartu. See H. W. F. Saggs, "The Nimrud Letters, 1952—Part IV, The Urartian Frontier," *Iraq*, XX:2, 1958, No. XLI, 208, possibly No. XLV; No. XLII, 210, probably belongs to 716 B.C. Reference to Rusa is made in No. XLVIII, 200–202. B. B. Piotrovskiĭ, *Istoriia i kul'tura Urartu, Akad. nauk Ar. SSR*, Erevan 1944, 105 ff. I. M. D'iakonov, "Poslednie gody urartskogo gosudartsva po assiro-vavilonskim istochnikam," *VDI* 36:2, 1951, 29–39.

106. *Luckenbill* II, No. 151; Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, 11. 79 ff.
107. Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, 103.
108. Waterman, *op. cit.*, No. 515; *Luckenbill* II, No. 153.
109. Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, see map. Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, 104 ff., also discusses the topography, and follows the identifications of Thureau-Dangin. *Luckenbill* II, No. 167.
110. Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, 11.306 ff. Oppenheim, "The City of Assur in 714 B.C.," *op. cit.*, 136. See above, n. 105; R. D. Barnett, "Phrygia and the Peoples of Anatolia in the Iron Age," *The Cambridge Ancient History* I–II, Cambridge 1967, 11 ff. The apparent grievance against Urzana, king of Musasir, was the latter's neglect to provide the expected tribute and respect and his conspiracy with Ursa of Urartu. But the destruction of the city, the plunder of its treasures and the deportation of the divine images and its population to Assyria, was a punishment which clearly outweighed the crime of Urzana. Musasir's strategic position in the mountains somewhere to the east of Lake Urmia on the Assyro-Urartian frontier, provided either side a desirable base of military operations, a situation which Urzana exploited to his own advantage. The exact geographical location of Musasir is not yet determined. Whereas some authorities place it in the upper region of the Greater Zab Riber (Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, map; Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, 107–108), others place it farther south, near the area where Urartian inscriptions and architectural remains were discovered at Kelishin and Topzaua (Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien* II:1, 299–300).
111. The seal of Urzana, which reads, "Seal of Urzana, King of Musasir, the town of the raven (?), of which, like (of) a snake in hostile mountains, the mouth is open," is thought to suggest Urzana's neutrality, Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, figure on XII,

note 3; A. Goetze, "Muṣaṣ(ṣ)ir," *RA* XLVI:3, 1952, 158–159, for "town of the raven," reads "town of the cricket." Waterman, *op. cit.*, No. 409; Urzana's letter to Sargon, No. 768. Nos. 891, 1048, 1079, and 1196 make only brief mention of Urzana.

112. Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, 11. 339–342, A. L. Oppenheim, "The City of Assur in 714 B.C.," *op. cit.*, 141: "One slaughters in Musasir uncounted well-fed cattle and fattened sheep before the image of Haldia after they have brought there whichever of the sons of the (deceased) king holds the throne, together with gold, silver and all kinds of valuable treasures from his palace, and after they have given (the god) the presents due to him, they provide a banquet for the entire town, they crown him with the royal crown and put into his hand the scepter of the king(s) of Urartu, and the (assembled) people hail him (as king)." The text is translated into Russian by Melikishvili, *UKN*, 264, and into French by M. de T͡seretheli, "Études Ourartéennes III, la stèle de Sidikan-Topzaoua," *RA* XLIV:4, 1950, 185–192. The translation of Melikishvili is mainly followed here.
113. *Luckenbill* II, No. 22, annals, "Ursa of Urartu, the splendour of Assur, my lord, overwhelmed him and with his own dagger he stabbed himself through the heart, like a pig, and ended his life." *Luckenbill* II, No. 175.
114. *UKN* 174; *Karmir-blur I*, figs. 40–41 b, pl. 12 (this is the same photograph as that published in *VT*, pl. XXXVIII top, there attributed to Argishti's helmet). Argishti's helmet was not even discovered at the time of the publication of the reproduction on pl. 12, *Karmir-blur I*. Barnett, Watson, *Iraq* XIV:2, fig. 15, pls. XXXII:2, XXXIII:2, Piotrovskiĭ, *Iskusstvo Urartu*, pls. XVI–XIX, figs. 41, 79. Piotrovskiĭ has noted the different hieroglyphic signs and the different texts used on the two helmets. That on Argishti's helmet is written in cuneiform letters close to the Assyrian type, while Sarduri's text is written in short wedges of triangular shape which later became usual in Urartian inscriptions.
115. *UKN* 173 b; *Karmir-blur III*, 29, figs. 18–20, Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, pls. XXXVII, XXXIX; *Iskusstvo Urartu*, pls. XXI–XXV, figs. 39–40. On Argishti's shield the animals numbered 28 lions, 20 bulls, 8 lions, while Sarduri's shield showed 24, 16 and 6 animals in the same order.
116. Barnett, *Palace Reliefs*, fig. 27 (relief from Nimrud, reign of Ashurnasirpal II); Frankfort, *AAAO*, pl. 95 (wall painting from Khorsabad, reign of Sargon II).
117. Urartian representations of bulls appear at the following sites:

    Patnos: K. Balkan, "Patnos'ta keşfedilen Urartu tapinagï ve Urarti sarai," *Atatürk Konferanslari*, Ankara 1964, 238
    Arin-berd: Oganesi͡an, *Arin-berd*, *op. cit.*, figs. 33, 36, 38
    Altin-tepe: Özgüç, *Altintepe*, 51–52, pls. XXIV:1, XXV:1, XXVI:2–3, figs. 14, 21–22

Toprak-kalec relief in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, Piotrovskiĭ, *Iskusstvo Urartu*, figs. 63–64

Adilcevaz: C. A. Burney, G. R. J. Lawson, "Urartian Reliefs at Adilcevaz, on Lake Van, and a Rock Relief from the Karasu, Near Birecik," *Anatolian Studies* VIII, 1958, 211–8, figs. 1–2, pls. XXXIII.

118. Burney, Lawson, *op. cit.*, 211; Özgüç, *Altintepe*, 51.

119. The same pattern appears on the mane of lions represented on later Urartian shields and on a fragmentary bronze quiver which was acquired by the Hermitage Museum in 1885, see *Karmir-blur II*, 38, fig. 20.

120. For Assyrian lions, see Barnett, *Palace Reliefs*, fig. 26 (reign of Ashurnasirpal II, Nimrud).

121. Piotrovskiĭ, *Iskusstvo Urartu*, 65–66, the protome is now in the Historical Museum of Armenia, Erevan. For a discussion of the differences between the Hittite, north Syrian, and Assyrian lions, see E. Akurgal, *Späthethitische Bildkunst, ärchaologisches Institut der Universität Ankara*, Ankara 1949, 70 ff. For Assyrian lion types, see Barnett, *Palace Reliefs*, pls. 26 (ninth century B.C.), 60–62, 69 (seventh century B.C.); Barnett, Falkner, *The Sculptures*, pl. II (eighth century B.C.).

122. Barnett, *Iraq* XII:1, 37; Akurgal, *Späthethitische Bildkunst*, figs. 38–39 (from Carchemish, ninth century B.C.), fig. 35 (Malatya, ninth century B.C.), fig. 44 (Sakcegözü, 730–700 B.C.), pl. XXV (Gölludag, end of eighth century B.C.). These lions depend on the other Hittite models from Alaca Hüyük, see *ibid.*, pl. B:2, fig. 33.

123. The differences between the Hittite lions and those from Assyria are discussed at some length in Akurgal, *op. cit.*, 75.

124. Lion protomes are used as attachments on a Luristan bronze pitcher, as noted by Amandry ("Chaudrons à protomes de taureau," *Aegean and the Near East*, 249, n. 29), see *A Survey of Persian Art* IV, London/New York 1938, pl. 64 B. Luristan cauldron attachments of this type, however, are unrecorded. See also the gold lion protome from Ziwiye, R. Ghirshman, *The Art of Ancient Iran, From its Origins to the Time of Alexander the Great*, New York 1964, fig. 139.

125. The various views concerning the chronology of the Etruscan finds are presented in a discussion by P. Amandry, "Objets orientaux en Grèce et en Italie," *Syria* XXXV:1/2, 1958, 103–104, n. 3; W. L. Brown, *The Etruscan Lion*, Oxford 1960, 14 ff.; M. Pallottino, "Orientalizing Style," *Encyclopedia of World Art* X, 788–794.

126. Vetulonia: L. Falchi, L. Pernier, "Vetulonia," *Notizie degli scavi di antichita* X:1 Roma 1913, 430, fig. 8 = U. Jantzen, *Griechische Greifenkessel*, Berlin 1955, 36–37, pl. 9:1; E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens von Homer bis Alexander*, Berlin 1961, 66–69; Brown, *op. cit.*, 14 ff.

Barberini tomb, Praeneste: G. Q. Giglioli, *L'Arte etrusca*, Milano 1935, pl. XI = Brown, *op. cit.*, 14–21, pls. V:b 1-b 2; VII:1–2 = Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens*, 66–69, figs. 35, 41–42.

Olympia: E. Kunze, *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Intituts* LIII, *Olympiabericht* II, 108, fig. 68, pl. 45 = Jantzen, *Griechische Greifenkessel*, 37, pl. 9:3; Brown, *op. cit.*, 14, pl. VI:c 1–2.

Regolini-Galassi tomb, Cervetri: L. Pareti, *La tomba Regolini-Galassi del Museo Gregoriano dell'Italia centrale nel sec. VII A.C.*, Città del Vaticano 1947, pls. XX–XXI, XL = Giglioli, *L'Arte etrusca*, pls. XVI:2, XIII = Brown, *op. cit.*, 18–20, pls. VIII:b–c, IX.

Louvre 2620: unknown provenience, A. de Ridder, *Les bronzes antiques du Louvre* II, Paris 1915, pl. 94; Brown, *op. cit.*, 18.

Berlin 11874: unknown provenience, Brown, *op. cit.*, 20 ff., pl. VIII:2. Four small lion head attachments from Delphi are clearly stylistically different from the other orientalizing protomes from Greece and Etruria, and need not be included in this context, see L. Perdrizet, *Fouilles de Delphes* V, Paris 1905, Nos. 333–336, figs. 265–267.

127. The three cauldrons from the Regolini-Galassi tomb best preserve the protome attachments in their original positions. In the protomes from Vetulonia the junction between the head and the stump of the neck was not preserved, thus the restoration of the direction of curve of the neck is subject to question, see Brown, *op. cit.*, 14. The two lion protomes on the Barberini cauldron face outwards, but the cauldron may originally have had other attachments besides the existing four (two lion and two griffin) protomes, see Jantzen, *op. cit.*, 43. The single protome in the Louvre (2620) originally faced outwards, while that in Berlin (11874) faced inwards. There is some question about the correct restoration of the Olympia protome, see Brown, *op. cit.*, 13–14; Jantzen, *op. cit.*, 37.

128. K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop ("Urartian Bronzes in Etruscan Tombs," *Iraq* XVIII:2, 1956, 156, 160) regards the Barberini base and cauldron, the Bernardini cauldron stand and bowl with tripod stand, and the Perachora griffin protomes as Urartian products, but believes the Regolini-Galassi lion protomes to be Etruscan copies of the oriental examples. E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens*, 66–69, associates the Barberini lion protomes and those from Vetulonia with late Aramaic workshops which he believes to have been active in southern Urartu in the seventh century B.C.

129. P. Amandry, "Objets orientaux en Grèce et en Italie," *Syria* XXXV:1/2, 1958, 85 ff., associates the lion protomes with Mesopotamian workshops on the basis of the analysis of the bituminous filling of the lion protomes from Olympia which resembles the filling of Mesopotamian bronzes. But on this question, see J. L. Benson, "Unpublished Griffin Protomes in American Collections," *Antike Kunst* 3:2, 1960, 68–69; M. Pallottino, "Urartu, Greece and Etruria," *East and West* 9:1–2, 1958, 47 ff., for the more recent views of this author, see "Orientalizing Style," *Encyclopedia of World Art* X, 788–789.

130. Brown, *The Etruscan Lion*, 14–21.
131. Brown, *op. cit.*, 14 ff. The two projections above the eyes of the Barberini protomes are usual for Assyrian lions, see Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs*, fig. 69.
132. The Olympia protome is probably wrongly restored by Jantzen, *op. cit.*, pl. 9, see above, note 127.
133. R. Ghirshman, *The Art of Ancient Iran, From its Origins to the Time of Alexander the Great*, New York 1965, 108, fig. 139. Each of the gold protomes from Ziwiye measure 23.8 inches in height, and 23.4 inches in width.
134. For the date of the Ziwiye treasure, see the discussion by P. Amandry, "Objets orientaux en Grèce et en Italie," *Syria* XXXV, 1958, 92, n. 1. Also J. L. Benson, *op. cit.* (above, note 129), 64, n. 32.
135. Benson's belief (*op. cit.*, 62–63) that the same Greek or oriental craftsman would have abstained from the use of both hammering and casting techniques on the same protome now seems too rigid at least in so far as Urartian metalwork is concerned.
136. Maxwell-Hyslop, "Urartian Bronzes in Etruscan Tombs," *Iraq* XVIII:2, 1956, 158–159. The decoration of the Barberini cauldron stand consisting of confronted lion-sphinx figures is interpreted by this author (153 ff.) as an allusion to the Western Asiatic weather god. The author's claims for this hypothesis are based on: (1) the similarity between the physiognomy of the sphinxes on the Barberini tomb and that of the weather (?) god on the Ivriz relief, and (2) the presence of a knob on the helmets of the Barberini sphinxes resembling the headdress of Teshup in north Syrian reliefs. The arguments are unconvincing since resemblances in physiognomy need only show a *stylistic* affinity, while the knobbed helmet is usual for most figures on north Syrian reliefs from the early first millennium B.C.
137. Maxwell-Hyslop, *op. cit.*, 150–152.
138. M. Pallottino, "Orientalizing Style," *Encyclopedia of World Art* X, 785.
139. See above, note 112, Topzaua inscription of Rusa I who calls himself, "I, Rusa, servant of the god Haldi, faithful pastor of the nation. . . ."
140. *UKN* 175; *Karmir-blur I*, pls. 13–15; Barnett, Watson, XIV:2, pls. XXXII:1; Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, pl. XL. The saw-tooth pattern is repeated four times on some quivers, *Karmir-blur III*, fig. 26.
141. *Karmir-blur III*, 38; Piotrovskiĭ *VT*, 167; Barnett, *Palace Reliefs*, figs. 12, 48, 51, 53, 82; R. D. Barnett, N. Gökçe, "The Find of the Urartian Bronzes at Altin-tepe, Near Erzincan," *Anatolian Studies* III, 1953, 126–127, pl. XVIII:5. C. A. Burney, "A first season of excavations at the Urartian citadel of Kayalidere," *Anatolian Studies* XVI, 1966, 93 ff., pl. XVIII: b–c.
142. See *Karmir-blur I*, pl. 13.
143. *Karmir-blur III*, 40, fig. 30.
144. Sarduri's bit is not illustrated, but it is described in Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, 154.
145. Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship*, 64 ff., 71, has shown that the bit of this

type which was found at Athens, dates from the debris left by the Persian sack in 480 B.C. and is probably of Persian origin. For Georgian and Transcaucasian examples of this type of bit, see Kuftin, *Arkheologicheskie raskopki v Trialeti* I, fig. 58 a, 59–63; N. V. Minkevich-Mustafaeva, "Ob arkheologicheskikh nakhodkakh iz sel. Dolanlar," *Materialʹnaîâ kulʹtura Azerbaĭdzhana, Akad. nauk Azerbaĭdzhanskoĭ SSR*, Baku 1949, 64–65, fig. 3, from the village of Dolanlar in Azarbaijan SSR, showing a smooth mouthpiece; E. I. Krupnov, *Drevniâîâ istoriâ severnogo Kavakaza*, Moskva 1960, 349, pl. XIV:7.

146. This was evidently an Urartian soldier's burial dated to the same period as the Igdir cemetery. The Igdir cemetery was believed by Kuftin to date from the early part of the first millennium B.C., while Barnett dates it to the second half of the seventh century B.C. Parallels between the red ceramic pottery, with ring base, from the cremation burials at Igdir, and others from an eighth-century level at Karmir-blur (dated to a period before the foundation of the citadel of Teishebaini), and Toprak-kale, however, show that the Igdir cremation burials should not be dated later than the eighth century B.C. See Barnett, "The Urartian Cemetery at Igdyr," *Anatolian Studies* XIII, 1963, 197; for the important material from the eighth century B.C. level at Karmir-blur, see V. S. Sorokin, "Sledy drevneĭshego poseleniîâ Karmir-blura," *Sovetskaîâ arkheologiîâ* 2, 1958, 149–163, fig. 9.

147. Anderson, *op. cit.*, 72. The bit from Mingechaur (see above, note 43), dated by the author to the ninth to seventh century B.C., should be placed closer to the seventh century B.C., on account of the presence there of straight cheekpieces. The mouthpiece on the bit from Altin-tepe is twisted in the manner of some Scythian bits, see Anderson, *op. cit.*, pl. 32 b.

148. *UKN* 177–190; *Karmir-blur II*, 55–56, 59, fig. 30; *Épigrapfika vostoka* V, 1951, 110–112, figs. 5–6; Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, pl. XXXV, b. The pictographic signs sometimes show the lion's head replaced by a bird or a crescent, see *Karmir-blur II*, fig. 28. Argishti's bowl showed a square with concave sides and a bird's head inside the circular inscription, see *UKN* 152; Piotrovskiĭ, *Épigrafika vostoka* V, 1951, 110–112, fig. 4. Sarduri's inscriptions on the bronze umbone from Karmir-blur (1950) show either a bull's head or a bird; see *Karmir-blur II*, 63–64, figs. 33:2–5, 34.

149. Piotrovskiĭ, "Bronzovye izdeliîâ iz raskopok na Kamir-blure," *Issledovaniîâ po istorii kulʹtury narodov vostoka, sbornik v chestʹ akademika I. L. Orbeli*, Moskva/Leningrad 1960, 121–122.

150. If the move of the Urartian capital from the castle-rock at Van (Tushpa) to Toprak-kale, near Van, could be linked with the reign of Rusa I, then some of the uninscribed articles found at the latter site may well date to the reign of that king. Shields: *Karmir-blur II*, 53, discovered in 1950; *UKN* 269. Bowls: *Karmir-blur* II, 56, 61, fig. 32; *UKN* 174 a–d; Piotrovskiĭ, *Épigrafika vostoka* V, 1951, 110–112, fig. 7.

151. *Luckenbill* II, Nos. 45, 64. Waterman, *op. cit.*, Nos. 424, 548. *UKN*, 275–276.

For No. 276, see: M. de T͡seretheli, "Études Ourartéennes, VI—l'Inscription de la stèle de Hagi," *RA*, LII:1, 1958, 29–35. *UKN*, 277, T͡seretheli, *RA* XXXIII, 1936, 125. Melikishvili (*UKN*, 340, n. 3) gives the length of the Urartian cubit as .51–.52 meters, similar to the Assyrian cubit. Thus, 950 cubits would be equal to ca. 476 meters.

152. This incomplete inscription reads: "this seal . . . of the house of . . . son of Rusa." Melikishvili (*UKN*, 277 a) attributed this seal to Argishti II, son of Rusa II, but Piotrovskiĭ associated it with the reign of Sarduri, son of Rusa (639–635 B.C.) on stylistic grounds (*Karmir-blur III*, 14, 58–59). Barnett evidently agrees with Piotrovskiĭ's attribution, see "Further Russian Excavations in Armenia (1949–1953)," *Iraq* XXI:1. 1959, 13, n. 2. The bulla discovered at Karmir-blur in 1952 (storage room no. 5), apparently resembles a bulla found in 1949 (storage room no. 25), see *Karmir-blur II*, 53, fig. 24; Piotrovskiĭ, "Urartskie nadpisi iz raskopok Karmir-blura 1952 g.," *Épigrafika vostoka* IX, 1954, 76–77, fig. 5.

153. Barnett, *Iraq* XVI:1, 1954, 134 ff.; Barnett, *Iraq* XII:1, pls. VI–VII:1; Özgüç, *Altintepe*, figs. 14, 18–19, 29.

154. The tree on this seal is also different from others found on seal impressions from Toprak-kale, where the shaft is clearly indicated, see *Armenien* I, 323, II, 94. Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, 249 ff., fig. 87, pls. LII–LVII; R. D. Barnett, "Median Art," *Iranica Antiqua* II:1, Leiden 1962, 80 ff., fig. 3; Piotrovskiĭ, *Iskusstvo Urartu*, pl. XXXIII.

155. Altin-tepe: Özgüç, *Altintepe*, 56, pl. I:1–2, figs. 14, 18–19, 29, from the "apadana" dated tentatively to the period following the reign of Argishti II; Özgüç, "The Urartian Architecture on the Summit of Altintepe," *Anatolia* VII, 1963, 48.

Karmir-blur: I. M. D'i͡akonov, *Urartskie pis'ma i dokumenty*, *op. cit.*, No. 1, 4–5.

156. The other types of Urartian seals described by Piotrovskiĭ (*Iskusstvo Urartu*, 105–108, figs. 69–72), are as follows: conical stamp seal perforated on the narrow end, bell-shaped stamp seal with suspension loop, four-edged rectangular stamp seal with suspension loop, and disc-shaped stamp seal with a hole bored across it. For examples belonging to these categories, see *Karmir-blur I*, 70–75; *II*, 45, figs. 22–23, 25 (the last example is in the shape of a couchant animal); *III*, 54–59, figs. 42–44 (No. 33, is a pierced hemispherical chalcedony). For a summary of this material, see Barnett, "Further Russian Excavations in Armenia (1949–1953)," *Iraq* XXI:1, 1959, 4, 13, 15, figs. 6, 15. The Urartian seal may have been worn on a string about the neck, in the manner shown in an Assyrian relief from Nimrud, datable to the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (745–727 B.C.), which Barnett has tentatively identified as a representation of an Urartian (perhaps Sarduri II), see Barnett, Falkner, *The Sculptures*, No. 10 a, XXIV, 24, pls. LXIV–LXV. A second figure with a similar pendant about the neck is shown on pl. LVIII. For Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian parallels to the Urartian conical stamp seal, see E. Porada, *Corpus of Ancient*

Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections I: *The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library* (Bollingen Series XIV), New York 1948, pl. CXX:789, 792, 795. For a detailed study of Urartian seals, see M. Van Loon, *Urartian Art, op. cit.* (above, note 2), 139–165.

157. The seal of Urazana of Musasir is close to Assyrian seals also stylistically and shows the Assyrian modelled style of carving rather than the simpler and more linear style of the Urartian seals, see A. Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Steinschneidkunst*, Staatliche Muzeen zu Berlin, Berlin 1940, 75, pl. C:7 = *Armenien* II:1, 306. The only other two Urartian seal impressions which bear the names of identifiable kings are from Toprak-kale, now in Berlin, see C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien*, 107–108; *Armenien* I, 261. For other seals from Toprak-kale, see Piotrovskiĭ, *Iskusstvo Urartu*, 107, fig. 73; Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien* I, 115, 165, 180, 306, 323, 358, 380; *Armenien* II:1, 15, 34, 56, 94, 198, 288, 345; *Armenien* II:2, 549, 580 ff., 686, 833; Van Loon, *Urartian Art, op. cit.*, 139–165.

158. For Assyrian type cylinders from Urartu, see *Karmir-blur I*, 77 ff., fig. 50; *III*, 59, fig. 44, nos. 10–11; for Urartian type cylinder stampseal of Assyrian origin, see J. M. Munn-Rankin, "Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge," *Iraq* XXI:1, 1959, 28, no. 21, pl. VII. A gold mounting for a cylinder stampseal, now in the Archaeological Museum, Teheran, is known from Ziwiye, northwestern Iran, see R. Ghirshman, *The Art of Ancient Iran, From its Origins to the Time of Alexander the Great*, New York 1964, fig. 140.

159. The date of the Urartian burials at Altin-tepe is based on epigraphical evidence reportedly found on bronze objects which bear the name of an Urartian prince who was a contemporary of Argishti II, see Özgüç, *Belleten* XXV:98, 274. The same date for the Altin-tepe finds, discovered prior to the Turkish excavations, was anticipated by Barnett and Gökçe, see "The Find of Urartian Bronzes at Altin-tepe, near Erzincan," *Anatolian Studies* III, 1953, 129. The major reports on finds and excavations at Altin-tepe are: H. H. Von der Osten "Neue urartäische Bronzen aus Erzincan," *VI Int. Kongress für Arch., Berlin 1939*, Berlin 1940; Barnett, Gökçe, *op. cit.*, 121–129; Özgüç, *Belleten* XXV:98, 269–290; Özgüç, "Summary of Archaeological Research in Turkey in 1960," *Anatolian Studies* XI, 1961, 17–20; Özgüç, "The Urartian Architecture on the Summit of Altintepe," *Anatolia* VII, 1963, 43–57, pls. XI–XVIII; Özgüç, *Altintepe, Architectural Monuments and Wall Paintings, Türk tarih kurumu yayinlarindan*, V, seri, no. 24, Ankara 1966. Helpful reports of the excavations at Altin-tepe and other Urartian sites in Anatolia are presented by M. J. Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor," *AJA* 68, 1964, 158 ff.; *AJA* 69, 1965, 141 ff.; *AJA* 70, 1966, 281 ff.; *AJA* 70, 1966, 149 ff.

160. Özgüç, *Belleten* XXV:98, 270–276; but the presence of the bronze vessels with lateral perforations resembling the clay funerary urns from the Igdyr cremation

burials might suggest the possibility of the simultaneous practice of cremation and inhumation, at least for the burial accidentally opened in 1938. See Barnett, Gökçe, *op. cit.*, pl. XVI.

161. The Altin-tepe "belt" measure "no less than 90 centimeters" in length and 10 centimeters in breadth, see Özgüç, *Belleten* XXV:98, 272–273. Decorated metal strips, some of which probably served as belts, are known from Urartian sites and from Iron Age levels in the Caucasus and the Zagros mountains.

Urartian examples: Nor-aresh, Tli, Gushchi, Zakim, Ani-pemza, Karmir-blur and Igdyr (see references to these examples below, notes 164, 167).

Caucasian examples: generally from southern Ossetia (see below, note 172).

Zagros: Luristan bronze belt in the Louvre, 51 centimeters long, fragments of gold strips from Ziwiye identified as belts by R. Ghirshman, "Le Trésor de Sakkez, les origines de l'art mede et les bronzes du Luristan," *Arbitus Asiae* XIII:3, 1950, 192 ff., figs. 19–20. See also *ibid.*, fig. 22, which is a decorated bronze strip, 14.5 centimeters wide.

162. Özgüç, *Belleten* XXV:98, 272, discusses the representation on a disc from Altin-tepe which shows a deity standing on a winged horse, not yet published.

163. Assyrian: Frankfort, *AAAO*, pl. 75 A; Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, pl. 44, fig. 1.

Greek: A. Furtwängler, *Die Antiken Gemmen*, Leipzig/Berlin 1901, pls. V:17, LXI:5; F. Hannig, "Pegasos," in W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig 1897–1909, 1728, 11. 10 ff.

164. A summary of the finds from Nor-aresh, near Arin-berd and Erivan, is given in Barnett, "The Urartian Cemetery at Igdyr," *Anatolian Studies* 1963, 194 ff., figs. 41, 46–47; Piotrovskiĭ, *Iskusstvo Urartu*, 75, fig. 44 (shows fragments of different belts decorated with stamped dots).

165. The attribution of the Tli belt on stylistic grounds to the late eighth century B.C. is evidently supported by the context of the find, see B. V. Tekhov, "Ob odnom pogrebal'nom komplekse iz s. Tli," *Sovetskaa͡i arkheologi͡a* 4, 1961, 128–139, fig. 507. The length of the Tli belt is 110 centimeters, width 9.2 centimeters, and the strip bears a ring attachment on one end for fastening.

166. The Gushchi strip was apparently found with the bull's head attachments from Gushchi, which were placed slightly later than the Altin-tepe bull's head attachments; see above, p. 53; Hanfmann, "Four Urartian Bulls' Heads," *Anatolian Studies* VI, 1956, 206, pl. XX:2.

167. Zakim: (Kars, Oltin district), in the Hermitage Museum, Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, fig. 85 (or Barnett, "Median Art," *Iranica Antiqua* II:1, 1962, fig. 4).

Ani-pemza: (Armenia SSR), in the Historical Museum of Armenia, Erevan, Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, fig. 86 (or Barnett, "Median Art," *op. cit.*, 82, fig. 2)

Karmir-blur: in the Historical Museum of Armenia, Erevan, Piotrovskiĭ, *Iskusstvo Urartu*, fig. 42. This figure shows a single row of deities on the backs of animals, placed within rectangular areas framed by a rosette-palmette border; each motif is shown individually rather than as a part of the adjacent motif. A second belt from Karmir-blur (*Iskusstvo Urartu*, fig. 43) shows a border similar to the above belt and a double line of deities arranged between floral motifs. Finally several fragments of bronze strips from Karmir-blur (Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, figs. 43, 82) show only a decoration of dotted zones without figures. Fragments of bronze strips decorated with stamped dots were found among the personal belongings of the deceased from Urartian cremation burials at Igdyr, on the southern slopes of Mount Ararat. These burials (Points 2, 10, 11) contained no items of horse trappings, see R. D. Barnett, "The Urartian Cemetery at Igdyr," *Anatolian Studies* XIII, 1963, 176–177, figs. 30–31.

168. R. W. Hamilton, "The Decorated Bronze Strip from Gushchi," *Anatolian Studies* XV, 1965, 41–51. The Tli belt was in fact excavated scientifically, is intact, and preserves a ring on one end for attachment, see above, note 165.

169. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 45, 50. The length of the Gushchi strip is calculated by Hamilton to measure 2 meters. The measurements of the other "belts" are as follows: Karmir-blur—1 meter, Tli—110 centimeters, Altin-tepe—longer than 90 centimeters. The decorated bronze strip from Kayalidere, near Varto, is too fragmentary for a definite identification, and may have belonged to a bronze quiver as suggested by C. A. Burney, "A first season of excavations at the Urartian citadel of Kayalidere," *Anatolian Studies* XVI, 1966, 77–78.

170. B. V. Tekhov, *op. cit.*, 13, points out that this custom survived in the Caucasus until the nineteenth century.

171. See above, note 167.

172. Bronze belts with various types of decorative schemes are recorded from a number of graves in southern Ossetia, see J. de Morgan, *Mission scientifique au Caucase, études archéologiques et historiques* I, Paris, 1889, 114 ff., figs. 17–19, 23, 27–28, 79–82, 190. The Caucasian bronze belts, generally fastened by means of strings passed through holes provided at the ends of the belts, vary in length from 88–92 centimeters. Urartian belts may have been attached differently (perhaps with overlapped ends) and may have required a greater length. However, it is unlikely that a bronze strip measuring 2 meters, as calculated for the Gushchi belt, would have made a practical belt for a human figure.

173. Özgüç, *Belleten* XXV:98, 270–272.

174. Altin-tepe: *Ibid.*, 272, fig. 16.

Karmir-blur: Piotrovskiĭ, "Urartskaia kolesnit͡sa," *Drevnii mir, akademiku V. V. Struve, Akademii͡a nauk, Inst. Narodov Azii*, Moskva 1962, 341; Piotrovskiĭ, *Iskusstvo Urartu*, pls. XXVI–XXVII.

Assyria: A. T. Olmstead, *The History of Assyria*, fig. 118. This detail appears only on the king's chariots in Assyria, see Parrot, *Nineveh and Babylonia*, figs. 57, 62 (from Nimrud, Ashurnasipal II, ninth century B.C.); Barnett, Falkner, *The Sculptures*, pls. CXVII, LXXI (Tiglath-pileser III, 745–727 B.C.).

175. The bronze model from the shores of Lake Sevan, A. O. Mnat͡sakani͡an, "Raskopki kurganov na poberezh'e oz. Sevan v 1956 g.," *Sovetskai͡a arkheologii͡a* 2, 1957, 150, fig. 8. The bronze belt from Akhtala (J. de Morgan, *Mission scientifique au Caucase, op. cit.*, fig. 145), dated to the seventh century B.C., preserves the four-spoked wheels of the Bronze Age type (see above, note 93), a feature which is found also on the Tli belt (fig. 12). The chariot on the Tli belt shows the use of a single horse, but is otherwise of the Assyrian type represented on the Urartian helmets.

176. Barnett, Gökçe, "The Find of Urartian Bronzes at Altin-tepe, Near Erzincan," *Anatolian Studies* III, 1953, 121–129, Özgüç, *Belleten*, XXV:98, 274.

177. The details of the cauldron and its tripod are clearly illustrated in Barnett, Gökçe, *op. cit.*, pls. XIII–XIV, XIX:1; Barnett, *Iraq* XII:1, 129, pl. XVI:1–2; P. Amandry, "Chaudrons à protomes de taureau en Orient et en Grèce," *The Aegean and the Near East, Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman on the Occasion of her Seventy Fifth Birthday*, New York 1956, 239–261. The other two bull's head attachments from Toprak-kale are in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, and in a private collection in Paris; see Amandry, *op. cit.*, pls. XXIV–XXVI.

178. Ivory bull's head in the round from Sippar, Barnett, *Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*, pl. CXXVI, U8; Barnett, *Palace Reliefs*, fig. 28 (ninth century B.C., relief).

179. G. M. A. Hanfmann, "Four Urartian Bulls' Heads," *Anatolian Studies* VI, 1956, 205–213.

180. Barnett, Gökçe, *op. cit.*, 129; Piotrovskiĭ, *Iskusstvo Urartu*, 60, fig. 31.

181. The circumstances of the find of these articles by the Kurds in 1951, presumably in the Urartian chamber tomb on the Aras River, Iranian Azarbaijan, and their acquisition by the Hermitage Museum, are discussed by Piotrovskiĭ, *Iskusstvo Urartu*, 3 ff., 59.

182. Hanfmann, *op. cit.*, 205 ff., pls. XVII–XIX. The bull's head attachments from Gushchi are now in the following collections: The Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University (No. 1943.1321), the Louvre (Inv. AO. 17.207), the J. J. Emery collection in Cincinnati, and in the Cleveland Museum (No. 42.204).

183. These features may have been greatly simplified in the latest phases of Urartian art, as shown by a bronze unpublished head in the Van Museum which lacks the square forelock.

184. Hanfmann, *op. cit.*, 213; P. Amandry, "Objets Orientaux en Grèce et en Italie au VIII[e] siècle avant J.C.," *Syria* XXXV, 1958, 78–79; Amandry, "Chaudrons à protomes de taureau en Orient et en Grèce," *op. cit.*, above, note 177, 239–141, pls. XXIV–XXVI; Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, 179; J. M. Birmingham, "The Overland Route across Anatolia in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C.," *Anatolian Studies* XXI, 1961, 185 ff.; E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens von Homer bis Alexander*, Berlin 1961, 54–55; for a review of this work, see R. S. Young, *AJA* 68:1, 1964, 74.

185. Birmingham, *op. cit.*, 191, fig. 5.

186. Amandry, "Chaudrons à protomes de taureau en Orient et en Grèce," *op. cit.*, above, note 177, 244 ff., from Olympia, Delphi and Lindos. R. S. Young, "The Gordion Campaign of 1957," *AJA* 62:2, 1958, pl. 26, fig. 18 (for a chronology of the Great Tumulus at Gordion, see R. S. Young, "Gordion on the Royal Road," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 107:4, 1963, 351, 356). P. Amandry, "Chaudrons à protomes de taureau en Orient et en Grèce," *The Aegean and the Near East*, pl. XXVIII, 242 ff.

187. U. Jantzen, *Griechische Greifenkessel*, Berlin 1955. On the hotly debated question of the origin of the griffin protome, see K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop, "Urartian Bronzes in Etruscan Tombs," *Iraq* 18, 1956, 150 ff.; P. Amandry, "Objets Orientaux en Grèce et en Italie au VIII[e] et VII[e] siècle avant J. C.," *Syria* XXXV, 1958, 73 ff.; M. Pallottino, "Urartu, Greece, and Etruria," *East and West*, 9:1–2, 1958, 47 ff.; B. Goldman, "The Development of the Lion-Griffin," *AJA* 64, 1960, 319 ff.; J. L. Benson, "Unpublished Griffin Protomes in American Collection," *Antike Kunst* 3:2, 1960, 58 ff.; C. Hopkins, "The Origin of the Etruscan-Samian Griffon Cauldron," *AJA* 64, 1960, 368–370; B. Goldman, "The Development of the Lion-Griffin," *AJA* 64, 1960, 319–328; O. W. Muscarella, "Oriental Origin of Siren Cauldron Attachments," *Hesperia, Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* XXXI:4, 1962, 320. Phrygian example: R. S. Young, "The 1961 Campaign at Gordion," *AJA* 66, 1962, 163, pl. 43:15. Cauldron attachments in the shapes of snakes' and ducks' heads from the west are also without parallels in Urartian art, and thus should be considered as local variations created in the west. See Birmingham, "The Overland Route across Anatolia in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C.," *Anatolian Studies* XI, 1961, 190.

188. *Armenien* II:2, 866–867, a siren figure in the British Museum, showing Assyrian ringlets, physiognomy, and wings without scalloped edges (B.M. 12060).

189. The six Urartian siren figures are as follows: two figures from Toprak-kale in the Istanbul Museum (Arkurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens*, figs. 20, 22), one figure from the Alishar post, in the Hermitage Museum (see pl. 36), one figure in the Vogüé Collection, Paris (Maxwell-Hyslop, "Urartian Bronzes in Etruscan Tombs," *Iraq* XVIII:2, 1956, pl. XXVI, 1–2), and one figure from Van, in the British Museum (Piotrovskiĭ, *Iskusstvo Urartu*, pls. XIV–XV). These figures are part of the group of eight sirens

which Kunze has listed as originating from Van, although his list includes two other examples with dubious proveniences; see E. Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs*, Stuttgart 1931, 267.

190. Barnett, *Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*, pl. CXXV:V 12; Barnett, *Iraq* XII:1, pls. XII:15. The latter are ivories from Toprak-kale which are carved in the manner of north Syrian ivories; Frankfort, *AAAO*, fig. 89 (relief from Sakcegözü); compare with the back of the siren in the Berlin Museum, Piotrovskiĭ, *Iskusstvo Urartu*, pl. XIV.

191. Maxwell-Hyslop, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVI, 1–2, compare with the bronze figurine in the Louvre, Barnett, *Iraq* XV:1, fig. 7.

192. R. S. Young, *op. cit.*, above, note 187. The back of the siren attachments from Gordion also shows a more schematic rendition of feathers and details than the earliest Urartian siren attachments. The ring of feathers which surrounded the central open disc in the Urartian examples is replaced by simple chased triangles and dots on the later Gordion sirens. See R. S. Young, "The Gordion Campaign of 1957: Preliminary Report," *AJA* 62, 1958, pl. 26:17. Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens*, figs. 18–20, 22. Akurgal has pointed to the close similarity between the physiognomy of the Gordion sirens and those in the Istanbul Museum, which he believes to be indicative of the influence of Aramaean art; see *ibid.*, 43 ff.

193. These are illustrated in Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens*, figs. 23–28.

194. A. Furtwängler, *Die Bronzen und die übrigen kleineren Funde von Olympia* IV, Berlin 1890, 117–118; A. de Ridder, *Catalogue de bronzes trouvés sur l'Acropole d'Athene* (Fondation Piot), Paris 1896, 287, nos. 764–766; P. Perdrizet, *Fouilles de Delphes* V, Paris 1905, 80; Amandry, "Objets Orientaux en Grèce et en Italie au VIII^e^ et VII^e^ siècle avant J.C.," *Syria* XXXV, 1958, 80–82; Amandry, "Chaudrons à protomes de taureau en Orient et en Grèce," *The Aegean and the Near East*, 258 ff.; Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, 175–179; Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens*, 43 ff. For a more complete bibliography on this subject, see O. W. Muscarella, "Oriental Origin of Siren Cauldron Attachments," *Hesperia* XXXI, 1962, 317–318, n. 3. On eastern prototypes for Greek art of the sixth century B.C., see: *Armenien* II; 2, 492 ff., S. Smith, "The Greek Trade at Al Mina," *The Antiquaries Journal* XXII, 1942, 103–110; T. J. Dunbabin, *The Greeks and their Eastern Neighbours*, 42–43; Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, 179; Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens*, 35 ff.

195. A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen, Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst im klassischen Altertum* III, Leipzig/Berlin 1900, 68, n. 1; M. Holleaux, "Fouilles au temple d'Apollon Ptoos," *Bulletin de correspondance héllenique* XII, 1888, 391–395.

196. Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien*, 86–89. This author even considered Haldi as a female solar deity personified by the beardless "sirens," as no representations of the Urartian chief god were known at that time.

197. C. Hopkins, "The Origin of the Etruscan-Samian Griffon Cauldron," *AJA* 64,

1960, 369. This author believed that the association of cauldrons with the sanctuaries of Hera on Samos and in Argos resulted from a relationship of the nature goddess to the sun.

198. B. Goldman, "An Oriental Solar Motif and its Western Extension," *JNES* XX:4, 1961, 239–251.

199. H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, London 1939, 210 ff., 275 ff. This author has shown that while the motif of the winged disc was ultimately supplied by the Egyptian sun-disc, its interpretation may have varied in Western Asia at different times.

200. Thus instead of the human torso, other elements may be added to the winged disc, such as hands brandishing a bow or pouring streams of water, *ibid.*, text-figs. 63, 65. If a solar divinity is indeed meant by the Urartian "siren" figures, then explanations must be provided for the meaning of the double-headed "siren" in Paris, the Janus-faced bearded figures from Etruria, and the juxtaposition of bearded and beardless figures on the same vessel at Gordion (see above, note 193).

201. Goldman's derivation of the T-shaped clamps on vessels from the motif of the bird in display position (*op. cit.*, 241 ff.) is not entirely convincing. It is more likely that a simple and functional vessel-attachment would have ultimately preceded its decorative facsimile. Furthermore, there is no reason to assume that the bird attachment antedated those in the shape of a bull's head, as shown by the example of bull-head attachments on a ceramic vessel from Hacilar VI, dated to the sixth millennium B.C. by radiocarbon method, see J. Mellaart, "Excavations at Hacilar, Fourth Preliminary Report, 1960," *Anatolian Studies* XI, 1961, 61, fig. 27:4.

202. See Barnett and Gökçe, "The Find of Urartian Bronzes at Altin-tepe, Near Erzincan," *Anatolian Studies* III, 1953, 121–129, 123 ff. pls. XIII–XIV.

203. *Ibid.*, 123, n. 4.

204. *Ibid.*, fig. 1, pl. XIX:2, shows a second bronze tripod stand from Altin-tepe with legs terminating in the shape of bull's hooves, representing another variety of the tripod stand. On the subject of Greek and other western tripods, see G. Karo, "Orient und Hellas in archaischer Zeit," *AM* 45, 1920, 106–156, W. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, London 1929, 70–72, fig. 8 (La Garenne tripod from a tumulus near La Garenne, France, belonging to a type which usually has iron legs fitted into bronze sockets in the shape of animals' feet).

205. Lamb, *op. cit.*, 32 ff. A Sub-Mycenaean tripod of this type from Cyprus, perhaps, also shows bull's hooves used for the leg terminals, *ibid.*, pl. X.

206. *Ibid.*, 70. Bronze cauldrons of the Greek Geometric period, like those of the Late Minoan period, show the cauldron attached directly to three legs without the use of a separate tripod stand; see Lamb, *op. cit.*, 44 ff., figs. 3:b, 5:a–c. Such a tripod is engraved on the catch-plate of a fibula of the Geometric period in Munich (Lamb, *op. cit.*, fig. 6), which shows the Etruscan motif of the human leg dangling from the mouth of a feline. Some Etruscan and Ionian tripods have elaborate figural decora-

tion on the circular rim, an arrangement which made necessary a second upper ring (*ibid.*, pl. XLV, a–b), which Lamb believes to have served as a stand for a brazier rather than for a cooking pot (*ibid.*, 132). On the connection between the tripod stand and cauldron carts in Etruria, see C. Hopkins, "The Origin of the Etruscan-Samian Griffon Cauldron," *AJA* 64, 1960, 370.

207. Örgüç, *Belleten* XXV:98, 271, fig. 20; Barnett, Gökçe, *op. cit.*, fig. 1, pl. XIX:2, Barnett, *Iraq* XVI:1, fig. 10 (from Toprak-kale); Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, fig. 42 (from Karmir-blur); C. A. Burney, "A first season of excavations at the Urartian citadel of Kayalidere," *Anatolian Studies* XVI, 1966, 96–98, pl. XIX:b (Kayalidere).

208. Özgüç, *Belleten* XXV:98, figs. 15, 20–21.

209. *Ibid.*, fig. 21; Barnett, Gökçe, *op. cit.*, 127, pl. XVII:5; Barnett, Gökçe, *op. cit.*, pl. XVII:5. C. A. Burney, "A first season of excavations at the Urartian citadel of Kayalidere," *Anatolian Studies* XVI, 1966, 98, pl. XIX:c (from Kayalidere).

210. For a fuller discussion of this subject, see Barnett, *Iraq* XVI:1, 31; Barnett, *Palace Reliefs*, fig. 28.

211. The terminals of the legs are often shaped like the goblet-like bronze casing bearing Sarduri's inscription (see foregoing note), while the other metal parts of the wooden furniture consisted of cornerpieces (Barnett, Gökçe, *op. cit.*, 127 fig. 8,), and double volutes on the cross-bars (Özgüç, *Belleten* XXV:98, figs. 8, 9); Barnett, Gökçe, *op. cit.*, pl. XVII:6; Barnett, *Iraq* XVI:1, pls. XIX, XXII:5. Frankfort, *AAAO*, pl. 89, 101, 162; Barnett, Gökçe, *op. cit.*, 128, no. 28. For examples of the leaf capital, see Barnett, *Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*, 90; *Iraq* XII:1, 30 ff., fig. 19, pl. IV:2.

212. Özgüç, *Belleten* XXV:98, fig. 19; E. Pridik', "Mel'gunovskyi Klad' 1863 goda," *Materialy po arkheologii Rossii*, 31, S. Petersburg 1911, pl. IV:2. For a recent discussion of the chronology of this burial, see Barnett, "Median Art," *Iranica Antiqua* II:1, 1962, 85–86.

213. Özgüç, *Belleten* XXV:98, fig. 18, 273–274. The Karmir-blur pinhead measures ca. 1 centimeter in length; see Piotrovskiĭ, *Iskusstvo Urartu*, 87–89, fig. 52. R. S. Young, "Progress at Gordion," *University Museum Bulletin*, University of Pennsylvania 17, 1952, fig. 24. The discs from Altin-tepe are closely paralleled by discs of Ionian manufacture which show a raised central rosette surrounded with circular projections outlined in granulation. The Ionian discs usually have tighter and neater outlines and are more skillfully executed than the Urartian discs; see F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman, in the Department of Antiquities, British Museum*, London 1911, pl. XIV.

214. Piotrovskiĭ, *Iskusstvo Urartu*, 87, fig. 53. Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, pl. XLVI b, shows another leech-shaped gold earring from Karmir-blur with filigree decoration; K. Hadaczek, *Der Ohrschmuck der Griechen und Etrusker*, Wien 1903, 5, figs. 3–4 (Troy); Marshall, *op. cit.*, pl. III, 323 (Cyprus). The recently discovered collection

of jewelry at Patnos (Girik-tepe), now in the Archaeological Museum, Ankara, include gold rhomboid-shaped earrings decorated with granulation similar to finds from Marlyk, northwestern Iran. Marshall, *op. cit.*, pl. IX, 943–946 (ca. eighth century B.C., from Ephesus), pl. XIV, 24 (ca. seventh century B.C., from Ionia); Hadaczek, *op. cit.*, 21, fig. 38 (sixth century B.C., from Cumae in the National Museum, Naples); *ibid.*, fig. 38 (Athens); E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, Cambridge 1913, 295, fig. 106, no. VII (from the Kuban); F. Amandry, *Collection Hélène Stathatos, Les Bijoux Antiques*, Strasbourg 1953, pl. LII:28213, 47, n. 1, fig. 29:7–11, and pl. XXIV:13516, 54 (from Macedonia, ca. sixth to fourth century B.C.). For the early Etruscan examples with granulation decoration (seventh to fifth century B.C.), see Marshall, *op. cit.*, pl. XVI, 308; for examples from Greece of the Archaic period and later, see Marshall, *op. cit.*, pl. XXV:1593; Hadaczek, *op. cit.*, 22, figs. 40–42. Gordion: R. S. Young, "Gordion 1950," *University Museum Bulletin*, University of Pennsylvania 16:1, 1951, 17 ff., pl. XIII:2; Young, "Progress at Gordion," *University Museum Bulletin*, University of Pennsylvania 17:4, 1952, 32, fig. 25, showing thin bands of gold overlaid on the arcs instead of wire filigree and granulation. Both these earrings were found in cremation burials of the mid-sixth century B.C., and may have been imported from Ionia or Lydia.

215. C. Kardara, "Ερματα Τρι Ηνα Μοροεντα," *AJA* 65, 1961, 62–65, pls. 35–36; A. Moortgat, "Der Ohrschmuck der Assyrer," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 4, 1927, 185–203; compare also a leech-shaped gold earring from Ziwiye, northwestern Iran, Ghirshman, "Notes iraniennes, le Trésor de Sakkez," *Arbitus Asiae* XIII, 1950, fig. 23.

216. E. O. Negahban, "Notes on Some Objects from Marlyk," *JNES* XXIV:4, 1965, 318–320.

217. R. D. Barnett, *Iraq* XII:1, 7; *UKN*, 282. Adilcevaz: *UKN*, 278, n. 2, Maku: No. 280, Echmiadzin: No. 281, T͡seretheli, "Études Ourartéennes," *RA* LIII:4, 1959, 169–173. Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, 113–114.

218. Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, 112–114. The author here notes that in the questions put to the god Shamash by Esarhaddon, Cimmerians appear with Urartians, possibly as a combined threat against Assyria; see J. K. Knudtzon, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott für Staat königliches Haus der Zeit Assarhaddons und Assurbanipals*, II, Leipzig 1893, No. 48. An inscription of Rusa II from Adilcevaz (northwest of Lake Van), mentions Urartian conflict with the Phrygians, *UKN*, 278. I. M. D'ĭa͡konov, *Istoriĭa͡ Midii, ot drevneĭshikh vremen do kont͡sa IV veka do n.e.*, Moskva/Leningrad 1956, 258–259, 265–266. D. J. Wiseman, "The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon," *Iraq* XX:1, 1958, 1–13. This treaty, which was made with Media, Ellipi, Zamua and others, shows that Assyria still had considerable control over some of her eastern neighbors. R. D. Barnett, "The Archaeology of Urartu," *Compte-rendu du III^e Ren-*

contre Assyr. Internat., Paris 1952, 15 ff.; Barnett, "Oriental Influences on Archaic Greece," *The Aegean and the Near East*, 228–229.

219. *Luckenbill* II, Nos. 871, 1035, 866.

220. D'i̯akonov, *Urartskie pi'sma i dokumenty*, *op. cit.*, No. 1, 29, n. 42, 42 ff. (= Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, pl. XXXIII:2). *Ibid.*, No. 2, 28, also bears the name of Sarduri and has been tentatively identified by D'i̯akonov as belonging to the latter's reign.

221. *Ibid.*, 29, n. 41. *Luckenbill* II, No. 834, the "Rassam Cylinder," should read *Sarduri* for *Ishtar-duri*.

222. *UKN* 283. The lock measures ca. .45 meter in length and is similar to a ring found earlier at Toprak-kale; see Piotrovskiĭ, *Épigrafika vostoka* II, 1948, 83–85, fig. 1; C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien*, fig. 73, 102–103. This is a much simpler lock than the gold one carried off by the Assyrians from Musasir, "bolt of gold, a human finger (in form), the fastening of the door-leaf, on top of it crouched a winged dragon, one peg of gold to secure the lock . . . , two keys of gold (shaped like) protecting goddesses wearing the tiara, and bearing mace (?) and ring, their feet planted upon snarling dogs, the form of them (constituting) the lock of the door," *Luckenbill* II, 96, No. 173. *UKN* 285, discovered in 1949; Piotrovskiĭ, *Épigrafika vostoka* V, 1951, 110–112, fig. 8. Piotrovskiĭ believes the inscription on this bowl to belong to the reign of Rusa I (*Karmir-blur II*, 61–63), however, Melikishvili (*UKN* 285) has shown that not only does the same phrase appear in another inscription of Rusa II, but also the use of the Assyrian type cuneiform is characteristic for the inscriptions of the latter. The hieroglyphics on this bowl (bull's head, and two other signs) are also different from those on the cup of Rusa I (*Karmir-blur II*, fig. 32).

223. See above, note 220.

224. Another seal impression possibly bearing the name of Rusa without a patronymic, was found at Toprak-kale, see Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien*, 107, fig. 80 = Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, fig. 75. The latter shows a cart bearing a sacred-tree (?), flanked by two stars and followed by a man and a griffin, a theme which Lehmann-Haupt (*ibid.*) associated with the Mesopotamian representations of the water-god Ea.

225. Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien*, 93–95, fig. 63; Barnett, *Iraq* XII:1, 24; L. Curtius, "Assyrischer Dreifuss in Erlangen," *Müncher Jahrbücher der bildenden Kunst* VIII:1, 1913, 17–19; H. Hoffmann, "King Rusa's Candelabrum," *The Illustrated London News*, Nov. 19, 1960, 896 ff.; Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 896–897, quotes a translation made by J. Friedrich: "Rusa's candelabrum, from Rusa's inventory (?)." This inscription is apparently repeated around the rim of the lamp cup.

226. *Karmir-blur I*, fig. 42; Piotrovskiĭ, *Iskusstvo Urartu*, 55–56; the hemisphere below the shaft is found on a tripod from Altin-tepe, see Barnett, Gökçe, "The Find of Urartian Bronzes at Altin-tepe, Near Erzincan," *Anatolian Studies* III, 1953, fig. 1.

227. Frankfort, *AAAO*, pl. 117, 103. Frankfort believed the Erlangen tripod to be

Assyrian. Akurgal suggested the migration of north Syrian Aramaean metalworkers to Urartu at the end of the eighth and the beginning of the seventh centuries B.C., as an explanation for the simultaneous appearance of Urartian and north Syrian features on the same work, see *Die Kunst Anatoliens*, 67–69, see above, p. 00.

228. Barnett, *Iraq* XII:1, pls. XI (armrest in the British Museum), XVIII:3 (lion-bull, in the Louvre), XIX (leg of stool in the Vogüé Collection, Paris).

229. Y. Boysal, "Anzavur'da definecilerin meydana çikardiği Urartu eserleri," *Belleten* XXV:98, 1961, 199, 204, 212, figs. 1–2, ca. 7 centimeters high, 9 centimeters wide.

230. Frankfort, *AAAO*, pl. 77; Piotrovskiĭ, *Iskusstvo Urartu*, 56; Piotrovskiĭ, *Istoriĭa i kul'tura Urartu*, Erevan 1944, 225, fig. 67. This figure apparently escaped discovery by the German excavators at Toprak-kale, and was later obtained by the Echmiadzin museum by way of a dealer at Van.

231. Barnett, *Iraq* XII:1, pls. VI–VII:1, 3. Here, however, the lamassu has an extra pair of limbs, shown as human arms attached to the human torso.

Adilcevaz relief: C. A. Burney, G. R. J. Lawson, "Urartian Reliefs at Adilcevaz on Lake Van," *Anatolian Studies* VIII, 1958, 212–216, figs. 1–2, pl. XXXIII, dated tentatively to the reign of Rusa II, by Burney.

Crown of Lamassu: Barnett, *Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*, 84; D. J. Wiseman, *Cylinder Seals of Western Asia*, London 1960, pls. 68, 75, 92. This type of crown also enters Assyrian art of the eighth to seventh century B.C. These anatomical features are also found on other Urartian examples which have been compared by Barnett to the Til Barsib wall paintings, see *Iraq* XII:1, 36. The same features are found in the local art of a number of other late Hittite centers of north Syria; see Parrot, *Nineveh and Babylonia*, fig. 91; Akurgal, *Späthethitische Bildkunst*, pls. XXXIX, XLVIII, XLIX, from Til Barsib, Sakcegözü and Ankara.

232. The stylistic similarity between the "eunuch" figure and the Toprak-kale throne figures is discussed by Barnett, *Iraq* XII:1. 36–37.

233. Barnett, *Iraq* XII:1, 38–39, Frankfort, *AAAO*, 175.

234. Parrot, *Nineveh and Babylonia*, fig. 110; Barnett, *Iraq* XII:1, 36.

235. Barnett, *Iraq* XII:1, 37; Akurgal, *Späthethitische Bildkunst*, figs. 42, 44.

236. Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien*, 93 ff. Compare the candelabrum from Etruria, also in Hamburg, *ibid.*, fig. 64.

237. *Ibid.*, 93, see above, note 225.

238. E. Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, London/New York 1941, 127, 253; G. Azarpay, "Some Classical and Near Eastern Motifs in the Art of Pazyryk," *Artibus Asiae* XXII:4, 1959, 334.

239. D'i͡akonov, *Urartskie pis'ma i dokumenty*, *op. cit.*, 29, n. 42, no. 3.

240. *UKN*, 287–296.

241. D'i͡akonov, *op. cit.*, 35–36, no. 5.

242. *Ibid.*, 28–29, n. 40. See above, pp. 26–27, on the question of the date of the fall of the Urartian kingdom. Piotrovskiĭ notes that the late seventh century B.C. date given for the destruction of Teishebaini, based on a study by T. Sulimirski of Scythian articles found there, needs revision, as these articles were found with objects which date from the eighth century B.C., inside storage rooms, and do *not* represent horse trappings of the enemy that destroyed the citadel. For further arguments in support of the later date proposed for the destruction of Karmir-blur, see *VT*, 116, which argues against the date proposed by T. Sulimirski, "Scythian Antiquities in Western Asia," *Artibus Asiae*, XVII:2, 4, 1954, 313. For a full discussion of the origin of the Armenians and their relationship to the Phrygians, see I. M. D'i͡akonov, "Hittites, Phrygians and Armenians," *Peredneaziatskiĭ sbornik, voprosy Khettologii i Khurritologii*, Moskva 1961, 333–369, 594–597 (English summary). This author suggests that the Armenians existed as a separate ethnic unit in Armenia Minor and in the western part of Armenia Major before the sixth century B.C. when they are first mentioned in inscriptions. These "pre-Armenians" may be provisionally identified with the eastern group of the Muški. Thus, the speakers of the pre-Armenian language arrived on the Upper Euphrates in the beginning of the twelfth century B.C., being the first wave of the Thraco-Phrygian infiltration into Asia Minor, of which the Bithynians were the last.

243. *UKN* 287–296; Barnett, *Iraq* XLL:1, 7, 13–16, and B. M. 116735, 91209, 22481, 22482. The inscribed bronzes bearing the name of Rusa III, are as follows:

I. Fragmentary shield from Toprak-kale in the Berlin Museum (V. A. 805), *UKN* 289, poorly reproduced in Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien* II:2, 500; Barnett, *Iraq* XII:1, pl. XXII, 4. This shield is decorated with three concentric friezes of lions and bulls, discussed by W. Belck, C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, "Inuspuas, Sohn des Menuas," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Berlin 1892, 265–266. Professor G. R. Meyer has kindly informed me that he intends to publish this and related fragments in the Berlin Museum in the near future.

II. Bronze shield from Toprak-kale (1894?), in the British Museum (B. M. 22481), Barnett, *Iraq* XII:1, pl. X:1; *UKN* 287. The diameter of this shield is 85.2 centimeters, and it is decorated with three friezes of lions and bulls, each frieze shown within a border of a single cable pattern. Here plates 56 and 57.

III. Bronze shield fragment from Toprak-kale in the Berlin Museum (1892?), Lehmann-Haupt, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 1892, 265; *UKN* 290. Not decorated.

IV. Bronze shield fragment from Toprak-kale, in the Berlin Museum, Lehmann-Haupt, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 1892, 166; *UKN* 291. Not decorated.

V. Bronze shield from Toprak-kale, in the British Museum (B. M. 22482), *UKN* 293; Barnett, *Iraq* XII:1, 13–14, no. 2, diameter 77 centimeters, decorated

with two rows of lions between single bands of cable pattern. Here plate 58.

VI. Four fragments of a bronze shield from Toprak-kale, in the British Museum, *UKN* 294; Barnett, *Iraq* XII:1, 15, no. 6.

VII. Fragments of a bronze bowl from Toprak-kale, in the British Museum (B. M. 91289, 91209), measuring 2.6 by 16 centimeters; Barnett, *Iraq* XII:1, 8, 16, pl. VIII:2. Decorated with openwork designs, originally inlaid. Here plate 59.

244. See above, note 243:II.

245. The spiral curls on the belly appear also on other bronze throne figures from Toprak-kale and on a stone carving from Adilcevaz and Toprak-kale, see Barnett, *Iraq* XII:1, pls. XVIII:3, XIX, XI:1, VII:3, and fig. 20.

246. Barnett, *Iraq* XX:1, 5, 8, 16.

247. Front of the Kelermes scabbard is illustrated in detail in Piotrovskiĭ, *Iskusstvo Urartu*, pl. XXXIII, for the Melgunov scabbard, see Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, fig. 65; the same motif found on a seal impression from Karmir-blur, Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, fig. 87:d. Contrast these with the sacred tree represented on the earlier wall paintings from Arin-berd, Piotrovskiĭ, *Iskusstvo Urartu*, pl. XXXI.

248. The term *Ringelstil*, coined by Akurgal for the style of Urartian art of the eighth century B.C., was used by that author to distinguish the difference in the treatment of the chased details on works from the eighth century B.C. from those of the seventh century B.C. Akurgal uses the term *Buckelstil* ("hump style") for the Urartian style of the seventh century B.C., see *Die Kunst Anatoliens*, 28–29, 31.

249. Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens*, 31–32, fig. 13. For a side view of the sphinx in the Hermitage Museum, see Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, fig. 3, or Barnett, *Iraq* XVI:1, pl. III, 2. Assyrian reliefs show a variety of muscular stylizations from the ninth century B.C. and later, but these are rather different from the markings on the Urartian bronzes, which are also to be distinguished from the flame pattern on the north Syrian animal representations, see Barnett, *Palace Reliefs*, figs. 16–27, 100–104, 155; Barnett, *Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*, pls. XVIII, XIX, XX: S14, XXXVI; S62-c–d, CI ff.; Frankfort, *AAAO*, pl. 159 A; Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens*, 31–32. Piotrovskiĭ, *Iskusstvo Urartu*, pls. XXV–XXVI. The N-shaped pattern is absent on the figures from the Melgunov scabbard which is otherwise similar to the Kelermes scabbard. However, the leaf ring capitals, usual on Urartian bronze furniture, find an analogy in the metal parts of a stool from the Melgunov treasure, see Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, figs. 65–68; P. P. Manĉsevich, "Golovka byka iz kurgana VI v. do n.e. na r. Kalitve," *Sovetskaĉa arkheologiĉa* 2, 1958, 196–202, figs. 1, 3.

250. A. Godard, *Le Trésor de Ziwiye* (*Kurdistan*), Haarlem 1950, figs. 13, 15, 109.

251. *Ibid.*, figs. 66, 68–69 ("local" style), figs. 81–82 (Assyrian style). This pattern is

found also on the painted pottery from Ziwiye, see *ibid.*, 55–56, and is perhaps to be associated with the local Mannaean workshops located on the southeastern frontiers of Urartu.

252. *Ibid.*, figs. 40, 48. The late date of the Ziwiye treasure would favor an Urartian rather than a north Syrian source of influence in the representations of the lion's head. In the Ziwiye lion figures, the Urartians motifs appear mixed with elements from the Assyrian type of lion, see Parrot, *Nineveh and Babylonia*, fig. 38.

253. Barnett, *Iraq* XII:1, pl. VI (bull-man in the British Museum). Crescent-shaped gold pectorals are known from Thracian burials (Varbica, Mezek, Dălboki), dated to the fifth to fourth century B.C. These pectorals apparently fitted over an iron plate worn about the neck and above a breastplate, thus providing the warrior with additional protection and allowing a greater mobility. See L. Ognenova, "Les Cuirasses de Bronze trouvées en Thrace," *Bulletin de correspondence hellénique* LXXXV:II, 1961, 527–535, figs. 18, 19, pl. XVII. Such articles may have had additional significance, such as an indication of rank, see P. Amandry, *Collection Hélène Stathatos, Les Bijoux Antiques*, 38–39; for an Urartian example from Noraresh, near Erevan, see Barnett, "The Urartian Cemetery at Igdyr," *Anatolian Studies* XIII, 1963, fig. 44. An Etruscan parallel is found in an example of a crescent-shaped gold pectoral in the Vatican Museum, from the Regolini-Galassi tomb, see L. Pareti, *La tomba Regolini-Galassi del Museo Gregoriano dell'Italia centrale nel sec. VII A. C.*, Città del Vaticano 1947, pl. IX, 28.

254. G. R. Meyer, "Ein neuendeckter urartäischer Brustschmuck," *Das Altertum* 1:4, 1955, 205–213, figs. on pages 208–209; bronze figurine: Piotrovskiĭ, *Sovetskai͡a arkheologii͡a* VI, 1940, fig. 1. For the gold medallion from Toprak-kale, see Meyer, *op. cit.*, 210; silver medallions from Karmir-blur: Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, pl. XLVII:b, v.

255. *UKN* 368; *Karmir-blur I*, fig. 49; F. W. König, *Handbüch der chaldischen Inschriften, Archiv für Orientforschung* 8, L, Graz 1955–1957, 30, 37, pl. 102.

256. H. Kantor, "A Fragment of a Gold appliqué from Ziwiyé and some remarks on the artistic traditions of Armenia and Iran during the early first millennium B.C.," *JNES* XIX:1, 1960, 1–14, associates the "aprons" represented on the Ziwiye animals with Phoenician art, but associates the figures with Urartian art. See also the chronology suggested by Kantor for the stylistic development of Syro-Phoenician ivories, "A Bronze Plaque with Relief Decoration from Tell Tainat," *JNES* XXI:2, 1962, 96 ff.

257. H. Kantor, *JNES* XIX:1, 1960, *op. cit.*, 1–14; R. D. Barnett, "Median Art," *Iranica Antiqua* II, 1962, 77–95, pls. I–VI; R. Ghirshman, review of I. M. D'i͡akonov, *Istoriia Midii ot drevneishikh vrem do konts͡a IV veka do n. e.*, Moskva/Leningrad 1956, in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* XV, 1958, 257–261; Ghirshman, "Notes iraniennes IV, le Trésor de Sakkez," *Artibus Asiae* XIII:3, 1950, 181–206. On the date of the

Ziwiye treasure, see R. D. Barnett, "The Treasure of Ziwiye," *Iraq* XVIII, 1956, 116; T. Sulimirski, "Scythian Antiquities in Western Asia," *Artibus Asiae* XVII:2, 1954, 313–316; A. Godard, *Le Trésor de Ziwiye* (*Kurdistan*), Haarlem 1951, 123 ff.

258. R. D. Barnett, "The Archaeology of Urartu," *Compt-rendu du III^e Rencontre Assyr. Internat.*, Paris 1952, 17; I. M. D'i̯akonov, "Poslednie gody urartskogo gosudarstva," *VDI* 2, 1951, 3839, the latter at that time proposed that a coalition of Medes and Scythians destroyed Karmir-blur, ca. 609 B.C. But see this author's later opinion, above, notes 47, 242. Barnett explains the presence of Median objects in Scythian tombs of Kelermes and Melgunov as products brought there by the Scythians after their defeat at the hands of the Medes, ca. 625–600 B.C., see "Median Art," *op. cit.*, 93; Piotrovskiĭ, *VT*, 256.

259. See above, note 242.

260. E. Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, Oxford 1941, 167, 198–200, 214, 247 ff., made an early contribution to the study of the cultural links between Achaemenid Iran and the earlier Urartian civilization.

261. M. Van Loon gives a convincing explanation to the "arrested" development of Assyrianizing motifs and compositions in Urartian art, *Urartian Art*, *op. cit.*, above, note 2, 172 ff.

262. *Ibid.*, 166 ff.

PLATES

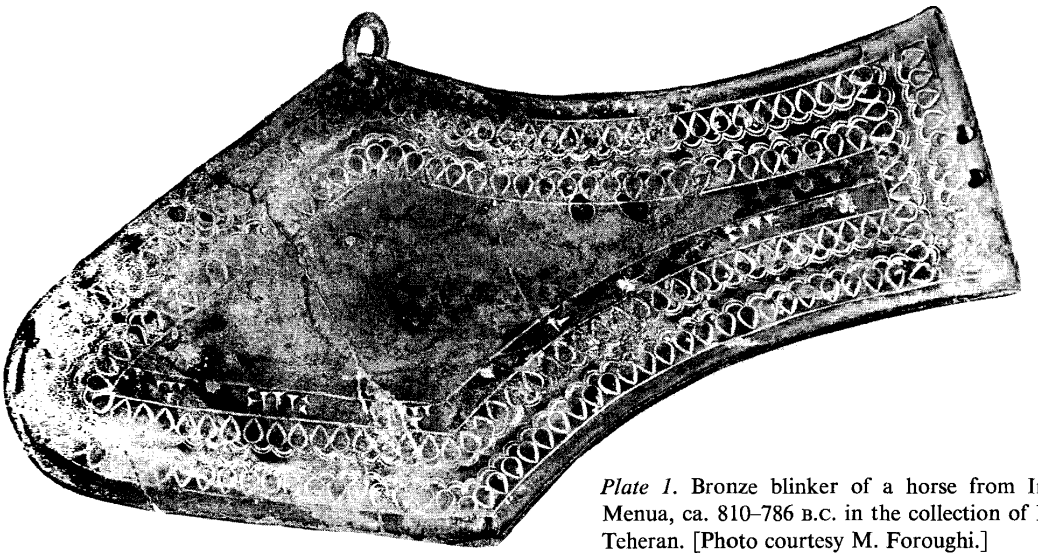

Plate 1. Bronze blinker of a horse from Iran, reign of Menua, ca. 810–786 B.C. in the collection of M. Foroughi, Teheran. [Photo courtesy M. Foroughi.]

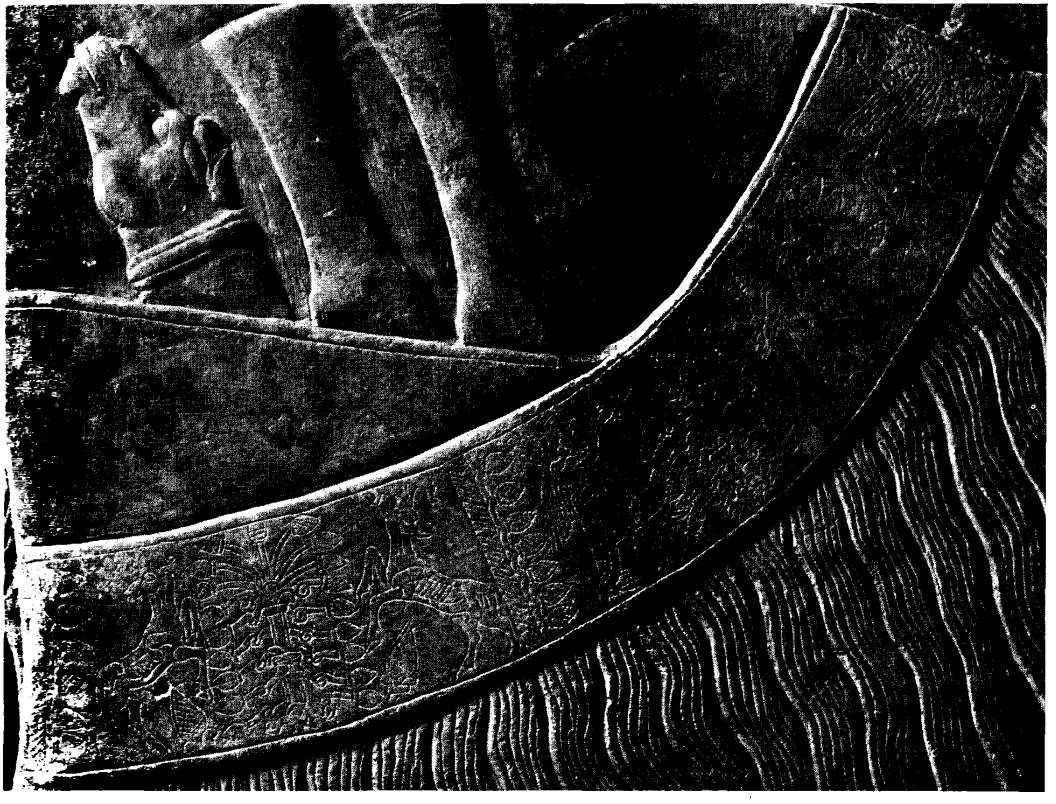

Plate 2. Detail of a stone relief from Nimrud showing the bud garland motif. Reign of Ashurnasirpal II, 883–859 B.C., in the British Museum. [Photo courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.]

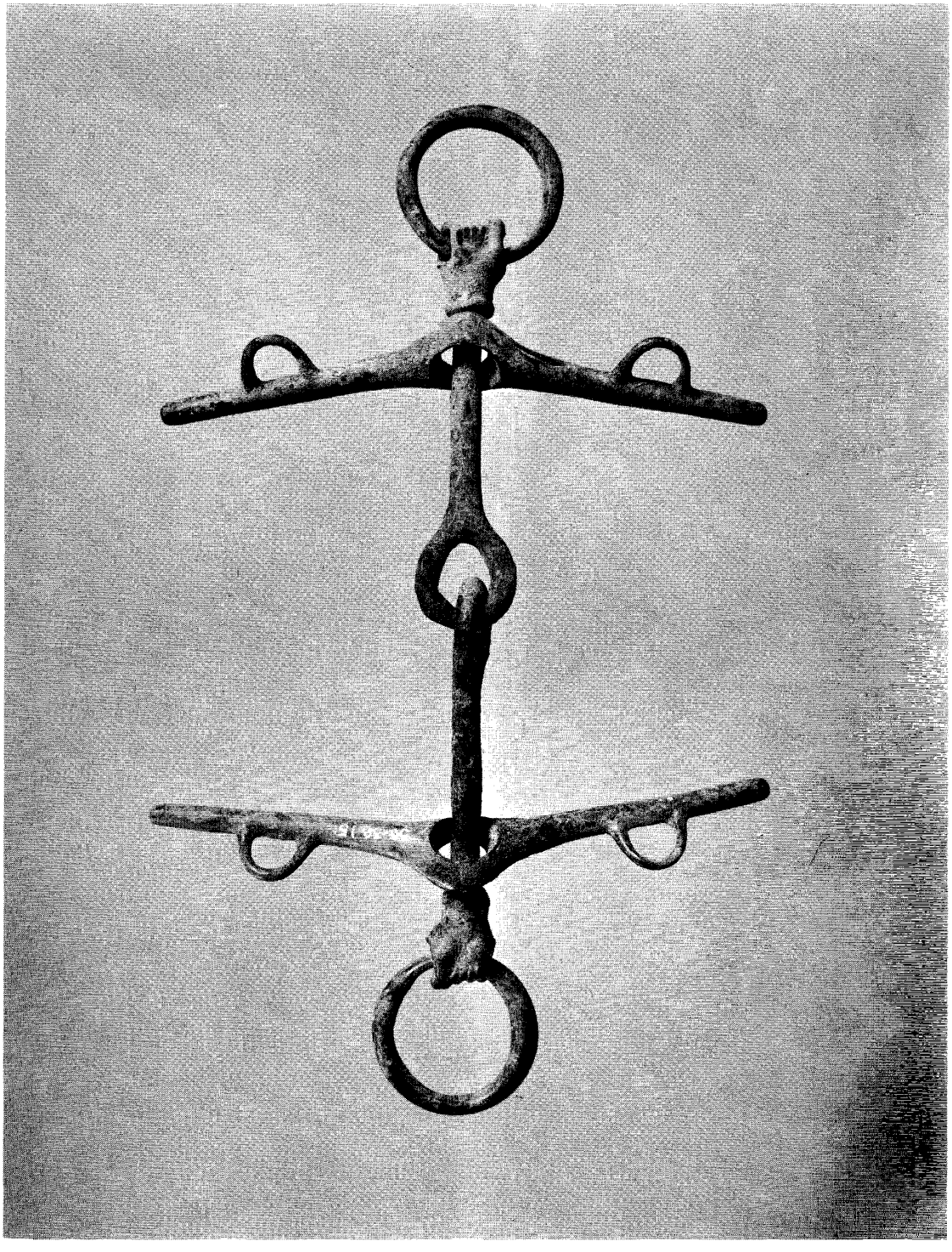

Plate 3. Bronze horse's bit from Luristan, ca. eighth century B.C. (Cheekpiece 195 mm., mouthpiece 253 mm.) [Photo courtesy the University of Pennsylvania Museum.]

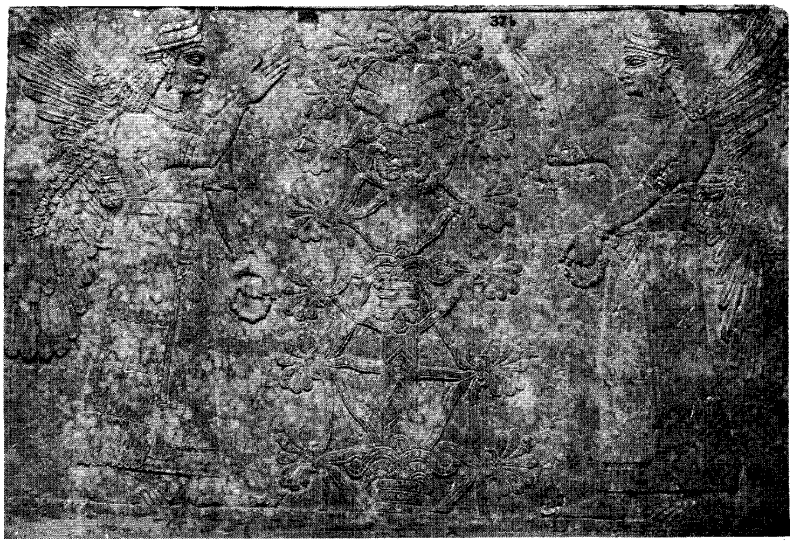

Plate 4. Assyrian stone relief from Nimrud (Northwest Palace, B.M. 124571), showing the sacred tree flanked by winged goddesses, ninth century B.C. [Photo courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.]

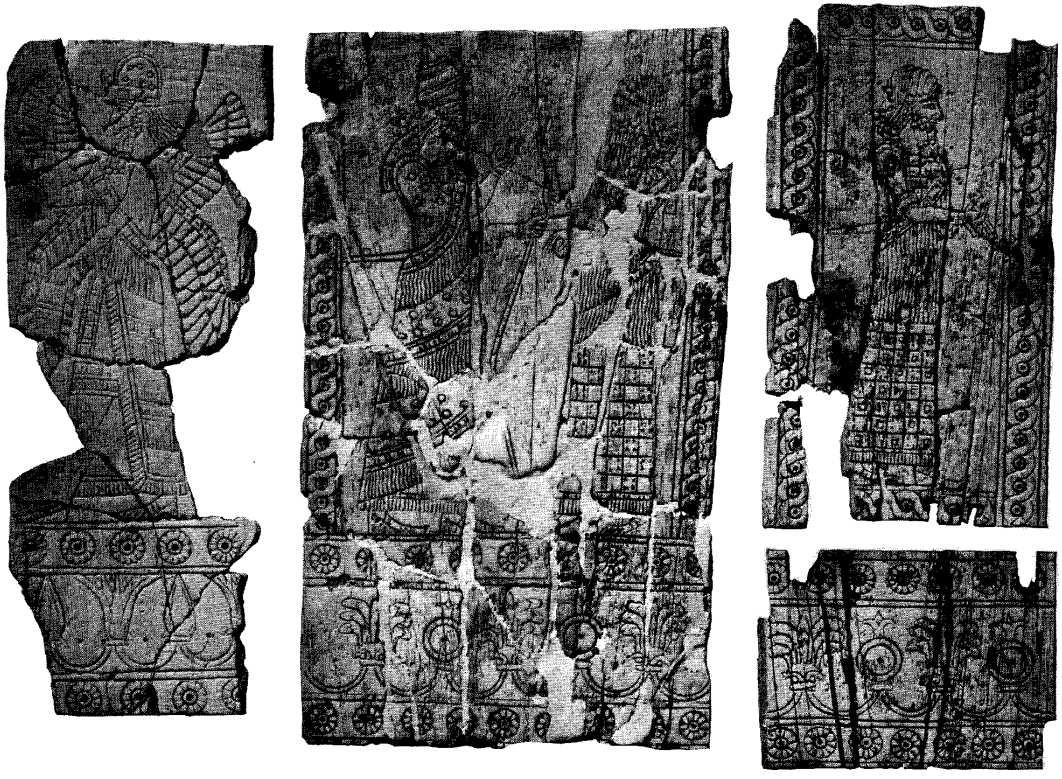

Plate 5. Assyrian ivory panel from Nimrud in the British Museum, ca. seventh century B.C. (Right: B.M. 12i, 188121. Center: B.M. 12c, 127065. Left: B.M. 12f, 127067, 12e, 127066.) [Photo courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.]

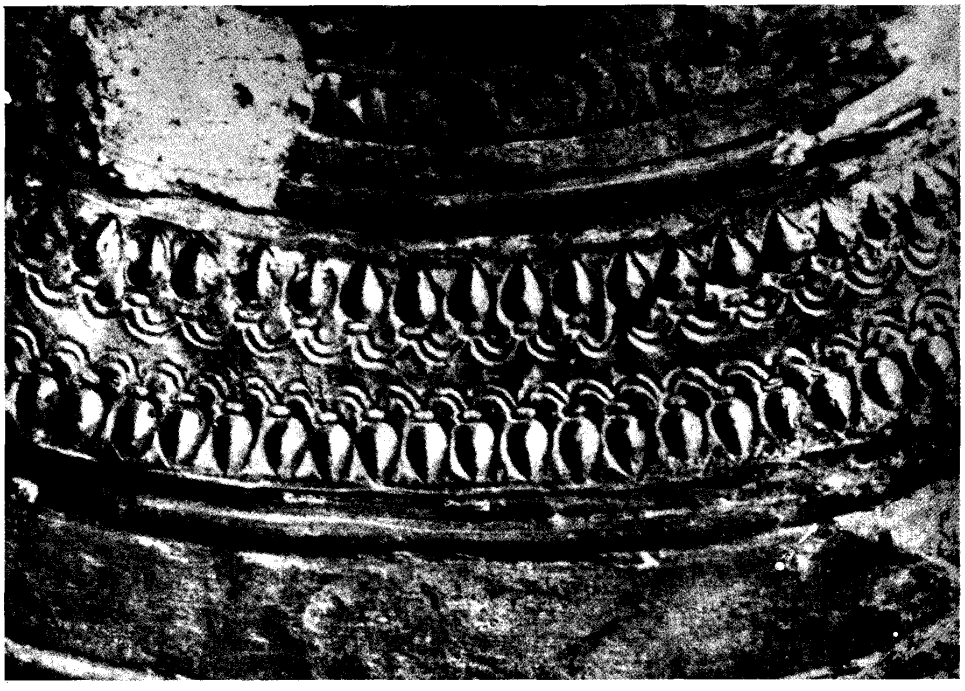

Plate 6. Detail of a gilded silver vessel cover decorated with embossed and chased bud garland, from Karmir-blur, in the Historical Museum of Armenia, Erevan. Reign of Argishti I, 786–764 B.C.

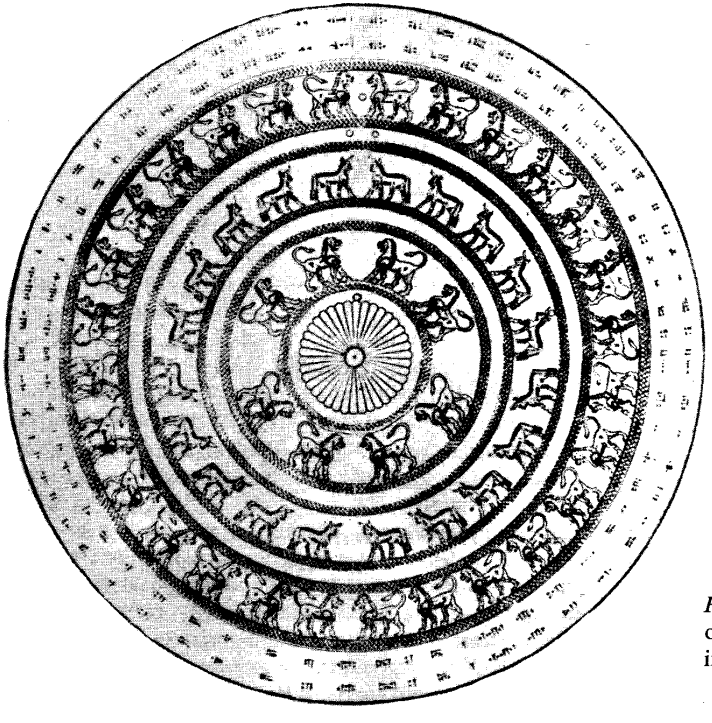

Plate 7. Sketch of a bronze shield from the reign of Argishti I, 786–764 B.C., from Karmir-blur, in the Historical Museum of Armenia, Erevan.

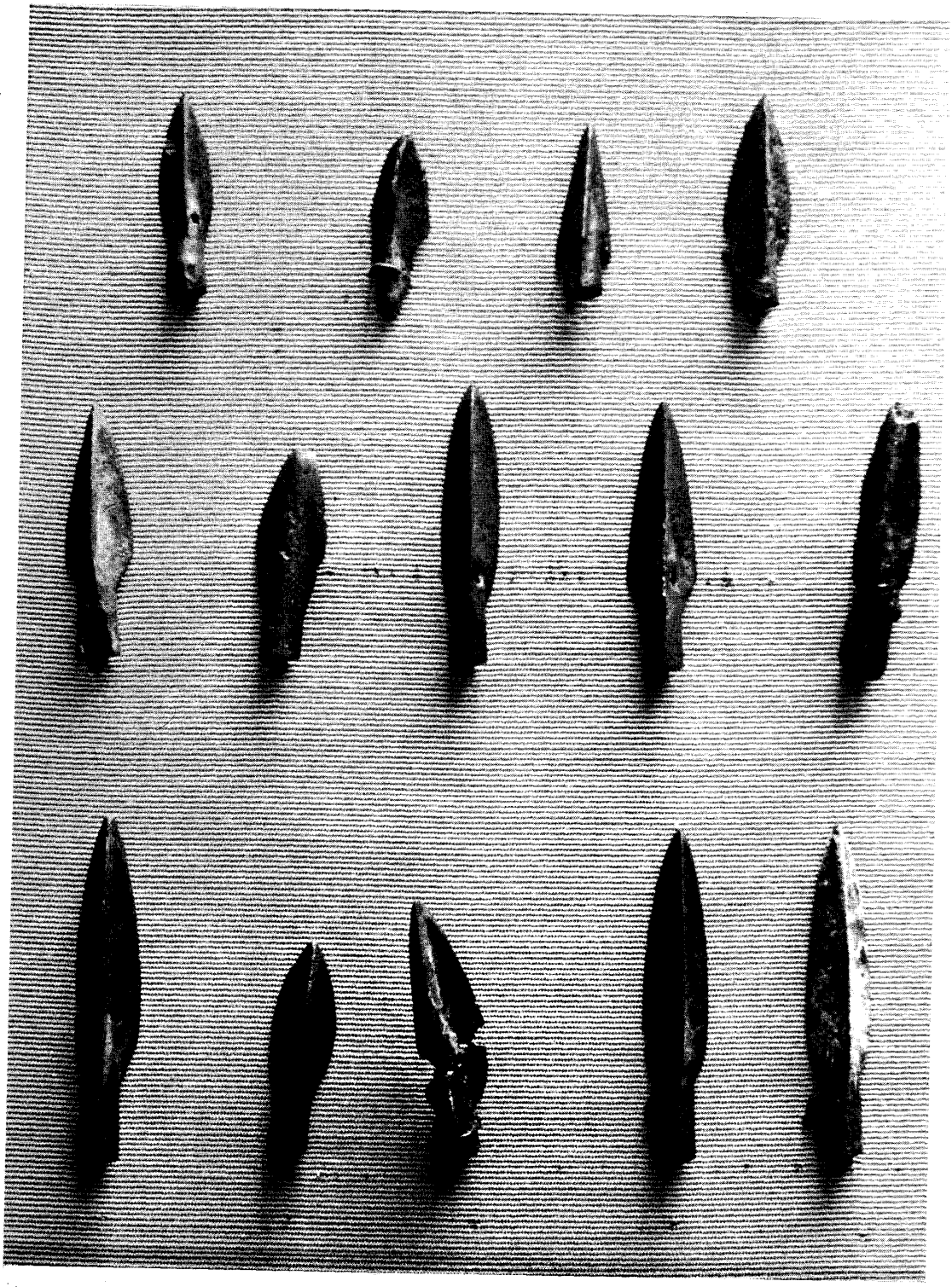

Plate 8. Scythian type arrowheads from Karmir-blur, in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.

Plate 9. Bronze helmet from Hasanlu, northwestern Iran, ca. ninth to eighth century B.C., in the Archaeological Museum, Teheran.

Plate 10. Embossed and chased bronze helmet of Argishti I, 786–764 B.C., from Karmir-blur, in the Historical Museum of Armenia, Erevan.

Plate 11. Detail of plate 10.

Plate 12. Detail of plate 10.

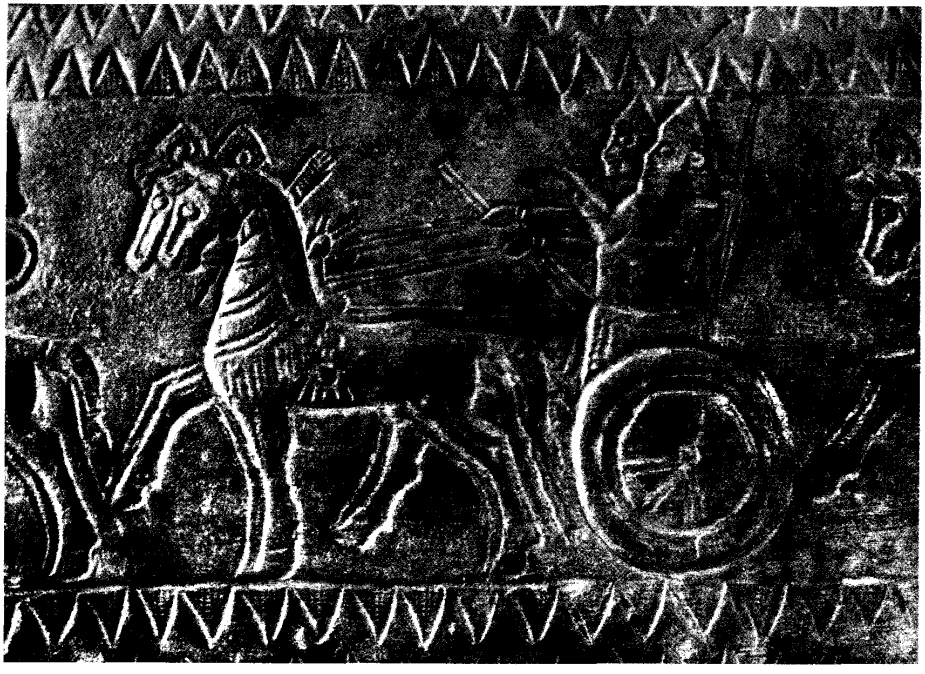

Plate 13. Detail of plate 10.

Plate 14. Detail of the embossed and chased bronze casing of the gates of Balawat, from the reign of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (859–824 B.C.), in the British Museum. This detail shows the attack on the Urartian city of Arzaškûn by Assyrian war chariots (857 B.C.). [Photo courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.]

Plate 15. Detail of the embossed and chased bronze casing of the gates of Balawat, reign of Shalmaneser III, in the British Museum. This detail shows Urartian prisoners wearing crested helmets (860 B.C.). [Photo courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.]

Plate 16. Embossed and chased bronze helmet of Sarduri II, 764–735 B.C., from Karmir-blur, in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.

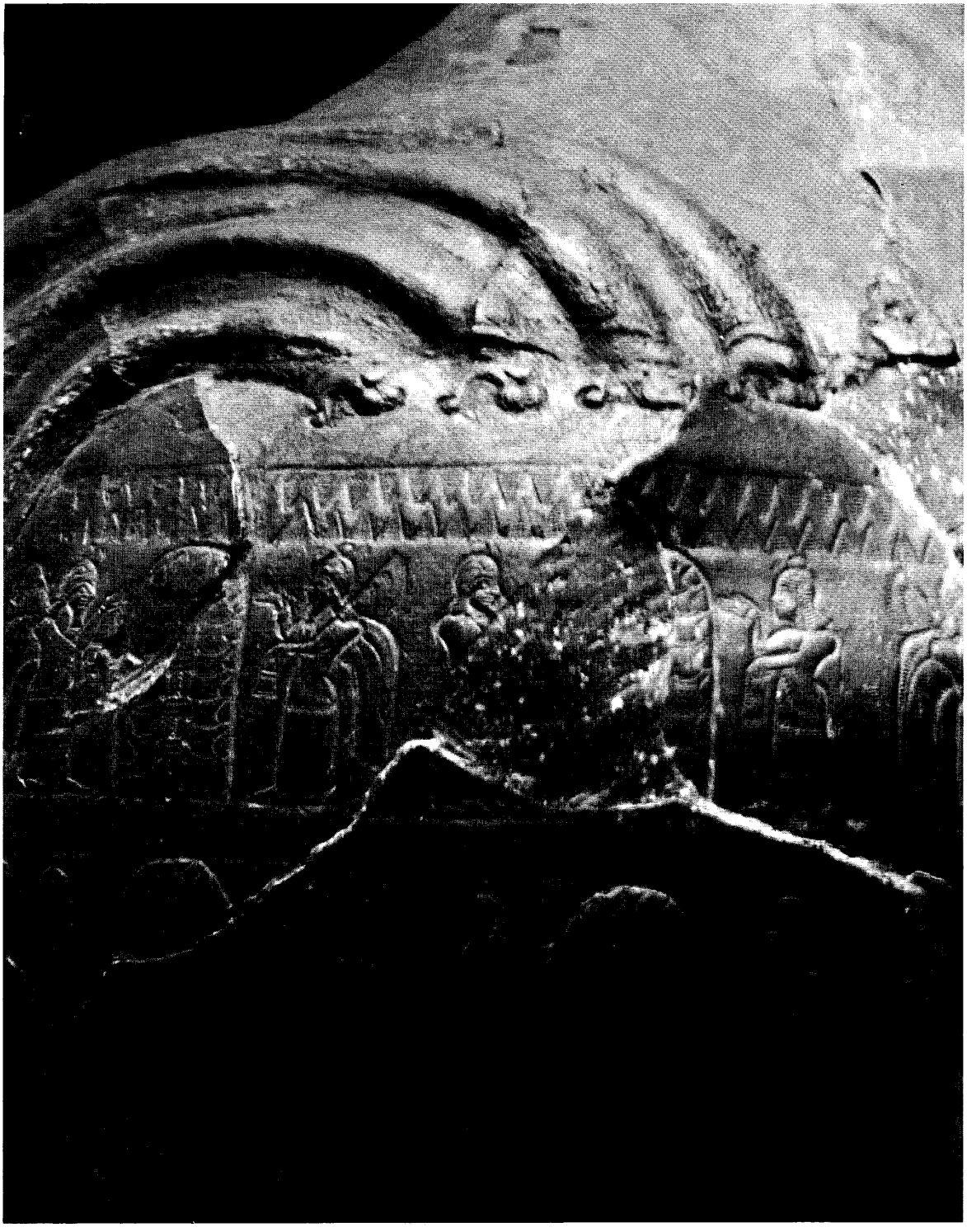

Plate 17. Detail of plate 16.

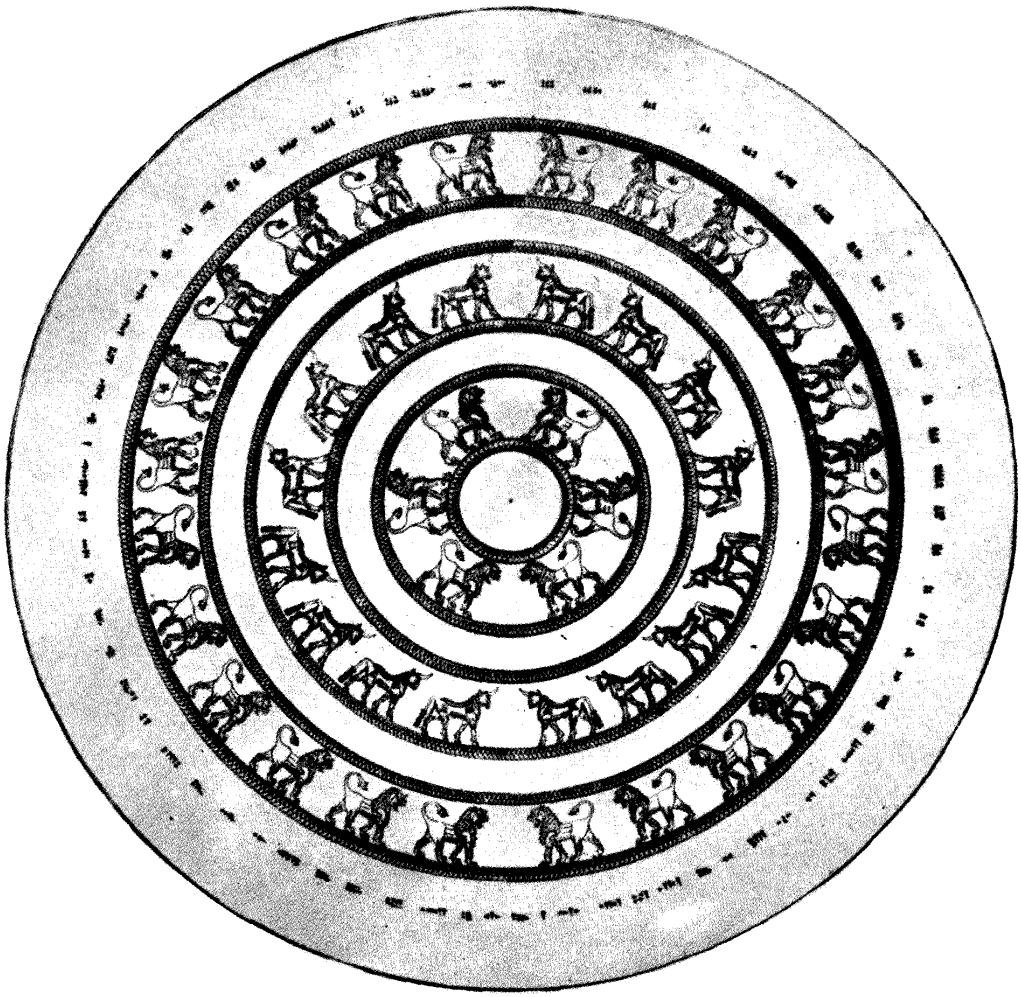

Plate 18. Sketch of the bronze shield of Sarduri II, 764–735 B.C., from Karmir-blur, in the Historical Museum of Armenia, Erevan.

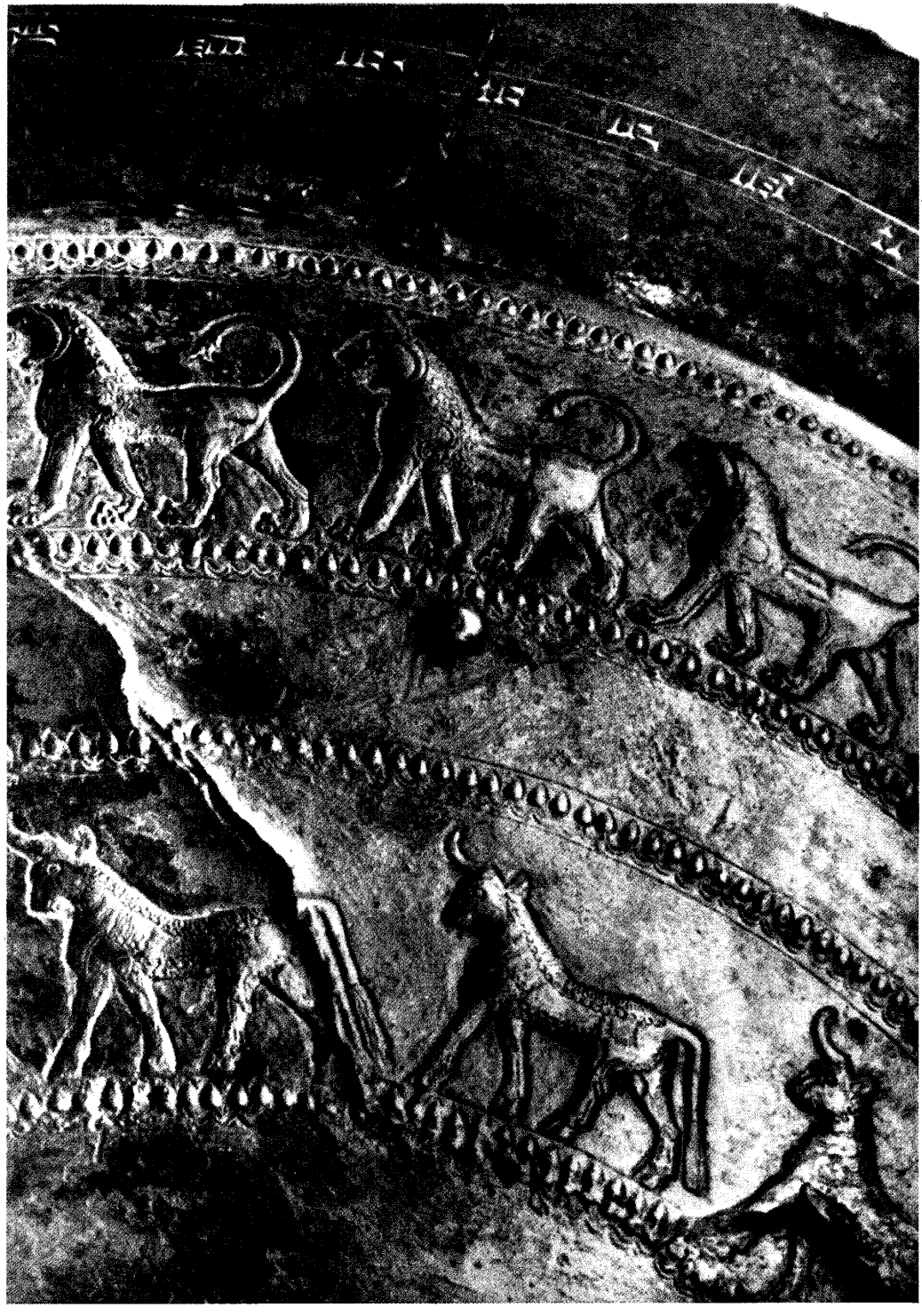

Plate 19. Detail of the embossed and chased bronze shield of Sarduri II, 764–735 B.C., in the Historical Museum of Armenia, Erevan, Piotrovskiĭ.

Plate 20. Another view of plate 19.

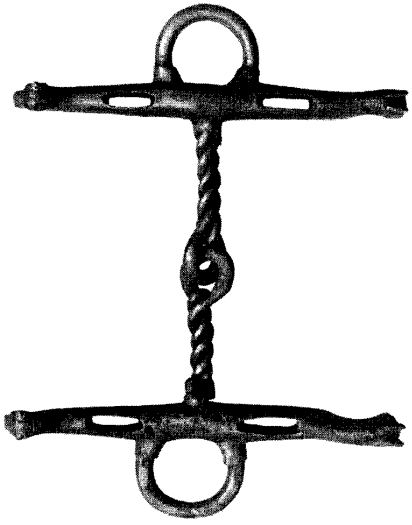

Plate 22. Bronze horse's bit from Altin-tepe, eastern Turkey, in the Archaeological Museum, Ankara. Datable to the reign of Argishti II, 713–685 B.C. [Photo courtesy Professor T. Özgüç.]

Plate 21. Bronze quiver of Sarduri II, 764–735 B.C., with embossed and chased decoration, from Karmir-blur, in the Historical Museum of Armenia, Erevan.

Plate 23. Part of bronze strip with embossed and chased decoration from Altin-tepe, in the Archaeological Museum, Ankara. Datable to the reign of Argishti II, ca. 713–686 B.C. (Length over 90 cm., width 10 cm.) [Photo courtesy Professor T. Özgüç.]

Plate 25. Bronze disc with embossed figure of a winged horse from Luristan, ca. eighth to seventh century B.C., in the Archaeological Museum, Teheran. [Photo courtesy the Archaeological Museum, Teheran.]

Plate 24. Detail of plate 23. [Photo courtesy Professor T. Özgüç.]

Plate 26. Detail of an embossed and chased bronze strip from Gushchi, northwestern Iran, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. [Photo courtesy the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1952.]

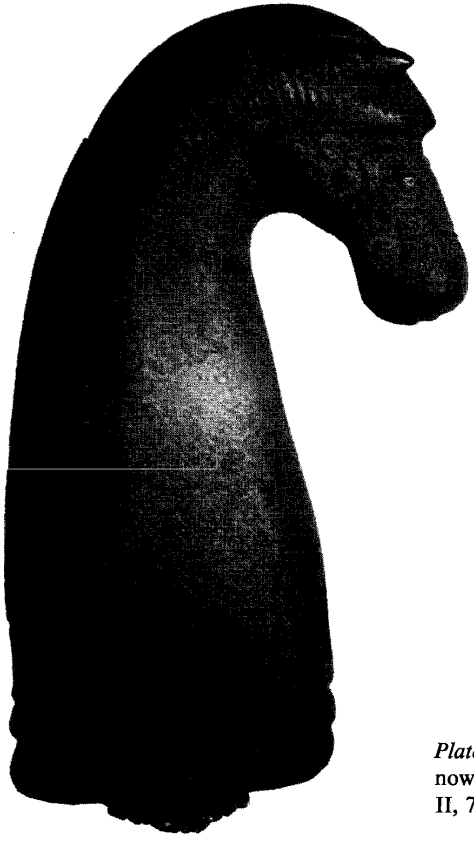

Plate 27. Bronze horse's head from a chariot pole terminal from Altin-tepe, now in the Archaeological Museum, Ankara. Datable to the reign of Argishti II, 713–685 B.C. (Height 7 cm.) [Photo courtesy Professor T. Özgüç.]

Plate 28. Bronze horse's head probably from a chariot pole terminal, from Karmir-blur, in the Historical Museum of Armenia, Erevan. (Height 17 cm.)

Plate 29. Assyrian stone relief from the palace of Sennacherib, Nineveh, early seventh century B.C., representing the horse head terminal on the king's chariot. [Staatliche Museen, Berlin (Berlin V.A. 955).]

Plate 30. Bronze cauldron and stand from Altin-tepe, in the Archaeological Museum, Ankara, datable to the reign of Argishti II, ca. 713–685 B.C. [Photo courtesy Professor T. Özgüç.]

Plate 31:A. Detail of plate 30.

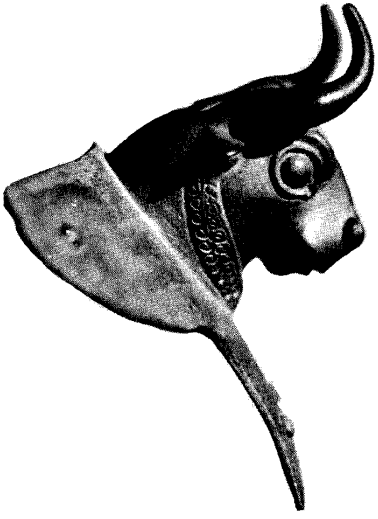

Plate 31:B. Detail of plate 30.

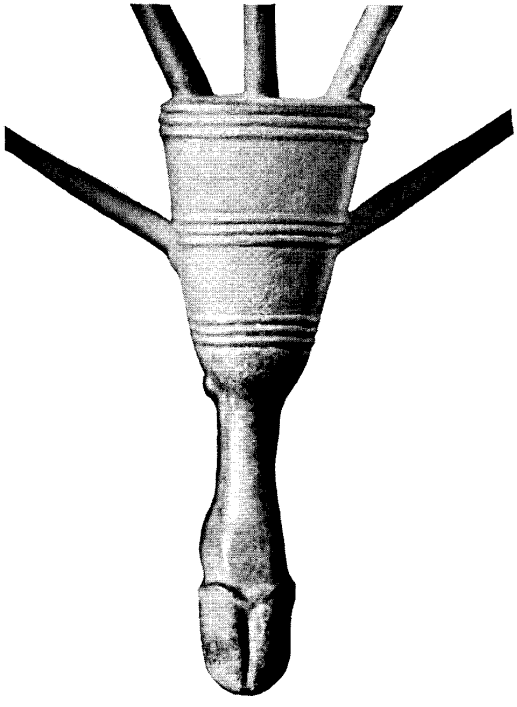

Plate 32. Detail of plate 30.

Plate 33. Bronze bull's head cauldron attachment from Toprak-kale, in the British Museum (Inv. No. 014470). [Photo courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.]

Plate 34. Bronze bull's head cauldron attachment from the Alishar post, northwestern Iran, in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad. Probably from the reign of Argishti II, 713–685 B.C. [Photo courtesy the Hermitage Museum.]

Plate 35. Bronze "siren" cauldron attachment in the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Inv. No. 41). [Photo courtesy the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul.]

Plate 36. Bronze "siren" attachment from the Alishar post, northwestern Iran, in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad. Probably from the reign of Argishti II, 713–685 B.C. [Photo courtesy the Hermitage Museum.]

Plate 37. Bronze "siren" attachment from the Great Tumulus, Gordion, datable to the end of the eighth or the beginning of the seventh century B.C., in the Archaeological Museum, Ankara (attachment A 4849.B.482). [Photo courtesy the University of Pennsylvania Museum.]

Plate 39. Bronze bearded "siren" attachment from the Great Tumulus, Gordion, datable to the end of the eighth or the beginning of the seventh century B.C., in the Archaeological Museum, Ankara (attachment A 4849.B.482). [Photo courtesy the University of Pennsylvania Museum.]

Plate 38. Side view of plate 37. [Photo courtesy the University of Pennsylvania Museum.]

Plate 40. Side view of plate 39. [Photo courtesy the University of Pennsylvania Museum.]

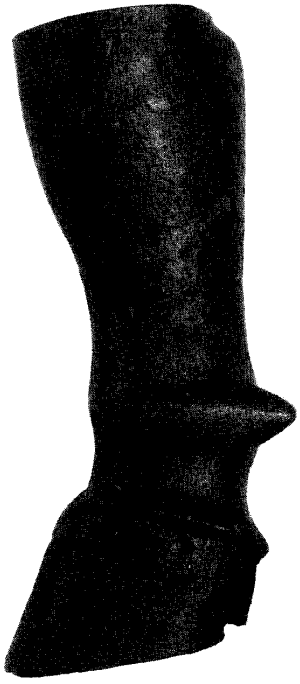

Plate 41. Bronze furniture leg in the shape of a bull's hoof from Altin-tepe, eastern Turkey, datable to the reign of Argishti II, 713–685 B.C. [Photo courtesy Professor T. Özgüç.]

Plate 42. Bronze furniture leg in the shape of a hollow feline paw, from Altin-tepe, in the Archaeological Museum, Ankara. Reign of Argishti II, 713–685 B.C. [Photo courtesy Professor T. Özgüç.]

Plate 43. Bronze furniture leg in the shape of a hollow feline paw, from Hasanlu, northwestern Iran, ca. eighth century B.C., in the Archaeological Museum, Teheran. [Photo courtesy the Archaeological Museum, Teheran.]

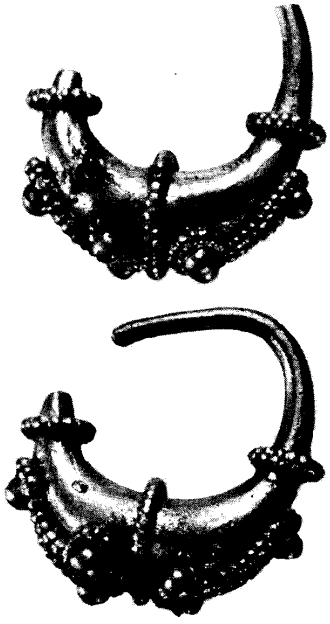

Plate 46. Gold earrings from Gordion, sixth century B.C. (Considerably enlarged.) [Photo courtesy the University of Pennsylvania Museum.]

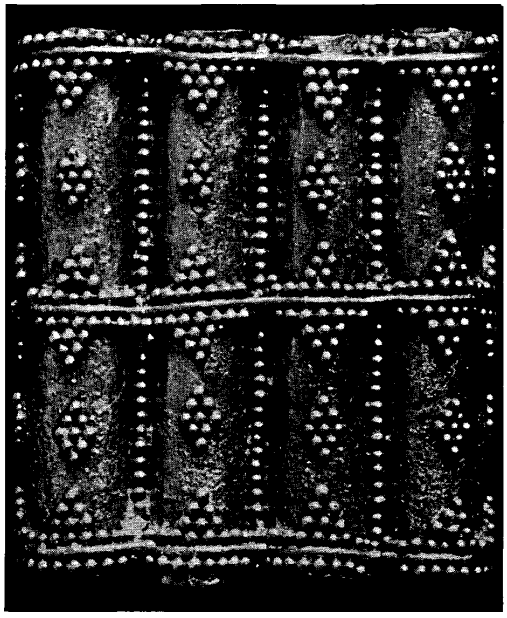

Plate 44. Detail of gold necklace decorated with granulation, from Altin-tepe, eastern Turkey, datable to the reign of Argishti II, 713–685 B.C. [Photo courtesy Professor T. Özgüç.]

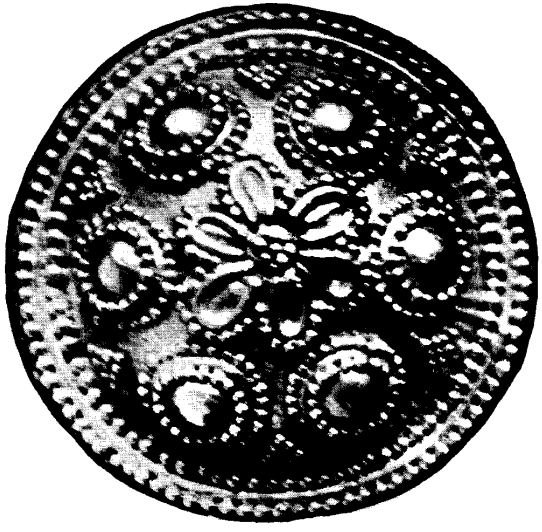

Plate 45. Gold disc decorated with granulation, from Altin-tepe, datable to the reign of Argishti II, 713–685 B.C. [Photo courtesy Professor T. Özgüç.]

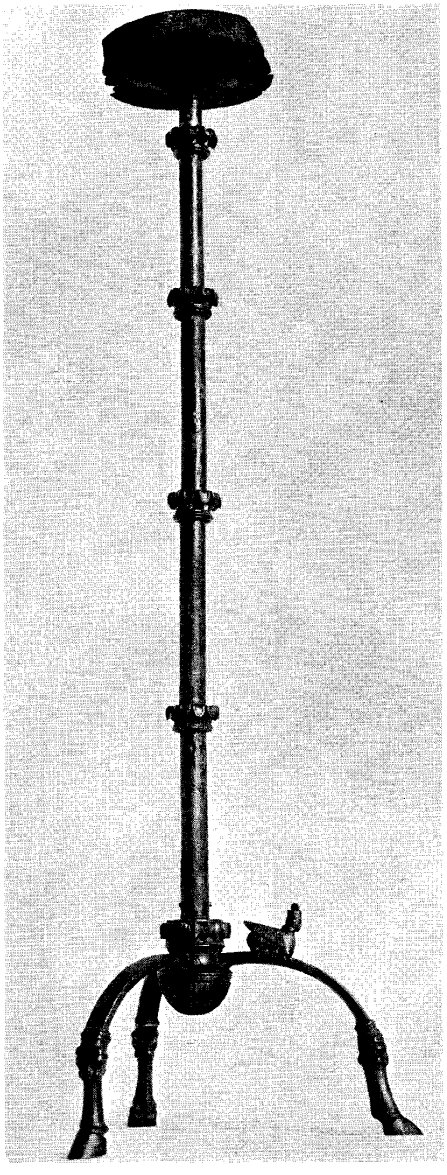

Plate 47. Bronze candelabrum from Toprak-kale, probably from the reign of Rusa II, 685–639 B.C., in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg. (Height 136.5 cm.) [Photo courtesy the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe.]

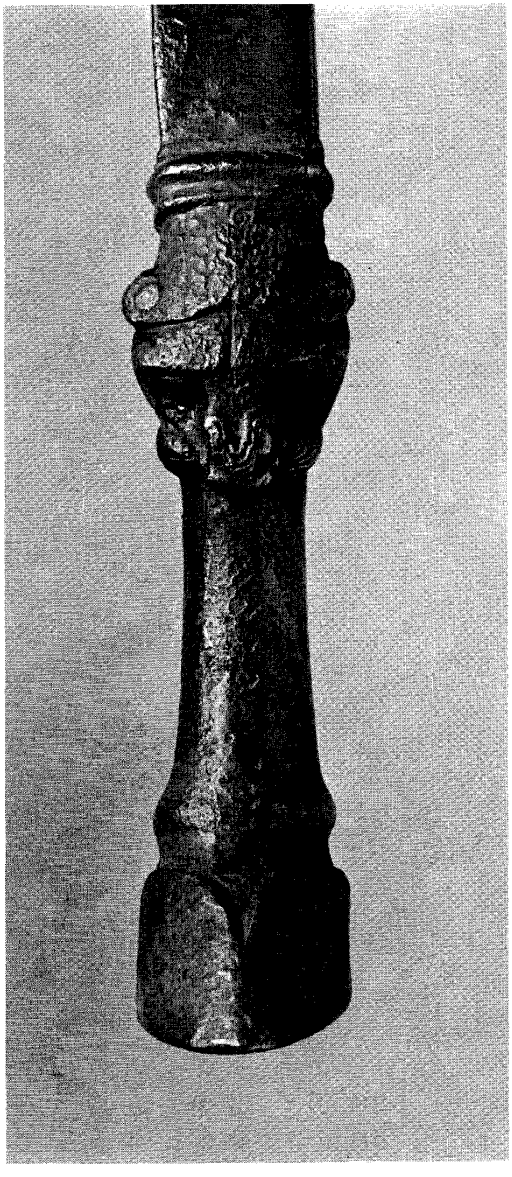

Plate 48:A. Detail of plate 47. [Photo courtesy the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg.]

Plate 48:B. Detail of plate 47. [Photo courtesy the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg.]

Plate 48:C. Detail of plate 47. [Photo courtesy the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg.]

Plate 49:A. Detail of plate 47. [Photo courtesy the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg.]

Plate 50. Bronze figure of a couchant lion from Toprak-kale, in the British Museum (B.M. 91253). (Height ca. 10 cm.) [Photo courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.]

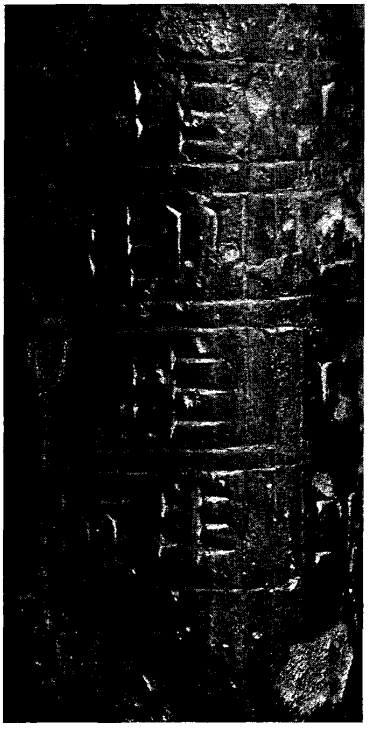

Plate 49:B. Detail of plate 47. [Photo courtesy the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg.]

Plate 51. Cast bronze figurine of a winged bull with chased decoration, originally inlaid and gilded, from Toprak-kale, in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad. (Height .225 m., breadth .15 m.) [Photo courtesy the Hermitage Museum.]

Plate 52. Cast bronze figurine of a deity on the back of a couchant bull with its head inlaid in white stone, originally gilded, from Toprak-kale, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. [Photo courtesy the Metropolitan Museum of Art, purchase 1950, Dodge Fund.]

Plate 53. Cast bronze figurine of a sphinx with its face inlaid in white stone, originally gilded, from Toprak-kale, in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad. (Height .160 m., length .150 m.) [Photo courtesy the Hermitage Museum.]

Plate 54. Cast bronze figure of a griffin, originally inlaid and gilded, from Toprak-kale in the Berlin Museum. (Height 21.2 cm.) [Photo courtesy the Staatliche Museen, Berlin.]

Plate 55. Stone bird from the Palace of Kapara, Tell Halaf, northern Syria (ca. 894–808 B.C.). [Photo courtesy Professor W. Caskel, Cologne University.]

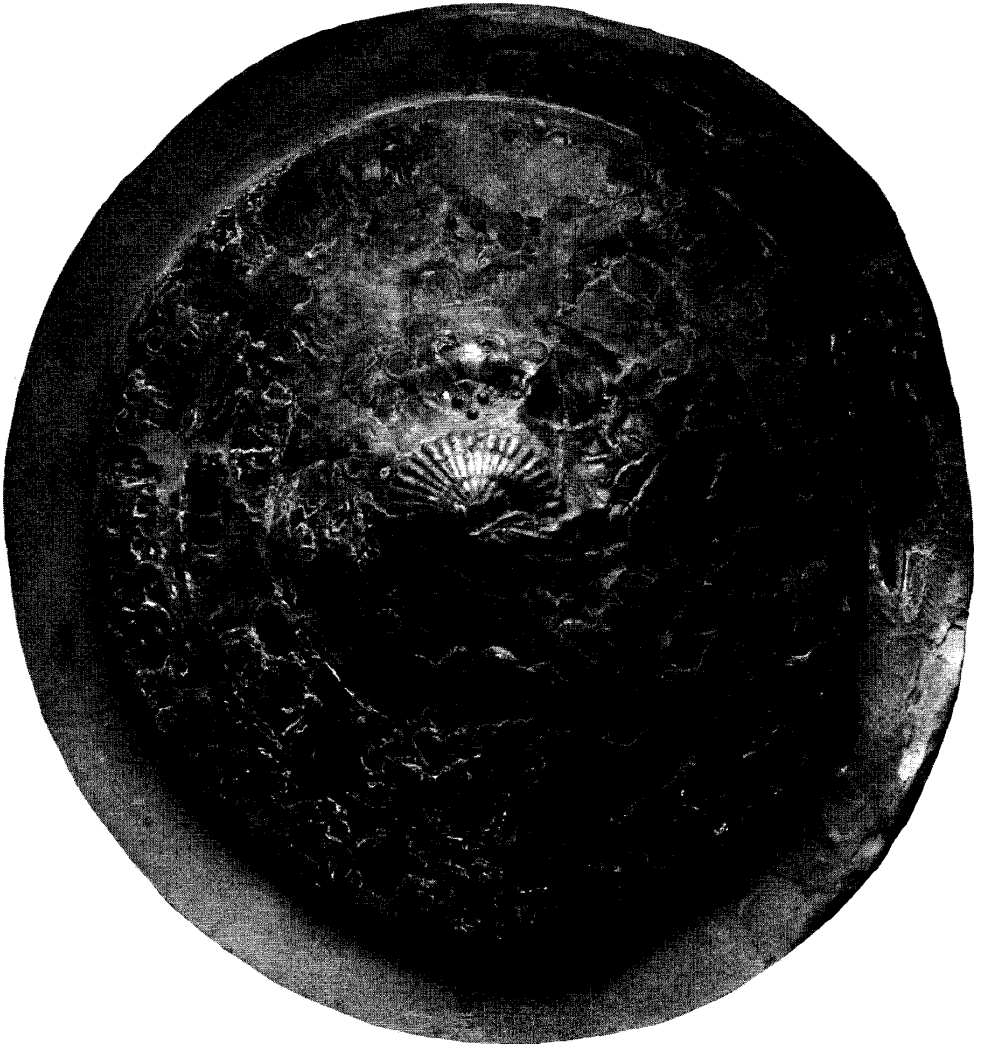

Plate 56. Bronze shield from Toprak-kale in the British Museum (B.M. 22481), from the reign of Rusa III, 629–615 B.C. (Diameter 85.2 cm.) [Photo courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.]

Plate 57:A. Detail of plate 56. [Photo courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.]

Plate 57:B. Detail of plate 56. [Photo courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.]

Plate 58:A. Bronze shield from Toprak-kale in the British Museum (B.M. 22482), from the reign of Rusa III, 629–615 B.C. (Diameter 77 cm.) [Photo courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.]

Plate 58:B. Detail of plate 58:A. [Photo courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.]

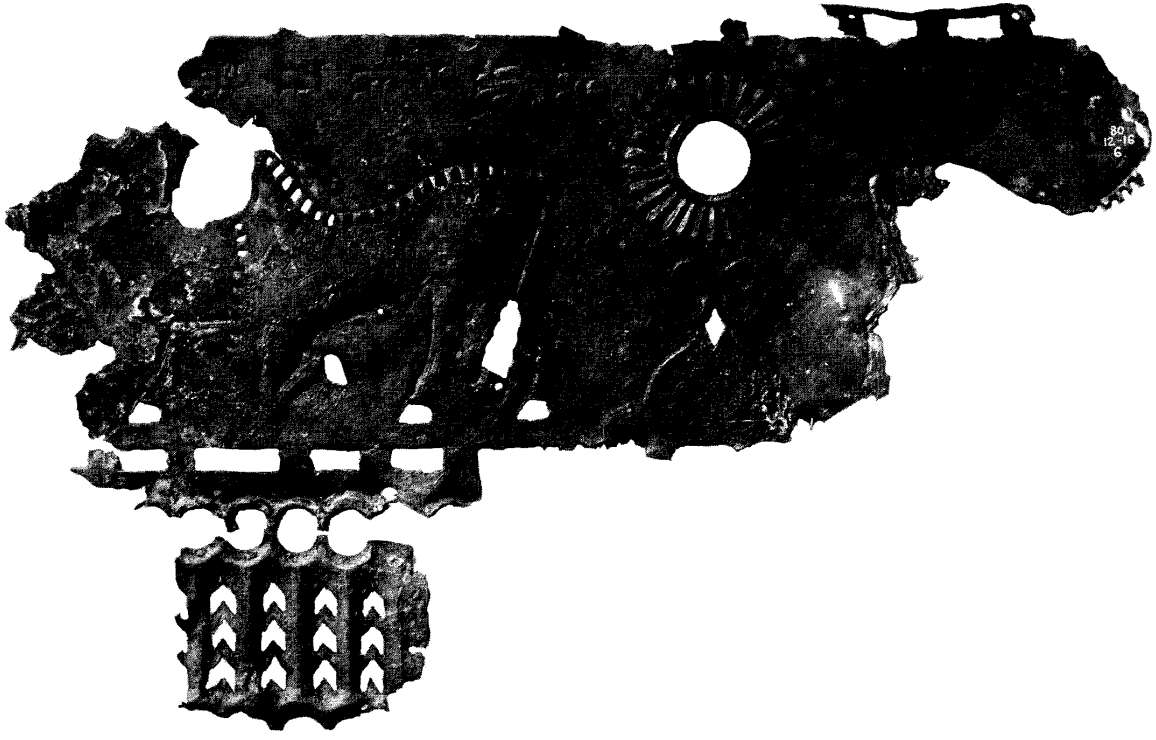

Plate 59. Bronze openwork frieze from Toprak-kale in the British Museum (B.M. 91209), from the reign of Rusa III, 629–615 B.C. [Photo courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.]

INDEX