

THE STRUCTURE OF THE URARTIAN STATE *

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The Urartian history can be divided into two main phases. In fact, this division is by no means an artificial one, but depends on the administrative character of these phases, which also differ culturally¹ :

a) The phase between the first quarter of the 13th century B.C. and the first half of the 9th century B.C. = In this phase the «*Ur(u)atri/Urartu*» and «*Nairi*» confederations² which were founded against the common Assyrian enemy by the feudal princes, dominated the country. Feodality and tribal organization, which have their roots in the third millennium B.C., were still surviving. We designate this phase «the archaic age of Urartu»³.

b) The phase between the second half of the 9th century B.C. and the beginnings of the 6th century B.C. = This is the phase which we call «the age of the Urartian Kingdom» and which corresponds to what is called Urartian State in works on the political and cultural history of ancient Anatolia and the Western Asia⁴.

* This article is based on the «introduction» of our habilitation thesis (unpublished): *M.Ö. XIII. Yüzyılda «Uruatri» ve «Nairi» Konfederasyonları*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Eskiçağ Tarihi Kürsüsü, Doçentlik Tezi, İstanbul, 1978 (=UNK). Its Turkish version was delivered at The IXth Turkish Congress of History (Ankara : September 21-25, 1981) on the occasion of the Centennial of Atatürk's Birth.

1 M.T. Tarhan, *An Ar*, VIII (1980) 1982, 70 ff., see Pl. I on p. 109.

2 For detailed information, see G.A. Melikishvili, *Nairi-Urartu* (1954); M. Salvini, *Nairi e Ur(u)atri* (1967); M.T. Tarhan, UNK, 85 ff.

3 M.T. Tarhan, *An Ar*, VIII (1980) 1982, 70 ff.

4 M.T. Tarhan, *ibid.*, 73.

The transformation from «the confederative system», in another term, «the union of local principedoms», to the domination of a central power, which means «Kingdom» or «monarchic state» needed a new and lasting organization. The first step to this was the unification of the local principedoms under their powerful leaders, who were simply headmen of the greater tribes. In this «phase of Foundation»⁵ a «United State of Urartu»⁶ was formed. The first attempts in this direction was made -as seen in the Assyrian records- by Lapturi/Lutipri⁷ (ca. 880-860 B.C.). The unification was then realised by Arame/Aramu (ca. 860-840 B.C.) who was the head of another tribe, and at last put on sound fundamentals by son of Lutipri, Seduri/Sarduri I (ca. 840-830/825 B.C.) who was the real founder of the Urartian State.

The Assyrian records mention royal cities administrative centres or capitals (*āl-dannūti* / *āl-šarrūti*)⁸ during the reign of Arame/Aramu for the first time which should undoubtedly be considered as signs of the movement towards the foundation of the central authority.

But, because of the long tradition of the feudal administrative organization, the transition to «the kingdom», or in other terms, «central government», was not easy. The formation of concepts such as hierarchy and bureaucracy needed a considerable span of time. During this period the structure and the character of the state slowly came into being.

5 M.T. Tarhan, *ibid*, 80 ff.

6 See for detailed information, M.T. Tarhan, *ibid*, 99 ff.

7 *Lapturi* = *Lutipri*: We know Lutipri, father of Sarduri I, on the «Mardir Burç / Sardur Burcu» inscriptions at Van (see footnote 11). His contemporary Aššur-naširpal II (883-859 B.C.) called him *Lapturi* (or *Labturu*). See *ARAB*, I, nos. 446 ff., 461 ff., 480, 497 ff.; *ARI*, 2, nos. 550 ff., 569 ff., 587, 629 ff., 636 ff. See for this equality which have been obtained by us, M.T. Tarhan, *ibid*, 92 ff.

8 See for «(URU)*Sugunia*» and «(URU)*Arzaškun*» annuals of Salmanassar III (858-824 B.C.): «Monolith Inscription» from Kurkh, Col. I, 1. 24 and Col. II, 1. 48; *ARAB*, I, nos. 598, 604 ff.; see also M. Salvini, *ibid*, 77; M.T. Tarhan, *ibid*, 87 ff.; Cf. Y. Ikeda, *Iraq*, XLI/1 (1979), 77.

After this brief explanation, we would like to summarize the structure of the Urartian state :

I) *The King* :

The head of the state was king who is an absolute and omnipotent ruler. The succession to the throne was according to the patrilinear principle⁹, and thus the kingship remained in the same dynasty¹⁰.

The Urartian kings demonstrated their potency by adopting the boastful titles of their Assyrian counterparts: «*šar kiššati = king of the universe*»¹¹. This title, on the other hand, points out that the Urartian kings, from Sarduri I onward, already claimed territorial rights¹² upon neighbouring lands in northern Mesopotamia and that they considered themselves equals of the Assyrian kings¹³ who were their rivals throughout their history¹⁴. In spite of this enmity, many cultural components such as the Assyrian cuneiform writing¹⁵, Assyrian style in art, Assyrian administrative organization influenced the Urartian state and Urartian palace.

The Urartean kings stressed their potent authority not only by their titles; all new towns, castles, temples, palaces, dams and

9 See for chronological table of the Urartian kings: C.F. Lehmann-Haupt, *ZA*, 33 (1920), 27 ff. and *Armenien*, II/1 (1926), 21 ff.; F.W. König, *HChI*, 1; B.B. Piotrovskii, *Il regno di Van* (1966), 53 ff.; M.N. van Loon, *Urartian Art* (1966), XV; G. Azarpay, *Urartian Art and Artifacts* (1968), 85 ff., footnote 47; E. Akurgal, *Urartäische und Altiranische Kunstzentren* (1968), 2; M. Salvini, in *Urartu: ein wiederentdeckter Rivale Assyriens* (1976), 15.

10 A. Goetze, *Kleinasien* (1957²), 195.

11 Inscriptions of Sarduri I: «Madr Burç / Sardur Burcu» (=1.1); *UKN*, nos. 1-3 = *HChI*, nos. 1 a-c; E. Bilgiç, *TAD*, IX/1 (1959), 45; M. Salvini, *Naire Ur(u) atri*, 13 f.; Bilingual inscription of Išpuini and his son Menua on the «Kelışin stele» (1.16: assyrian text): *UKN*, no. 19 = *HChI*, no. 9; see also W.C. Benedict, *JAOS*, 81 (1961), 359 ff.; Cf. *UKN*, 378.

12 E. Bilgiç, *ibid*, 46; Cf. B.B. Piotrovskii, *Urartu* (1969), 64 f.

13 M.T. Tarhan, *ibid*, 107; Cf. M. Salvini, in *...Rivale Assyriens*, 11.

14 E. Akurgal, *Anatolia*, IV (1959), 68; T. Özgüç, *Altuntepe*, II (1969), 2 f.; B.B. Piotrovskii, *ibid*.

15 The first documents of Urartu, the inscriptions of Sarduri I, shown here in the footnote 11, are not written in urartean, but in assyrian.

channels were built in the name of the king¹⁶. On the inscriptions of such buildings do not mention anyone but the king as the founder. New towns bear the name of the kings like *Menuahinili*¹⁷, *Argištihinili* (= Armavir)¹⁸, *Sardurihinili* (= Çavuştepe)¹⁹, *Rusaḫinili* (= Toprakkale)²⁰, *Rusai URU.TUR* (= Bastam)²¹ etc. On the other hand some towns were given names of the gods celebrated in those regions where the towns were built according to the settlement policy of the government.

It seems that the sacral and profane duties were carried out side by side in a monarchic + teocratic system, where the king was the «head priest»²² of the gods in the same time. All the Urartean kings were under the protection of the gods, and in their inscriptions they define themselves as the «servant» of ^d*Haldi*, who was «the national god» and was at the head of the pantheon²³.

II) *The state religion :*

In the past as at the present, in lands where people of different confessions live together, religion seems to be a distinctive mark. In Urartu, on the contrary, religion was given a unifying function, since different religious beliefs and practises were transformed into a state religion.

16 See for this kind of inscriptions : *UKN* and *HChI*, see also W. Kleiss-H. Hauptmann, *Topographische Karte von Urartu* (1976), 39 ff.; Among these inscriptions, only the one about «the garden of Tariria», daughter of Menua seem to be an exception (*UKN*, no. 111 = *HChI*, 40). In the others, even the estates of the members of the royal family or of the noblemen are mentioned in the royal inscriptions (Cf. *UKN*, no. 277 = *HChI*, no. 123 etc.).

17 *UKN*, 435; *HChI*, 195; A.M. Dinçol - E. Kavaklı, *Van Bölgesinde Bulunmuş Yeni Urartu Yazıtları* (1978), 21.

18 W. Kleiss - H. Hauptmann, *ibid*, 25, no. 5.

19 W. Kleiss - H. Hauptmann, *ibid*, 10, no. 7; A. Erzen, *Çavuştepe*, I (1978), 1 ff.

20 W. Kleiss - H. Hauptmann, *ibid*, 9, no. 2.

21 W. Kleiss - H. Hauptmann, *ibid*, 29, no. 12; W. Kleiss, *Bastam / Rusa-i-URU.TUR*, (1977), 9 ff.

22 A. Goetze, *ibid*, 195.

23 A. Goetze, *ibid*; T. Özgüç, *ibid*, 3.

We have already pointed out the fact that the establishment of a central power was not an easy task to fulfill, since the feudal system had a long tradition, and the local princes were accustomed to live and rule independently without any superior authority to control their deeds. Even after the confederations formed the united state of Urartu²⁴ against the common Assyrian threat, a potent factor of unity was needed, and that was religion.

The grandson of Sarduri I, Menua (ca. 810-786 B.C.) distinguished himself by the reorganisations he undertook in the administration²⁵. This king together with his father Išpuini (ca. 830/825-810 B.C.) applied during their common, kinship a logical strategy to reach the compatibility of several religious beliefs of different communities both hurro-urartean and foreign origin, and established an official pantheon²⁶ containing all deities celebrated in the lands under his demination, and founded a «state religion»²⁷. Thus the political unity was strengthened also by common spiritual values. It is noteworthy, that not only local gods and goddesses, but also deities of conquered lands and deified mountains, lakes, rivers and caves were worshipped which points out the existence of «totemism»²⁸.

This practice remained unchanged as a part of «the state policy» during the reign of Menua. This «religious reform» was one of the factors which helped the «new settlement policy» -about which we come later- to reach its aim :

24 M.T. Tarhan, *ibid*, 96 f.

25 Our colleague V. Sevin wrote a habilitation thesis on this subject (unpublished) : *Urartu Krallığının Tarihsel ve Kültürel Gelişimi : M.Ö. 9. yüzyılın son çeyreğinden, M.Ö. 8. yüzyılın ilk çeyreğine kadar*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Eskiçağ Tarihi Kürsüsü, Doçentlik Tezi, İstanbul, 1979.

26 On the inscription at the monumental rock niche called «Meher Kapısı/Çoban Kapısı/Taş Kapı» 79 gods and goddesses are enumerated and offerings to them are described in art and number: *UKN*, no. 27 = *HChI*, no. 10; see footnote 27; see also M.T. Tarhan - V. Sevin, *Belleten*, XXXIX/155 (1975), 289 ff.; V. Sevin - O. Belli, *An Ar*, IV-V (1976-1977), 367 ff.

27 B.B. Piotrovskii, *Il regno di Van*, 317 ff.; see also O. Belli, *An Ar*, VI (1978), 64 ff.; F.W. König, *Archiv für Völkerkunde*, 8 (1953), 142 ff.; M. Riem-schneider, *Orientalia N.S.*, 32 (1963), 148 ff.

28 See O. Belli, *An Ar*, VII (1979), 29 ff.

During the reign of Argišti I (ca. 786-764 B.C.) 6600 warriors from the lands of *Hate* and *Šupani*²⁹ were forced to settle³⁰ at *Erebuni* (= Arinberd)³¹, but their god, *Im-mar-ši-ia*, possibly of Anatolian-Luwian origin, was also brought to Urartian land, and a *susi* was built for him³².

It is evident that this «state religion» was a connecting link between the foreign countries and Urartu as B.B. Piotrovskii³³ clearly formulates: «...We can see, therefore, that the religion of Urartu reflected cultural and political elements which bound together large territories in western Asia, combining them with ancient local beliefs...»

As we have already said, the king was «the head priest» of the chief god *Haldi* and was under his patronage; all profane or sacral deeds were made «with the aid of *Haldi*». *Haldi* was not only at the head of the pantheon who bound all gods, both foreign and native, but symbolizes in the same time the state and its divine power as the «national god = state god».

According to the inscriptions, some new towns were given the name «*Haldini URU = Haldi-Town*»³⁴. In accordance with this practice, possibly as a rule of «state religion», some new cities bore theophoric names, such as *Teišebaini* (= Karmir Blur)³⁵.

On the other side, impressive tempels brought to light at Urartian sites, tombs, votive objects and some other small finds prove how much importance was given to religion in the Urartian society. But, in the last phases of the Urartian central authority, several

29 Probably Elaziğ-Altınova region; H. Hauptmann, *Keban Projesi 1969 Çalışmaları* (1971), 78 and *Ist. Mitt.* 19/20 (1969-1970), 24 f.

30 *UKN*, no. 127, II, 11. 25-50 = *HChI*, no. 80; H. Hauptmann, *ibid*; M.T. Tarhan - V. Sevin, *An Ar*, IV-V (1976-1977), 357 ff.

31 W. Kleiss - H. Hauptmann, *ibid*, 26, no. 9.

32 The same god was called *dIuarša* or *dIubša*; See G.A. Melikishvili, *VDI*, 63-2 (1958), 40 ff.

33 *Urartu*, 67.

34 F.W. König, *Archiv für Völkerkunde*, 8 (1953), 163; *HChI*, 185; *UKN*, 428.

35 W. Kleiss - H. Hauptmann, *ibid*, 25 f., no. 8.

ethnic or national elements seem to have the tendency to reject the official religion by the state, and to go back to their old totemistic beliefs³⁶.

III) Administration :

One of the characteristics of this period is the reorganization of the state administration the head of which is the king at *Tušpa* (= Van)³⁷. During the reign of Išpuini and Menua³⁸, when the central authority became powerful, the territory under the Urartian domination were divided into «regions» and «provinces» a new administrative system was organized according to the Assyrian model.

During the age of confederations, or «the stage of foundation» in other words, the feuds were accessing to power in the patrilineal order (*LŪ.GAR.MEŠ* = *šaknūti*) as in Assyria³⁹.

After the establishment of the central authority, the lands were divided into smaller units according to their «strategic importance» or «capacity of production», and were made administratively dependent upon «provincial capitals». To these capitals «governors» or «mayors» (*LŪ.EN.NAM.MEŠ* = *bēlē pahāti*) were sent from *Tušpa*, who were appointed by the king⁴⁰. These collect the taxes, control the production in the name of the king, they were in charge of all building activities, and were responsible for the security of their regions. During the wartime they had to run to the front with troops

36 O. Belli, *An Ar*, VII (1979), 39 ff. and *An Ar*, VI (1978), 91 ff.

37 W. Kleiss - H. Hauptmann, *ibid*, 9, no. 1; During the reign of Rusa II (ca. 685-645 B.C.), transported to *Rusaḫinili* (=Toprakkale).

38 V. Sevin, *ibid*, 142 ff.

39 B.B. Piotrovskii, *Vanskoe Tsartvo* (1959), 86 f.; I.M. Diakonov, *Epigrafika Vostoka*, 4 (1951), 111 f.; E. Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilungen des assyrischen Reiches* (1920), 49; M.N.van Loon, *ibid*, 14; J.V. Kinnier Wilson, *The Nimrud Wine Lists* (1972), 12 ff., 101 ff.

40 See footnote 39; The Assyrian provincial organization was attempted during the reign of Adad-Nirari II (911-891 B.C.) for the first time, and than Tiglatpileser III (744-727 B.C.) and the others brought it into application. See A.K. Grayson, *Bi Or*, XXXIII/3-4 (1976), 135 ff.; M.N.von Loon, *ibid*.

-including horsemen and warriors in carts⁴¹-, and with logistic support.

This new system removed gradually the feodality and put an end to the revolts of the feuds against the king to increase their own interests.

The first *EN.NAM* appears in the records of Menua (ca. 810-786 B.C.)⁴². Argišti I (ca. 786-764 B.C.) appointed the 4 kings of the lesser lands of *Diauehi* (approximately around Erzurum) as *EN.NAM*'s⁴³. During the reign of Sarduri II (ca. 764-735 B.C.) the same practise is also seen⁴⁴. Rusa I (ca. 735/730-714 B.C.) appointed Urzana as *EN.NAM* in the sacred town *Ardini-Mušāšir*⁴⁵ and another person in Nor-Bayezit at Sevan-Lake⁴⁶.

Members of the royal family acted possibly as *EN.NAM*'s. But the Assyrian records made also the contrary considerable : Sargon II (721-705 B.C.) mentions in the records of his famous 8th campaign from seven cities where the brothers of Rusa I lived⁴⁷. It is possible that the king had sent them away from the capital to secure his throne in the future⁴⁸, but not as *EN.NAM*'s.

As many authors pointed out, the Urartian state had the character of a bureaucratic state governed by the officials appointed by the king and sent from the capital⁴⁹.

41 See for Urartian army and its sorties : A.A. Martirosyan, *Armeniya v Epokhu Bronzy* (1964), 34 ff., 242 ff. and *SA*, 3 (1972), 46; see also O. Belli, *An Ar*, VIII (1980) 1982, 244, footnote 32; see for «šaknu», head of army : J.N. Postgate, *AS*, XXX (1980), 72 f.

42 *UKN*, no. 42 A, 1. 12 = *HChI*, no. 73, prg. III, V.

43 *UKN*, no. 128 Bl, 1. 17 = *HChI*, no. 82, (Rs) prg. III.

44 *UKN*, no. 155 iv = *HChI*, no. 103, prg. 11. IV, 15. X.

45 Bilingual inscription of «Topzawa stele» (urartian text) : *UKN*, no. 264, 1. 7 = *HChI*, no. 122, prg. 2 ff.; Cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, *Huitième Campagne* (1912), xvi, footnote 1; see also *ARAB*, II, nos. 22, 59, 169, 172, 175 f., 183, 213.

46 *UKN*, no. 265 = *HChI*, no. 119, prg. II.

47 F. Thureau-Dangin, *ibid*, 11. 277 f.; *ARAB*, II, no. 165.

48 Cf. O. Belli, *An Ar*, VI (1978), 91, footnote 113.

49 Cf. A. Goetze, *ibid*, 195; E. Akurgal, *Anatolia*, IV (1959), 70; T. Özgüç, *Altintepe*, II, 3; B.B. Piotrovskii, *Urartu*.

Records also give enough information about the administrative organization -which is alike the one in Assyria- in the capital or in the palace. A tablet, found at the last capital *Rusaḫinili* (= Toprak-kale) contains a list of «royal household» during the reign of Rusa II (ca. 685-645 B.C.)⁵⁰.

The list contain five major sections :

Total 1113 *lúma-ri-GI* : «nobles» or «emirs»⁵¹ :

104 *lúta[r]-da-aš-ḫe-e* and

1009 *lúki-ri-né-e-i* : «bowl-bearer» (?)

Total 3784 *lúŠÁ.REŠÍmeš* : «eunuchs» or «harem-aḡası»⁵² :

2409 *lúár-še* : «ephebi/young men/youths» or «ghulams»⁵³

119 *lúNIG.SID.DA-ka-i* : «before the man of the counting» (accountant)

68 *ḫGAD-ḫe-e* : «women-weavers» (?)

1188 *lúUR.ZÍR* : «dog-warders»

300 *lúKUR.KURmeš-e* : «armed tribesmen» (?)

90 *lúUKŪ meš-še* : «(armed men of the) people»

Total 168 *lúe-ši-a-te/la Ē.GAL* :

108 *lúŠÁ.REŠÍ Ē.GAL-i*

35 *lúḫal-bi-ú-né*

10 *lúĒ.TINmeš-né* : «vintners» (?)

15 *lúši-pi-ka-a-né*

Total 52 *lúun-qa-i-ta-a-né* :

15 *lúbi-a-bi-i-ka-i* : «before Ubiabe»

50 I.M. Diakonoff, *Urartskiye pisma i dokumenty* (1963), no. 12; G.A. Melikishvili, *VDI*, 3-4 (1971), 231, no. 286; see also J.V. Kinnier Wilson, *ibid*, 116. My thanks are due to Prof. Dr. I.M. Diakonoff who kindly sent the translation of the tablet to my colleague Doç. Dr. V. Sevin who permitted me to use it here.

51 Cf. J.V. Kinnier Wilson, *ibid*, 45, 100 ff.

52 Cf. *ibid*, 46 ff.

53 Cf. *ibid*, 59 f.

7 LÚ.ANŠU.GÌR.NUN.NA
 20 LÚ.GIŠGA/ú (?) -ru-ur-da
 10 LÚ.KURB/Pu-li-ú-še-e.

Final total 5507 LÚmeš «persons»

In any event the final total on the tablet gives the single and important figure of «5507 persons». As I.M. Diakonoff himself argues this total seems undoubtedly to indicate the size of the Urartian royal household at capital at the time of the document.

IV) Town planning :

It is evident from the records and the excavated sites that in the reign of Išpuini and especially of Menua a wide-ranging town planning had taken place. The foundation of new settlements should not be considered merely as a sign of the economic development, but, as the result of a new «settlement policy», which originated from a new socio-economic reorganisation according to the needs of the state. In regions around the capital, as well as in the provinces, hundreds of fortresses and towns were built at the strategic points and passes on the historical road-net⁵⁴ according to the needs of transportation and administration in peace-time and to those of military operations or defense⁵⁵ in step by step during the war-time. These fortresses and settlements⁵⁶ kept the routes under the control of the central authority and the king, and facilitated his domination of the provinces⁵⁷.

These new settlements as well as the cities built in the previous phases show a certain attitude in «town planning»⁵⁸. The appearan-

54 Our colleague O. Belli prepared a doctorate thesis on this subject (unpublished) : *Urartular Çağında Van Bölgesi Yol Şebekesi*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Eskiçağ Tarihi Kürsüsü, Doktora Tezi, İstanbul, 1977; see also M.T. Tarhan, *UNK*, 111 ff., 140 ff.

55 See M.T. Tarhan - V. Sevin, *An Ar*, IV-V (1976-1977), 275, 298 ff.

56 See W. Kleiss - H. Hauptmann, *ibid*, 9 ff. and maps.

57 During the evaluation of the information we summarized here, the natural geographic structure and climatic conditions of the Eastern Anatolia, Transcaucasia and the north-western Iran should also be considered.

58 M.T. Tarhan - V. Sevin, *ibid*, 296 ff.; M.T. Tarhan, *UNK*, 10 f., 49 ff. and *An Ar*, VIII (1980) 1982, 77, footnote 32.

ce of towns with «standart plans» in the VII century B.C. even in the distant provinces prove the state monopoly on town planning. This must be considered as an achievement, since even today the state can hardly control the urbanization⁵⁹.

V) *Economy, production and settlement policy* :

One of the characteristics of this period is that the economy was organized by the state. All kinds of production was under the state control; settlements in the central region or in the provinces were «economic centres» besides their administrative and military functions. All kinds of agricultural products such as grain, wine and sesame oil were kept in the «royal storehouses» in the fortresses at these settlements⁶⁰. It seems, that the ruling class and the common people were given sufficient quantities of these ware, and the rest of the production were sent to the capital as a kind of «tax»⁶¹. This system supplied the government with a continuous income⁶², moreover it solved the problem of nutrition of the regular army⁶³. These storages also served as a measurement in cases of

59 It is interesting to note, that the «Hippodamos» plan which appeared in the V century B.C. in antiquity -which is the forerunner of the modern town plans of today- was already used 2-3 centuries ago by the Urartians, at Karmir Blur, at Duğagi and with its most developed form at Zernaki-Tepe at the northern coast of Lake Van (See for these towns : W. Kleiss - H. Hauptmann, *ibid*, 25 f., no. 8: 28, no. 8: 10 f., no. 12; see also M.T. Tarhan - V. Sevin, *ibid* and 352 f.). The oldest examples of such a town plan is discovered at Mohenjo-Daro (See J. Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, London, 1931; E.J.H. Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, Delhi, 1938; Sir M. Wheeler, *The Indus Civilisation*, Cambridge, 1968³, 37 ff.). We believe that the Urartian influence -thought maybe indirect- on the urbanism of the western world should always be kept in mind.

60 See B.B. Piotrovskii, *Karmir-Blur*, II (1949-1950), 74 f. and *SA*, 23 (1955), 14 f. and *Urartu*, 138 ff.; A.A. Martirosyan, *SA*, 3 (1972), 38 ff., 42 ff.; C.A. Burney, *AS*, XVI (1966), 83 f.; M.N.van Loon, *ibid*, 17 f.; T. Özgüç, *ibid*, 2 f., 34 ff.; A. Erzen, *ibid*, 11; W. Kleis, *Bastam...*, 30, 32; O. Belli, *An Ar*, VI (1978), 61 f.

61 Cf. A. Goetze, *ibid*, 195; M.N.van Loon, *ibid*, 18; O. Belli, *ibid*, 50 f.

62 Cf. M.N.van Loon, *ibid*.

63 Cf. O. Belli, *ibid* and 61.

emergency such as natural catastrophes, epidemics, bad climatic conditions -especially, long winters- or enemy attacks.

Town planning solved the problem of water supply which was the most important resource for the production; damms and canals were among the great architectural works of the Urartians⁶⁴.

Besides the agricultural productions, animal breeding -which was one of the main characteristics of the nomadic people- should also be under the state control⁶⁵. On the other hand looting campaigns were made to several regions to get animals as booty. During the reigns of Argišti I and Sarduri II, raids were organized twice a year to Transcaucasia and in each of them tenthousands of cattle and sheep were taken booty. The total of them rose up to hundreds of thousands⁶⁶.

The development of Urartian metallurgy was promoted by the exhaustion of the rich metal ores -like iron and copper- in Eastern Anatolia⁶⁷. We would like to stress here the fact, that a wide ranged trade between Urartu and the Western World should be considered with reservation⁶⁸. Urartian economy was an introvert one⁶⁹. The import objects found at the Urartian sites are very limited in number and species, and only this points out the weakness of commercial links with foreign countries. (and also we must disregard some of objects were taken as booty or tax or gift).

It is a well-known fact, that the Assyrians, the southern neighbours of Urartu organized military campaigns against the Urartian lands from the XIII century B.C. onward in order to plunder the food storages, metal objects, valuable ores and timbers, and to de-

64 See B. Ögün, *Van'da Urartu Sulama Tesisleri*. (1970); C.A. Burney, *AS*, XXII (1972), 179 ff.

65 Cf. F. Hancar, *Archiv Orientalni*, 17 (1949), 101 ff.; B.B. Piotrovskii, *Urartu*, 154 ff.; O. Belli, *ibid*, 66 ff.

66 See G.A. Melikishvili, *VDI*, 4 (1950), 40; B.B. Piotrovskii, *SA*, 23 (1955), 9.

67 See M.N.van Loon, *ibid*, 80 ff.; K.R. Maxwell-Hyslop, *Iraq*, XXXVI/1-2 (1974), 139 ff.

68 Cf. M.N.van Loon, *Iraq*, XXXIX (1977), 229 ff.

69 M.T. Tarhan, *UNK*, 43; Cf. O. Belli, *ibid*, 51 f.

port the inhabitants and animals⁷⁰. Because of these permanent Assyrian raids, Urartian economy suffered -from time to time- very much. This seems to be the main goal of the Assyrians; their military campaigns did not aim at an lasting invasion and domination of Eastern Anatolia⁷¹. Moreover, the Assyrians forced the people of the invaded regions to pay a heavy tribute and thus had a durable source of income for their own economy.

But, inspite of all these negative factors, the settlement policy of the Urartean kings protected the economy from a total collapse. The Urartians deported tenthousands of men, women -among them smiths, masons⁷² and other artisans- from the neighbouring lands and settle them in and around the newly founded towns and thus equalized their own losses of resource, and found a cheap labour force to use for their building activities⁷³.

The deported people, the «slaves» and the «captives» in other terms -who were the members of the lowest social class- played thus an important role in the Urartean economy⁷⁴. M.N.van Loon⁷⁵ very clearly formulates this situation : «...More probably, we have to imagine the country strewn with vast, well-managed royal estates, worked mostly by resettled captives and subjected local inhabitants...»

The settlement policy which we summarized above had begun as we have already pointed out, in the reign of Menua : This king brought many captives from the land of «Hate» at Euphrates to his land⁷⁶, and settled another group of deportees from the Assyrian

70 See for these campaigns: N.B. Iankovska'a, *VDI*, 1 (1955) 1956, 28 ff.; *ARAB*, I-II and *ARI*, 1-2.

71 M.T. Tarhan, *An Ar*, VIII (1980) 1982, 71.

72 See for Urartean stone quarries : O. Belli, *An Ar*, VIII (1980) 1982, 115 ff.; O. Belli - A.M. Dinçol, *ibid*, 167 ff.

73 See G.A. Melikishvili, *VDI*, 4 (1951), 22 ff.; Cf. O. Belli, *An Ar*, VI (1978), 48 ff.

74 See G.A. Melikishvili, *VDI*, 43/1 (1953), 22 ff.; Cf. O. Belli, *ibid*.

75 *Urartian Art*, 18.

76 *UKN*, no. 28 = *HChI*, no. 16; see also *UKN*, nos. 32-35, 38 = *HChI*, nos. 18-20.

border in Urartu proper⁷⁷. Argišti I followed the same trend⁷⁸. In the inscriptions of Rusa II, we read that women from «*Mannai*», men from «*Halitu*» (at the shore of Black-Sea, possibly around Trapezus) and communities from «*Muški*» (Phrygia) and «*Hate*» were forced to settle in the Urartean lands⁷⁹. The same king knew to keep some of the Cimmerians, who were his former enemies, as allies in Urartu and to make use of the warrior's abilities of this nomadic people⁸⁰.

VI) State authority in arts :

The standardization, which is an important characteristic of the Urartean art can be seen in architecture such as house types (double roomed houses with a frontal court-yard)⁸¹ and temple plans⁸² as well as in the production of small objects. We would like to remind here that Urartean architecture is a monumental one -if not as impressive as that of the Assyrians. Especially the building peculiarities of the fortresses, their adaptation to the natural environment; the irrigation works, which are masterpieces of engineering, demonstrate the high level of Urartean architecture.

In spite of the standardization of plans, architects seem to have worked more freely than potters and coppersmiths. In the production of pottery⁸³ and bronze objects, the shapes and styles were so

77 A.M. Dinçol - E. Kavaklı, *ibid*, 21, 24 ff.

78 See footnotes 29 and 30; see also G.A. Melikishvili, *VDI*, 4 (1950), 37 f., 39 f. and *VDI*, 4 (1951), 27 f.

79 *UKN*, no. 278 = *HChI*, no. 128; see also M.N.van Loon, *ibid*, 20, 83; B. Ögün, *TTKong.*, VI (1967), 68.

80 M.T. Tarhan, *Eskiçağ'da Kimmerler Problemi*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Eskiçağ Tarihi Kürsüsü, Doktora Tezi, İstanbul, 1972 (unpublished), 103; see also for Cimmerians, Scythians and Urartu, and their contacts : R. Rolle, in ...*Rivale Assyriens*, 22 ff. and *Saeculum*, XXVIII/3 (1977), 291 ff.

81 See M.T. Tarhan - V. Sevin, *An Ar*, IV-V (1976-1977), 347 ff.

82 See M.T. Tarhan - V. Sevin, *Bulleten*, XXXIX/155 (1975), 389 ff.

83 Cf. B.B. Piotrovskii, *The Kingdom of Van*. (1967), 19; see also M.N.van Loon, *ibid*, 29 ff.; S. Kroll, *Keramik Urartäischer Festungen in Iran* (1976) and in ...*Rivale Assyriens*, 62 f.

«monotonously» repeated that they give the impression, as if they were fabricated in the same workshop. It is evident that the artists were not independent but had to work according to the clichés imposed by the royal court. This «royal style / court style» were copied by the provincial artists⁸⁴.

In the period of decline the state authority was weakened, and thus, the provincial artists and the others had the freedom to create their own styles. Therefore the simplified depictions on some of the bronze plates of the «Giyimli Hoard»⁸⁵ in which we are inclined to see a «return to archaism» are productions of a new and free art. -which goes back to their old totemistic beliefs-.

VII) *Laws* :

The central authority should have undoubtedly functioned with the aid of a certain juridical system. Though we are relatively well informed on the law-codes of the Assyrians and the Hittites, we know unfortunately simply nothing on the Urartean laws which -we believe- existed. The laws of the Urartean kingdom should at least be different than those of the tribes during the «age of confederations».

On the other hand, the «patrilineal» order in the succession to the throne can be considered as part of a law-code⁸⁶. The rules -which can be deduced to be existant- in the appointments of *EN. NAM*'s, and the «hierarchy» of the officials reflect the juridical system. The determination of the offerings to the members of the pantheon, where gods and goddesses are enumerated according to their ranks should also be considered as a religious law. In the

84 See B.B. Piotrovskii, *ibid*, 15 ff.; M.N.van Loon, *ibid*, 166 ff.; E. Akurgal, *Anatolia*, IV (1959), 67 ff. and *Kunstzentren*; see also O. Belli, *ibid*, 56 ff., 71 ff.

85 A. Erzen, *Belleten*, XXXVIII/150 (1974), 191 ff.; O.A. Taşyürek, *Urartu Kemerleri* (1975) and *Belleten*, XLII/166 (1978), 201 ff.; H-J. Kellner, in *...Rivale Assyriens*, 53 ff.

86 Cf. A. Goetze, *ibid*, 195.

economic life, the existence of several measuring units⁸⁷, which undoubtedly were established by the state, demonstrate that there were rules in commerce as well as in taxation.

ABBREVIATIONS

- An Ar* : *Anadolu Araştırmaları* (İstanbul)
- ARAB*, I-II : D.D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, I-II Chicago, 1926-1927 (New York, 1968).
- ARI*, 1, 2 : A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions*, 1, 2, Wiesbaden, 1972, 1976.
- AS* : *Anatolian Studies* (London)
- Bi Or* : *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (Leiden)
- HChI* : F.W. König, *Handbuch der chaldischen Inschriften*, (Af0, Beiheft 8), Graz, 1955-1957.
- Ist. Mitt.* : *Istanbul Mitteilungen* (İstanbul/Berlin)
- JAOS* : *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (New Haven)
- SA* : *Sovetskaa Arkheologia* (Moskva)
- TAD* : *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* (Ankara)
- TTKong.* : *Türk Tarih Kongresi Raporları* (Ankara)
- UKN* : G.A. Melikishvili, *Urartskie Klinoobraznye Nadpisi*, Moskva, 1960.
- VDI* : *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii* (Moskva)
- ZA* : *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete - Vorderasiatische Archäologie* (Leipzig / Berlin)

⁸⁷ See A.M. Dingol, *Anadolu (Anatolia)*, XVIII (1974) 1977, 105 ff.; Many measuring pots which were found in one of the pithoi in the royal storerooms at Çavuştepe (in 1975) have been restored by us, and are now being exhibited in the Regional Museum of Van : A. Erzen, *Belleten*, XL/160 (1976), 712.