

SOCIOPOLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF
THE ARCHITECTURE OF NORTHERN URARTU
AND URARTIAN WRITTEN SOURCES

by

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Abstract

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The socio-political history of Urartu (a powerful kingdom in the first millennium B.C.) occupies an important place in the systematic study of social, political, and economic development of Ancient Near Eastern civilizations. As no comprehensive studies of this subject have ever been undertaken, especially in Western anthropological or historical literature, this paper represents a preliminary reconstruction of Urartian social structure within a chronological framework, by appealing to the archaeological and textual data. In order to limit the area of discussion, only architectural remains from Northern Urartu are considered. First, several distinct architectural types are extracted from the corpus of architectural material which are accepted as indicative of levels of social differentiation. Textual data are treated in a similar manner: social groupings are extracted from inscriptions according to context. Architectural and textual information is then correlated with attention to chronological developments. Tentative conclusions are drawn, related to the social structure and its political implications on the periphery of the state, and how the peripheral status influenced these. Further areas of research are suggested.

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To the memory of A.A. Martirosjan.

"Ergo si his rationibus ad singulorum generum personas, uti in libro primo de decore est scriptum, ita disposita erunt aedificia, non erit quod reprehendatur; habebunt enim ad omnes res commodas et emendatas explicationes. Earum autem rerum non solum erunt in urbe aedificiorum rationes, sed etiam ruri..."
(Vitruvius, De Architectura, Liber Sextus, V. 3)

Introduction

1. Introduction

Since the early nineteenth century there has been a growing interest evident on the part of Western scholars in the evolution of social systems and human culture in general. The present age has witnessed a culmination of this interest spanning through many fields previously not touched by such concerns. The scope of research has greatly expanded in this area and in some cases eradicated the boundaries between natural and social sciences. At the present, a coherent approach to the development and evolution of social systems holds not only theoretical interest, but possibilities of implementation in the sphere of policy decisions affecting the so-called third world countries. One of the fields to have been greatly affected by the above reorientations is archaeology. As part of anthropology it has been undergoing great identity crises having to do with its role in the study of human society along the entire spacio-temporal spectrum. The ancient Near East as the seat of earliest civilizations has become the object of renewed interest and fertile ground for research using different methodologies and ideologies. Despite major efforts of great numbers of archaeologists and linguists to piece together a coherent picture of the ancient Near East some periods and areas have remained as dark spots, at least as far as Western scholarship is concerned. Leo Oppenheim has perhaps best expressed some of the questions facing the field,

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"Practically untouched remains, finally, the problem of interrelating Mesopotamian civilization to the world around it, whether it was giving or taking. These relations materialize on many levels, such as domesticated plants, animals, heat technology (from copper to grit), tools, weapons, crafts, architecture, and communication techniques, and are in evidence in varying degrees of intensity and opposing direction from the fourth millennium B.C. into the beginning of the first A.D. Archaeology and philology have to combine forces to trace such connections, and the field of work will have to extend from Lybia to the Pamir and from the Caspian sea to the courses of the Nile." (Oppenheim, 1960).

Oppenheim's words become particularly relevant in light of the small place devoted to the study of Urartu in American anthropological literature. Urartu, a major power bordering on Assyria in the first millennium B.C. and a predecessor of the Achaemenid empire, at one time extended from the Black Sea to the headwaters of the Euphrates and from the Caspian Sea to central Iran. Study of Urartu, with its interaction sphere encompassing Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, could greatly deepen the understanding of interactive mechanisms and political relations in the ancient Near East as a whole. Unfortunately, the limited scope of the work undertaken here will do very little to accomplish this and fill the deficiency. Instead it will try to deal with the material already present and to some extent worked over by Soviet scholarship. There are various reasons for doing this, the most important of these is the fact that Soviet scholars have done a great deal of work in the area of understanding the Urartian society, and it has to be taken into

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account if any serious study is to be undertaken. This is not to say that other specialists have not contributed their share in Urartology. The first archaeologist to attract attention to Urartian remains was F.E. Shulz from the French archaeological mission. He carefully described the monumental citadel of Van (on the eastern shore of Lake Van) in the late 1820's. Following Shulz, people like Cleyton, Rassam, Lake, Lehmann-Haupt, Belk, Marr, and Orbeli, all carried out fragmentary archaeological works in Turkey. The study of the Urartian written sources developed somewhat separately from the archaeological, not uncharacteristic of the rest of the Near East. Thanks to the work of such scholars as Friedrich, Goetze, Sayce, Nikolskij, Meščaninov, Tseretheli, Kapancjan, Konig and finally Melikišvili and D'jakonov, the language became basically readable and understandable.(1)

Comprehensive systematic excavations of Urartian sites, however, have only taken place in the last 20-30 years. The territory of Urartu lies across the boundaries of Turkey, Iran, and Soviet Armenia. Archaeologists in all these countries have done some work on Urartian materials. Impressive surveys and detailed excavations of the area near Bastam by the lake Urmia region have been carried out by W. Kleiss. In Turkey, Erzen's work on Rusahinili and Ozguc's on Altin-Tepe particularly stand

(1) For a complete history of Urartology see Piotrovskij's "Kingdom of Van".

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out. By far the most extensive and consistent uncovering of Urartian sites coupled with documentary research has been conducted in the Soviet Union.

In 1939 the excavations of Karmir-Blur (Teišebaini) began under the direction of B.B. Piotrovskij. After over 20 seasons, the expedition uncovered one of the richest Urartian citadels, and representative sections of the adjoining settlement. Excavations at Karmir-Blur, for the first time, gave a complete contextual picture of Urartian material culture and yielded a great deal of information regarding the status of Teisebaini and other Urartian centers. In 1950, under the direction of K. Oganessian and the consultation of Piotrovskij, the excavations at Arin-Berd (Erebuni) began, which gave a great deal of information on Urartian citadel architecture. Presently the uncovering of the hill of St. David (Argištiḫinili) and its adjoining area is continued by a group from the archaeology Institute of the Academy of Sciences of Armenian SSR. Until 1977 the expedition was headed by A.A. Martirosian. The work on the site has resulted in important discoveries of socio-economic divisions in Urartian administrative centers. The results have also been relatively well published, which is not always the case with the work from other areas. Despite this, the ample Urartian data have found very little reflection or response in the theoretical works of American anthropologists.(2) The following work is an

(2) This may be the result of the language barrier.

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attempt at a preliminary reconstruction of a socio-political picture of Urartian towns based primarily and most importantly on the work of Soviet scholars in the area, whether they be archaeologists or linguists.

In treating the particular topic of this paper, an attempt is made to draw attention to the range of the material available in the hopes that it will be helpful to others in further study. This, however, necessarily limits the area under consideration to the territory of Soviet Armenia: Lake Sevan and Ararat valley regions. The three sites considered in some detail will be Erebuni, Argištihinili and Karmir-Blur.

It is not possible in a work of this scale to draw on the entire corpus of Urartian material artifacts, which is voluminous. Therefore, architectural remains are treated as primary sources of archaeological evidence and other material data are referred to in a supplementary way. This kind of an approach is, first of all, warranted by the nature of the excavated material. With the exception of Karmir-Blur, other Urartian sites have yielded little apart from architectural remains and a great number of Urartian objects appear without context in museums. While within the Urartian sequence periodization based on ceramic material has as yet not been satisfactorily worked out, archaeologists have had some success with dating the masonry (Martirosian, 1975; Kleiss, 1974). Finally, as a first order approximation, architectural differences provide a great deal of information.

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Martirosian has been very successful in painting a socio-economic picture of the town of Argištihinili precisely by resorting to architecture. It is hoped that this work, by expanding Martirosian's approach, and applying it to other sites in Northern Urartu, will gain a more complete picture of this area and its relationship to the other parts of the state.

When analyzing the remains in Transcaucasia, it should be kept in mind that it is a northern periphery of Urartu, which raises some questions as to the standing of the frontiers with respect to the core, which will be touched upon in the course of the paper. In the presentation of the data, references are made to excavated sites in other parts of Urartu, to suggest the possible range of applicability of the later analysis and to make sure that anomalous features are not treated as typical or vice-versa. No discussion of socio-political questions can do without appealing to economic factors. In this sense, "socio-political" in the title is understood implicitly to contain "economic". An explicitly economic study, on the other hand, requires a different approach incorporating ecological factors, agricultural practices(3) , population estimates,

(3) How economic practices found their reflection in social institutions (e.g., law) is of special interest, and to date has found no successful resolution in the literature. As a curious example, consider the cases of Hittite laws, where it is specified that acquisitions of new land holdings have to be accomplished by clearing new land and second sowings of land is forbidden (pp 166-167 of Nikolskij's "Hittite Laws"). Both of these laws are clearly associated with extensive agricultural practices, but persist through the times of intensive irrigation agriculture.

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ethnographic data on productivity levels associated with different kinds of social organization (tribal, extended family, etc)(4) , and so on, not dealt with in this work.

The very title of this work "Socio-political Implications of Urartian Architecture..." prepares for a logical jump from the formal to the functional. Every archaeologist constantly makes such leaps (on different scales) in the course of his work. When an archaeologist is faced with something that looks like what we commonly call a pot, he calls it a pot and ascribes to it the function of what we know as pots. The leap on this level is often accomplished subconsciously. On the scale of formal-functional transitions encountered in archaeology, one that is most difficult to substantiate but is at the same time very necessary for an archaeologist that fancies himself a social scientist is of the order about to be undertaken in this work. Different anthropologists explain their formal-functional leaps, quite consciously, in different ways. Some, for example, claim that things happened a certain way because they couldn't have happened otherwise given certain ecological limitations (independent variables), mechanisms of behavior, etc.(5) The approach taken here is most traditional, currently not very

(4) Studies of this nature are very problematic.

(5) Actually these anthropologists either avoid the usage of the term 'political' altogether, because the very word implies conscious motivation, which their behavioristic deterministic models do not allow; or use it in a very particularistic, almost unique static sense, unknown to political science.

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popular among more 'sophisticated' archaeologists. It appeals to history, to the written sources of the people talking of themselves, of their neighbors. Underlying this is a basic assumption of constancy of human cognitive processes throughout history. As a result, in some instances, the society in question is inevitably imparted with motivations, foresight, and planning capacities which flow from current orientations and may have nothing to do with Urartian ethos. In order to curtail this, most careful analyses and comparative studies of written sources is necessary. However, given the fragmentary nature of Urartian inscriptions, it cannot be avoided entirely.

Behind the particular approach taken here in re constructing socio-political relations is the belief that a) archaeology is an historical field; b) there is a basic similarity in the method and methodology of treating archaeological material whether from the prehistoric or historic era for this purpose (Masson, 1976, p. 13); and c) there's a possibility of extracting sociological information from written sources.

The organization of this work reflects its purpose. Parts two and three concentrate on extracting general settlement types from the archaeological remains of Urartian centers in the Ararat valley, and social groupings from the written sources, respectively. Part four, on the other hand, tries to tie these together into a preliminary socio-political picture and to deal with existing theories. Appendix I contains a chronology of

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Urartian kings. Appendix II is a chronology of contemporary Assyrian kings. The transcription used in the work is that of the authors quoted. In quoting the Urartian sources, the transcription used is that of the sources quoted. In order to avoid confusion, the Urartian texts are presented in the transcription of the authors quoted, which is why one and the same word may appear in two different forms. Standard linguistic transcription is used everywhere else, where a different alphabet is involved.

The biggest problem in studying Urartu as a whole is getting at the sources of published materials. It is hoped that the nearly complete subject bibliography in the back will be of some help to the students of Urartu in the future.

2. Distribution and Structure of Urartian Sites

The territory of the Urartian kingdom during most of its history was centered around a roughly triangular area defined by the three lakes -- Sevan on the north, Van on the west, and Urmia to the east. This area is characterized by its rugged, mountainous terrain and semi-arid environment, although there is a great deal of variation from region to region. The elaborate network of streams and rivers associated with the lakes and adjacent watersheds (including head waters of the Tigris and Euphrates) renders the valleys and foothills particularly

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attractive for cultivation. Both lakes Van and Urmia (1720 and 1250 meters above sea level, respectively), although not suited for irrigation (one being too sodic and the other too salty) have numerous streams, brooks and rivers draining into them. Van alone has about 30 such fresh water feeders. Lake Sevan is fresh water and the river Razdan flows from it. The Umešini (Ecmiazin) canal built originally by Urartians from this river is still heavily used.

The densest Urartian settlement clusters are found in and around the valleys of watercourses. Fortresses, strategically located on tops of topographical summits occur most frequently. At least five large fortress-towns towered over the Araxes river valley: Erebuni, Teišebaini, Kiz-Kalesi, Werachram, and Argištiḫinili. Numerous smaller fortresses were built throughout the area as well: Kale Gavur, Kamo, Covinar, Aragac and many others. Haftavan and a number of smaller Urartian sites commanded the Salmas plain; Čavuş Tepe - the lower Hosap valley; Aznavour Tepe - the Patnos valley; Altin-Tepe - the Erzincan plain; Qalatgah and Taš-Tepe - the Ušnu and Solduz valleys.

The area around the city of Van and to the east of it is known for its mild climate, fertile soil and Mediterranean vegetation. Presently grain fields, orchards and vineyards cover the countryside. In general, however, the climate in the lowlands is hot and dry. According to Arutjunjan, intensive cultivation in these areas is impossible without artificial

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irrigation. (Arutjunjan, 1964, p 11). Burney is not as definite on the matter, although he agrees that the yield of the land could be greatly increased. (Burney, 1972).

The highlands are poorly forested, but have fertile soils. Cultivation of millet, wheat and barley is feasible up to heights of 2600 m, despite the lengthy winter. Pasture land is ample, making animal husbandry feasible. According to Piotrovskij, exclusive lowland-agriculture and highland-animal husbandry specialization is not encountered. (Piotrovskij, 1959, p 133).

Recent surveys conducted by W. Kleiss (Kleiss, 1971-1976), the Hasanlu Project (Burney, 1972), and teams of Soviet Archaeologists have revealed an overwhelming preponderance of Urartian fortresses of all shapes and sizes. Sometimes they are associated with a settlement, sometimes not. Illustrations 21-23 show the plans of some of these uncovered by W. Kleiss in the Urmia region. All have heavy protective walls and rectangular free standing or agglomerate units within. Some, like Qaleh Ođlu, represent empty shells with rooms built around the inner perimeter. Larger settlements, or towns, were organized about a focal point, the citadel, perched on top of a natural elevation. A thick fortified stone wall or series of walls separated the citadel from the rest of the settlement. Adjoining it, on the descending slopes stretched the 'upper city' surrounded by a town wall. The settlements of the 'lower city' radiated away from the hill slowly blending with the countryside -- orchards, vineyards,

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balcas and cultivated fields. In order to render the steep slopes suitable for construction, they were often terraced. However, in many cases, houses were carved straight into the hill. Once the streets of a settlement were laid out to allow wheeled traffic, every attempt was made to accommodate the terrain rather than try to modify it. Restricted by the straight lines of the streets and irregular ground surface, the settlements grew in agglutinative fashion through addition of irregular units. The foundations for the buildings were often laid out using huge rough basalt rocks. Well dressed stones, volcanic rock and bricks were used extensively for the walls of more prestigious constructions. Mud brick and pebbles are often encountered in association with smaller dwellings. W. Kleiss has described the Urartian wall systems in some detail with special attention devoted to their construction techniques and materials. (Kleiss, 1971-1976).

The hillsides were also used as burial grounds. Large tomb chambers were cut into the mountain as Illustration 17 demonstrates. In many cases the contents of these graves have been subject to extensive looting. Despite this, the recovered remains testify to the economic well-being of their occupants. Impressive finds of skillfully worked metal armour, exquisite pottery, decorative cult objects and jewelry are known from Teiṣebaini, Altin-Tepe, Toprak Kale and other areas.

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Less well-endowed graves were dug out on the peripheries of settlements. At Argištiḫinili a number of burials consisting of nothing but bodies in large pithoi were unearthed (Martirosian, 1972, p 48). A more detailed presentation of architectural forms discernible in Urartu towns and their organization is given below.

Citadel. A single most characteristic and defining architectural feature of the Urartu sites is the citadel. The main components of a citadel remain relatively constant from site to site. Huge powerful structures and service areas are arranged about a vast courtyard. The area of most citadels well exceeds 1000 sq. m.. The courtyard alone at Argištiḫinili is about 700 sq. m.. Palacial structures and temples are housed within the fortified walls. One or two courts serve as the pivotal areas around which the subsidiary palacial rooms are arranged. Illustration 3 demonstrates the arrangement of the palace at Arin-Berd (Erebuni), which occupies the northeastern end of the citadel. The original 8th century B.C. composition of the palace has the peristyle hall as the nucleus of its ceremonial, official halls and a northern court around which are clustered the living quarters. Separation of the living quarters from rooms with official or cult functions is retained even in one-court palaces. At Argištiḫinili (Ill. 4) the living chambers are situated to the north of the court, whereas "reception" areas, including a columned hall, are to the east. Huge, pillared storage rooms

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bearing the remnants of large wine pithoi (200 of them) were uncovered at the southern end of the court. A similar, but two story complex was also found at Haftavan. During the reign of Sarduri II, the columned halls at Erebuni and Argištiḫinili were converted into wine-keeping facilities. Vast grain storerooms were built facing a yard separating the palace area from other citadel structures at Argištiḫinili. The floor space of one of these is 300 sq. m. Extrapolating from similar granaries discovered at Teisebaini, they probably exceeded 10 m in height. According to Martirosian's calculations the minimal storage capacity of granaries from the Sarduri II's period was 5000 tons, and wineries between 40,000 and 50,000 liters. (Martirosian, 1974, p 136). According to cuneiform inscriptions, there were at least six granaries built in Erebuni. (UKN, Nos.419-423).

An inscription mentioning the constructions of Haldinini KA (gates of Haldi) was found in the northeastern part of the citadel. It was discovered before a rectangular building with a heavy bolted stone door, which Martirosian takes to be the temple precinct.(6) (Martirosian, 1974, p 84) Besides the inscription, there is nothing implicit in the architecture to suggest that this is a temple. Martirosian himself admits that the Eastern citadel on the Armavir hill was most probably devoted almost exclusively to sacred functions and housed all the temples. A

(6) Haldinini KA has conventionally been translated to mean a temple devoted to Haldi. The position taken here is more in agreement with Tarhan et al. (Tarhan, Sevin, 1975, pp 389-412)

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number of Urartian inscriptions were scattered on the Western Armavir hill, all relating to the construction of sanctuaries. That the eastern hill retained its status as a sacred precinct in the later Achaemenid, Hellenic, and Early Christian periods would seem to imply that it served a similar function in the Urartian period. The preservation of the sanctity of a given location is a widely observed phenomenon throughout the history of Asia Minor and the Near East. Thus, though it is very likely that there were indeed temples and sanctuaries on the Armavir hill during the Urartian period, there is no direct archaeological evidence for them. At the same time, if the sacred area was separated from the main citadel and located on a different hill, it is possible that there was segregation of functions and the western citadel did not include a temple at all. In that case the term *Haldinini KÁ* may not apply to a temple as such, but to a gate, free standing or part of another structure, not necessarily a temple, before which sacrifices were performed. There are examples of statuettes from north-eastern Armenia of 2 millennium B.C., showing sacrifices performed in front of gates under the open sky. (Esajan, 1975).

Whereas at Arin-Berd, Altin-Tepe, and Bastam, the walled in citadel area is covered with free standing asymmetrically arranged buildings, Teisebaini is a single extensive structure with separate rooms and open areas. Oganessian sees these differences as stages in a slow developmental sequence leading to

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the establishment of an architectural canon of Urartian citadels (Oganesjan, 1955, p 79). Indeed, Erebuni, the earliest among the Ararat valley citadels, appears to be most asymmetric and Teišebaini is certainly highly integrated. (Ills. 3 and 5). At Erebuni, according to Oganesjan,

"...all the rooms of the embryonic nucleus of the citadel, not yet having [acquired] sharp compositional orientation, are freely added to the citadel walls... in its further and gradual development this nucleus leads to definite principles of citadel construction, where the free standing constructions were included into the fortress walls. Thus being located on slopes, the structure acquired step-like transitions of architectural form, which was first of all determined by the mountainous terrain, where the Urartians built their cities." (Ibid.)(7)

Religious compounds are sometimes found in the citadels. Frequently, they appear as special shrine rooms in the palaces with sacrificial niches, bearing traces of burnt offerings. These are known from the palaces at Teišebaini, Arin-Berd, and Altin-Tepe. There are also free-standing temples. At least five different terms - É (house, temple), É.BAR (temple), iarani (shrine), šištili (gates of [god]) and Susi - referring to religious buildings are often employed in Urartian texts. Archaeologically most readily identifiable are 'Susi' temples. It has to be emphasized, however, that material on Urartu temples has been very poorly published. Well known from literature are

(7) All the foreign language texts herein are translated by the author, unless otherwise specified.

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the 'Šištili'(8) and 'Susi' found at Arin-Berd. The plan of the Susi temple at Erebuni is shown on Illustration 3. Located at the south-eastern end of the peristyle court, its entrance faces the porticoes and waiting rooms of the large hall at the other end of the court. The outer perimeter is defined by solid geometric lines and only the part of the facade which held the door is set back. Well cut stone socle supported the mud brick walls, much like the temple of Altin-Tepe. The outside of the temple was painted blue with a frieze running along the walls. The interior was adorned with frescoes. Again close parallels are apparent with Altin-Tepe, where fragments of colorful wall paintings were discovered. In contrast to the surrounding palacial structure, the temple 'Susi' stands out as a static mass. Immediately to the right of the Susi temple were situated five identical interconnected rooms, facing the peristyle court and the temple. Because of their location and orientation, Oganessian views them as functionally connected with the temple. Eleven pithoi of 600 liter capacity each were found buried in the room at the northeast corner of the court in line with the other five rooms. According to Oganessian the contents of these pithoi must have been used for religious rituals since none of them bore any inscriptions marking the volume as is the case with the pithoi found in storage rooms of Urartian citadels (Oganessian,

(8) Oganessian thinks the temple of Haldi is a šištili [=KA] (Oganessian, 1961, p 32)

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1961, p 43). All the rooms along the western edge of the court, including the columned hall were brightly decorated with wall paintings and lined with long wooden columns, thus imparting a certain verticality to the spaces. Oganessian sees these as designated for official functions. At Altin-Tepe, "[the] temple and courtyard are not a free-standing unit, but part of the larger palace complex. Three rectangular rooms are built along the west side of the courtyard, linked to each other by interior doorways and to the courtyard by a single central door.... The three west rooms were undoubtedly used in connection with cult ceremonies. (Özgüç, 1966). There are many parallels in construction details of Arin-Berd and Altin-Tepe. In both cases, for example, the hill had been properly levelled prior to construction.

The most central complex in the citadel at Arin-Berd is the temple of Haldi located to the right of the palace structure and facing the large citadel yard. Twelve columns on the facade gave the structure a light yet majestic appearance (Oganessian, 1961, p 38). The defining feature of this structure is the elongated rectangular sanctuary reminiscent of Mesopotamian sacred buildings (Mellowan, 1965). Adjoining it were two rooms. One had a staircase leading to a tower, roof or an upper story. The floors were covered with regularly placed pieces of wood remarkably reminiscent of parquet.

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Based on his findings, Oganessian identifies two types of temple structures: a rectangular plan with an entrance in the center of the shorter leg, which defines its facade; and the other with its entrance in the longer leg of the rectangle. The temples at Toprak-Kale, Werachram, and Muşasir(9) would fall into the first category. Though basically in agreement with this kind of classification W. Kleiss introduces somewhat different criteria:

"An urartäischen Tempeln ist bisher nur eine Grundrissform in 5 Exemplaren, nämlich die des quadratischen Tempels mit Eckvorlagen, bekannt geworden, der auf Grund starker Wände (2,25-4,35m) bei relativ geringen Aussenabmessungen (10,00-13,80m) als Turmtempel rekonstruiert wird, wobei entweder ein Flachdach mit Ecktürmen, oder ein flaches Zeltdach angenommen werden...

Eine zweite Form des urartäischen Tempels scheint durch ein assyrisches Relief überliefert, das die Plunderung des Haldi-Tempels in der Stadt Musasir durch Assyrer 714 v. Chr. darstellt. Hier sind sechs Pfeiler oder Pilaster an der Eingansfassade eines auf hohem Sockel errichteten flachen Bauwerks mit Giebel oder Zeltdach dargestellt, das durch ein Lanzenakroter überragt wird. Die quadratischen Tempel mit ebensolchen Cellae von 5 x 5 m bis 5,30 x 5,30 lichter. Weite enthielten ein Podist and der dem Eingang gegenüberliegenden Wand. Vor dem Tempel war ein Opferaltar errichtet und waren Weihgeschenke aufgestellt. Der Tempel ist in räumlichem Zusammenhang mit einem Platz. Zu sehen, der von Gebäuden oder Hallen in Hofform umgeben war." (Kleiss, 1976).

No architecturally defined temple precinct was identified at Teisebaini. Illustration 5 shows the tightly integrated arrangement of the rooms. Judging from the findings in these

(9) Muşasir Temple is known for the relief on the Balawat Gates of Sargon II.

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rooms, most of them were designed for household functions. Wine and grain pithoi, supplies of meat (cow and horse), fruit, cloth, leather, metal and clay pots, etc., recovered in storerooms, speak of the wide range of economic activity at the citadel. (Piotrovskij, 1970). Piotrovskij and Oganessian are eager to see a temple having been incorporated into the Teišebaini citadel. Piotrovskij would locate it on the second floor of the 'palace'. From the multilevel citadel represented on the Muşaşir relief (Ill. 24), he proposes that Teišebaini had at least one upper story, especially given the extremely solid structure of the lower walls and remnants of stairs and ladders. Numerous votive statuettes, remains of frescoes with religious motifs, a huge kettle resembling the ones on the Horasabad relief and other objects with possible cult meaning found on the territory of Karmir-Blur would tend to support his theory (Piotrovskij, 1970). Oganessian feels that sacred rituals could be performed in specially designated areas of the storage areas thus integrating household and cult functions (Oganessian, 1955, p 33). Written records of Rusa II speak of erecting two large 'Susi' temples at Teišebaini (Arutjunjan, 1966).

Most Urartian citadels are equipped with elaborate water systems, underground canals, cisterns, drainage pipes. At least two drainage canals were installed at Arin-Berd: one under a peristyle court; the other by the temple of Haldi. A similar drainage system was found by the cellar at Altin Tepe. A large

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cistern and series of canals along and under the walls served to satisfy the water needs of Bastam. Some citadels have large tunnels burrowed into the rock leading to fresh water sources. 1976 excavations at Erebuni revealed a tunnel leading from the storage room area very similar to the one at Bastam. The east citadel at Argištihinili is covered with canals for water supply and drainage. Deep caves, some of which are man made, about the east citadel were probably used for cult rituals as were the ones found on the cliff of Tušpa, Toprak Kale and Bastam.

Living Quarters. Immediately beyond the walls of the citadel spread the settlements of the inhabitants of the Urartian centers. Two or three room complexes often cluster about the solid citadel wall, sometimes using it as a support. These very rarely have regular outlines, instead they are molded by the landscape and the curves of the citadel walls. Further down, two or three room complexes organized about a courtyard are often encountered. Illustration 9 is Oganessian's reconstruction of the possible 'nucleation and growth' of such units outside the walls of Karmir Blur. Similar constructions are known from Toprak Kale, Bastam, Werachram and other areas. One of the rooms is usually equipped with a hearth and grinding stones. Artifacts frequently encountered in these houses comprise a small, consistent inventory of cooking pots, grinding stones, household tools and implements. According to Oganessian, the yards were partially covered and used, among other things as animal stalls

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(Ill. 23). According to his calculations, some of the 'fenced in areas' could hold up to six goats or sheep. These houses usually had one storage room, and often had a large pithos in the yard, for holding water. Sometimes, little statues of household deities were arranged around a small shrine in the yard. The average area of a two room unit with a yard is slightly below one hundred square meters (e.g., at Karmir Blur). The building materials used range from well-dressed rocks to mudbrick and pebbles.

In this context it is appropriate to mention the housing units found on the territory of the west Argištiḫinili citadel. Basically, constructed after the reign of Sarduri II, these fall into two categories. The first constitutes a series of squarish rooms built using the walls of the monumental structures already present in the central yard of the citadel.

They are all standard size, (4.85m x 4.00m), and have individual entrances from the east. Construction methods and materials used in each case are : solid mud brick on top of stone socle. The rooms are not provided with any storage facilities. The material remains are limited to grinding stones, one or two bowls, two pithoi (presumably for wine and grain) and a pot for water. A few spearheads, remains of leather shield covers, and fragments of other weapons, were scattered on the territory of some of the rooms.

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The dwellings of the second category are found on the territory of the citadel proper, as well as in the open space between the second and third row of protective walls encircling the citadel. These houses are totally subordinate to the perimeters of large structures. They are built from pebbles and mudbrick with no regard for regularity of lines and forms. The material remains from these houses encompass a variety of objects, reflecting a wide range of functions. Bone tools, potters' wheels, iron door latches, shell decorations, miniature vessels of fine workmanship, chicken bones, dove feathers, grape pips, pear pits, knife sharpeners, decorative pottery along with standard grain grinders, pots and pans, agricultural tools, pithoi for storage and flour wells paint a vivid picture of activities and lifestyle of the inhabitants (Martirosian, 1974, pp 95-97).

At about this same time houses of this type appear on the territory of Urartian citadels throughout the kingdom. Substantial sections of Toprak Kale, Bastam, Werachram, Erebuni and others are built over. As a result of these additions and aggregate mode of construction around the citadels, a strict definition of a single living unit is somewhat problematic even when carefully excavated. As Kleiss notes: "Urartäische Siedlungen zeichnen sich durch annähernd parallele Lage der Gebäude aus, durch eine mehr oder minder rechteckige Ausrichtung will in Bastam und Karmir Blur, obwohl die einzelnen Häuser der

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Siedlung durch standiges Anbauen von Räumen an Schon bestehende Räume agglutinierend gewachsen sind" (Kleiss, 1976).

Along with other dwellings at Karmir Blur there were discovered one and two room constructions somewhat different from other Urartian complexes. The building materials and planning bore great resemblance to the pre-Urartian structures of the same site. They were built of a pebble and clay slurry mixture and contained a single rectangular room with three round central columns upholding the roof and an oven in one of the corners of the house. The overwhelming majority of ceramic remnants were identical or very similar to local ceramic types known in the area beginning in the third millennium B.C. (Martirosian, 1961, p 120). Only a small number of Urartian sherds was present.

Excavations at Argištiḫinili and Teišebaini have also revealed a number of free standing houses. At least fifty individual monumental houses dominated the rocky terrain of the 'upper city' ('inner city') to the east of the west citadel of Argištiḫinili. Only a fraction of these, however, are satisfactorily preserved. Their solid, thick mudbrick walls rising over well dressed stone socle, emphasized the independent nature of the houses. Illustrations 2 and 8 show the lay-out of two of these houses (note the steps in the walls). Large 'receiving rooms' constituted the core of the houses. Adjoining them are smaller domestic chambers. Most of the buildings are equipped with vast storage areas (for grain and wine) and stalls

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able to hold anywhere from twenty to sixty small animals, such as sheep or goats. Columned reception halls', not unlike those of the palaces, appear quite frequently. The uncovered houses range from 250 sq. meters to 760 sq. meters in area. Dimensions, floor plan and details of construction at Argištiḫinili are consistent with those reconstructed in other parts of Urartu, with some variation (compare Ill. 8 with Kleiss' restorations from Bastam, Ill. 15). At Argištiḫinili this type of house is not restricted to the walled-in 'upper city' but extends far to the periphery of the 'lower city'. As a matter of fact two of the largest wine storage rooms (belonging to a house) were sited at the very outskirts of the settlement. Here, two houses shared between them twenty-one thousand-liter pithoi. Similar pillared wineries were uncovered by Kleiss at Bastam. At Karmir Blur the multi-unit complex was found to contain eleven six-hundred-liter pithoi. However, pithoi were not only used for wine or grain. In house No.3 at Argištiḫinili a pithos was filled with potters' tools. The occupants here also must have participated extensively in military activities judging from the amount of armour, shields, spears, etc., found (Martirosian, 1974, pp. 109-113).

The finds in house No.1 (christened 'the house of the medic' by Martirosian) are particularly curious. (Ill. 7) Amidst the usual household debris, the excavations revealed a number of miniature vessels ranging from 5 to 8.5 cm in diameter and 2 to 4

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cm in height. They could all be sorted out into three or four standardized shapes and sizes. The results of the final analysis revealed that twenty out of twenty one wild animal species identified on the territory of Argištihinili were recovered from house No.1. The local villagers, when asked, attributed a definite medicinal or cosmetic value to every member of a species. The 'medic's house' had a large flour room and an eighteen pithoi wine cellar. (Ibid, pp. 119-131).

Although somewhat different in construction, the two houses discovered across the street from each other at Teisebaini should be described at this point. These are large multi-room complexes, approximately 400 sq. meters in area with living quarters and storage areas. In details they imitate the Teisebaini citadel architecture, with floors lined with basalt, large pylons upholding the roof, rectangular rooms with pithoi and other pottery. Some of the central areas of these houses had built-in benches which exhibit signs of once being stuccoed. Some of the rooms were probably used to house animals: cattle, sheep and goats. The houses contain ovens, a corpus of all kinds of ceramic material, reflecting different purposes: anywhere from cooking, storing food and drink to ornamental, decorative types. One of the houses appears to have been partitioned in its later history. Bone remnants of wide variety were recovered from the floors of the houses. The individuals included *Bos taurus*, *Bos indicus*, *Capra domestica*, *Sus scrofa*, *Bos bubalis*, *Canis*, *Equus*

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(Martirosian, 1961, p 123). According to Martirosian, the two excavated houses are representative of quite a number of free standing houses scattered all over the site. A 1947 aerial photograph showed that some number of these houses were located at the crossing of the two main streets of the town (Ibid,p.125).

On the territory of the 'outer city' at Teiṣebaini a unique compound house was discovered. The single 62m x 33m building is a complex of four identical individual eleven room units with separate entrances.

High quality ceramics, ornamental ritual items, metal bowls, finely carved stone, delicate metal work and jewelry are some of the objects associated with the above houses.

Throughout their existence of approximately two hundred years some of the houses underwent a great deal of reconstruction. A number of spatial halls were turned into storage rooms or stalls and houses were partitioned into smaller quarters. A house uncovered in 1977, however shows a reverse tendency. During its existence units were added to the house and no internal divisions took place.

From the above and necessarily quick survey, it would appear that Urartian towns are characterized by five types of architectural complexes: the palace, the temple, large house, small dwelling, single room units. The inner configuration and definition of space remain constant, while dimension and elaboration vary. Thus, for example, a palace is a large (and

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more complicated) house and a citadel-- an even larger and more complicated house, with the "city" being the culmination of this hierarchy. The citadel is articulated most strongly by its location (usually on a peak), and massive protective walls. The 'inner city' lower than the citadel is also accented by its wall, whereas the rest of the settlement slowly diffuses into the surrounding countryside. This is of course a synthetic maquette and not totally applicable to individual instances. But the variations themselves are significant and will be discussed in greater detail below. In order to avoid the repetition of cumbersome phrases, large houses of the Argištihinili - Teišebaini type will be referred to simply as 'houses' or 'villa-type houses', and the smaller dwellings -- simply as 'dwellings'.

Before proceeding any further, however, it is important to note that the architectural forms appear in an historical (temporal) context which shall be discussed in more detail presently. Above, the Urartian towns were presented with only minimal attention to chronology. This is not accidental. The Archaeological periodization of Urartu sites has rarely been satisfactorily worked out. Often the inscriptions of the kings are the only clues to the founding of the city or the introduction of new structures. In other cases 'earlier' or 'later' is as concrete as the published reports would care (or afford) to be.

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With this in mind some notes will be included here to give a general idea of the relative temporal spacing of architectural forms especially relevant to the sites mentioned in the previous section. First of all, the sites were founded at different times. Erebuni was erected by Argišti I in 782 B.C., 6 years prior to Argištiḫinili. The original constructions included the citadel and a settlement of houses and dwellings about it. There was no tight organic connection between this citadel and its settlement as there was, for example, at Tušpa, Toprak-Kale, or Karmir-Blur. Dwellings started to appear on the territory of the citadel soon after its completion. Apparently, by the time of construction of Karmir-Blur, the use of Erebuni citadel was totally abandoned. According to cuneiform inscriptions, however, granaries were being added on to the existing ones up to the reign of Rusa III. (UKN, NUN, No. 9-13) The construction of a granary for Argištiḫinili was recorded by Rusa II as well. The original city consisted of the two citadels (east and west) with houses and dwellings sparsely occupying the area between. Inside the west citadel there was the palace, which was greatly expanded to the south by Sarduri II. At the same time some of the previously built rooms were turned into storage areas. Possibly the temple precinct on the Eastern hill was completed. The houses and dwellings filled the gaps between the citadels and spread to the adjoining six hills.

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Both Karmir-Blur and Bastam were founded by Rusa II. The construction of these cities began first with the citadels, followed by houses and dwellings around them. At Toprak-Kale, the square temple was built at this time. The terraces, the temple of Haldi, columned hall, 'Nordgebaude' and some of the mountain graves appear to date from the 7th century B.C.. Later tombs and dwellings have also been found. Some of the dwellings encroached on the upper terraces in the later periods. Contemporary with these is the citadel of Karmir-Blur. It was built in two stages which are not always easily discernible. Dwellings started to appear next to citadel walls soon after its construction. Originally, the settlement consisted of houses and dwellings along wide streets, which soon lost their articulation. The citadel at Haftavan is much earlier than the others mentioned. It is not certain when it was constructed, but Burney suggests that it was in times of Rusa I. There does appear to be a later addition on the territory of the palace (room No. 6). The whole structure was destroyed in the late 8th Century B.C., perhaps by forces of Sargon during his 714 campaign.

In trying to piece a coherent picture of social and political life in Urartu, the changes in time become very revealing, as will be seen below.

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3. Analysis of Urartian Written Sources

As a first step in attempting to construct a socio-political picture for Urartian towns, the five architectural types will be taken as a lower limit of social differentiation. This is a "common sense" kind of a jump and can only be justified as a gross first order approximation. At this point it is necessary to turn to written sources and see how they corroborate the archaeological data.



Urartian written sources fall into two distinct categories rooted in different traditions: rock inscriptions, and clay tablets. Most frequently encountered are monumental inscriptions carved in rocks. These in turn consist of (a) well dressed rectangular stones worked into walls, (b) free standing elongated arc-shaped stelae, and (c) large walls, niches and stelae devoted exclusively to cuneiform writing.

The overwhelming majority of Urartian inscriptions belong to groups (a) and (b). They are written in the name of the king and were set up to commemorate his more important accomplishments. The texts on these stones are cryptic and follow a unified formula of presentation: invocation of God Haldi (the head of the Urartian pantheon), relation of the particular deeds of the king, and often a curse which was to fall on the head of anyone who dared to damage the inscription. The contents of these inscriptions are usually related to conquests of new territories, constructions of fortresses, temples, palaces,

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granaries, irrigation canals, setting up of orchards, forests and fields (e.g., UKN, No.130).





Group (c) is represented by the annals of King Argišti I, carved into the cliff of the Van Citadel; the annals of Sarduri II on the stelae and a niche in the Van citadel; and others. The annals narrate the yearly accomplishments of the king during his reign. They are addressed from the person of the King. These, as the other inscriptions, follow a basic formula: the invocation, which marks the beginning of each year's accounts, attributes all the conquests to god Haldi first, and only then follow the descriptions of the king's campaigns, building projects and so on. The annals end with the characteristic curse (e.g., UKN, No.127).

The first inscription in this category belongs to Sarduri I, son of Lutipri, and is written in the Neo-Assyrian dialect of the Akkadian language. The inscriptions of the subsequent kings are in Urartian. Formally, the writing on these derives from the Neo-Assyrian monumental script. Despite some changes introduced into the Urartian cuneiform signs, they are easily traceable to their Assyrian prototypes. For example, the syllable "ba" in Assyrian  ->  in Urartian. The Assyrian signs are nail-shaped, whereas Urartian ones are triangular.

The second category of Urartian records consists of economic and administrative documents written on clay tablets. Unfortunately, there are only sixteen extant tablets, some

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fragmentary. Eleven of the tablets were recovered from Karmir Blur and five from Toprak Kale. The texts consist of transactions, lists of people in the palace(?). The letters are set in the same basic format. The addressor refers to the addressee through a third person (the scribe) about a party, in the form: X says, tell Y, re: Z. The address is sometimes followed by a courtesy phrase and then the statement of request or order. The documents are stamped with the seal of the king or king's son. One of the lists is dated by the major occasion which apparently occurred when the list was composed. D'jakonov notes that all these attributes associate the scribal tradition in Urartu with that of the Hittites and Hurrians rather than the Neo-Assyrians. The usage of some ideograms in the tablets in their archaic cuneiform script, not encountered in Assyrian records since the third millennium, but used by Hittite-Hurrian scribes through the first millennium, would further support the existence of ties between the two traditions (D'jakonov, 1963, p 44).

The occurrence of ideograms of Sumerian and Akkadian origin is quite common in Urartian records. Polyphony is characteristic of Urartian cuneiform syllables. Thus, for example,  can be read "ri", "re" and "sar" (Sar-du-ri   )

A whole group of Urartian inscriptions remains unusable at this date. These are the hieroglyphic inscriptions which as yet

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have not been deciphered. Some of these occur with cuneiform on both rock and clay inscriptions; others appear independently on stones. The two instances of Hittite hieroglyphic writing encountered at Altin Tepe (Klein, 1974) have no parallels elsewhere in Urartu.

Since the number of tablets is very small, it is difficult to clarify the precise meaning of words often peculiar to the scribal tradition and not encountered in the rock carved inscriptions. Although much better studied, the rock inscriptions also contain some dark spots which make the extraction of sociological information problematic. Keeping this in mind and using all the sources, some conditional hierarchical social groupings can be abstracted.⁽¹⁰⁾ At the top of the ladder sit the king and the court officials; the following step includes local administrative heads and associated bureaucracy. Then come the military, free populace, and slaves. Some of the terms which make these groupings possible, and their relative functional significance in the social order of the Urartian state, are discussed below in some detail.

(10) Here the differentiation between social and 'occupational' grouping is somewhat blurred and, therefore, arbitrary. It is difficult to assert definitively which 'occupational' titles are socially equivalent, especially since there is no certainty as to the functional meaning of all the titles named in the inscriptions. The problem is further complicated by the measure of 'social equivalence', which among others, includes economic and legal parameters. Especially in this last case, information is totally lacking in the Urartian sources. As a result, the term 'social' forcibly acquires here a very ambiguous meaning.

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LUGÁL (erele), EN.NAM (irdi)-king,governor.(11) Most often LUGÁL is used by the Urartian kings in reference to themselves in a standard phrase X-ni Y- \check{h} i-(ni) LUGÁL KALAG.NU (LUGÁL al-su-i-ni) (LUGÁL KUR \check{S} u-ra- \acute{u} -e) LUGÁL KUR \check{B} i-a-i-na- \acute{u} -e (LUGÁL LUGÁL \check{M} E \check{S} - \acute{u} -e) a-lu-si URU \check{T} u-u \check{s} -pa-(e) URU(12) meaning, X the son of Y [is](13) a powerful king, (king of the land of \check{S} ureli), king of the land of Biainili,(14) (king of kings) [Whose] center [is] Tu \check{s} pa city. Beginning with I \check{S} puini, all Urartian kings use this formula in their inscriptions. In the Assyrian version of I \check{S} puini's inscription, however, Biainili is equated with KUR \check{N} airi (UKN, No.19). Similarly, I \check{S} puini's father Sarduri in his Assyrian inscription calls himself 'king of Nairi' (UKN, No.1). Before Sarduri, the annals of Salmanaser III mention two kings, contemporary to each other: Kakia, king of Nairi, and Aramu the Urartian (AVIIU, No.27(I,20)(I,23)). Since the thirteenth century B.C. both Uruatri and Nairi, often in the plural, appear in Assyrian records. Salmanaser I speaks of "the Uruatri" revolting against him. Tiglath-pilasar I successfully battles with "60 kings of the land of Nairi" (AVIIU, No.10(IV,43)). If Urartian Sarduri in Salmanaser III's annals (AVIIU, 28(141)) indeed refers

(11) LUGÁL is the more commonly used ideogram; erele is its Urartian equivalent. The same is true of EN.NAM.

(12) This is the full formula. More common are abbreviated forms which differentially exclude words here taken into brackets.

(13) Square brackets denote words necessary for a smooth translation, but not there in the Urartian original.

(14) Biainili stands for Urartu in Urartian. The more commonly used 'Urartu' comes from the Assyrian name for that state, Urar \check{t} u.

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to Sarduri I, then it would appear that by the mid ninth century B.C. Nairi and Urartu had merged, resulting in the interchangeable usage of the two terms. Subsequent mentions of Urartian kings in Assyrian records refer to them as Urartian and Urartu figures as the name of a single state.

Ispuini's son Menua never appears in the Assyrian records. Scanning through Menua's own inscriptions some of the reasons for this become clear. The expansionist policies of Urartu found clear reflection in the accounts of Menua's campaigns. In the west they reached the headwaters of the Euphrates, in the north the Urartians crossed the Araxes river and built a fortress on the southern shores of the river. Toward the south Menua reached the borders of Assyria, and toward the east the Lake Urmia region, including Mana. Menua's conquests were accompanied with vigorous construction whether on the frontiers or central parts of the country. Piotrovskij thinks that the final formulation of the Van citadel was accomplished at this time (Piotrovskij, 1959, p 63). Among the most notable constructions was the irrigation canal which Menua built for the city of Van (in use to this day). There are stelae along its length repeating that it was known as the Menua canal. It appears that Urartu under Menua reached a high level of development and strength and Assyrians did not dare to enter into conflict with Urartu.

During the reign of Menua's son Argišti I, Urartian boundaries reached their widest limits. Two large centers got

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built in the Ararat valley: Erebuni and Argištiḫinili, and many others around lake Sevan. His reign was characterized by intensive warfare and construction, which were carried out on all the frontiers. Argišti I battled with the Assyrians several times and in the Assyrian sources his name is said to be as 'fierce as the heavy storm,[and his] forces expansive' (AVIIU, No.38). Not all warfare was directed outward, however. There are signs of internal unrests and revolts. Several times Argišti was forced to reconquer frontier territories (UKN, No.128AI). Closer to the central areas, there were conflicts with the Sureli(15) (UKN, No.127A4). All this did not seem to shake the stability of Urartu, however. Argišti continues to conquer and build as does his son Sarduri II. The latter expanded and completed the constructions started by his father, as in the Ararat valley. Campaigns continued in all directions, especially toward the northwest, toward the sea. The second part of Sarduri's reign took a sharp turn. Battles with Assyrian armies, headed now by Tiglath-pilasar III increased (UKN, No.155) and often ended with defeat for Urartu (AVIIU, No.39). As a result Urartu weakened to the point where Tiglath-pilasar stormed the very walls of The Urartian capital Tušpa (unsuccessfully) and marched through the Urartian provinces without encountering any resistance. The provinces bordering on Assyria got included into its boundaries (AVIIU, No.43). The last years of Sarduri's reign

(15) More on this in the section on ^{LÚ}A.SI.

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are poorly documented. It is unlikely that much changed in the general situation.

Much more is known of the later periods of the reign of Sarduri's son Rusa I. From his own records it appears that he was mainly preoccupied with consolidating Urartu (e.g., UKN, No.266), and with initiating new constructions, such as the city of Rusahinili (Toprak Kale) and the irrigation system about it (UKN, No.268). Numerous inscriptions testify to vigorous construction carried out in the Sevan area (e.g., UKN, No.265).

From Assyrian sources (e.g., AVIIU, No. 49, 56, etc.) it can be seen that Rusa did not accomplish all this without a struggle. Notes from spies situated in Urartu which were sent to Sargon II report on internal conflicts, combats, and wars. Well informed from these reports, Sargon II initiated his famous eighth campaign, which was to end in disaster for Urartu. Sargon succeeded in taking several Urartian provinces and, most importantly, the Urartian religious center Muṣaṣir. (The exact route of Sargon's eighth campaign has been the subject of numerous manuscripts, so it will not be dealt with here.) Desperate in his inability to save Muṣaṣir and its treasures, Rusa killed himself. (AVIIU,46(129)) Very few inscriptions have come down from the days of Argišti, son of Rusa. Those that have, speak primarily of construction projects. His son, Rusa II, on the other hand, was involved in asserting his military strength on the south and the west. He also constructed

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many shrines and other buildings at Toprak Kale, erected a new city in the Ararat valley (Teiṣebaini) and built irrigation canals. Of the subsequent kings, only the fragmentary inscriptions of Rusa III, son of Erimena, have survived. They mention the erection of storage areas and decorative bronze objects with dedicatory phrases to God Ḫaldi. From Assyrian records it appears that Sarduri III ruled after Rusa II. (AVIIIU,72X,40-50) Some of the documents from Karmir-Blur are stamped with the seals of Sarduri, son of Rusa, Sarduri, son of Sarduri and prince Rusa, son of Rusa. (UPD,Nos 2,4,5)

The preceding brief scan of the records of the Urartian kings indicates that their major activities revolved about military aggression and intensive construction.

"É.GAL^{MES} ḫar-ḫar-šú-bi URU^{MES} GIBÍL-bi" -- ("Urartian kings attacked their neighbors, ruining their fortresses and burning their populated centers").(16) At one point the kings took twenty two of the enemy É.GAL. As Arešjan has rightly noted, the terms É.GAL and URU refer to two kinds of settlements, fortified and unfortified (Arešjan, 1973). The enemy leaders were also known as LUGÁL. Sometimes they were mentioned in the plural, as the three LUGÁL of Etiuni (UKN, No.127). When the enemy kings were defeated they were either replaced by an Urartian governor (LÚ^{EN.NAM}) or taxed and left in their place. Thus, in (UKN,

(16) Urartian texts and their translations will be described in this text in the form: "Urartian text" -- ("English translation").

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No.128B1), "IV LUGÁL^{MES} ú-e-di-a-du-bi ^Msa-as-ki-e
^Mar-da-ra-ki-ḫe ^Mbal-ṭu-ul-ḫe ^Mqa-bi-lu-ḫi LÚ^{EN.NAM}^{MES} e-si-a
 te-ru-bi LUGÁL ^Mṭe-a-ú-ḫe bu-ra áš-tú-bi 'a-al-du-bi me-šī-ni
 pi-e-i a-li me-še ^Mar-gi-iš-ti-e ^Mṭe-a-ú-ḫi-ni-še a-ru-ni..." --
 ("four kings [I] enslaved, Sasie, Ardarakiḫi, Baltulḫi, Qabiluḫi,
 governors in [their] places [I] appointed. King of Teauḫi [I]
 turned [into] a servant and put him under a tax. [This is] what
 tax the Teauḫian gave to Argišti...") [there follows a list
 including gold, silver, horses].(17) Argišti then goes on to
 specify what yearly tax (apart from what was already given), the
 Teauḫi was supposed to pay. Whether a local head was kept in
 place or replaced depended on his willingness to remain
 subordinate and pay taxes, as is also obvious from analogous
 cases in Assyrian records. This was usually associated with a
 humiliation ceremony, where the conquered king threw himself
 before the Urartian sovereign, held his knees and begged for
 mercy (UKN, Nos.36,155).

What were the powers of the EN.NAM and how were they
 different from those of the LUGÁL before them is not known. It
 is clear that they were local administrative heads. From the
 archaeological record it can be deduced that they were in charge
 of the local redistribution of foodstuffs, and perhaps other
 items. From the reports of the Assyrian spies, it is known that
 the EN.NAM headed garrisons, which were called upon during war.

(17) Compare with the translation in UKN.

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From the same sources it is clear that these were not always used for the king. The EN.NAM relied on their military forces in revolts against their own sovereign. This was especially true in the provinces, but during the reign of Rusa I unrest settled even in the walls of his capital, ʦuʦpa (AVIIU, 50(13)). During the reign of Rusa I, the Urartian EN.NAM^{MES} entered into alliances with adjoining enemy kings against their own king. LU'irdi is used only twice in the inscriptions, and appears to be the Urartian equivalent of LU'EN.NAM. In one instance Sarduri recounts killing the LU'irdi of the land of Qulḡa and then appointing an LU'irdi in a newly built fortress in the land of Uiṡeruḡi.

Urartian kings built new fortresses and towns in newly conquered territories as well as in the heart of the country. In UKN, No.127II, Argiṡti says, "URUir-pu-i-ni-ni ṡi-i-di-iṡ-tú-ú-bi KURbi-i-a-i-na-a-ú-e uṡ-ma-ṡe KURlu-lu-i-na ú-i-na pa-a-ḡi-i-a-i-di qi-i-ú-ra-a-ni qu-ul-di-i-ni ma-nu ú-i jè-e-i ṡi-i-da-a-ú-ri iṡ-ti-ni KALAG.NU ar-ni-ú-ṡi-ni-li za-du-bi iṡ-ti-ni" -- ("[city of] Irpuini (=Erebuni) [I] built for strengthening the power of Biainili among the barbarian tribes. The earth was fertile, nothing was built there. Great accomplishments I performed there"). (Compare with the translation in UKN, p 216). In the inscription commemorating the construction of Argiṡtiḡinili, some of the great accomplishments are outlined in more detail, "...M^rar-giṡ-ti-ṡe M^mme-nu-a-ḡi-ni-ṡe

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a-li-e É.GAL ba-du-ú-si-i-e ṣ̌i-i-di-iš-tú-bi te-ru-ú-bi
 Mar-gi-iš-ti-ḫi-ni-li ti-i-ni qi-ú-ra-ni qu-ul-di-ni ma-a-nu ú-i
 jē-i iš-ti-ni ṣ̌i-da-ú-ri IDmu-nu-a-ni IV PA₅^{MES} a-jù-bi
 GISul-di-e GIṢza-a-ri-e te-ru-bi..." -- ("...Argišti son of Menua
 says a great fortress [I] built, gave the name of Argištiḫinili,
 the earth was fertile, nothing was built there, from the river
 four canals [I] drew, grape vines and an orchard [I
 started]..."). Among other constructions, the king builds
 temples, shrines, altars, storage areas, armories, etc.

LÚmare-nobility(?), courtiers(?).(18) The term appears only
 twice in texts from Toprak Kale. One enumerates what D'jakonov
 takes to be the state personnel in Toprak Kale (UPD, No 2 and
 commentary) and the other is very damaged and the content cannot
 be discerned. D'jakonov connects this term with the Hurrian
 'marianne', which means nobility. If the list is in hierarchical
 order, then it would imply that these are the highest ranking
 officials. The LÚmare fall into two subgroups, according to the
 list: LÚtardašhe and LÚkirine. Who these people were is unknown.
 D'jakonov suggests that LÚkirine may be an adjective formed from
 the word kiri, meaning a bowl. Kirine then may have meant a bowl
 carrier or attendant (UPD, p 81). Urartian sources make almost

(18) LÚmaru - in Assyrian means son. The possibility of Assyrian
 borrowing here cannot be ruled out. In this case maru may simply
 signify citizens of the country (or the city) as opposed to those
 people who were not citizens.

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no mention of high ranking officials, except the LU^UEN.NAM. Assyrian sources also mention the turtan (military leader) of Urartian army and the second turtan (or second in charge). From Assyrian sources it also appears that the turtans had provinces of their own (AVIIU, No 49). Sargon II, in the account of his eighth campaign, mentions cities of the 'brothers' of some of the Urartian kings (AVIIU, No. 49).(19) It seems likely that the male members of the royal extended family (maybe even female?) were considered part of LU^Umare.(20) Perhaps the division in the group of LU^Umare was made according to the blood ties to the king. (21) As a conjecture yet another possibility may be proposed:

During Sargon II's reign there is a series of reports from Assyrian spies on the activities of the Urartian king Rusa I and the military. In one of those reports, at a particularly crucial point for Rusa, it is related that "all his [Rusa's] governors are with him [in Tušpa]" (AVIIU, No 50). The governors must have

(19) D'jakonov does not think that this means the ownership of the cities as a whole, necessarily. Instead he proposes that 'the brothers' held shares within the family property, which fell within the boundaries of certain cities. This would explain why these cities were concentrated in one place as opposed to scattered about. (D'jakonov, 1952, p. 98). An estimate of the royal family is provided by Assyrian sources. Sargon II speaks of catching 260 members of the royal house of Rusa I. This number may have included warriors, servants, and slaves as well. Earlier Assyrian inscriptions mention households of 100 or so. Early Armenian historians attribute the houses of Ancient Armenian kings with over 100 members (e.g., Xoreniskij, 1913).

(20) From UKN, No.111, it is clear that Menua's daughter Tariria had property of her own (a vineyard).

(21) It is curious that no clergy are mentioned on the entire list. Perhaps they are included in LU^Umare and fall into one of the subgroups.

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frequented the king on many occasions, not only critical military moments, (to report on their provinces, for example). However, the governors could hardly be represented in the LÚkirine in view of their functions, tied to different areas at some distance from Tušpa or Rusahinili. If they are included in the LÚmare at all, it must be as LÚtardašhe. The LÚkirine, on the other hand, may have consisted of local 'aristocracy', heads of extended family households, who may have acted as advisors to the king and as heads in the local garrisons (standing army).

In Urartian as in other Near Eastern written sources there were different ways of addressing individuals, in accord with their status, as D'jakonov has noted. Only free citizens are referred to using name and patronimic, whereas members of the palace personnel appear with name and title and slaves only with a name (D'jakonov, 1963, p 47). It may be supposed that only free household-heads and higher ranking officials were part of LÚmare. In UPD the former appear only once (UPD No 2). The context there is not entirely clear, but D'jakonov claims that the individual named with a name and patronimic represents a member of the city's governing body (UPD, p 47). Whatever may be the case, it is obvious that this man had his own property. This was not exceptional. There are several rock carved inscriptions supporting the fact that some citizens had land holdings of their own. In UKN, No.277, for example, Argišti mentions a forest belonging to Išpili son of Batu.

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LÚŠÁ.RĚŠI[̄]MĚŠ[̄]-eunuchs. This group of people comes second in the Toprak Kale list. It also consists of several subgroups: LÚ'arše (youngsters), LÚNÍG.SID.DA-ka-i literally, men before the accountant (D'jakonov, 1963 p 81), but most likely means pupils of the accountant, GEME[̄]GAD-ḫi-e -- (female) weavers, and LÚUR.ZÍR -- dog keepers. D'jakonov supposes that GEME[̄]GAD probably refers to eunuchs performing female labor and for this reason GAD has a female determinative before it. (Ibid, p 81). But, it is also possible that in Urartu LÚŠÁ.RĚŠI stands for youth, young people in general, not only eunuchs.

It is noteworthy that the largest number of people in the state personnel at Rusahinili (2409 out of the total 5507) is simply termed youngsters. Maybe these are connected with the 'arse' in the rock inscriptions, where they are enumerated first in the booty taken after raids or conquests. What the precise function of these youths was in the state household is unknown. It is possible that the youngsters were specially prepared for bureaucratic positions or specific military forces, while at the same time performing other duties. Taken away from their homelands and relations, these people were educated or trained by the grace of the king, were his children by extension. Deprived of any other loyalties but to the house of the king, they were his most faithful servants (when grown), whether in war or civil duties. The list from Toprak Kale dates from the reign of Rusa II. Melikišvili supposes that precisely during this time

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the Urartian king starts relying greatly on the forces of mercenaries (Melikišvili, 1959, p 132). In Assyrian records in one instance Rusa II is mentioned in association with Kummerians. Perhaps the youths in this group were of Kummerian or Scythian origin selected for the chosen troops.

From Babylonian and Assyrian sources instances of adoption and abandoning of children are widely attested in private households. (ZVAXC) Children 'saved from the dogs mouth' or picked up on the streets and saved from starvation were raised in individual households and turned into servants, slaves or adopted as children. Sometimes they were trained in special crafts or educated as scribes along with natural children. It is possible that in Urartu, the state, whose organization was not that far removed from that of a house, was involved on a much larger scale in this kind of a practice. In that case children of the criminals, orphans of war, local youths as well as the children of the 'mare' may have been included in the number. Differential treatment may have prevailed as it did in the Mesopotamian houses. It would have been reflected in the particular training that the youths received. As is well known from Hittite laws different crafts were prized very differently. Generally, the scribal profession was valued most highly.

Towns, as redistribution centers, could not get along without accountants and some of the youths (perhaps the more privileged?) were in training or worked as aids of the head accountant.

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Weaving, too, has traditionally been one of the most desirable skills in the Near East as well as elsewhere.(22) In their booty Urartians as well as Assyrians often include garments, especially of wool.

The third largest number of people (1188) on the Toprak Kale list is represented by the dog-keepers. Nowhere in Urartian inscriptions are there any suggestions as to why so many dog-keepers were needed. However, in the frescoes at Erebuni, in fragmentary scenes there are representations of dogs participating in hunts.(23) It is not surprising that in a society of such military ethos, hunting should be a favorite recreation, particularly for the king. Urartian bronze belts are often decorated with hunt scenes. That members of this group would be designated as dog keepers is also perfectly consistent. First of all, the symbolic aspects of being initiated into private recreational activities of the king and, secondly, the experience in maneuvering and preparation for combat that participation in hunts allowed, cannot be underestimated.

Finally, it cannot be ruled out that these were indeed eunuchs. In this case they may have been the descendents of ruling families of conquered territories who were taken as hostages or imprisoned to deprive the lands of kin gentry. This

(22) As is well known in Greece, even queens were trained in weaving.

(23) From the faunal remains, Krauss concludes that dogs were eaten in Urartu.

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way they were kept on under the supervision of the king and performed duties associated with his household.

LÚ_{KUR}.KUR^{MES}(šureli), LÚ_A.SI^{MES}(huradinili) - army. In UPD, No.12, where LÚ_{KUR}.KUR^{MES} appear third on the list after LÚ_{mare} and LÚ_{ŠÁ}.RĒŠI^{MES}, D'jakonov translates them to be free armed (military) people. (D'jakonov, 1963, p 83).

The repeating ideograms KUR.KUR^{MES} occurred in rock carved inscriptions in various contexts. Melikišvili sees these as the plural of the ideogram KUR (land, country). (e.g., UKN, No.127) Although quite true in some cases, this translation does not hold in all contexts. As D'jakonov rightly notes, in UKN, No.24(27,37) LÚ_{KUR}.KUR^{MES} is used synonymously to LÚ_A.SI^{MES} meaning armed men, soldiery (D'jakonov,1963,p.82). Here, "D_{hal}-di-ni-ni uš-ma-ši-ni i-na-ni pa-ar-tú-ú M_{iš}-pu-ú-i-ni-še MD_{sar}-du-ri-e-_{hi}-ni-še M_{me}-nu-a-še M_{iš}-pu-ú-i-ni-_{hi}-ni-še me-i a-li KUR.KUR^{MES}-a-še i-ri-du-tú" -- ("by the order of God _{Hal}di all this looted Išpuini son of Sarduri and Menua son of Išpuini [aside from] what the soldiery plundered") (comp. UKN, No.155,45). He goes further and asserts that KUR.KUR^{MES} is the plural of the Urartian word 'šure' (arm in the military sense) and therefore, KUR.KUR^{MES} with the determinative LÚ (man) means armed men. That KUR.KUR^{MES} is the ideogram for šureli follows from the interchangeable usage of the two in the title of the king, LUGÁL KALAG.NU LUGÁL KUR.KUR^{MES}-a-ú-e, etc. In this latter

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context \check{S} ureli is usually translated to mean universe, plurality. Because on the Kelašin bilingual stela of Išpuini and Menua, LUGÁL $KUR^{\check{S}}$ uraue corresponds to the Assyrian 'šar kiššati', these terms have been treated as equivalent in meaning. However, it must be agreed with O.O. Karagjozjan, that $KUR^{\check{S}}$ uraue as $KUR^{\check{S}}$ Biainaue, $KUR^{\check{S}}$ Mana and other names with determinative $KUR^{\check{S}}$, stands for a country, a land or a tribal union (Karagjozjan, manuscript, 1965).

Karagjozjan's interpretation of the term fits the rest of the contexts. Thus in UKN, No.127V Argišti I speaks of drawing an irrigation canal from river Diainala (tini) for $KUR^{\check{S}}$ uraue. This is entirely analogous to other such references to canals, e.g., in UKN, No.127V, where "ID_{mu-na-ni} PA₅ 'a-za-i-ni-e $KUR^{\check{S}}$ -ni-e a-jù-bi" -- ("from the river a canal for the land of Aza [I] drew").

Treating $KUR^{\check{S}}$ ureli as land or a tribal union and looking through the inscriptions with this in mind, some interesting points emerge. The first known instance of $KUR^{\check{S}}$ ureli appears in the title of King Išpuini (UKN, No.19). In the abbreviated versions of the title of the king, $KUR^{\check{S}}$ ureli often gets omitted. In King Menua's inscriptions it is mentioned in the title only once (UKN, No.12). King Argišti does not appear to use $KUR^{\check{S}}$ ureli in the title at all, although as it was seen above, he initiated some constructions there. The clue may be hidden in UKN, No.127A4, where "i-ú $D_{\check{h}}$ al-di-še ma-a-si DINGIR i-ni-ri-a-še

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uš-tú-ni i-ú DINGIR^{MĚŠ}-ú-e tar-a-mu KUR^{ŠÚ}-ri-e-li za-šú-a-li" -- ("when Haldi sent his own godly iniriase, when [for] the powerful gods Šureli subdued"), which is followed by what appears to be a description of how Argišti retaliated against the Šureli with his forces, which included Biainelians. If O.O. Karagjozjan's interpretation is correct, then the above would imply that the Šureli managed to fall into disgrace with Argišti, perhaps as a result of a revolt or refusal to pay taxes. During the reign of Sarduri I the Šureli are back in favor. They figure in many titles and in the annals (UKN, No.155G) the Sureli are mentioned with LÚA.SI^{MĚŠ} and LÚururdili in a list of people for whom the king apparently cut taxes.

The word LÚururdili appears here for the first time and the meaning of it is not clear. However, LÚA.SI (an ideogram meaning military people, army) is known from many inscriptions. It is often used in association with campaigns as in UKN, No.127V: "i-ku-ka-ni MU š-i-šú-ḥa-ni LÚA.SI^{MĚŠ} ú-e-li-du-bi...uš-ta-di KUR^{e-ṭi-i-ú-ni-e-di}" -- ("that same year for the third time [I] collected the military and campaigned against the land of the Etiuni"). The Urartian equivalent of LÚA.SI^{MĚŠ} is LÚhuradinili and is used in precisely the same contexts. Some particulars are known about the Urartian army. For example, in UKN, No.24 it says that "LÚhu-ra-di-na-a IME VI^{GĪŠ}GIGIR IX LIM I ME LXXXIV PIT.ḤAL.LU^{MĚŠ} II LIM VII ME IV LÚERÉN^{MĚŠ} GĪR^{II} MĚŠ" -- ("in the

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army were one hundred six chariots,(24) nine thousand one hundred eighty four on horseback(cavalry), two thousand seven hundred six on foot"). So, at least in this case, the army consists of twelve thousand soldiers. What is interesting is that not the foot soldiers but the cavalry comprises the majority of the army. It is possible that the special circumstances of this particular campaign required such an arrangement. Other inscriptions cannot be drawn on for comparative data on this matter, because in the only other two cases where the constituents of the army are enumerated, the numbers before the cavalry are damaged. In these, however, total number of soldiers exceeds seventeen thousand. Very little is known of the structure of the Urartian army and its military hierarchy. Judging from the order in which they are listed, the charioteers are the most highly prized members of the military followed by the cavalry and the foot soldiers.(25) It is clear that, as in Assyria, the king was the supreme head of the army and led most of the campaigns. Some ventures, however, were conducted without the direct participation of the king. Menua in UKN, No.28 and Sarduri in 155B and C talk of sending the LÚhuradinili on a conquest. In 155B, the army conquers the country, burns populated centers and fortresses. But when it comes to the booty, the king lists it

(24) From bronze decorations and an inscription on the chariot of Rusa I taken by Sargon at Muşaşir (AVIIU, 49(367)), it is known that each chariot held two soldiers.

(25) As in most ancient armies at most times.

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under his own accomplishments: "i-ku-ka-ni ša-a-li ši-iš-ti-i-ni
 ki-e-i-da-nu-ú-li LÚ[✓]hu-ra-di-ni-e-li KUR[✓]e-ri-a-ḫi-ni-e-di
 KUR[✓]e-ba-ni ha-a-i-tú URU[✓]MES[✓] GIBÍL[✓] ḫar-ḫar-si-tú-li KUR[✓]e-ba-ni
 a-ti-tú 'a-še[✓]MES[✓] GEME[✓]lu-tú[✓]MES[✓] KUR[✓]bi-a-i-na-di pa-ar-tú...
 MD[✓]sar-du-ri-še a-li-e a-li LÚ[✓]ta ú tu-ḫe iš-ti-ni za-du-ú-bi" --
 ("that same year for the third time [I] sent the army toward
 Eriaḫi, they conquered the land, burnt ruined populated centers,
 ate the country, men, women, chased toward Biainili; Sarduri says
 this is what ... I performed there"); then follows the numerical
 account of the men taken and men killed.

In war, however, the A.SI[✓]MES[✓] also had special privileges.
 From UKN, No.24, cited above, and other similar inscriptions, it
 follows that they had the right to loot on their own and probably
 took away booty of livestock, provisions, and goods of all sorts.
 The king himself also gave gifts to his soldiers. For example,
 in UKN, No.155F upon a certain conquest, Sarduri says, "še-e-ri
 'a-še[✓]GEME[✓]lu-tú LU[✓]A.SI[✓]MES[✓]-ú-e a-ru-bi" -- ("separately men(?),(26)
 women [I] gave to the army"). From the Assyrian sources, cases
 of the king distributing the goods from the conquered enemy camp
 among his soldiers are well known.

(26) 'aše is always translated to mean men (Melikišvili, 1960; D'jakonov, 1963), because it is always used in the same context, when the king chases away the booty after a conquest "'a-še GEME[✓]lu-tú pa-ru-bi" -- ("[I] chased men (?) women"). However, since 'aše never has the determinative of man (LÚ) before it (the only time it's encountered is in UKN, No.127III, where Melikišvili reconstructs it in the damaged spot, assuming that it must be there), it is likely that 'aše is a female attribute. Conditionally, it may be taken to mean virgin (?) or pretty (?).

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Two head gods of the Urartian pantheon had armies of their own, Haldi and Teišeba. Urartians sacrificed bulls and sheep to these, probably to get them on their side in war. The enemy armies (for example, those of the Mana or Aššur) are also referred to by A.SI^{MES} (UKN, No.127, III or IV). The kings tell of combatting or pushing back the enemy forces (LÚA.SI^{MES} or LÚhuradinili).

LÚA.SI as an ideogram derives from the Sumerian, (LÚa-si-ru(m)), which meant a prisoner of war. The ideogram entered Urartian, probably through the Hittite tradition, with a meaning of army. The synonymities of prisoner of war and army, of course, is not coincidental. It derives from an old Near Eastern tradition of including the soldiers of a conquered enemy country into one's own army. It is noteworthy that Urartians preserved that tradition (as did their Assyrian counterparts), and often added the conquered soldiers into their own ranks. It is doubtful, however, that these were called LÚA.SI. The status of the warrior prisoners will be discussed in greater detail in the next section. LÚA.SI in Urartu has the general meaning of troops. Most large centers had garrisons of their own, including Tušpa, as Assyrian sources testify (AVIIU,50). Both D'jakonov and Saggs are inclined to think that the garrisons at Tušpa functioned as a standing army. (D'jakonov, 1952; Saggs, 1963) Urartian kings mention stationing troops in newly built fortresses in conquered lands. In UKN,

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No.29, for instance, Menua talks of leaving foot soldiers (LÚERÉN) in a fortress which he built in the land of Mana.

In conclusion, it seems likely that the LÚKUR.KURMES, as the Šureli, were members of an ethnic group (identified with a certain territory), which supplied a great many of the warriors in the army, perhaps even the chosen troops (at least before Argišti). As a result, the term LÚKUR.KURMES comes to denote a warrior in general, without losing its particular meaning. Its usage may also have a complementary connotation comparable to the

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English usage of 'braves'. That the Urartians may have realized the confusion between the terms Šureli and A.SI^{MES} is suggested in UKN, No.155G.I.(27) There, it says that specific taxes were cut for the Šureli, but only for the LÚA.SI^{MES} among them, as opposed to perhaps the civilian Šurelis of Ururdili lineage or

(27) The complete text reads: "Ḫal-di-i-ni-ni al-su-i-ši-ḫi MD sar-du-ri-i-še Mar-giš-ti-e-ḫi-pi-še a-li-e 2) i-ú ḫal-di-iš-me LUGAL-tú-ḫi a-ru-ú-ni na-ha-a-di LU AD-si-ni e-si-i LUGAL-tú-ḫi-ni 3)a-li ar-da-i-e i-ni i-ši-ú-še KUR šu-ra-a-ni e-di-ni tú-ru-ú-bi XCII GISGIGIR^{MES} 4)III LIM VI ME PIT.HAL.LU^{MES} XXXV a-ti-bi II LIM XI LU ERÉN^{MES} e'a PIT.HAL.LU^{MES} -e-i 5) e'a LU ERÉN.GIR^{MES} e-i i-na-ni ar-da-i-e LU A.SI^{MES} -na e-di-ni tú-ru-bi 6) a-li i-ši-ú-še ma-a-nu ḫu-šú-bi I ME XXI LU UKU^{MES} X LIM IV ME VIII ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MES} 7) I ME XXXII ANŠE. GİR.NUN.NA^{MES} X LIM II LIM III ME XXI GUD AB^{MES} IX LIM XXXVI GUD pa-ḫi-i-ni-e 8) PAP XX LIM I LIM III ME LVII GUD pa-ḫi-i-ni-e^{MES} XXX LIM V LIM IV ME LXVII UDU šú-še-e^{MES} 9) II LIM I ME XIV BE.LI^{MES} gu-nu-ši-ni-e-i I LIM II ME XXXII GISBAN^{MES} X LIM VII LIM IX ME LXX GISGAG.TI^{MES} 10)I ME II a-ti-bi II LIM I ME XXXIII ka-pi SE.PAD^{MES} I ME XI a-gar-qi VII te-si XX ka-li IA^{MES} 11) VII LIM LXXIX MA.NA-e URUDU^{MES} III ME XXXVI ITU^{MES} MD u-ru-ur-da-a-ni e-di-ni tú-ru-ú-bi 12) LU sar-du-ri-i-ni Mar-gi-iš-ti-e-ḫi LUGAL KALAG.NU LUGAL al-su-ú-i-ni 13) LUGAL šu-ra-úe LUGAL KUR bi-a-i-na-a-ú-e LUGAL LUGAL^{MES} -ú-e a-lu-se URU tú-uš-pa-e URU" -- ("1) By the greatness of God Ḫaldi Sarduri son of Argišti says 2) when Ḫaldi gave me kingship [and I] got [up on] my royal father's place 3)[this is] what tax this isiuse for [the land of] Šureli [I] erased, ninety two chariots 4)three thousand six hundred [riding] horses, three hundred fifty two thousand eleven soldiers either horsemen 5)or footmen. This tax for the soldiers [I] erased. 6)[this is] what tax this isiuse was [I] threw off, one hundred twenty one men, ten thousand four hundred eight work-horses, 7)One hundred thirty two mules, twelve thousand three hundred twenty one cows, nine thousand thirty six bulls, 8)total, twenty one thousand four hundred sixty seven sheep [and goats] 9)two thousand one hundred fourteen [pieces of] military armor, one thousand three hundred thirty two bows, sixteen thousand nine hundred seventy arrows, 10)one million twenty two thousand one hundred thirty three 'kapi' [=505g] [of] millet, one hundred eleven 'aqarqi', seven 'terusi' twenty 'kali' [of] oil 11)seven thousand seventy nine 'MANA' tin in three hundred thirty six months for the Ururdili [I] erased. 12)Sarduri, son of Argisti [is] a powerful king, a great king 13)king of Šureli, king of [the land of] Biainili, king of kings [whose] center [is] Tušpa city").

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city, who also got cuts, but of a different kind. If this inscription indeed refers to cuts in taxes and duties for KUR[✓]Sureli and the M[✓]Ururdili, then it is perhaps a situation parallel to that of privileged cities in Mesopotamia, but applied here to ethnic groups. Cities such as Babylon, Nippur, Ur and others were freed from certain military obligations, taxes, mobilization, etc. (D'jakonov, 1949, p 137). M[✓]Ururdili may be a kin group or a town. Towns with the determinative of a name or a lineage (Y) are often encountered in Urartian records. Granting of privileges to some parts of the population is known from other areas in the ancient Near East. In Babylonia, for example, Nabonid freed the temple clergy from some duties and taxes in the city of Ur on the occasion of his daughter's dedication to the temple of Egišnugal (Dandamaev, 1974, p.28).

LÚUKÙ(taršvani)-populace, LÚgunušini-warrior, LÚtašmuše-POW, LÚERE(bura)
LÚUKÙ (populace) appears fourth on the list from Toprak Kale. This general term does not allow determination of the function of these people or who they may have been. In rock inscriptions LÚUKÙ as an ideogram of the Urartian LÚtaršvani appears most often in connection with the human booty taken after a conquest. However, LÚUKÙ does not specifically apply to prisoners of war. In UKN, No.264, "M[✓]Rusa-ni D[✓]hal-di-e-i- LÚERÈ LÚsi-e mu-si LÚUKÙMES[✓]-ú-e" corresponds to the Assyrian, "Rusa the servant of Haldi, the true shepherd of people". The term for prisoners is

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LÚ¹tašmūšē. It is used only once by king Menua (UKN, No.36) when the Urartian king attacks Teiauehi. The king of Teiauehi goes through a humiliation ceremony before the Urartian king, who places him under taxation of gold and silver. As part of the total bargain the king of Teiauehi returns all the prisoners that were on his side. It is not clear whether those were prisoners taken by Teiauehi or those that had voluntarily joined him to fight with Menua or simply refugees from Urartu. In Assyrian texts there are numerous demands of Sargon II directed toward neighboring kings to return his people. (AVIIU, 46).

Instances of adding foreign troops to the army are also well known from all over the ancient Near East, as was mentioned above.

In the annals of Argišti I (UKN, No.27) and Sarduri II (UKN, No.155) LÚ¹gunušini (men of war) are enumerated along with the rest of the booty, for example in UKN, No.155A, "25)...MD¹sar-du-ri-še Mar-giš-ti-hi-ni-še a-li-e 26) a-li LÚ¹lu-tú-hi III KUR¹e-ba-na I MU za-du-bi 27) PAP X LIM II LIM VII ME XXX V LÚ¹ar-še na-hu-bi XL LIM VI LIM VI ME GEME¹lu-tú¹MES¹ pa-ru-bi 28) X LIM II LIM LÚ¹MES¹gu-nu-si-ni-i pa-ru-ú-bi II LIM V ME ANŠE.KUR.RA.MES¹ pa-ru-bi 29) XX LIM III LIM III ME XXXV GUD¹pa-hi-ni L LIM VIII LIM I ME UDU¹šu-še pa-ru-bi..." -- ("Sarduri son of Argišti says [this is] what bravery(?) in three countries in one year I performed, total: twelve thousand seven hundred thirty five youths took [out of the country], forty six

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thousand six hundred women [I] chased [out], twelve thousand men of war [I] chased [out], two thousand five hundred horses [I] chased, twenty three thousand three hundred thirty five [heads] of cattle, fifty eight thousand one hundred sheep [I] chased [out]").

Urartians were particularly interested in increasing their population, so the number of youths carried away to be raised as Urartians is not surprising.(28) The men of war were either added to the Urartian army or resettled to other lands, or both. That some of the LÚgunušini may have been mercenaries is apparent from UKN, No.20, where king Išpuini and his son Menua tell of their accomplishments in the land of Etiuni and mention the removal from there of HUN.GA-mercenary (Karagjozjan, 1976, p.89). Here HUN.GA appears in a context, where LÚgunušini is often encountered.

Some of the LÚgunušini were resettled to the newly conquered territories. Argišti speaks of settling six thousand six hundred LÚgunušini from Hittite Şupa, following conquest of Hittite lands, in the new built center of Erebuni in the Ararat valley. It is not obvious that this group of people should not rather be included under the heading of LÚA.SI^{MEŠ}, the army. The reason they are included here lies in the foreign origin of the LÚgunušini of the Urartian records. The low status of POW's and foreigners in ancient Near Eastern societies is well attested.

(28) For more on the 'arše' (youth) see the LÚSA.REŠI heading.

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Even the word 'POW' and 'slave' are often denoted with the same sign. Whether this was true of Urartu will be discussed later.

The usage of the next term -- bura(LÚERÈ) -- brings out the subordinate functional status of people thus labeled. Some of the uses of this term were treated above. It is also often met in private names M_Haldibura, M_Haldi-ERÈ-servant of god Haldi. D'jakonov and Melikišvili take the term to also be synonymous with 'slave'. (UPD, p.43; UKN, p.251) Very little is known of the LÚERÈ in Urartu, except that at least some of them were endowed with property, as UPD, No 1 testifies.(29) However, LÚ/GEMEuediani is probably also a name for a slave.

During raids and conquests Urartians always took a certain number of people who specifically were listed in this category. These were probably common folk who were taken as slaves. In these contexts uediani appears with either the male (LÚ) or the female (GEME) determinative. Often, in analogous cases, GEME_lutu (women) is used instead of GEMEuediani. It seems very doubtful, however, that LÚuediani also means woman, as Melikišvili proposes. (UKN, p.480) There is no reason why the word woman should have a male determinative before it. If uediani means woman, then in UKN, No.128BI,(30) uediadubi (du=make), would mean 'castrated', which does not adequately fit the context. Since the uediani were always listed last, they may have been people to

(29) See footnote (31).

(30) In reference to the EN.NAM, see p.46

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be treated as slaves in private households, state projects, to perform menial duties or remain as concubines (in the case of women). Whereas the LÚ¹gunušini, by virtue of their military status in a society of military ethos, had a good chance of attaining some rights, the uediani consisting also of women had a much lesser chance of rising through the ranks.

It is not clear whether the rest of the people on the Toprak Kale list belong to the category of the free, the imprisoned or the slaves. They fall into two groups. The first group consists of the 'LÚ¹eštiate' of the palace, which perhaps means the service personnel. In this group the LÚ¹ŠÁ.RĒŠI are mentioned again. These appear, however, to be different eunuchs. They belong to the palace (É.GAL-i) and perhaps performed the duties of servants. How these eunuchs are related to the ones above is unclear, perhaps not at all. It is also possible, that if the list is indeed hierarchical, then the less capable of the others were taken as servants to the palace, thus not removing them from the supervision of the king.

In the section with the eunuchs are the LÚ¹halbiu, LÚ¹É.TIN, LÚ¹šipika. Apart from LÚ¹É.TIN, the other two are never encountered in Urartian records. The roots of the words do not suggest anything known to date, either LÚ¹É.TIN could be wine

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makers or wine keepers, as D'jakonov notes (UPD, p83). As the storerooms of the Urartian palaces were often well stocked with wine pithoi, it is perfectly understandable that men were needed to service them. However, it cannot be agreed with D'jakonov that the LÚ'É.TIN were necessarily slaves (Ibid, p 44). It does not uniquely follow from the format of the letter (UPD, No 1)(31)

(31)

The text reads as follows:

Urartian text:	D'jakonov's translation	Another possible translation
M ^D Sar-du-ri-šē	Sarduri	Sarduri
M ^{Ru} sa-a-ḫi-ni-šē	son of Rusa	son of Rusa
a-ru-ú-ni x-ru-x	gave [an order]	gave [an order]
LÚ'É.TIN: M ^{Ša} ne-e-ḫi-né	re. Šanian winemakers	re. the Šanian land surveyor
KI ^{TIM} .MEŠ ^{URU} Qu-du-na	on the lands of the settlement of Qudu	on the lands of the settlement of Qudu
II-ú+e LÚ'ERE-u+e qu-tu-ra-u+e	to two slaves-quturele	to two slaves-quturele
Éne bi-di-i	the house [property] return	the house [property] return
M ^{Hu} ka-a-i: M ^{Qu} tu-bi-le-i	[it is the house of some] Xuka and Qutubile	[to] Xuka and Qutubile
M ^U +e-di-i-né-šē LÚ[xxx]	Vidini [title]	Vidini [title]
M ^A bi-li-a-ni-šē LÚ ^{NA₄} .DIB	[and] Abiliani holder of the seal	[and] Abiliani holder of the seal
NA ₄ pu-lu-si-né-e	the stela	the stela
a-al-di-tú-ú-né	found	threw

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upon which he bases his suggestion. It is unlikely that LÚ'É.TIN in the text refers to two ERE mentioned further in the text. First of all, the LÚ'É.TIN is in the singular, whereas to agree with the ERE it should have been in the plural. It is possible that the LÚ'É.TIN is the party who has to carry out the order with respect to the two slaves. According to Labat, the sign TIN can also be read DIN, which means a surveyor (Labat, 1963) In that case LÚ'É.DIN could mean property surveyor. As D'jakonov has noted É may mean property, not only a house (D'jakonov, 1963, p.32). In the context of the letter, where LÚ'É.DIN appears, this kind of an interpretation is perfectly compatible with the context, where the order concerns the return of a house or a lot to some individuals (see footnote on the preceding page). Of course all this does not preclude that LÚ'É.DIN may still refer to a slave. From Hittite, Babylonian and other sources instances of educated or highly trained slaves are known. However, it is with lesser certainty that a LÚ'É.DIN would be considered a slave, than a LÚ'É.TIN.

The last group of people on the list from Toprak Kale consists of men of 'unqaita', in whose number are included men before Ubiabi, muleteers, men of tools 'garurda' and men of the land of Puluihe. With the exception of LÚ'ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.NA (muleteers), all the other terms are undecipherable. LÚ.GIŠ is a determinative usually associated with craftsmen, so LÚ.GIŠgarurda may refer to some kind of artisans. People of the land of

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Puluiḫe may have been well renowned for a special craft. M^ubiabi, in this case, could be the name of a master artisan and, therefore, it was not thought necessary to give his occupation. The people named with him may have been his helpers or pupils. It appears inconsistent, however, that muleteers are listed among specialized craftsmen at the bottom of the list.

As was to be expected, textual analysis leads to a more differentiated view of Urartian society. But the disparity is not great, especially since the groupings obtained from written sources need not be mutually exclusive, as was mentioned above. Neither archaeological nor textual sources supply complete information. It is hoped that correlation of the two will help to extrapolate a more complete picture. It should be noted, however, that in view of the available data, any formulations will be highly conjectural.

4. Correlation of Archaeological and Textual Material

Any correlation of the architectural and textual data should be carried out with caution. The primary textual evidence comes from Toprak Kale, which is at the center of Urartu, whereas the architectural data are from the periphery. There is also a chronological gap between the centers of Erebuni and Argištiḫinili and the Toprak Kale list. The Toprak Kale list is approximately contemporary to Teiṣebaini. The overall

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configuration of Urartian centers does not differ greatly from place to place, as was mentioned above. All sites excavated so far were founded by Urartian kings and, in general, exhibit the attributes of Urartian town organization (with local variations, of course). It seems likely that the basic divisions of the Toprak Kale list were maintained everywhere: high placed officials, military, general populace, lower strata servicing the palace itself and performing other duties. The relative numbers of these and their importance may have varied, however.

The citadel complex may be seen as housing an administrative machinery and its equipage. The very locations of the citadels, on mountain peaks, surrounded by numerous fortifications as well as the corpus of material remains, would strongly suggest a military dimension to the administrative functions. Another feature which stands out in connection with palacial and temple structures is their preoccupation with storing food and increasing their facilities. Taken in conjunction with the system of irrigation canals usually associated with settlements, this would imply active interest in agricultural development on the part of the administrative figures or the settlement in general. As was noted above, the densest distribution of Urartian towns is found about the valleys. Fortifications are found in the high mountains as well. The results of surveys showed Urartian fortification remains in high mountain passes, along watercourses, canals, highland pastures, etc. Such

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constructions are also present in the Ararat valley, on mount Ararat. At the point where the Ahurian flows into the river Araxes, not far from Argištihinili there are remains of an Urartian fortress with large houses about it. Kleiss has suggested that some of these sites may have been postal stops, caravan-sarays, resting areas for moving regiments or simply protection for military units when fighting in the mountainous areas (Kleiss, 1976). According to Assyrian sources drawing a battle into mountainous passes was a strategy often employed (though not always successfully) by the Urartians (D'jakonov, 1952, p.29). Many of them would also be convenient places to keep the herds when at pasture, and serve as protection for people and livestock in cases of attack and raids. Little fortresses are scattered along large canals, some distance from big centers. Some of these, as in the Van area, were founded probably to protect the canal. This is not surprising in view of the records of Sargon II of Assyria describing his Seventh campaign, where orchards, vineyards, granaries and enormous riches of Urartian cities are vividly portrayed. Sargon's forces were burning the cities and devastating the countryside, making sure no water could flow through destroyed canals. It appears that destruction of irrigation canals during raids and warfare was common practice. Burney (Burney, 1972, p.140) describes a small fortification set on a hilly terrain in close proximity to an aqueduct to protect it. A similar construction was discovered

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on the slopes of Ararat. It is quite likely, however that some of the fortified strongholds also mark villages, outer fields associated with the populated centers with a permanent or semi-permanent workforce, some of which may have resided in the city but worked in the fields. It is not inconceivable that these could also serve as tax-collection stations which would then communicate with larger populated centers.

So, it becomes difficult to even estimate the area which may have come under the economic management of a center like Argištihinili or Bastam. Given the close arrangement of the centers in the Ararat valley, if they governed the entire countryside, then some kind of a 'village' system would be required as an organizational measure. This would mean a network of small settlement sites scattered over a region, interconnected and subordinate to the larger centers. Of course it is possible that economic activities of the towns were limited to the immediately adjoining areas. Neither possibility can be ruled out at the present time from the data available. Although, the wide range distribution and clustering of settlements encountered by Kleiss would tend to favor the former picture rather than the latter. Assyrian sources, when describing conquests on Urartian territory, mention taking fortresses with adjoining settlements (on the average, anywhere from seven to twenty). Unfortunately it is not clear from these that the settlements actually came under the jurisdiction of the fortresses. According to Zablocka,

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in contemporary Assyria the immediate outskirts of the towns came under the management of town governments, whereas the farther spread territory belonged to the state (Zablocka, 1974). Whatever may have been the case in Urartu it is clear that the citadel complex and organization exclusively represented the state in its functions as a redistributor. From the kings' inscriptions marking the storage areas and listing their capacities, it is quite clear that the centralized government through its representatives, the governors, participated in economic management. The involvement of the city government may have been manifested in other ways, as will be suggested below. But as far as concrete economic involvement goes, there is direct evidence only in favor of the state.

Economic management by centralized authority could manifest itself in several ways. In the inscriptions it is the king who sets up cities, grants lands to temples, and constructs irrigation works. But their obligations to him are not at all clear. The governors were taxed and carried military obligations, but how did the governors relate to the populace? It is noteworthy that, despite political ups and downs, the economic functions of the citadels appear to have remained undisturbed, if the consistent addition of granaries through the reigns of Rusa III is any indicator. While the continuous increase in storage facilities may imply economic growth, it may imply quite the contrary as well: greater exploitation of

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resources and population to the advantage of the ruling strata and the slow decay of the economy as a whole. Since the architectural monuments rarely have unique implications, it is difficult to establish the nature of the governors' powers, as written sources are of little help in this matter. According to Melikisvili, the sheer size and mass of fortress-towns implies that they were involved in a complex mechanism of exploitation of the countryside on behalf of the king or the centralized government. "Many of those fortresses were created by the kings themselves... Some of the economic units bear the name of a king ('Valley of Rusa', 'Valley of Menua', 'vineyard of [king] Sarduri')" (Melikišvili, 1975, p.27). These terms by themselves do not prove the ownership of all land by the king. As a matter of fact, they may have been used to contrast those valleys and vineyards that did belong to the king from those that did not. None of the above kings' lands have been identified as to location and relation to populated centers. That the state was not the sole possessor of the land is known from inscriptions (see p.50). Free citizens as well as other segments of the population had properties of their own. It is likely that only the state had the right to redistribute the land on newly acquired territories and impose taxes. Masson suggests that the highly fortified nature of the citadels was not incidental, but was partially necessitated as a protective measure against the highly exploited populace of the countryside. (Masson, 1975,

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p.158) However, as was mentioned above, the citadels do not retain their military face for long, so even if there existed a threat it was not a strong or a constant one. Rather, the citadels were designed to make an initial impact.

Erebuni, one of the first fortresses to be erected by Argisti I north of the Araxes, though outwardly massive, is internally airy. Oganessian has observed that the architectural features of the palace at Arin-Berd are much lighter and livelier than at other Urartu sites. (Oganessian, 1955).(32)

Actually it is somewhat remarkable that in view of all the external threat, the military features of the Urartian fortresses still give way to the economic ones. Aside from the Assyrian attacks, according to D'jakonov, nomadic tribes from the east, north and west periodically charged across the Urartian kingdom. In the eighth century B.C. the Scythians had penetrated as far as the Urmia region of Urartu (D'jakonov, 1951, p.30). It would appear that the Urartians had some kind of an agreement which allowed the nomads and the Urartians to coexist symbiotically. As was noted in the previous section, Assyrian records mention the Urartian king in association with the Kummerian tribes. The

(32) Özgüç's impression of Altin Tepe is very much the same. Burials at Altin Tepe have yielded a number of lavish luxury items. Özgüç also concludes that Altin Tepe must have been in some way directly associated with the king (Özgüç, 1966). Neither one of the scholars, however, explores the possible effects of Hittite influences on the architecture. Since Arin Berd and Altin Tepe are the only two sites for which there is direct evidence of Hittite affiliation, the matter is probably worth pursuing further.

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capacities of nomadic tribes in integrating the countryside into a communication network were probably not overlooked by the Urartian state. It is possible that the ties with the nomads were also economically motivated. The cooperation between Urartians and Kummerians and other nomads may have well hinged on the exchange of crop-related products for stock-related ones. Similar cases are known from other parts of the Near East at widely different times (for example, in the Zagros mountains). Though somewhat stable, historically, these kinds of relations tend to be violent. This would explain the numerous Urartian fortifications in mountainous areas. It is quite possible that toward the times of the reign of Rusa II, the ties between the settled population (the Urartians) and the nomads were degenerating, eventually leading to a violent onslaught by the Scythians. (Piotrovskij, 1959, p.241) Meanwhile, the Urartians had to find other means and areas of obtaining stock-related products.

The location of Urartian sites suggests that most of them were self-sufficient with respect to subsistence. It is interesting to note that most Urartian settlements are in proximity to mountainous areas. As Piotrovskij rightly observes, this has to do with a pastoral tradition of stock raising (Piotrovskij, 1959, p.148). The lake Sevan region and the Širak valley, therefore, were of particular interest to Urartians. Both areas abound in lowlands suitable to cereal crops and

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highland alpine valleys for stock grazing. Inscriptions speak of numerous campaigns led to both areas by Urartians, beginning with king Išpuini. It is noteworthy that in contrast to the Ararat valley, the Sevan and Širak regions put up great resistance to Urartian conquests. An army of over one hundred fifty thousand was used in battling some of the areas of Širak and Sevan (Katarza, Uiteruhi, Etiuni) by Menua and Išpuini. Argišti I and Sarduri II constantly attacked these areas and took large numbers of cattle and sheep. At one point Sarduri II speaks of conquering four kings on the southern shores of Lake Sevan (UKN, No.155D). Archaeological surveys have shown the remains of numerous cyclopien fortresses of Urartian and pre-Urartian origin in the Lake Sevan basin. One of them at Nor-Bayazet has an inscription in the wall dating it to the reign of Rusa II. Two other fortresses, facing each other appear to have been built to protect the larger one (Piotrovskij, 1959, p.32). These and other fortresses set in high mountainous areas show how concerned the Urartians were about securing grazing grounds. All this combined with the amount of cattle and sheep carried away during campaigns suggest that intensification in agriculture due to irrigation was realized at the cost of stock breeding, resulting in deficiencies in meat and leather. This may be the reason why at Teisebaini there are storerooms of meat and leather not found at earlier citadels. Because of deficiencies, the state may have extended its control over the redistribution of products coming

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from stock. This would be consistent with a policy to secure all possible sources of meat, leather, wool.

The locations of temples, in close association with 'palacial quarters', would suggest compatibility or shared interests between the state and the religious sectors. Very little is known from written sources about the internal organization of the religious sector and its relationship to the administrative apparatus. It is, however, known that Musasir (Ardini) was the religious center of Urartu. It had a governor (king) of its own. Some idea of Muṣaṣir can be formed from the accounts of Sargon's Eighth Campaign. Muṣaṣir housed the main temple of the Urartian head deity Haldi. The temple was endowed with great land holdings and animal herds. It contained workshops of craftsmen, and storerooms full of grain, wine, metal armour and precious items. The decorations on the temple itself were done in gold, including the statue of God Haldi. (AVIIU, 49) Among the objects carried away by Sargon during the sacking of Muṣaṣir was a statue of Sarduri, son of Iṣpuini in a praying position. (Ibid) Sarduri as son of Iṣpuini never appears in the Urartian records. Melikišvili suggests that, as an older son of the king, Sarduri became the head of the clergy in Muṣaṣir, whereas, the younger son, Menua, actually became the successor to the throne (UKN, p.430). If this was indeed the case, then it would imply that at that time the religious sector remained in close association with the state. How this manifested itself in

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local cases is not known. For example, how much of the land at Arin Berd belonged to the temple and how much actual power the clergy held in the administration remain subject to speculation.

If one is to go by the architectural evidence alone, then certain chronological variations can be traced. At Erebuni the temple structures, though free standing, are part of the palacial and citadel complex. At Argištihinili it appears that the administrative and the religious quarters are widely separated, or at least not part of the main citadel complex. Although Martirosian supposes that the building facing the western courtyard must have been a temple, the architecture would testify against it. There are no incorporated inscribed stones in the walls of this building as is the case with other Urartian temples. If the eastern wall exclusively housed the religious complexes of Argištihinili, then the drastic separation of the cult and administrative functions may be inferred. This state of affairs may have been brought about by changes in Musasir itself.

It is known from Assyrian as well as Urartian sources that by the time of the reign of Rusa I (son of Sarduri II), the head of Muṣaṣir was Urzana, a local king, not related to Urartian royalty. Urzana's letters to the king of Assyria are in Assyrian and his seal is an Assyrian seal (AVIIU, 49). From the contents of these letters it is clear that Urzana is willing to show equal treatment to both the Assyrian and the Urartian kings in the interests of the safety of his province. Urzana's independent

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actions may have been representative of the status of the clergy as a whole in Urartu at this time. That Urzana was not merely the king and governor of Muşasir but also the head of the clergy is suggested by the fact that it is he who sets Rusa I on the throne 'of his fathers' in Muşasir (UKN, No.264). Also, Sargon mentions Urzana's palace in association with the temple (AVIIU, 49). The looting of Muşasir left Urartu devastated, since Musasir included the treasury of Urartu as well as the statues of the supreme deities of the Urartian pantheon, as Sargon's records indicate. (AVIIU, No.49)(33)

In Karmir Blur there are no free standing temples, although here too, there are inscriptions commemorating the construction of religious buildings. Here, the temples were integrated into the citadel (as Oganessian suggests in Oganessian, 1955, p.68), or built as 'chapels', which may have been on the second floor, as Piotrovskij has noted. (see p.26) In any case, it is not surprising that, having lost its identification and stronghold (Muşasir), the religious sector would become formally and functionally integrated with the state.

The houses, aside from mere size, impress one with their apparent self-sufficiency. The storage areas provide ample evidence for the abundance of foodstuffs. The wide range of

(33) The impact that losing the statue of the head deity must have had on the morale of the Urartians cannot be underestimated. It is worth remembering, for example, that Babylon never recovered from the loss of the statue of Marduk and deteriorated completely.

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tools and instruments would have accommodated the manufacture of a large variety of household objects. The inhabitants of the houses comprised an economically and perhaps also politically dominant sector of the population.

The grouping of these houses about the citadel, in the 'inner city', would suggest that at least these households were associated with the administrative organization and held important positions within its structure.

It can be seen from the previous section that very little is known of the Urartian administrative machinery: who belonged to it? what was their status? There are no data as to the relative numbers of people involved with administration. Given the dimensions of the citadels it is likely that some of those directly involved in the administrative functions lived outside the walls of the citadel.⁽³⁴⁾ From the Neo-Babylonian sources it is known that some of the inhabitants of the 'inner city', though not directly involved in the functions of the citadel, were very influential by virtue of, for example, blood relations to the head administrator, economic advantages, military importance (A. Martirosian, manuscript). It is quite possible that the same was true in Urartu. The possibility that the houses of the 'inner city', however, belonged to the self-governing body of the city, not appointed by the state, cannot be ruled out. Although there

(34) The recovery of a seal on the territory of one of the houses has lead Martirosian to conditionally label this 'the house of the holder of the seal'. (Martirosian, 1974, p.108)

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is no evidence for any such body in Urartu, from Hittite sources it is well known that apart from the administrator representing the Hittite state there was a council of elders representing the city population, which had to be consulted in crucial matters. (ZVAXC, 4) The location of the large houses near the citadel could either imply subordination (or incorporation) of the self governing body to the state or its great involvement in the administrative apparatus. Given the nature of the written sources, none of these possibilities can be eliminated.

It is important to note that large houses are not limited to the inner city and extend over a large area (at Argistihinili especially), far from the citadel. From the surveys conducted by Martirosian it appears that the overwhelming number of houses at Argistihinili are represented by the 'villa type'. Who exactly inhabited these houses of course remains a conjecture. It is probable that the families of the mare, the LU^A.SI^{MES}, and outstanding craftsmen lived there. As the house of the 'medic' indicates, some of these people were endowed with special skills. Because of the armor and other military objects recovered in some of the houses it is clear that some inhabitants had military obligations (most likely in addition to their other functions). Assyrian inscriptions contain many references to the Urartian custom of housing some of their most distinguished warriors in the É.GAL, as Aiadu, Uaiais and others. (AVIIU, 49) At Karmir Blur the four identical eleven-room units under one roof (each

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very similar to a house at Argiš^{ti}hinili in structure) and the military objects recovered from this complex leave little doubt as to the military orientation of its inhabitants. Each household in itself probably represented an hierarchical organization.

At Tei^sebaini, while some free standing houses concentrated in certain areas, others were dispersed, with dwellings about them. Though considerably smaller and more irregular than the houses, the dwellings were by no means mere shelters. Not all the dwellings were the same, however. There are differences in size and building materials. By far the smallest and the shabbiest of dwellings were uncovered between two walls of the citadel at Argiš^{ti}hinili. The largest of the dwellings is a multiroom complex located on the landing leading to the eastern gate of this citadel. Metal ingots, ovens and tools recovered from this area have led Martirosian to dub it the 'house of the metallurgist' (Martirosian, 1974, p.96). Judging from the objects recovered from some of the dwellings, activities of their inhabitants included agriculture, metal working, pottery, weaving, etc. All the dwellings at Argiš^{ti}hinili have one feature in common: limited storage facilities. Most likely they were inhabited by people described in the previous section in the last category (populace, warriors, servants, slaves). As was noted there, the social status of the people varied, even if they belonged to the same economic group. Because of the lack of long

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term storage areas, it is reasonable to assume that the occupants of the dwellings were rewarded for their services, which they performed on a regular basis. Since there exists no evidence for the usage of money, or ingots, in Urartu, it is likely that payment largely consisted of food, especially given the abundance of grain and wine stored in the citadels. At Argištihinili, the subordinate configuration of the dwellings to the citadel structures would suggest that these people worked for the citadel in the capacity of servants, craftsmen, or field laborers. As was mentioned in the previous section, it is likely that different skills were prized differently, hence the differences in the 'metallurgist's house' and the poorest dwellings containing agricultural and potters' tools. It cannot be denied that these were the poorest inhabitants of Argistihinili, but it is doubtful that they comprised the core of the city's labor force, as Masson claims. (Masson, 1976, p.161) The number of dwellings compared with 'villa-type' houses is very small and limited in distribution. At Argištihinili at least the large households constituted the economically productive units. There is a remote possibility that the latter at times relied on the labor of the poorer sector. But it just does not appear likely. Of course, it is conceivable that the overwhelming majority of the dwellings were located not in the city but in the fields, where their inhabitants would have to work. Unfortunately, surveys and excavations to date have revealed nothing approaching

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such an arrangement. On one of his survey trips, Martirosian discovered a smaller fortress 20 km from Argistihinili, along a mountain pass. The fortress, very much like the one at Argištihinili, is also surrounded by 'villa-type' houses. It is also, however, a fact that the thorough cultivation of the Ararat valley near the Armavir hills would hardly permit the preservation of field dwellings. Unfortunately, all conclusions have to be drawn from the data on hand.

At Teišebaini the majority of the construction on the territory of the site is represented by dwellings. The dwellings were roomier than at Argištihinili and had one room which was probably exclusively devoted to storage. A closer look at this settlement and its differences from Argištihinili may shed some light on the functions of both.

The anucleated nature of the architectural units at Teisebaini has already been noted. All five architectural types can be discerned here except that most are consolidated. The dwellings of the settlement have been discussed above (Ill. 11). Ogenesjan notes that, "In these densely built quarters one distinctly feels the narrowness of ground space, peculiar to a fortress-city, which could not spread out according to its real needs, since any increase in the city territory would have to lengthen the lines of the citadel walls." (Ogenesjan, 1955, p.12). Thus, architecturally the settlement is strictly subordinate to the citadel walls. The military functions of

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Teiṣebaini are also reflected in the corpus of artifacts. The most elaborate collection of armour, shields, helmets, daggers, spearheads, ceremonial armour of fine bronze workmanship was recovered on the area of the citadel and the settlement.

There are other features which accent the intrinsically military character of the whole site. There are inscriptions of Rusa II mentioning what Piotrovskij translates as, "Rusa's arsenal." (e.g., Piotrovskij, 1970) Throughout the excavations at Teiṣebaini, armour bearing the inscriptions of Argiṣti I, Sarduri II, and Rusa I were recovered. A shield of Argiṣti I reads: "To God Ḫaldi, the Lord, this shield Argisti son of Menua, prepared for the city of Erebuni, Argiṣti, the powerful king, the great king, the king of [the land] of Biainili, [whose center is] Ṭuṣpa city." (UKN, NUN, No.65-78). An overwhelming number of these inscriptions designate the objects as belonging to Erebuni. Piotrovskij interprets these as ritual offerings of sacred armour brought to Teiṣebaini at its founding. (Piotrovskij, 1970) If this is indeed the case, the symbolic implications of such a custom cannot be ignored. The armour was brought from Erebuni to Teisebaini in recognition of Erebuni yielding its former position to the new fortress.

Commenting on the use of land at Argiṣtiḫinili, Masson remarks "that these dimensions [1000 hectares] are primarily made possible by the diffuse character of construction in contrast to the concentrated planning of Mesopotamian cities. The

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inhabitants of Argištihinili, actually had at their disposal a rather large territory, suitable for construction and they used it rather freely. (Masson, 1976, p.156). The character of Argistihinili reflected in its architectural composition is essentially different from Karmir Blur. It is more 'civilian' and, as time goes on, it becomes progressively more so, with the city spreading over the adjoining hills. This is not to say that the city was unprotected. Large encircling wall remnants were discovered on the outskirts of the city (Martirosian, 1974, p.43). Each house is protected by its huge walls, with minimum reliance on the citadel.

At Teišebaini, on the other hand, the houses, even if free standing, are intrinsically part of the general plan of the city defined by its orthogonal, but limiting streets, and integrated with other constructions. Some of the poorest units, probably belonging to the local population, are found adjoining these houses. The houses are elaborated dwellings rather than Argištihinili-type houses.

During the excavations of Karmir Blur, the remnants of an individual bovid were recovered from two different widely separated dwellings. This led Piotrovskij to believe that the inhabitants received food rations from the citadel (Piotrovskij, 1952). However, the same evidence would apply to individual exchange or payment for working for well-to-do households.

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Martirosian believes that the houses at Argištihinili and Teisebaini represent an historical moment marking the development of private property (Martirosian, 1961, p.68). Whereas the inhabitants of the houses owned property, those of the dwellings received rations from the citadels (Ibid, p.69). D'jakonov, on the other hand, concludes that there were never any large state holdings in Transcaucasia in Urartian times, and even slaves had some land holdings of their own or worked for the wealthier households (D'jakonov, 1952, p.96). To D'jakonov the ancient society was one of slave labor exploitation, where a slave's position was defined by his extra economic dependence(repression). Slaves were either the impoverished sectors of the local populations or foreign POW's (D'jakonov, 1968, p.24). The data from Erebuni provides more information on the POW's in Urartu.

As was noted above, the peristyle hall at Erebuni housed the Temple of 'Susi'. Inscriptions on symmetrically arranged stone plaques on each side of the entrance to the temple decree that it was built by Argišti to honor the god I-ú-ár-sa (or I-ub-sa) (UKN,NUN, No.8-9). It is the first time that the name of this god appears in Urartian records. Melikišvili identifies him as a Hittite god (Iuarša) and ascribes his introduction to the Urartian pantheon to the religious practices of the alien warriors brought here. (Melikišvili, 1958, p.42)(35) If this is

(35) Melikišvili also tries to equate him with the Urartian god

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true then the placement of this temple in the midst of the palace complex at Erebuni is rather problematic. The temple of Haldi, the most important god of the Urartian pantheon, is arranged distinctly outside the palace precinct, although adjacent to it. If the palace at Erebuni was meant to house the king on his campaigns north (see p.75), then why was it most intimately connected with a temple to a foreign god, whereas the temple of Haldi, the protector of all Urartian kings, was distinctly separate from it? The 'Iuarša' temple, being amidst the kings' quarters, would be furthest removed from the outside settlement. There are plenty of instances of conqueror kings worshipping the gods of conquered people, especially from the later periods of the Near East (e.g., Achaemenid). Written sources suggest yet another explanation, however, for the above arrangement.

In Assyrian documents there are many instances of foreign captives being turned into soldiers and mercenaries. Usually, these are also associated with mass relocations of communities as Melikisvili has pointed out. (Melikišvili, 1958, p.46). The practice is amply documented in contemporary Assyrian sources. Accounts of campaigns of Salmanaser IV, Tiglath-pilasar III, Sargon II and others are filled with notes of large scale resettlements. (D'jakonov, 1952, p.93) One of the reasons for

Haldi. His reasoning is somewhat circular. However, even if it is true, it does not change the gist of the following argument. The very fact that the Hittite name for the god would be used is significant. (Melikišvili, 1958, p.45)

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the massive relocation of peoples during warfare was to populate territories, usually newly conquered, found economically or politically desirable by the state.

Chronicles of Argiṣṭi II carved at Van indicate that, immediately prior to the construction of Erebuni, Argiṣṭi was engaged in intensive warfare on all the frontiers of the kingdom, accompanied by looting and relocation of populations. In light of all this it is likely that Erebuni was inhabited and run by the members of the captive community of six thousand six hundred transplanted with families by Argiṣṭi I.

Unless these people could be classified as state slaves, it is difficult to think of administrators as slaves. Even though they may have been initially transplanted in the capacity of slaves, once representing the conquerors, they were the rulers and perpetrators of the state's status quo.

Large scale irrigation projects and cultivation went hand in hand with conquest, as the granaries and the water canal found at Erebuni testify. Agricultural surplus meant the possibility of sustaining larger populations, hence continuous warfare and more vigorous relocation of populations. This process, naturally, was self-perpetuating. Thus it is not surprising that very soon after the conquest of the Erebuni area, Argiṣṭi announces the establishment of another center in the Ararat valley, Argiṣṭiḫinili. (UKN, No.127) Although the written sources do not mention it directly, it is very likely that Argiṣṭiḫinili was

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also partially settled by relocated populations. Prior to the construction of Argistihinili, the king was involved in warfare with KURParšua, KURPuštu, URUBabilu. D'jakonov suggests that URUBabilu does not really mean the city of Babylon, but an area highly Babylonized to the south of lake Urmia. (D'jakonov, 1963, p.92) Whatever the case, either King Argišti I or King Sarduri II, who mentioned conquering KURBabilu and KURBaruatania and relocating almost 35000 people from these areas, could have been instrumental in moving some of these Babylonians or Babylonized people to Argištihinili. Since many of the constructions and the expansion of the city date to the reign of Sarduri II, it is very possible that it was the latter. Some of the finds that speak in favor of such a possibility include a statuette, almost an exact replica of ones of Marduk from Mesopotamia, found on the site, and some peculiarities of Mesopotamian town planning, already examined.(36) And yet (especially since the dwellings date from later periods), there are to date no direct traces of large slave communities inhabiting the city. Naturally, this does not dispute the possibility of a large number of household slaves living in the 'villa-type' houses with their owners.

D'jakonov associates the growth of slavery with the disintegration of what he calls the 'extended family communes'. He defines an 'agnatic' household as 'an economic unit comprising

(36) See p.21.

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a group of agnates headed by their progenitor, the sovereign lord of the household' (D'jakonov, 1968b, p.27). When tracing the evolution and dissolution of an 'agnatic household', D'jakonov outlines some of the contributing factors to the latter process,

"...the participation or the non-participation of different 'brothers' in war, pursuit of different crafts or differentially profitable agricultural crops, along with the differences in mothers' estates...- all this led to differences in the economic development of separate individual families within an agnatic household; this was compounded by differential political influence of different members, who held different household or state positions; these differences allowed inner household cooperation to turn into means of exploitation of relatives and even [allowed] to conclude bond slavery agreements among them... [eventually resulting in] in shifting of communal labor services unto the poorest cultivators, who had fallen into dependence on their rich fellow citizens and money-lenders... and appearance of a mass of fugitive outlaws from the communities..." (D'jakonov, 1968b, p.21).

This process culminates in the use of slave labor to meet the growing need for labor power and raids into neighboring lands to provide more slaves.

The continuous intensification of agriculture, growth of horticulture, differential value placed on specialized crafts in Urartian times would render the above developmental sequence plausible for Urartu.

However, even if a scheme like the above was justifiable for the core of the state, it is quite clear that in the peripheries, the relocated populations were not merely brought in as slaves to the existing communities. In this case perhaps a

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distinction ought to be drawn between POW's sent to the core of Urartu (parubi ^{KUR}Biainaidi) and ones settled in the peripheries. Drawing on the evidence from Erebuni, it is likely that men who were warriors, or capable of military service, were sent to the peripheries for conquests and then the conquered lands were populated by these very warriors. They were given rights approaching those of citizens, endowed with their own property, where they could even have slaves of their own (perhaps members of local populations). The others, (^{GEME/LÚ}uediani) were taken to the core of the land where they belonged to the lowest level of the social hierarchy and could even be owned by well-to-do slaves of the native Urartian population. Such instances are well known from, e.g., Hittite and Neo-Babylonian sources (Menabde, 1965; Dandamaev, 1976). It is difficult to imagine a system whereby a slave would in turn be capable of owning a slave. The simplest explanation would be to draw a sharp distinction between state slaves and private slaves (or servants). Whereas the latter were used to perform menial labor, some field work, the state owned slaves had greater responsibilities and managerial duties (as in third dynasty Ur) and could continually rise to wealth themselves. A distinction of this kind is very artificial. The organization of the state household reflected the organization of a private household (and/or vice versa). From neo-Babylonian sources it is quite apparent that private slaves in large households were encouraged

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to be enterprising and establish households of their own. So, essentially, it is the very structure and development of the 'social unit', the house, which sets the conditions for various types of exploitation. In this particular "Babylonian" case, a heightened and complex relationship to private property is apparent.

Precisely with respect to this point Melikišvili holds views diametrically opposed to D'jakonov's.(37) He sees the state and its bureaucracy as the dominant sector of the economy and claims the exploitation was primarily that of communities of free citizens by the state, temples, and associated personnel, in all cases, even where private property was involved, "...[in relation to the government] people living on, (as) named in the sources, royal temple lands and other lands differed little from each other: they all paid natural taxes, sometimes worked partially for their own households, partially for the temple or the court, performed some labor, military and other duties, moreover, the economic burden laid on so called freeholders, apparently was often no lighter than the duties of producers living off temple lands...". (Melikišvili, 1975, p.43)

(37) The views of these two scholars are dealt with here, because they are representative of two widely different schools of soviet historiography. The two positions have a complex history and have included bitter controversies, involving such scholars as Nikolskij, a proponent of the Oriental mode of production (pre-feudal formation) and Struve, the proponent of five-stage historical formations (slaveowning society stage).

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As the other scholar, Melikišvili tends to see his theories as true for the entire ancient Near East in general, though recognizing the processual mechanisms necessary. In reference to conquered lands, for example, he notes,

"One ought to speak of the king bringing communities into dependence on him rather than expropriating land from the entire population, which would result in, according to D'jakonov, the establishment of the phenomenon of king's supreme power of ownership. However, similar subordination and expansion of the state sector of the economy at the cost of the communal holdings, was probably a continually functioning process. Its intensity often depended on the concrete historical conditions, from the might and the power of the government and the feasibility of carrying out economic functions and exploitation of populations in one way or another. (Ibid, p. 38).

Urartu specifically is seen as somewhat comparable to third dynasty Ur, with a powerful political state controlling most of the economy, especially in newly conquered lands where a lesser differentiated society was more vulnerable to the dictates of the Urartian state.

The various socio-economic schemes proposed for Urartu need to be examined in the light of their political feasibility. In order to accomplish this, it is necessary to look at the society immediately preceding and surrounding the Urartian state. Who after all was the state dealing with? Comparing the Assyrian texts from the 13th through the 10th centuries B.C. with later Urartian texts, there is good reason to believe that the communities giving rise to the formation of the Urartian state and those bordering it, especially to the north, bore great

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resemblance to each other.(38) Piotrovskij and D'jakonov are inclined to call these 'tribal unions'. Both Assyrian and Urartian kings speak of confrontations with: groups headed sometimes by several leaders, alliances of different areas, and invasions of those lands which had fortified and unfortified populated centers. The terminology of the texts does not distinguish between Urartian (Assyrian) kings and tribal leaders, nor is there any distinction made between Urartian (Assyrian) settlement types and those of the conquered territories.

Remains of pre-Urartian sites reveal that there indeed were settlements with cyclopiian fortresses and fortifications set in mountainous slopes. The Lake Sevan area is particularly well known for its pre-Urartian sites with fortresses. Similar constructions were discovered on the slopes of the Ararat mountain range and unfortified settlements in the valley (Martirosian, 1961, p.69). The pre-Urartian settlement at Teisebaini consisted of dwellings of several agglomerated multi-room complexes adjoining a single room (see Ill. 12). All of them had household items: pottery, grain grinders, storage pits, ovens, etc. Illustration 13 shows a reconstruction of a single room pre-Urartian dwelling. Comparable dwellings were uncovered near the Sevan fortresses, Šamiram, Mešamor and other areas (Mkrtčjan, Xanzadjan, 1974 pp.107-123). The corpus of

(38) The following argument suffers from being overly formalistic, but hopefully the introduction of archaeological evidence will render it more plausible.

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ceramics collected at Argištihinili coincided with that of Teisebaini. It is very likely that a similar settlement was located between the Armavir hills, but was levelled for the construction of the new city. The as yet unexcavated Samiram settlement has a fortress larger than the one at Teisebaini and constructions about the fortress extending far into the countryside. The ceramic material dates it to immediately pre-Urartian and early Urartian period.

Consistency must be preserved in the recognition of diagnostic features for social differentiation: if monumental architecture is taken as a sign of a socially differentiated society in one case, it cannot be dismissed as non-argumentative in another. Although the excavations to date have not been complete enough to allow the determination of the functional properties of pre-Urartian fortresses and settlements, it can be asserted that these societies were socially differentiated and economically advanced. Some of the local crafts (e.g. pottery, metal working) were apparently not inferior to the Urartian ones and remained to coexist with the latter.

Through the Assyrian texts a certain developmental sequence of the formation of the Urartian state can be traced. Military cooperation appears to have been a major force behind the coming together of various groups (tribes?) and leadership may have rotated, hence the differential naming of the unions by Nairi, Urartu or both. How the establishment of a blood monarchy

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and state came about is not clear. It is clear, however, that in their expansionist policies, Urartian conquests were made largely through violent encounters with neighboring unions (e.g. Etiuni). Often the Urartians were satisfied to assert their authority by getting the allegiance of the local leaders, rather than by depriving them of power. As so many conquerors in history, Urartians found it easier to govern some areas without blatantly interfering with local loyalties. Instead they preferred to operate within the existing traditions using subtle ways of bringing populations into dependence.

D'jakonov rightly points out that in order to take large numbers of people as prisoners every year and keep them enslaved, the Urartians needed a military more advanced or more numerous than that of their neighbors. Since it was not more advanced, it must have been more numerous, and the numbers were filled with prisoners from the adjoining lands (D'jakonov, 1952 pp.99).(39)

Arguing along the same lines the question can be carried a little further and asked on a larger scale: how could Urartians keep a state together in the presence of neighbors with a complicated social organization (perhaps even comparable) and military strength. The answer seems to lie in the political and economic maneuvering implicit in Urartian policies. The Urartians had to

(39) It should be noted that it is not obvious that Urartians had a more advanced war technology than their neighbors. It appears that it didn't, if one compares swords, daggers, etc. recovered from corresponding sites. However, no in-depth studies have yet been conducted.

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offer something better to the warriors to keep them on their side, especially if the army consisted of multi-ethnic garrisons which could as easily turn against the Urartians. The Urartians (as the Assyrians) could resort to psychologically instilling fear into the conquered people or try and get their loyalty by economically bringing them into dependence. Urartians did both. The establishment of centralized irrigation systems would result in clustering of populations in restricted areas thus facilitating easier control and destruction of previous territorial and communal ties while at the same time turning the loyalty of the populace toward the Urartian state.(40) The strength and importance of communal and kin ties in the local societies cannot be underestimated. It is noteworthy, for example, that the Assyrian records often boast of imprisoning members of 'royal' families of the people they conquered. If Martirosian's claim that the extended family group was the basic economic unit of pre-Urartian societies is true (Martirosian, 1961, p.73), then there would be some justification in seeing blood loyalties as very important for the societies bordering on Urartu. Breaking these ties, especially toward the more influential households, would require the state to assimilate the latter in ways advantageous to it or to catalyze their breakdown.

(40) Provided, of course, that the Urartians were not simply enlarging and connecting already existing canals. It appears that there was no artificial irrigation prior to the Urartian rule in the Ararat valley, but then very little investigation has been carried out in that area.

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The Urartians dealt with local loyalties by incorporating the more influential strata of the population into the administrative or military machinery, physically moving them in connection with military activities and/or gifts of land in other areas, and exterminating them completely. At the same time, privileges granted to the military and administrative personnel, especially the more influential, would keep them loyal to the state. Whereas originally this may have manifested itself in (among others) granting small horticultural plots to families of warriors and mercenaries, it probably culminated in giving away large pieces of land and fields. It is well known from Assyrian sources that land shares in newly acquired territories were often granted to the turtan of the army or the court messenger or other personnel. The houses at Argištihinili may have been inhabited by the recipients of such holdings.

Thus, the process is one of bringing communities into dependence for the benefit of the state and greater centralization, but also one of definite and secure emergence of privileged groups.

The Urartian state was involved in defensive as well as offensive military operations. The non-subordination of local populations, the threat posed by such powers as Assyria, Scythian nomads, etc., required that the fortresses be prepared to repel attacks. So the Urartian provincial heads were armed and commanded garrisons of their own (as the Assyrian sources

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confirm). During war the king relied on the cooperation of the EN.NAM, even though there existed a standing army. In such a case maintaining a centralized state and preventing its disintegration into independent provinces required special political manipulation.

From both Urartian and Assyrian sources it is clear that many provinces continually fell away from the state and had to be reconquered. This was apparently the case in Urartu prior to the Eighth campaign of Sargon II. Reports of spies, stationed in Urartian territory by the Assyrians, diligently describe all the internal strife.(41) A chariot taken by Sargon from Muşasir bore an inscription stating that Rusa with his own hand reconquered all of Urartu (AVIIU,49(347)). Since the most obvious manifestation of autonomy was the refusal to pay taxes to the state, it is likely that the provinces disobeyed in this manner. The dissociation of the provinces was accommodated by their relative self sufficiency and minimal inter-provincial dependencies. Assyrian texts mention that some areas and centers performed specialized functions.(42) Others were specialized by virtue of their proximity to a natural resource. But, on the whole most areas provided for themselves. In the Ararat valley

(41) Piotrovskij thinks that grave administrative reforms instituted by Rusa II initiated a violent response from the EN.NAM and caused the disturbing state of affairs. (Piotrovskij, 1959, p.33) Though very plausible, there is no direct evidence to confirm this thesis.

(42) The Subi area, for example was known for breeding horses (AVIIU,49).

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in particular, there are ore mines 35 km from Argištihinili. It is not known whether Urartians exploited these or not.

It is possible that following Sargon's attack, the Urartian state, significantly weakened, if not destroyed, changed its internal policies, for example, in relation to taxation, land grants and so on. It assumed a greater economic role by extending its control over the redistribution of a wider variety of objects and products. Manufactured goods, horticultural products, meat and other items were added to grain and wine and included in the economic management of the state household. How exactly this was accomplished is not clear. The finds at the Teiṣebaini citadel seem to indicate that here, by the reign of Rusa II, tools, pots, and luxury items (not found at previous citadels) were included under the jurisdiction of the state. The inscribed dedicatory and luxury items from Teiṣebaini suggest that this citadel took over and expanded the redistributive functions of the other citadels in the Ararat valley and was not limited to dominating the immediate area about the site. The highly military face of the citadel implies that this kind of a reorganization required a show of strength and authority on the part of the state. Simultaneous with the construction of Teiṣebaini, the Argištihinili citadel gets covered with the identical one room units. These rooms contain standardized items suggesting that they belonged to soldiers. If that were the case, then the reorganizations introduced by Rusa II in the

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Ararat valley necessitated military control of Argištihinili. At about this same time the 'villa-type' houses get rebuilt and partitioned into smaller quarters, destroying, in many cases, the central columned rooms. All this suggests that whatever changes were associated with the founding of Teiṣebaini somehow involved the strata of the population inhabiting the large houses.

The changes were not all-encompassing as many of the houses remained untouched and in use until the final fall of Urartu. Teiṣebaini itself has some free standing houses. Some of the inhabitants at Argištihinili may have been moved out because of their administrative functions (which were shifted to the other center) or military duties, since Teiṣebaini organized attacks into the Sevan and Sirak areas.(43) The households may have been fractionalized as a result of economic pressures or simply the splitting of multi family households. The presence of the one-room units on the territory of the citadel proper at Argištihinili, and the predominance of dwellings at Teiṣebaini suggest that whatever the reasons for the breakdown of the houses, they were catalyzed by the intervention of centralized authority. This intervention would be likely to appear in the form of increased taxation. Some households were able to cope with this, others fell apart. Increased taxation was the economic means of bringing these areas back under Urartian

(43) It is interesting that a stela found at Karmir Blur includes the name of the Babylonian god Marduk among the Urartian gods asked for protection.

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control. This would be very analogous to the process outlined above by Melikišvili (see p.95). The addition of large numbers of granaries on all the citadels may be the result of greater taxation. The areas around lake Sevan were part of Urartu at this time. If grain was collected in these parts it certainly did not go into the Teišebaini storage, because the É.GAL ("fortress") established in this area had an EN.NAM ("governor") of its own (UKN, No.270), which means it was an administrative center.

How successful was the extension of the state's economic functions is not clear. Urartian towns remained standing until the Scythian invasion, estimated to have occurred in the sixth century B.C. (Piotrovskij, 1944, pp.104-108).

5. Conclusion

The archaeological record of Northern Urartu and Urartian texts reveals a well stratified society marked by economic and social ('occupational') differences. By examining the architectural features of Urartian centers it is possible to trace a rough developmental sequence with respect to the weight of the state and various strata of the population in the society. Since the geographic area discussed here was a periphery of the Urartian state, it reveals some of the modes of assimilation of newly acquired territories by the state. Upon conquest Urartians

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established 'citadels' as military 'markers' in the conquered territories. Settlements grew about them through the conscious effort on the part of the state to populate economically and politically desirable areas. In order to establish and maintain their rule, the Urartian citadels assumed many, if not all, economic functions related with intensifying agriculture and manipulating the surplus. This process, however, was modified by political considerations. Because of grave military threat posed by 'tribal unions' in the north, nomadic tribes from the northeast, the growing alliances of the Mana in the southeast and the constant military harassments of the Assyrians on the south, in addition to great expansionist tendencies of Urartu itself, the state needed large and loyal military forces. To increase the ranks of the military the State resorted to including foreign troops and mercenaries into the army. Then, to secure loyalty from the military sector, the state bestowed privileges on the latter in the form of rights and property. Thus, paradoxically, greater centralization was accompanied by the emergence of a large independent sector of land owners, especially in the peripheries, since these were the areas that could be parcelled among the privileged. Argištihinili represents a center primarily inhabited by these privileged groups. The settlements were organized about local administrative centers which mirrored the central organization of Van and in turn were connected in a loose network of interaction about the center. However, since

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the ties between smaller settlements and the larger centers about which they clustered were of immediate economic nature, they were far more fundamental and as a result stronger than the ties with the central administrative authority of Urartu. There may have been attempts on the part of the state to encourage functional specialization of local centers and therefore keep them interdependent which were hampered by the relative self-sufficiency of various regions. Thus whole provinces fell away from Urartu and had to be reconquered. In Northern Urartu, the state was faced with reassimilating a large private sector. Because of the military strength of this area, the reassimilation was not through violent means, but rather ideological and economic. The reintegration of these centers was economically manifested in greater taxation of the private sector and thus causing its partial breakdown. How this process was realizable ideologically is not clear.(44) However, it is possible that the instability in the economy caused by the development of irrigation agriculture at the cost of stock breeding created favorable conditions for the state's increasing dominance in Transcaucasia. Acquisition of stock and lands favorable for stock grazing meant dealing with 'native alliances' in the Sevan area and with nomads. Judging from the number of troops sent by the Urartians to battle the populations of the Sevan and Sirak areas, the latter posed a considerable threat. The situation

(44) Very little is known of the State religion, for example.

Conclusion

thus created was apparently sufficient to shift the balance of power from the local centers to the centralized government.

During the conquest of the Sevan area and including the stock related products under its manipulation, the state took the opportunity to spread its redistributive functions over other products: agricultural, manufactured goods, horticultural, etc., probably through greater taxation. However, this does not mean the annihilation of the private sector, only a reduction of its relative weight.

There are many assumptions and conditions underlying the above conclusions, but the conclusions will bear testing by further fieldwork and linguistic studies:

1) How much of the land in the Ararat valley was distributed as land grants hinges on the agricultural significance of the valley to the Urartian state. If the valley was merely being used as a stepping stone to the Sirak and Sevan areas, then very little of the land would have been cultivated. If the valley was used as a major source of staple foods, much of the valley should show signs of organized agriculture. In the latter case, the cultivation of the valley would have remained under state control. It is not clear how well suited the land of the valley is for growing staple grains. In recent history it has been used for growing fruit and vegetables. Growing anything in the valley requires

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artificial irrigation. It would be very helpful to know how extensively and/or intensively the Ararat valley was used in Urartian times. This would require extensive surveys for Urartian remains and especially remnants of irrigation canals. It is also not clear what precisely was the staple crop in Urartian times and the relative importance of horticultural products and meat (the particular kinds) in the diet.

2) Urartians could not massively enslave the societies which they were conquering because the latter were rather socially (politically) and militarily sophisticated. The lands occupied by immediately pre-Urartian societies and societies contemporary to Urartu have been very scantily excavated, and those that have, have not been examined systematically. A comparative study of pre-Urartian and Urartian tools and weapons, for example, could be made with respect to efficiency. This would give more concrete bases upon which to judge just how much resistance these people could put up to Urartu. It would be very helpful to know something of the functions of the pre-Urartian fortresses and settlement architecture for understanding the formation and expansion of the Urartian state.

3) If the Urartian state consisted of centers, basically self-sufficient and minimally interdependent, then a closer examination of the corpus of material remains and their

Conclusion

origin should shed some light on this. A more rigorous approach to the distribution of Urartian sites should also help illustrate or define the interactive network better.

4) i) How much of a periphery the Ararat valley represented with respect to the core of the Urartian state is unknown. Tušpa city (Van) has not been systematically excavated, so nothing is known of its structure or organization. What constituted the core of the Urartian state: whether it was the immediate area around the city of Tušpa (Biainili) or whether it was the entire territory termed in Assyrian records Nairi-Urartu, is largely dependent on the formational mechanisms of the Urartian state. It is known from Assyrian sources that Nairi-Urartu represented a union of groups with individual leaders. If the union naturally culminated in a monarchy, then Nairi-Urartu was the core of the Urartian state. If the areas were conquered by force then most of the areas outside the immediate vicinity of the center had a greater or lesser degree of peripheral status at one time or another. Integrating the Northern Urartian material with that from other parts of Urartu should shed some light on this question. As was noted before, the data from Iran in some cases duplicate those from the Ararat valley.

ii) The whole concept of a periphery is directly related to the means and methods of assimilating areas and populations

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into a state. Very little is known of this in Urartu, except that the 'homogenization' of populations was attempted by physically moving them about and resettling them in different areas. Greater attention should be devoted to the study of the material remains (tracing stylistic features of pots and artistic forms; analysis of components of metals and ceramics; etc.) with emphasis on their origin and modifications they underwent under Urartian influence. Greater care should be taken in the study of written sources with respect to isolating different cultural constituent groups mentioned and their treatment by the state. For example, it already is known that some of the scribes in Urartu were of Hittite origin. It would be interesting to know how widespread this phenomenon really was and whether it was significant in the administrative organization. It is also known that Urartu had a rather large interaction sphere: Elam, Assyria, Babylon, Iran, Syria. There is also ample textual evidence for the numerous alliances formed by Urartu with its neighbors for military purposes of resisting or attacking Assyria. The exact nature of these relations is unknown.

As can be seen the above conclusions remain contingent on the verification of several conditions and are therefore of a preliminary nature. Further study will reveal the soundness of the above arguments. It is clear, however, that deeper

Conclusion

examination is bound to show a much greater flexibility and diversity to ancient societies (Urartu in particular) than scholars hereto have been inclined to credit them with. Given the institutions of private property and state property the societies could shift to a greater or lesser degree of differential state monopoly in response to political and economic conditions. The latter would also determine the rigidity with which internal social conventions were followed (the institution of aliens as slaves, for example). Even in its preliminary form, the data examined above suggest complexity and subtlety in the socio-political relations of Urartu.

Appendix I

Appendix I

Chronology of Urartian kings.

(45)

1. Arami	860-840
2. Sarduri I	840-825
3. Išpuini	825-810
4. Minua	810-786
5. Argišti I	786-764
6. Sarduri II	764-735
7. Rusa I	735-714
8. Argišti II	714-685
9. Rusa II	685-645
10. Sarduri III	645-635
11. Sarduri IV	635- ?
12. Eremena	? - ?
13. Rusa III	? -609
14. Rusa IV	609-589

(45) Extrapolated from dates supplied by Piotrovskij, D'jaknonov, and Melikišvili with the help of O.O. Karagjozjan.

Appendix II

Appendix II

Chronology of Assyrian Kings.

(46)

Tukulti-Ninurta I	1249-1208
Aššur-nadin-anal	1207-1204
Aššur-nerari III	1203-1198
Lil-kudurt-udur	1197-1193
Ninurta-apil-ekud	1192-1180
Aššur-dan I	1179-1134
Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur	?
Mutakkil-Nusku	?
Aššur-reš-isi	1133-1116
Tiglat-palasar (Tukulti-anal-Satta)	1115-1077
Aššaru-apal-Ekur	1076-1075
Aššur-bel-kala	1074-1057
Eriba-Adad II	1056-1055
Šamsi-Adad IV	1054-1051
Aššur-naššid-apal I	1050-1032
Salmanasar II	1031-1020
Aššur-nerari IV	1019-1014

(46) From E.J. Bickerman, Chronology of the Ancient World, London, 1969.

Appendix II

Aššur-rabi II	1013-973
Aššur-reš-ise	972-968
Tiglat-palasar II	967-935
Aššur-dan II	934-912
Adad-nerari II	911-891
Tukulti-ninurta II	890-884
Aššur-naššid-apal II	883-859
Salmanasar III	858-824
Samsi-Adad V	823-811
Adad-nerari III	810-783
Salmanasar IV	782-773
Aššur-dan III	772-755
Aššur-nerari V	754-745
Tiglat-palasar III	774-727
Salmanasar V	726-722
Sargon II	721-705
Sin-ahhe-eriba	704-681
Assarhaddon	680-669
Aššurbanapal	668-635/27
Aššur-etel-ilani	634/27-624?
Sin-sumu-lisir	?
Sin-sar-iškun	?-612
Aššur-uballit II	611-609

List of Abbreviations

List of Abbreviations

<u>Abbreviation</u>	<u>Definition</u>
ANArm.SSR	Akademia Nauk Armjanskoj SSR
ANGSSR	Akademia Nauk Gruzinskoj SSR
ANSSSR	Akademia Nauk SSSR
AVIIU	Assyro-vavilonskie istočniki po istorii Urartu, D'jakonov, 1963
HAI.SSRGA	Hajkakan SSR Giṭutjuneri Akademia
UKN	Urartskie Klinoobraznye Nadpisi, I and II, Melikišvili, 1960, 1971
UKN,NUN	Urartskie Klinoobraznye Nadpisi, Novye Urartskie Nadpisi, Melikišvili, 1960
UPD	Urartskie Pis'ma i Dokumenty, D'jakonov, 1963
VDI	Vestnik Drevnej Istorii
ZVAXC	Zakony Vavilonii, Assirii i Xettskogo Carstva, D'jakonov, 1952

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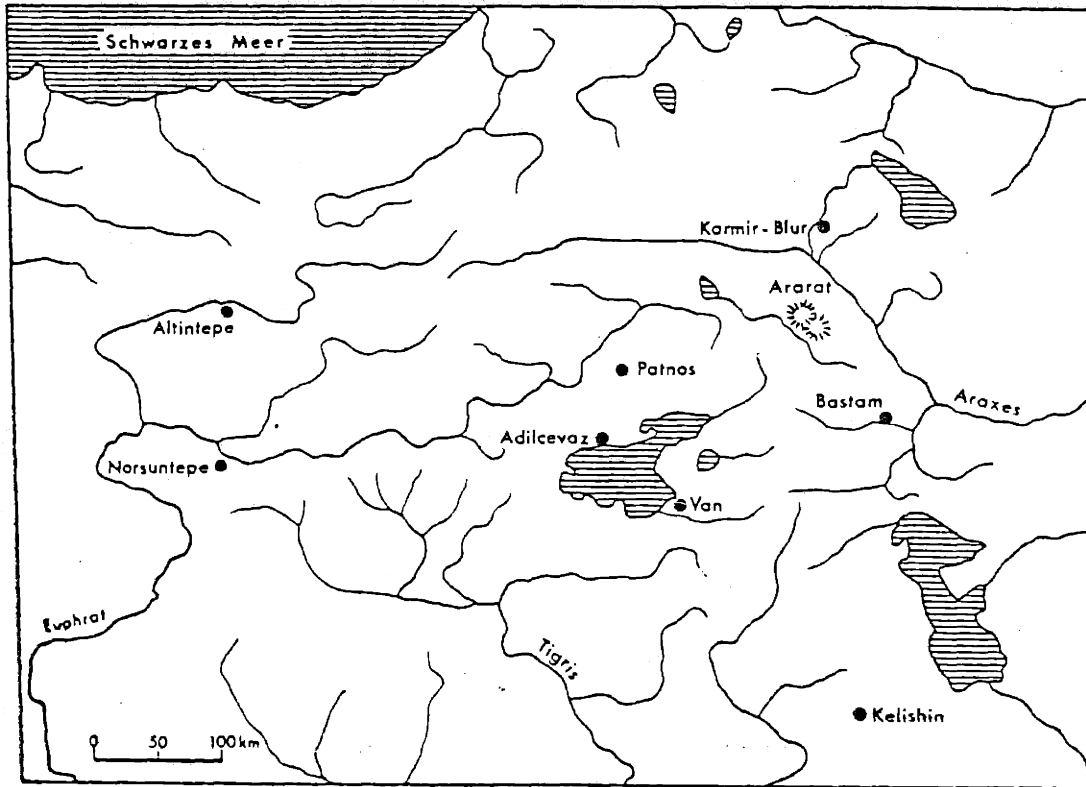


Figure 1). A map of major Urartian sites.

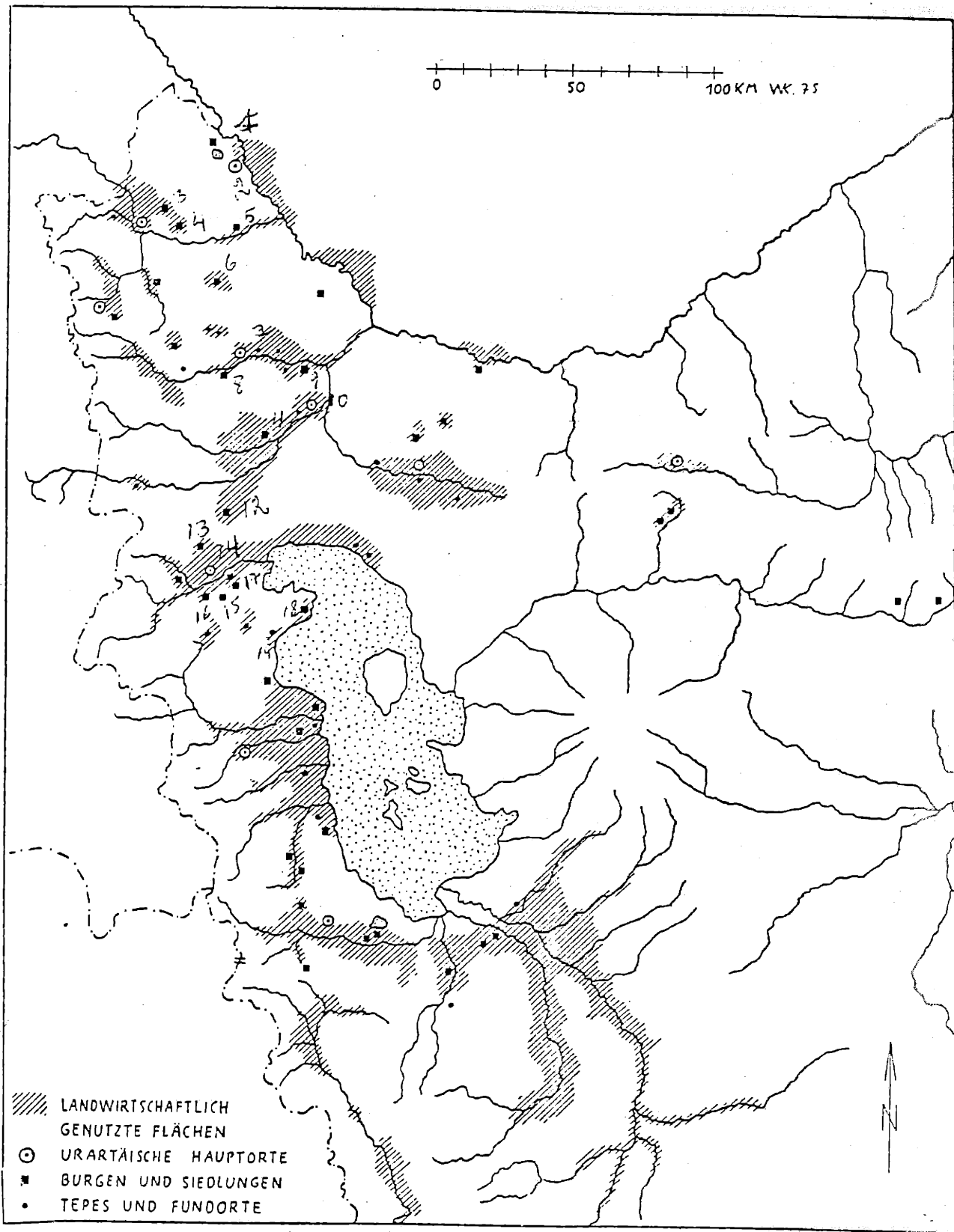


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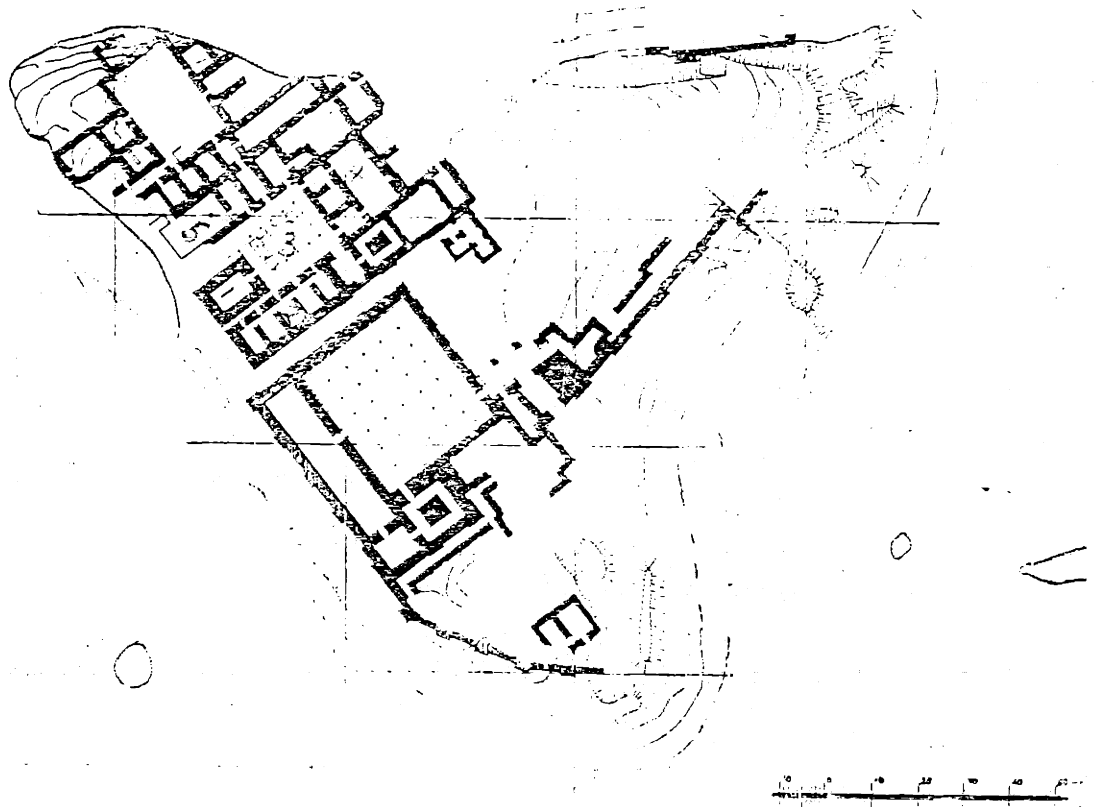


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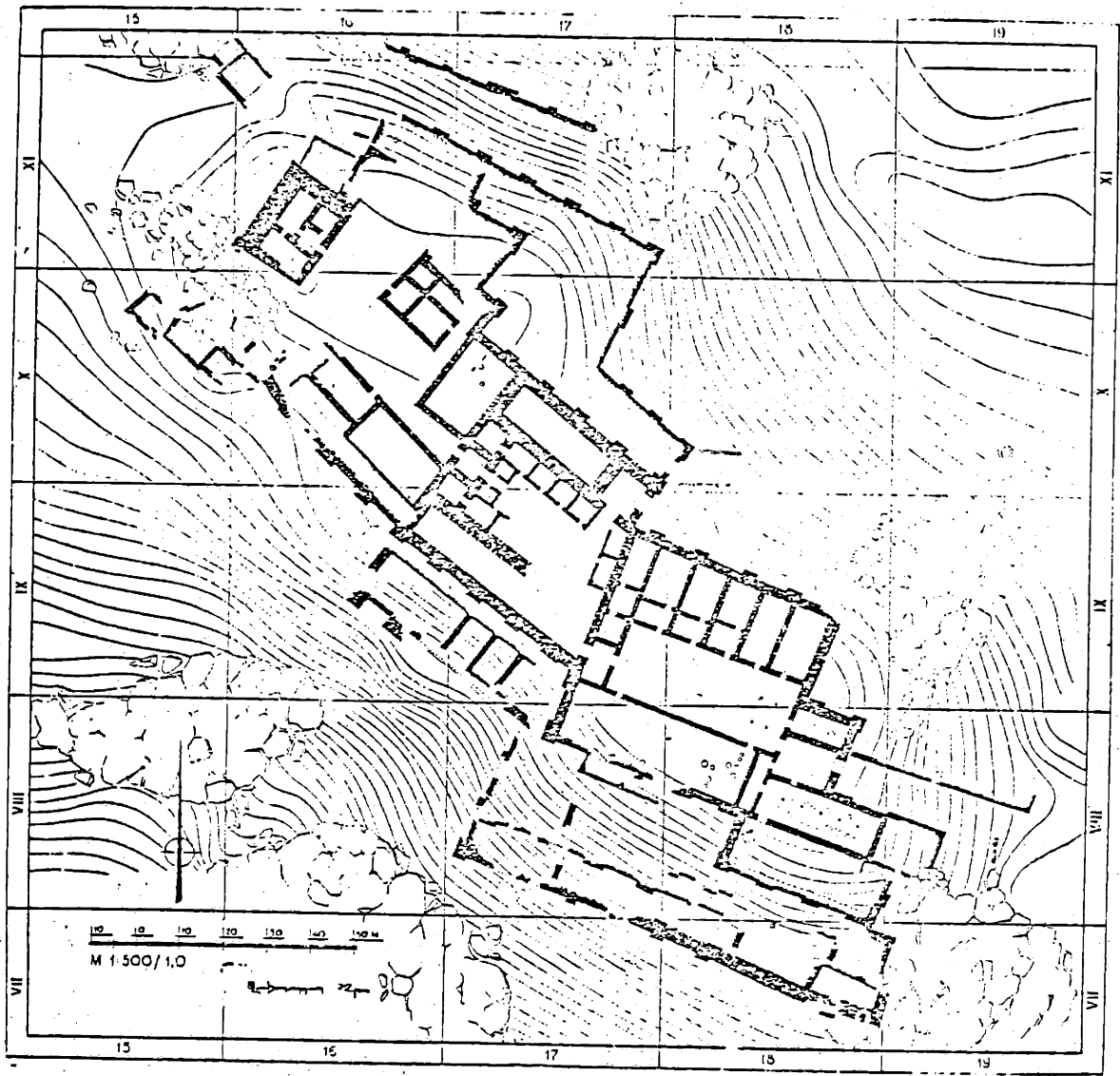


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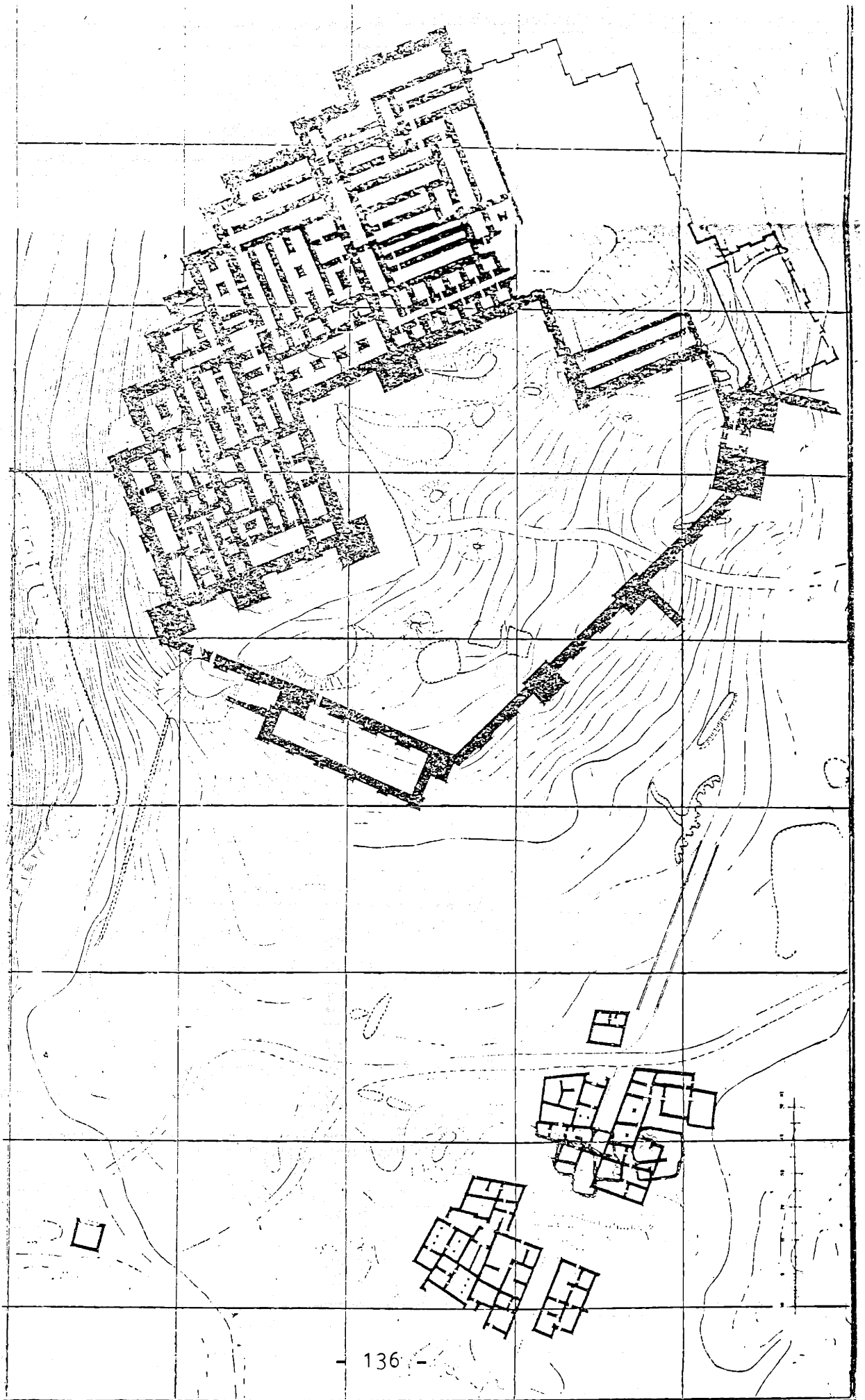


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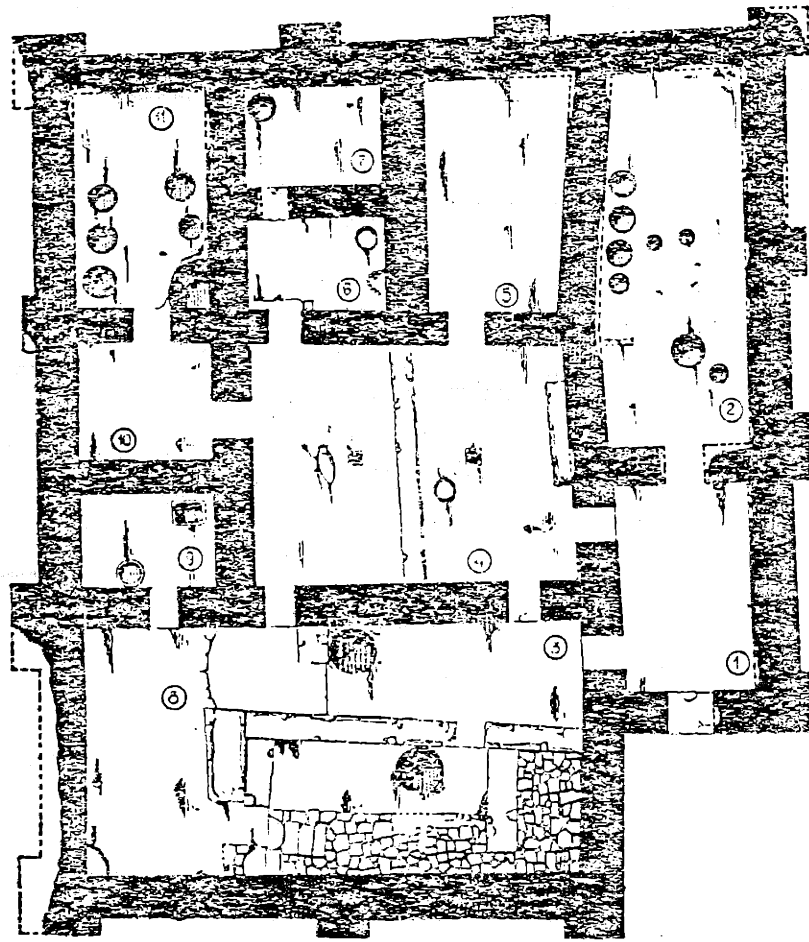


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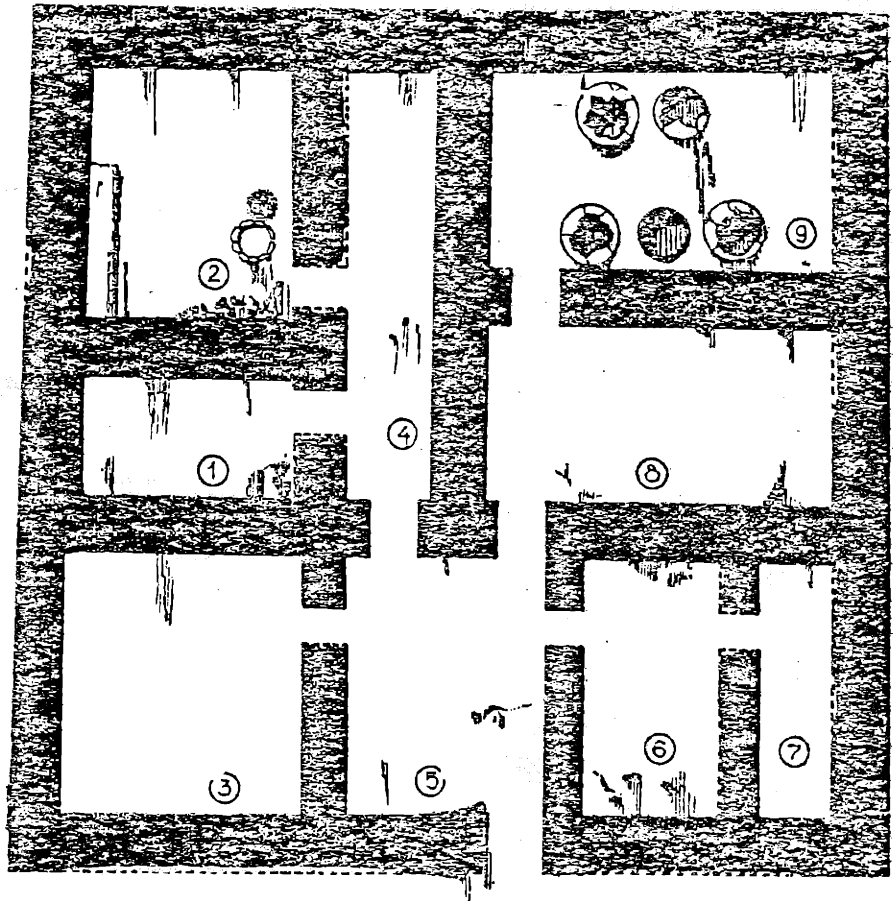


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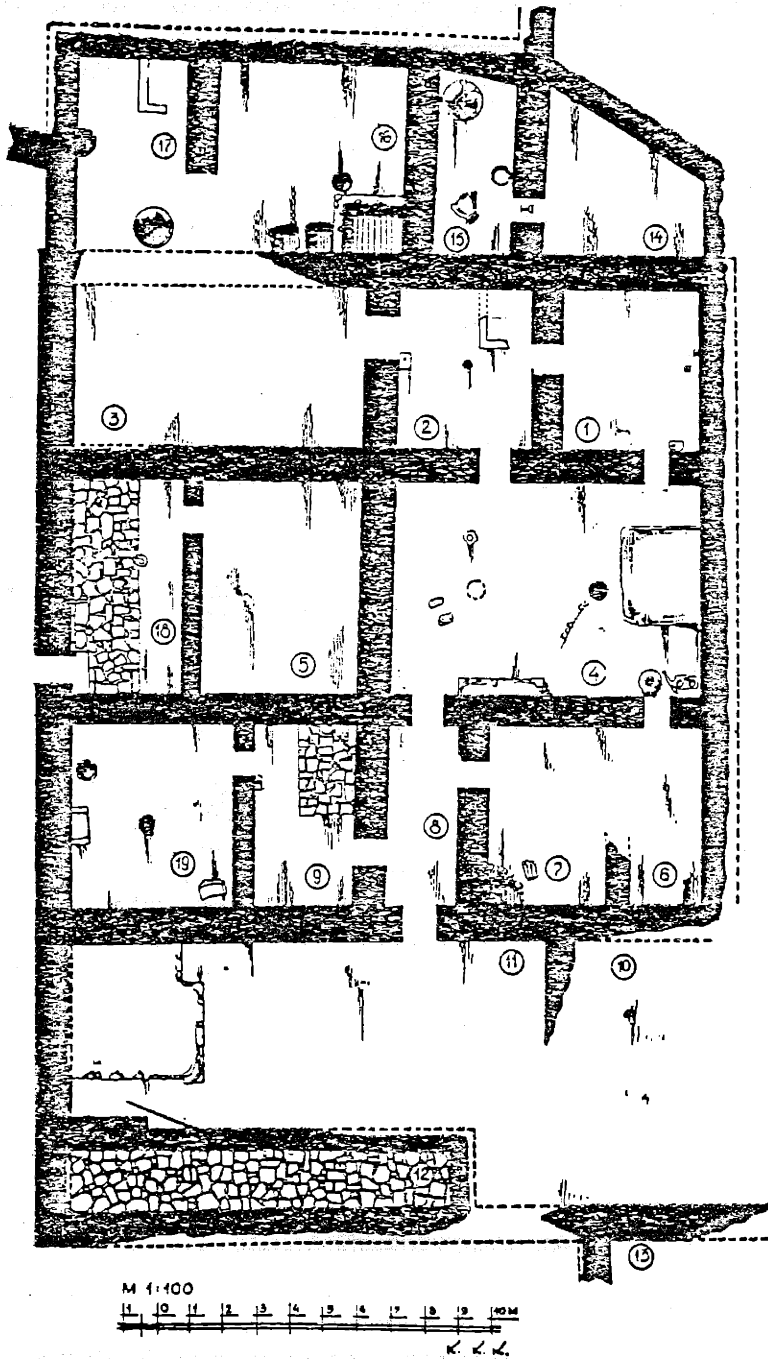


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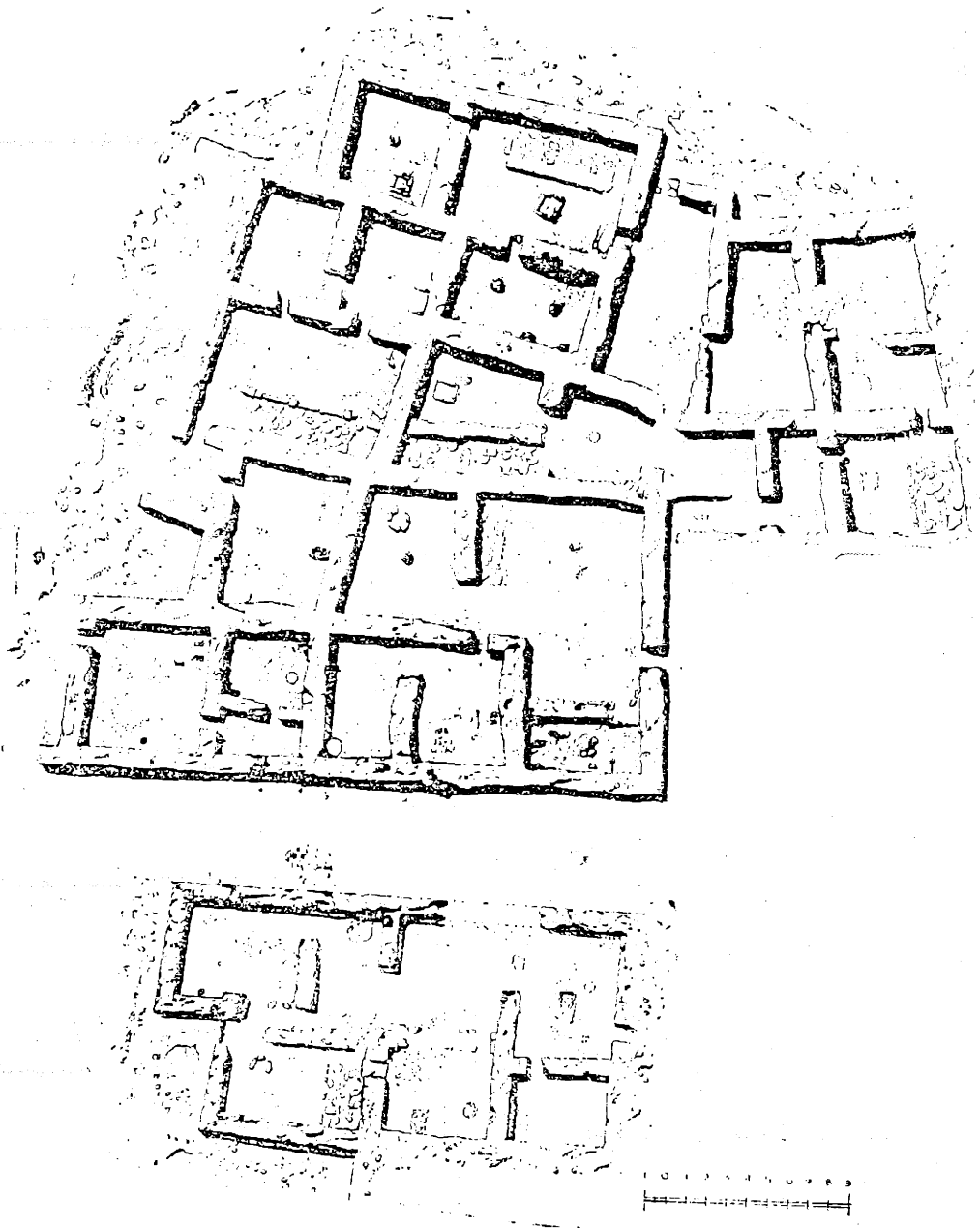


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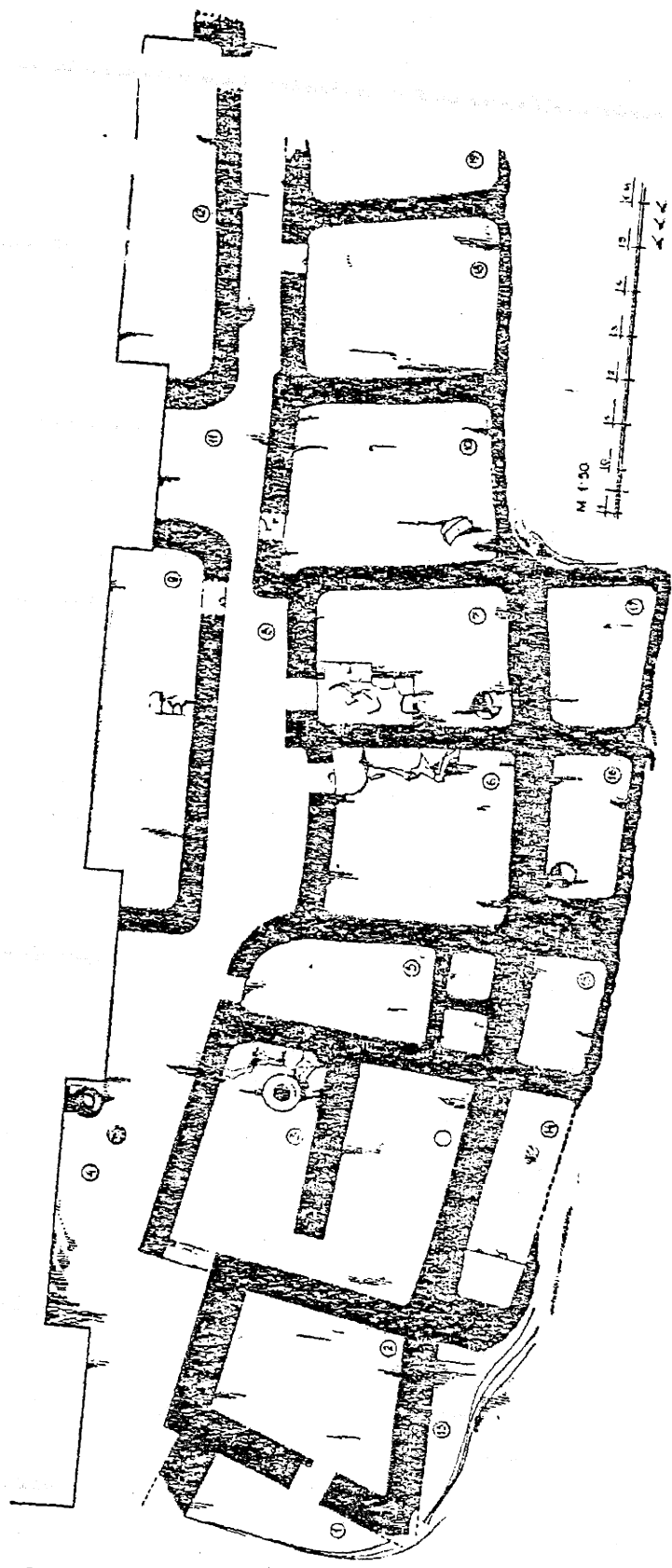


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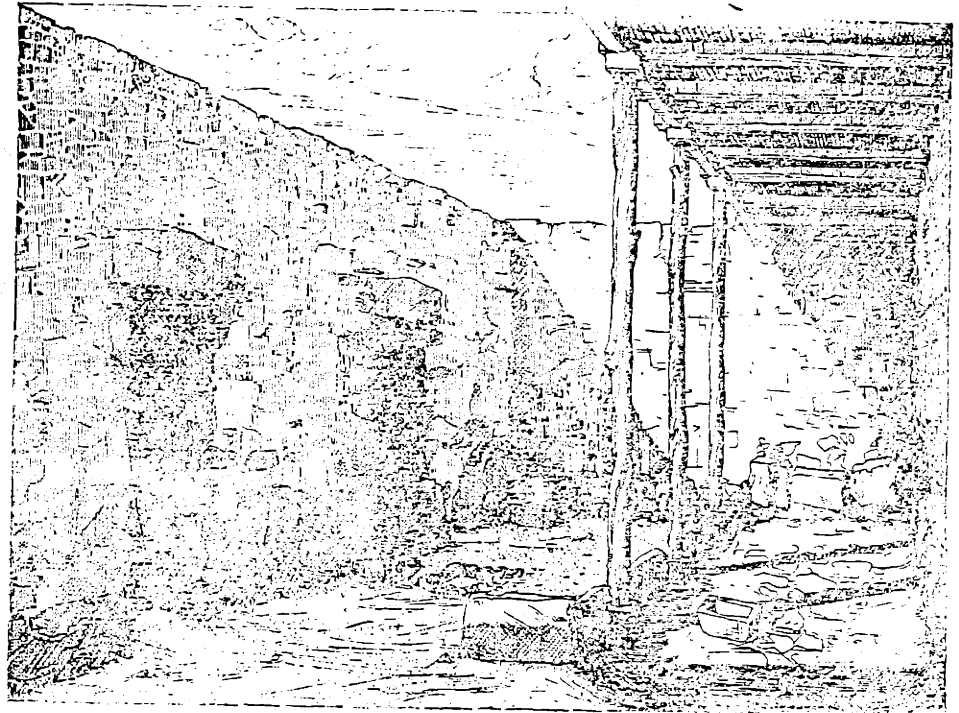


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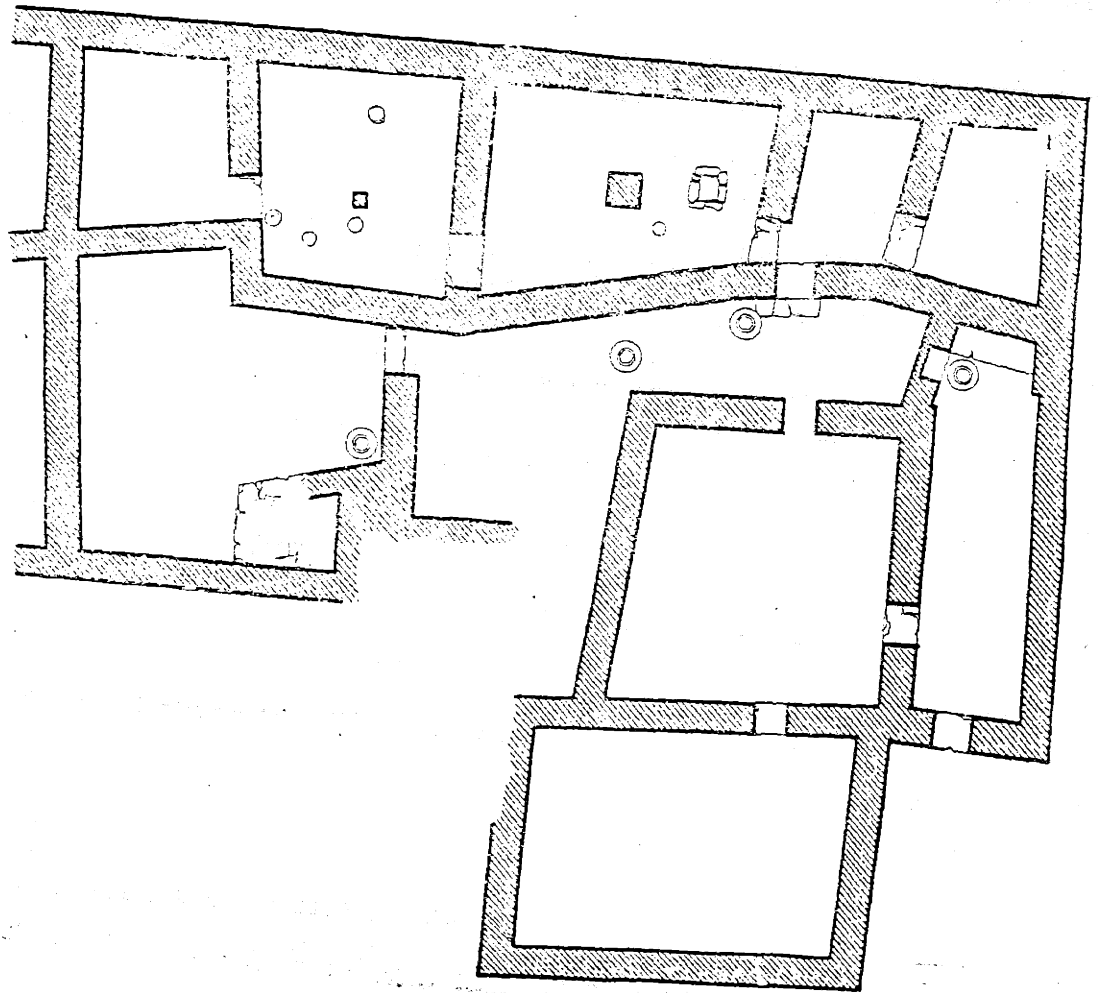


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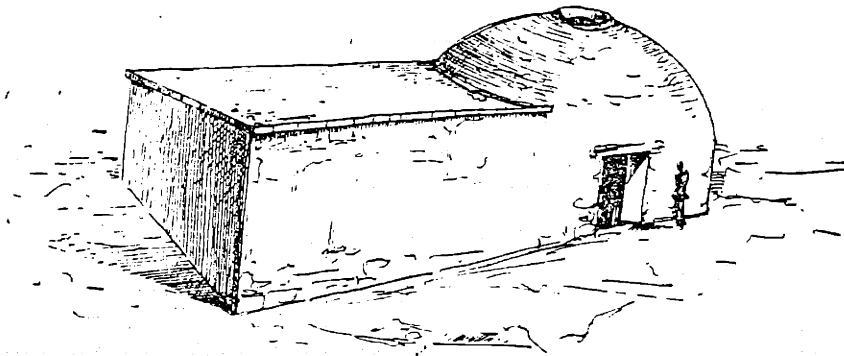
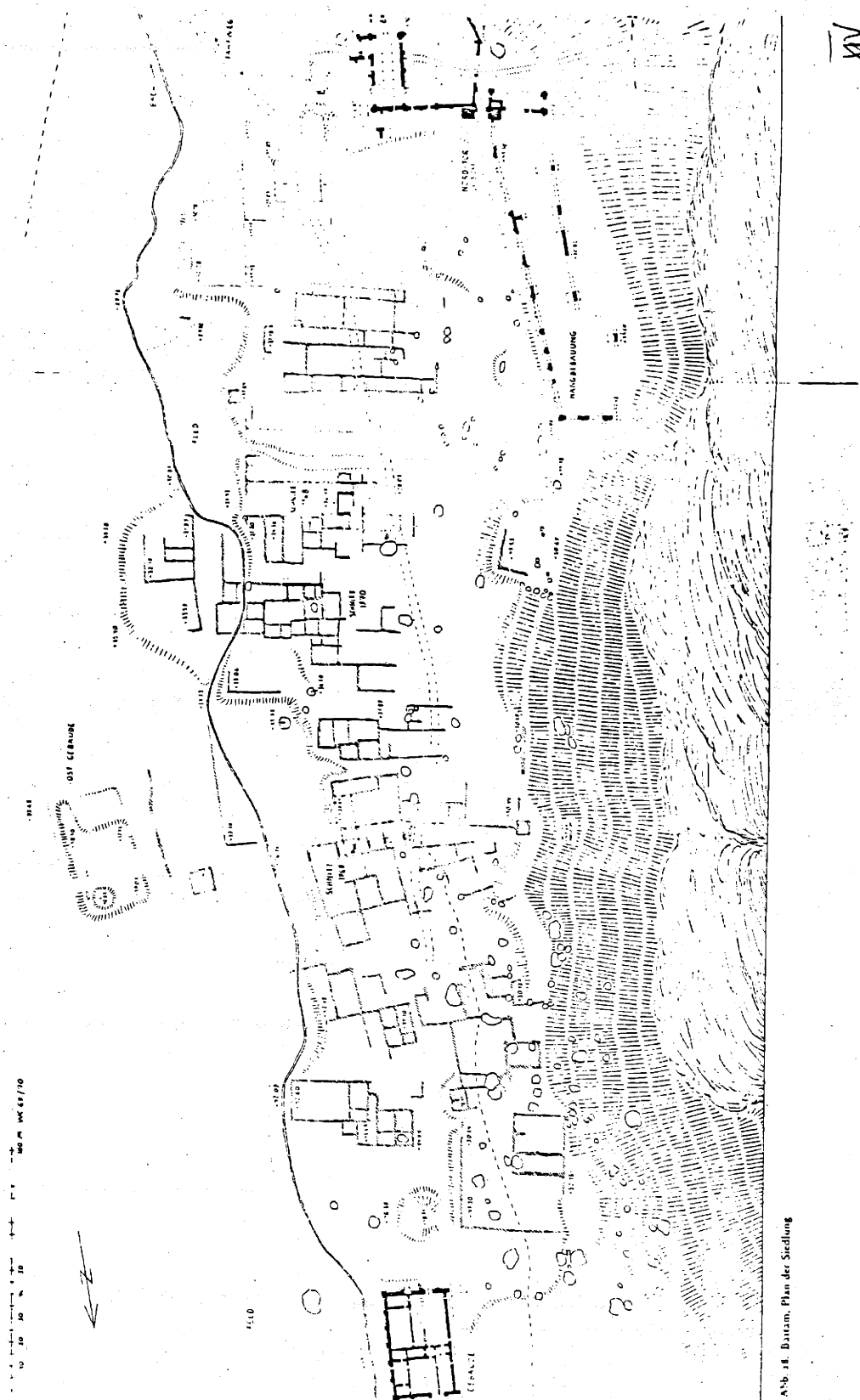


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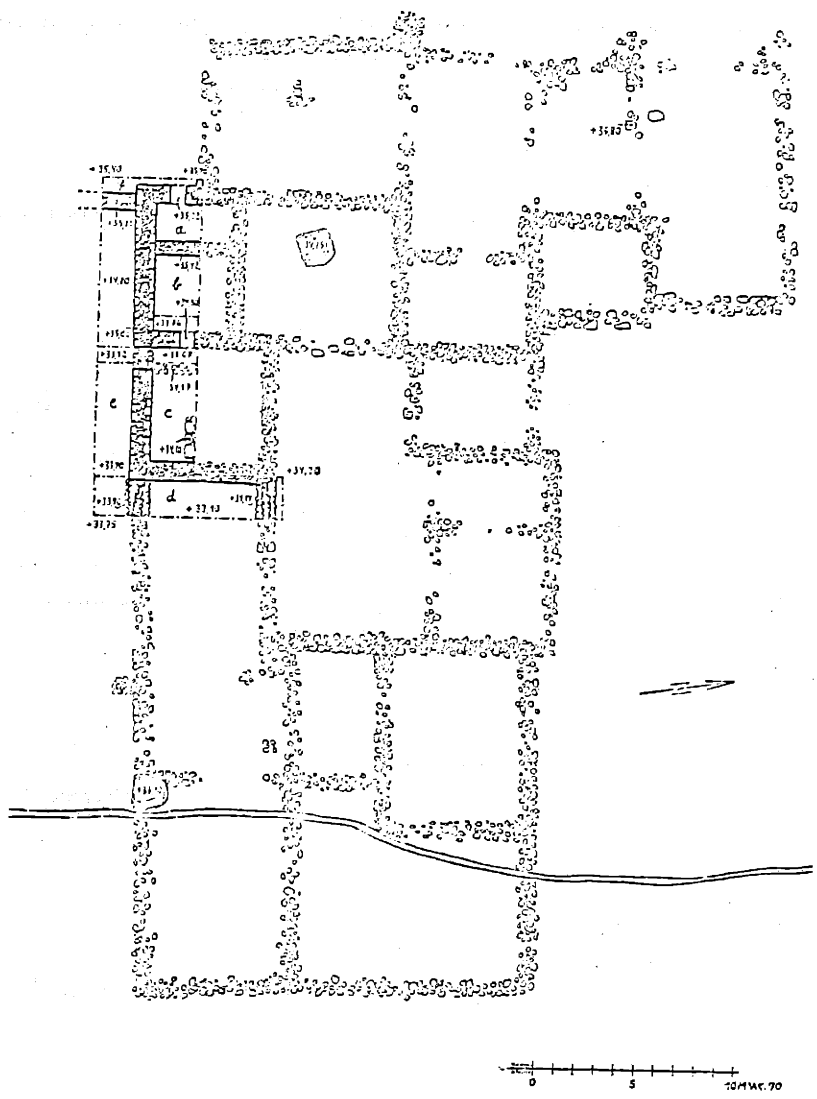


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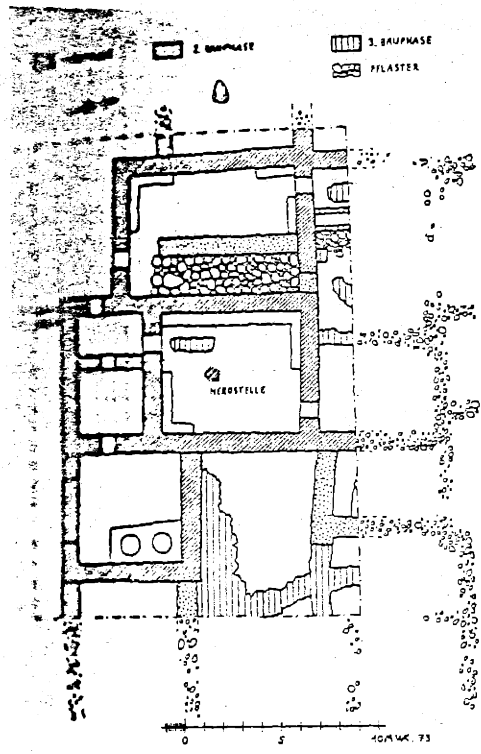


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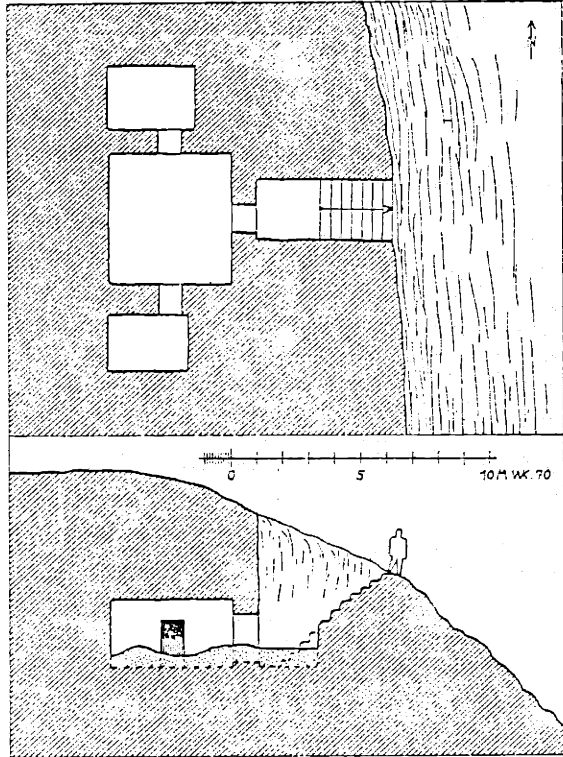


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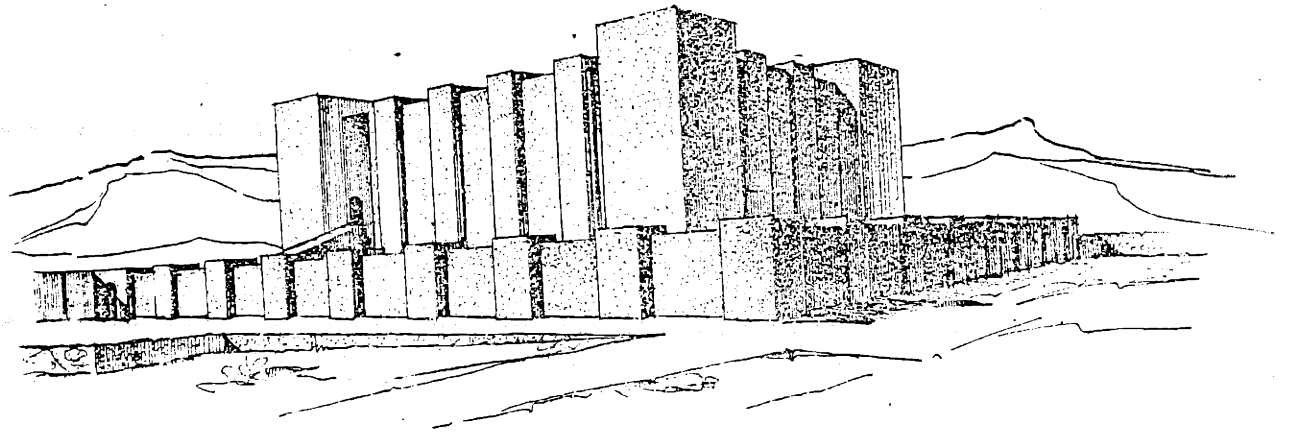


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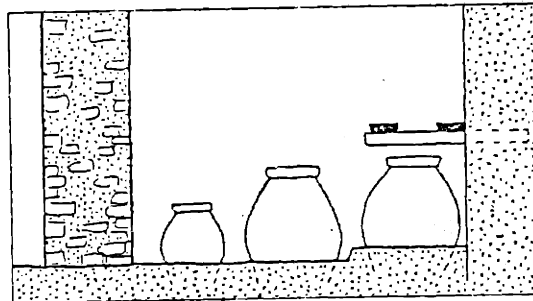
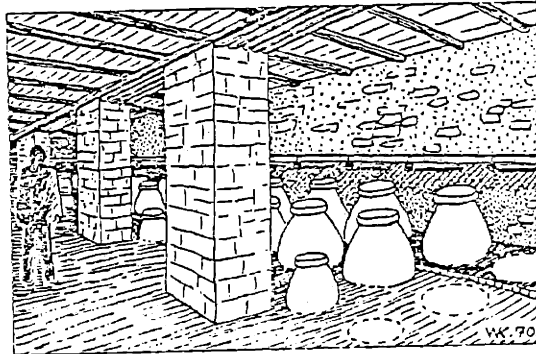


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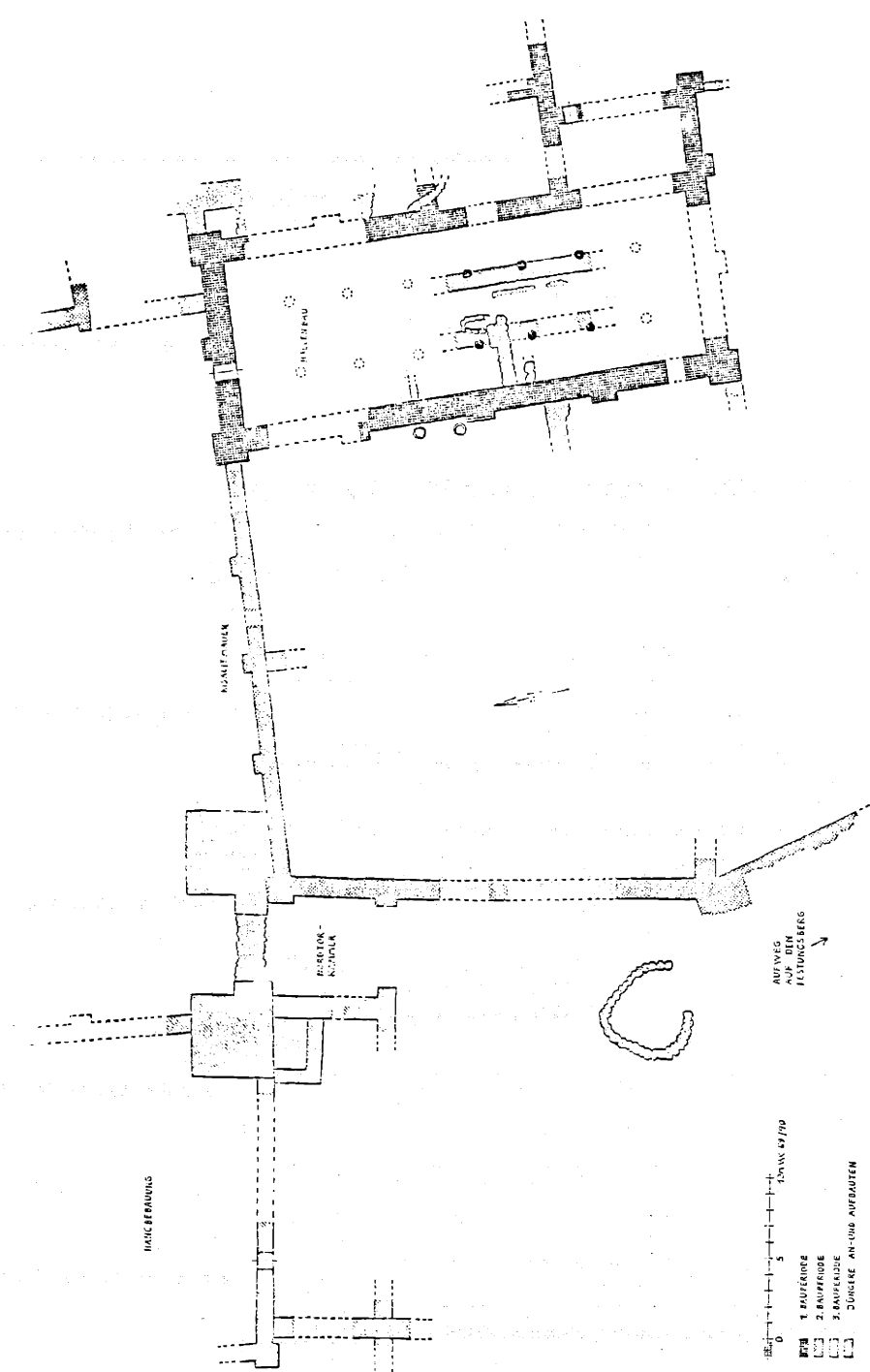


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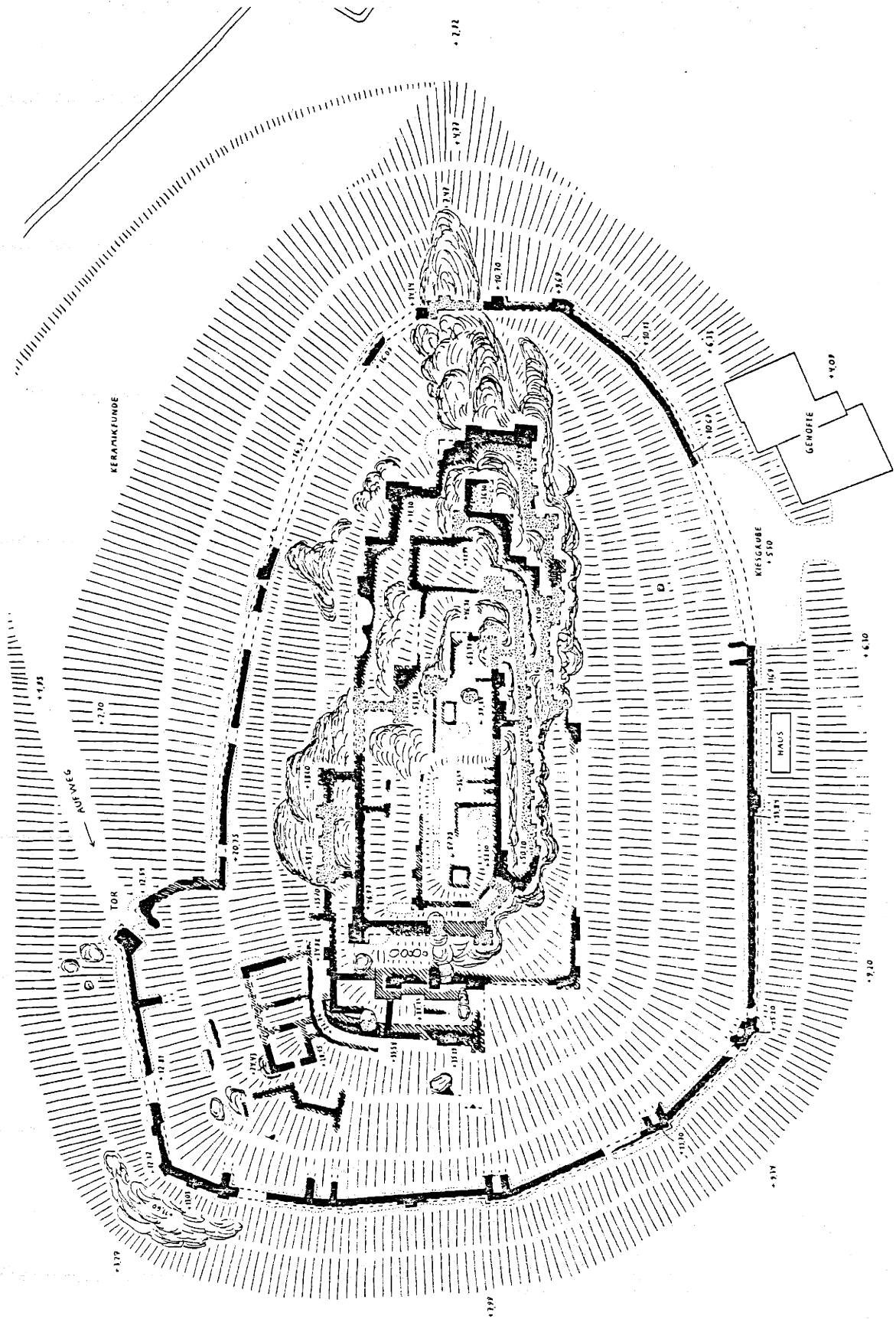


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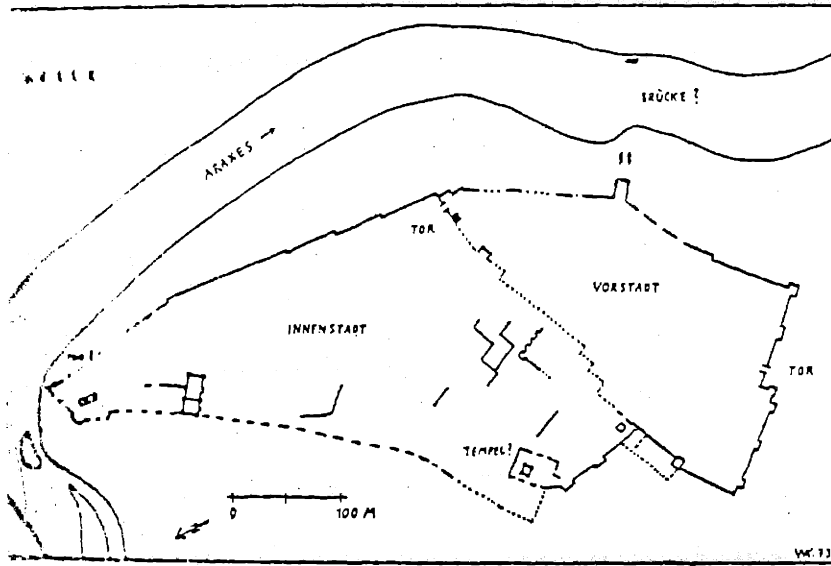


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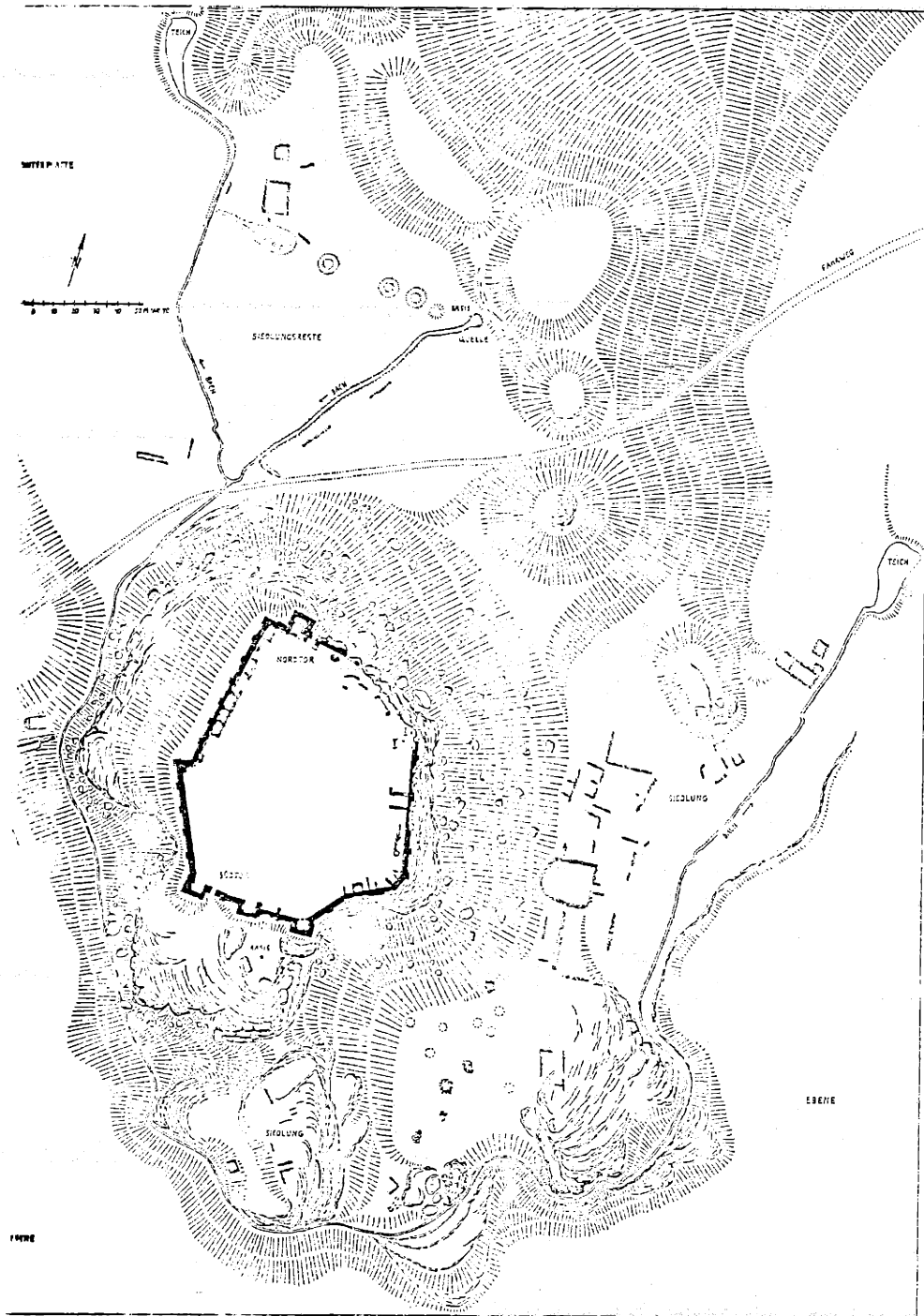


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