

پرستشگاه‌های برجی اورارتویی و هخامنشی^۱دیوید استروناخ^۲مترجم منصورحمدالله‌زاده^۳

چکیده

کاوش‌های باستان‌شناسی در اورارتو، انبوهی از مواد جدید را نشان داده‌اند که باید توجه باستان‌شناسان را جلب کند. تنها در زمینه معماری، سرعت اکتشاف استثنایی بوده است، و ما اکنون می‌توانیم الگوهای جدیدی از شهر، کاخ، معبد و معماری نظامی را بررسی کنیم که مستلزم مطالعه بیشتر است. کم‌اهمیت‌ترین این پیشرفت‌ها بازیابی چشمگیر شکلی متمایز و رضایت بخش از معبد برجی بوده است که تقریباً به یک اندازه مورد علاقه هخامنشی‌شناسان و باستان‌شناسان اورارتویی است. در حالی که حدود پانزده سال پیش فقط یک معبد برجی اورارتویی را آن‌هم ناقص می‌شناختیم، اکنون مجموعه کاملی از این بناها برای مطالعه در دسترس است. هنوز همه آنها به تفصیل منتشر نشده‌اند، اما به نظر می‌رسد تعداد کمی که منتشر شده‌اند به عنوان مدل‌های مناسب برای بقیه به کار گرفته شود. از زمانی که این شکل جدید اورارتویی برای اولین بار شناخته شد، چندین محقق درباره بازسازی‌های احتمالی بحث کرده‌اند و تقریباً همه آنها در یک زمان تلاش کرده‌اند شکل تازه کاوش شده را با نقش برجسته معبد موسیسر که در خرس‌آباد پیدا شده است پیوند دهند. اما، به اندازه کافی در باره مشابهت‌های معماری بین معابد برجی تازه حفاری شده اورارتو و معابد برجی هخامنشی یافت شده در پاسارگاد و نقش‌رستم، گفته نشده است.

کلید واژه‌ها: اورارتو، مادها، هخامنشیان، پرستشگاه‌های اورارتویی، پرستشگاه‌های هخامنشی

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پرستشگاه‌های برجی اورارتویی و هخامنشی

URARTIAN AND ACHAEMENIAN TOWER TEMPLES

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RECENT excavations in Urartu have revealed a wealth of new material that must command the closest attention of all concerned with Western Asiatic archeology. In the field of architecture alone the tempo of discovery has been exceptional, and we can now survey whole new patterns of town, palace, temple, and military architecture that call for further study. Not the least important of these developments has been the dramatic recovery of a distinct and satisfying form of tower temple of almost as much interest to the Achaemenian, as to the Urartian, excavator.

Whereas we knew only one Urartian tower temple imperfectly some fifteen years ago, a whole series of such monuments is now available for study. Not all have been published in detail as yet, but the few that have been would seem to serve as adequate models for the rest. Since this new Urartian form was first recognized several scholars have discussed possible reconstructions and almost all of them have attempted at one time or another to link the newly excavated form with the relief of the Musasir temple found at Khorsabad.¹ But, remarkably enough, almost nothing has been said about the strong architectural parallels that exist between the newly-excavated tower temples of Urartu and the Achaemenian tower temples found at Pasargadae and Naqsh-e-Rostam.²

DESCRIPTION OF THE URARTIAN TOWER TEMPLES

The five Urartian tower temples recovered so far lie at Altintepe,³ Aznavur,⁴ Toprak-kale,⁵ Çavuştepe,⁶ and Kayalidere.⁷ Thus, although this type of building appears to have been unknown at Arin-berd in the northeast,⁸ there can be little doubt that a great number of the main Urartian settlements boasted such a structure.⁹ The ground plan of this type of temple—or at least that of the cella within each temple complex—is always very similar (Fig. 1, 1-3). In each case we observe the remains of a freestanding, essentially square building with extremely thick walls and a square, central cella. The approach to the cella is through a recessed door and along a short, internal corridor. The

¹ For earlier discussions, see especially Tahsin Özgüç, *Belleten*, XXV, No. 98 (1961), 279; Tahsin Özgüç, *Altintepe, Architectural Monuments and Wall Paintings*, 1966, pp. 40 f. (hereafter *Altintepe*); Afif Erzen, "Untersuchungen in der Urartäischen Stadt Toprak-kale bei Van in den Jahren 1953-1961," *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1962, pp. 403 f.; Wolfram Kleiss, "Zur Rekonstruktion des urartäischen Temples" in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 13/14, 1963/4, pp. 1 f. → C. A. Burney, *Anatolian Studies*, XVI (1966), 74 (hereafter *AS*, XVI).

² Cf. *Altintepe*, p. 41 → *AS*, XVI, 74.

³ Now fully published in *Altintepe*.

⁴ Y. Boysal, *Belleten*, XXV, No. 98, 200 f.; Kemal Balkan, *Anatolia*, V (1960), 99 f.; Kemal Balkan, *Atatürk Konferansları 1963* (Ankara, 1964), pp. 235 f.; → Maeheld Mellink, *AJA*, 67 (1963), 182 f.

⁵ A. Erzen, *op. cit.*, pp. 395 f.; W. Kleiss, *op. cit.*, pp. 1 f.; → M. Mellink, *AJA*, 67 (1963), 1 → *AJA*, 68 (1964), 158; → *AJA*, 69 (1965), 141. For earlier references see both C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien Einst und Jetzt*, II (1931), 453 f. and R. D. Barnett, *Iraq*, XII (1950), 1 f. and *Iraq*, XVI (1954), 3 f.

⁶ A. Erzen, *TTKR*, 1963, pp. 32-34 and *TTKR*, 1964, pp. 27. → *Anatolian Studies*, XIV (1964), 23; → M. Mellink, *AJA*, 69 (1965), 141 → *AJA*, 70 (1966), 151.

⁷ *AS*, XVI, 68 f.

⁸ K. Oganesian, *Arin-berd*, I (1961), Fig. 12.

⁹ For one other settlement from central Urartu that may prove to have a tower temple see Carl Nylander, "Remarks on the Urartian Acropolis at Zernaki Tepe," *Orientalia Suecana*, XIV-XV (1965/66), 146 and Fig. 6.

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footing of each wall consists of three or more courses of well-dressed masonry, while above this point the walls were completed in mudbrick. As regards location, each temple was placed on, or at least close to, the highest ground available.¹⁰

Additional appointments vary, but notable features include internal wall paintings;¹¹ a pedestal against the rear wall of the cella;¹² a short flight of steps up to the door;¹³ reveals on each side of the door;¹⁴ and altars,¹⁵ tripods,¹⁶ and stelas¹⁷ in front of the door. Surface ornamentation appears to have included ceremonial spears and shields of various sizes.¹⁸

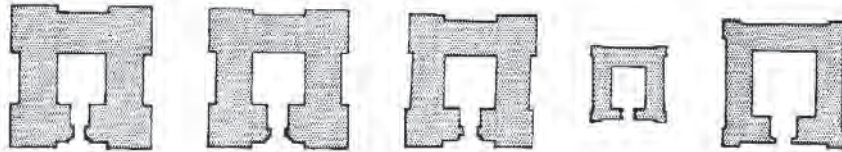


FIG. 1.—Restored plans of Urartian and Achaemenian tower temples: (1) Altintepe; (2) Toprakkale; (3) Kayahdere; (4) Pusargadae; (5) Naqsh-e Rostam. Not to scale

Each building was provided with a forecourt, even if the difficulties of the ground did not always allow the builders to leave an open space on all four sides of the temple;¹⁹ the sides of the court could possess a roofed colonnade; and, in one case at least, the tower and its surrounding court are thought to have been part of a large palace-temple complex.²⁰

As can be seen below, certain of the principal dimensions of the temples are remarkably consistent:

- (1) Altintepe. External dimensions 13.80 × 13.80 m.; cella 5.20 × 5.20 m.; corner buttresses protrude for 50 cm.
- (2) Aznavur. Main façade 13.63 m.; cella 5.03 m. × 5.03 m.
- (3) Toprakkale. External dimensions 13.80 × 13.80 m.; cella 5.30 × 5.30 m.; corner buttresses protrude for ca. 50 cm.
- (4) Çavuştepe. External dimensions 10 × 10 m.; cella 4.50 × 4.50 m.
- (5) Kayahdere. Main façade 12.50 m.; cella 5 × 5 m.; two of the four buttresses protrude for 50 cm.

The only major discrepancy stems from the relatively small measurements of the Çavuştepe temple. But since its walls are only 2.25 m. wide, as opposed to 4.35 m. at

¹⁰ Cf. *Altintepe*, p. 40.

¹¹ Best preserved at *Altintepe*, *ibid.*, pp. 56 f.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 40.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

¹⁴ As can be seen at *Altintepe* (*ibid.*, Pl. 8); *Aznavur* (Boysal, *op. cit.*, Plan 2); and *Kayahdere* (*AS*, XVI, Pl. Vb).

¹⁵ From *Toprakkale* (Barnett, *Iraq*, XVI, Pl. 1, 2); *Kleiss*, *op. cit.*, Fig. 12; *Mellink*, *AJA*, 69, 141; and *Altintepe* (*Altintepe*, Pl. IX, 2).

¹⁶ From *Kayahdere* (*AS*, XVI, 72).

¹⁷ From *Kayahdere* (*ibid.*, pp. 71-72).

¹⁸ Cf. direct and indirect indications from *Altintepe* (*Altintepe*, pp. 41 f.), *Toprakkale* (Ersen, *AA*, 1962, Figs. 13-19), *Aznavur* (Mellink, *AJA*, 69, 142) and *Kayahdere* (*AS*, XVI, 92 and Pl. 21, b).

¹⁹ Cf. *AS*, XVI, Fig. 4.

²⁰ *Altintepe*, p. 42.

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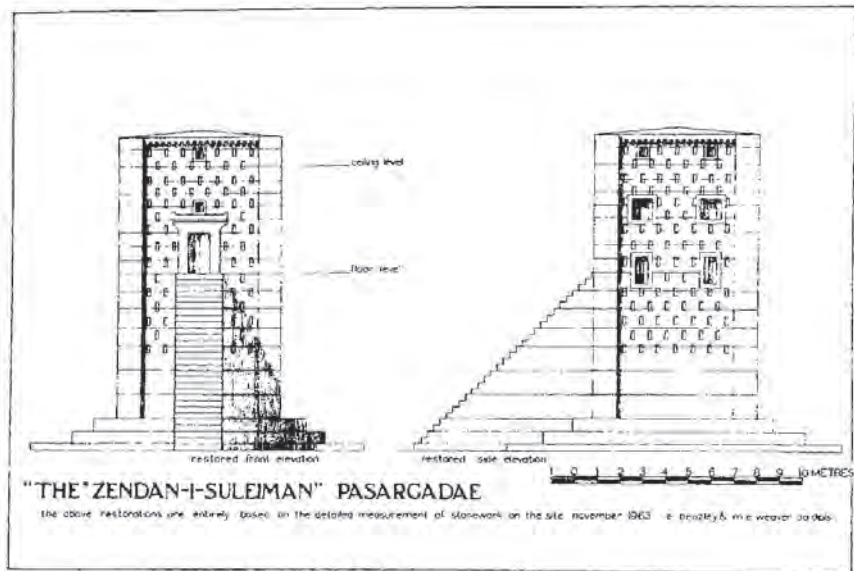


Fig. 2.—Restored front and side elevations of the Zendan

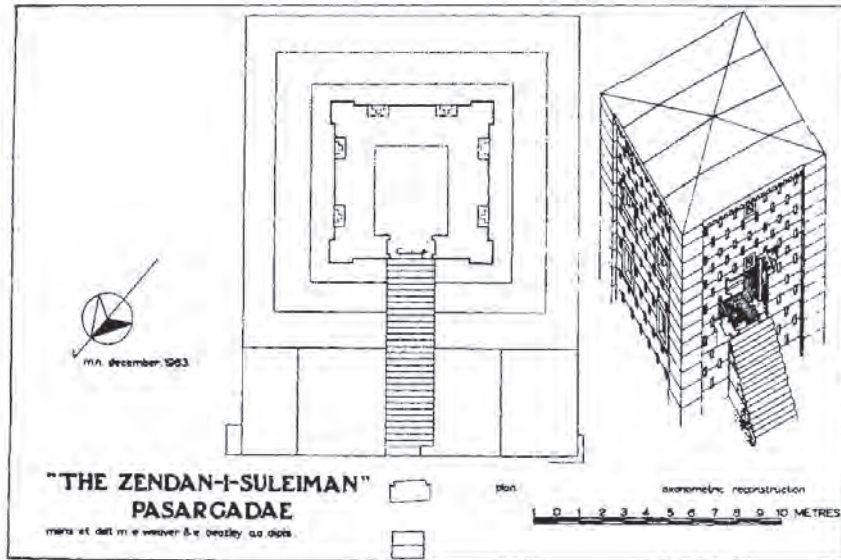


Fig. 3.—Plan of Zendan with axonometric reconstruction of roof and upper walls at right

Altantepe, we can assume perhaps that its reduced ground plan was matched by a proportionate reduction in height.

Coming to the question of the original appearance of these towers, Tahsin Özgüç has made the point that the thick mudbrick walls of the Altantepe temple "must have been very high."²¹ But despite this assertion, his published reconstruction of the Altantepe temple still looks far too squat.²² In Özgüç's illustration we see a very heavy-looking tower in which the top of the door reaches fully half way up the face of the whole building. More significant, perhaps, is Charles Burney's single reference to the Ka'bah-i-Zardusht and his explicit suggestion that "the general proportions of the (Kayalidere) temple may have been those of a double cube."²³

With regard to the form of roof that was used, Özgüç has suggested in his latest publication that the Altantepe temple may have had a flat roof with a small, central lightwell.²⁴ He suggests also that the upper parts of Urartian temple walls may have had windows.²⁵ Burney, on the other hand, opts for a gabled roof, observing that the roof of the Kayalidere temple "may well have resembled that of the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae."²⁶

Before examining the merits of these various suggestions in Section III, it may be useful to consider the evidence of two additional Urartian temples as well as that of the twin Achaemenian towers from Fars. In the case of the first Urartian structure, the temple of Susi at Arin-berd,²⁷ we see the remains of a rectangular building without corner buttresses. The walls of the building hardly look thick enough to suggest exceptional height, and, as Özgüç has indicated, the oblong plan may have called for a gabled roof.²⁸

The Haldi temple at Musasir, which was built before 810 B.C. and sacked by Sargon during his campaign of 714 B.C., presents many more problems.²⁹ All we possess is a strictly frontal view, seen with the eye of an Assyrian artist who, among other things, was anxious to crowd his scene with further local buildings and with the diverse actions of those involved in the city's fall. In addition, as Seton Lloyd and Charles Burney have pointed out,³⁰ the possibly compressed proportions of the temple (which looks much too squat to be called a tower) may stem from the restrictions imposed on the sculptor by the standard practice of depicting all the scenes of a relief between the upper and lower borders of a register.

In a recent attempt to interpret the original design of the Musasir temple, W. Kleiss³¹ has suggested that the plan of the building may have been square and that the low, triangular "gable" with its distinct net pattern may represent one of the four sides of a tent or pyramidal roof. But in putting forward these useful suggestions Kleiss has also advanced the much less persuasive thesis that all the square temples found in Urartu

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

²² *Ibid.*, Fig. 1.

→ *AS*, XVI, 74.

²⁴ *Altantepe*, p. 41.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

→ *AS*, XVI, 74.

²⁷ K. Oganessian, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-50; and K. Oganessian, *Sovjetskaya Archaologia*, 1960/63, pp. 292-94.

²⁸ *Altantepe*, p. 40.

²⁹ For previous references see among others, P. E. Botta and E. Flandin, *Monuments de Ninive*, II (1849), Pl. 141; Lehmann Haupt, *op. cit.*, p. 556; F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs* (1910), pp. 8 f., Fig. 4; R. D. Barnett, *Iran*, XII (1950), 21, Fig. 11; R. Naumann, *Architektur Kleinasiens* (1955), p. 147, Fig. 167; B. B. Piotrovsky, *Karmir-Blur* (1959), Pl. 7; T. Özgüç, *Bellaten*, XXV, No. 98 (1961), 279; A. Erzen, *AA*, 1962, pp. 403 f.; and W. Kleiss, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

→ *AS*, XVI, 74.

³¹ W. Kleiss, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

must have shared the modest height of the building shown in the Musasir relief. From the very thickness of the walls of the chief excavated temples, this seems impossible. Furthermore, a total identity between the type of building shown in the Musasir relief and the excavated square form is ruled out by an important difference in plan: the Musasir façade shows six equally-prominent pilasters and, as Kleiss has demonstrated in his own restored plans, this arrangement cannot be made to fit the standard tower temple plan, which never attests any form of buttress immediately beside the door.³²

We have much to learn still about the different types of temple that were used in early first millennium Anatolia and, in this connection, the possible relevance of certain parallels from Phrygia should not be forgotten. If we compare the Musasir temple with but one of the rock-cut façades that are known from Phrygia—namely, the so-called Tomb of Midas³³—we find definite support for the view that the Musasir building could have been at least as broad as it was tall.³⁴

In other words, the Urartians probably knew at least three different types of temple, such as may reflect a significant measure of regional variety.³⁵

DESCRIPTION OF THE ACHAEMENIAN TOWER TEMPLES

Turning to the Achaemenian evidence we are concerned with only two monuments: the largely ruined Zendan-i-Suleiman or "Prison of Solomon" at Pasargadae and the almost intact Ka'bah-i-Zardusht at Naqsh-e-Rostam. Such is the similarity between these two monuments that a brief description of the Ka'bah may serve to define the chief features of both structures.³⁶

Viewed for the first time the Ka'bah gives the impression of being a three-storied building (Pl. XXIV, B). But in point of fact the lower half of the tower is solid, while the upper half accommodates a single room 5.58 m. in height. Erected on a triple stone plinth, the tower itself is square in plan with slim projecting buttresses at each corner (Fig. 1, 5).³⁷ The elevated cella was reached by a single, double-leaved door, set within double fasciae and approached by an imposing flight of steps. Also, as can be seen from the cliffs above, the roof is not flat as is sometimes maintained, but tent shaped with four sloping sides (Pl. XXVI, B).

The walls of the Ka'bah consist of twenty-one courses of finely dressed white limestone. To break the monotony of the otherwise light-colored walls, deeply recessed, black limestone frames were set into each of the blind windows while further relief was supplied by a series of small, vertical slots, disposed in alternate rows over all but the lowest stages of the building. Echoes of a partly wooden prototype stem from both the elaborate architrave over the door and the neat dentil cornice at the edges of the roof.

It is often said that the Zendan and the Ka'bah are identical, but there are in fact a number of features that distinguish the two structures from each other, each fully con-

³² *Ibid.*, Figs. 5 and 6.

³³ A. Gabriel, *Phrygie*, IV (1965), Pl. 27.

³⁴ For the suggestion that these rock-carved façades should be taken to represent cult buildings rather than tombs see especially R. D. Barnett, "The Phrygian Rock Monuments," *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, X, 3 and 4 (1953), 78 f.

³⁵ Above all, compare the correspondence in form between the *Haldi* temple at Topprakkale and the *Irmudi* temple at neighbouring Çavuştepe.

³⁶ Among earlier accounts see M. Dieulafoy, *L'Art antique de la Perse*, I (1884), 14 f.; F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs* (1910), pp. 3-5 and 152-54; K. Erdmann, "Das iranische Feuerheiligtum", II, *Schrift der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* (1941), pp. 17-21; R. Ghirshman, "La Tour de Nurabad," *Syria*, XXIV (1944-45), 175 f.; Ali Sami, *Pasargadae* (1956), pp. 78 f.; and D. Stronach, *Iran*, III (1965), 11-17 (hereafter *Iran*, III).

³⁷ Cf. also Sarre and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, Fig. 1.

firming the probable association of the first building with Cyrus the Great (559–530 B.C.) and the second with Darius the Great (522–486 B.C.). In the first place it is evident that the Zendan possesses that most characteristic feature of the architecture of Pasargadae: a rectangular—as opposed to a square—chamber (Fig. 1, 4). Second, in keeping with the outstanding quality of all early Achaemenian masonry at Pasargadae, there is a significant difference between the very careful grading of the seventeen courses of the Zendan (Pl. XXIV, A and Fig. 2) and the often irregular appearance of the thinner, more numerous courses of the Ka'bah (Pl. XXIV, B).³⁸ And third, as has been stressed in several recent papers,³⁹ there is an important distinction in the actual stone dressing of the two monuments, for, while the original dressing of the Zendan is apparently free of multi-toothed chisel marks, that of the Ka'bah, in line with all other free-standing monuments of Darius and his successors, can be seen to have many such marks.

Nothing is known of the original, internal appointments of either cella, but at least something more concrete can be said concerning the doors of these buildings. It is now almost certain for example that a white limestone fragment from the Citadel or Tall-i-Takht at Pasargadae (Pls. XXV, A and B)⁴⁰ should be regarded as part of one of the door leaves of the Zendan. This seemingly remote possibility becomes more feasible when we realise that the fragment bears precisely the stepped end (Pl. XXV, B) that is common to Achaemenian double-leaved doors⁴¹ and that it exhibits a width entirely in keeping with the probable dimensions of the door of the Zendan. In greater detail, the stone can be said to come from a door leaf ca. 47 cm. wide, while the width of the original door of the Zendan has been estimated at 94 cm.⁴² The modest thickness of the stone (8.5 cm.) may also be said to accord with the small size of the door sockets known from the threshold of the Zendan (Fig. 3).

If the insistence laid on the above points should seem to be too strong, it should be added that of all the buildings at Pasargadae only the Zendan and the tomb of Cyrus (with its much narrower doorway) are known to have had double-leaved stone doors; that the original stratification of the stone itself is not recorded; that many stones at Pasargadae were displaced and carried to other parts of the site (not least to the Takht); and that neither the unfinished first period on the Takht nor the relatively mundane second period would seem to represent appropriate contexts for such advanced architectural decoration.

As a decorative element alone this fragment has been discussed already by Carl Nylander.⁴³ Talking of the three carved rosettes found on the stone, he notes that the piece "has exact counterparts on Samos and in Ephesos and that it was undoubtedly made under strong Greek influence." The force of his remarks is not only reflected in the parallels cited⁴⁴ but also by the fact that no other rosettes from Iran are known to possess an extra sepal between each petal.

To be sure, the presence of this exceptional type of rosette is not something that one would immediately look for in a building with so few western elements. But here we have to consider the numerous Greco-Lyidian traits that can be seen in the stonework of

³⁸ Especially immediately above the door.

³⁹ *Iran*, III, 17; → C. Nylander, *AJA*, 69 (1965), 49 f. and *AJA*, 70 (1966), 373 f.

⁴⁰ First illustrated by Ali Sairi, *op. cit.*, opposite p. 98.

⁴¹ An observation that I owe to Giuseppe Tella.

⁴² *Iran*, III, 13. Cf. also Fig. 1, 4, where the original dimensions of the door are restored.

→ C. Nylander, *AJA*, 70, 374, Note 17.

⁴⁴ E. Buschor, *Ath. Mitt.*, 72 (1957), Pl. 16: 2, 17 and D. G. Hogarth, *Ephesos* (1908), Atlas, Pl. VIII.

Cyrus' capital. As examples of either Greek or Lydian architectural influence it is possible to cite the Cyma mouldings on Cyrus' tomb; the sophisticated stone jointing techniques that occur in all major structures at Pasagardae;⁴⁵ the horizontally-fluted torus bases that occur in the Residential Palace;⁴⁶ the small specialized clamp forms that were used to connect superimposed courses;⁴⁷ the strong red or brown stains that still survive on joining stone surfaces in the A staircase of the Takht and in the pavement of the Palace of Audience;⁴⁸ and the rusticated masonry from the Takht which, at its best, looks extremely like that known from both the Lydian citadel at Sardis and the curved wall of the Gyges tumulus.⁴⁹

The complete form of the door itself is suggested by the appearance of a door recovered from one of the royal tombs at Persepolis, for, just as this last door in the Persepolis Museum⁵⁰ exhibits a series of plain horizontal bands, so may that of the Zendan have possessed a set of similar bands each decorated by a line of rosettes.

Finally, in this description of the Zendan and the Ka'bah it is interesting to note a substantial difference between the door sockets of the two buildings. While those of the Zendan were small and shallow, without accompanying troughs (Fig. 3), those of the Ka'bah were of considerable depth with long, sloping troughs behind each floor socket.⁵¹ When we remember that a similar contrast exists between the floor sockets of the tomb of Cyrus and those of the tomb of Darius, it seems clear that Darius must have favored heavier leaves together with an entirely new method of inserting them.⁵²

THE COMBINED EVIDENCE

The two most telling parallels between the Urartian and Achaemenian tower temples may be said to lie in their common plan (Fig. 1) and their similar concern for tall proportions. From these two elements alone the Urartian ancestry of the Achaemenian model is virtually assured. Yet there are many other features in the two Persian towers that point in the same direction. These include the use of surface wall slots, triple tiers of recessed windows and clear dentil cornices—all of which can be found on bone or bronze models of Urartian buildings.⁵³ In addition, an enigmatic series of recessed, black stone slabs from the area of the Haldi temple at Toprakkale⁵⁴ would seem to bear a

⁴⁵ On the introduction of a true anathyrosis technique, with smooth marginal dressings and sunk central areas, see especially C. Nylander in *Orientalia Suecana*, XIV-XV, 149.

⁴⁶ E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, I (1929-30), Pl. 2.

⁴⁷ Comparable to those shown by R. Martin in *Manuel d'architecture grecque* (1965), Fig. 134.

⁴⁸ Stronach, *Iran*, I (1963), Fig. 4 and *Iran*, II (1964), Fig. 5.

⁴⁹ See G. Hanfmann, *ILN*, March 20th, 1965, Fig. 5. For still another parallel with western Asia Minor compare the hanging "tails" in the masonry of the Takht (Stronach, *Iran*, I, Pl. IIIa and *Iran*, II, Pl. Vb) with those known from the Pyramid Tomb at Sardis (H. C. Butler, *Sardis*, I (1922), Pl. 174) and those thought to come from the palace of Pharnabazos at Daskylion (E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst Altanatoliens* (1961), Fig. 262).

⁵⁰ At present being reassembled for exhibition.

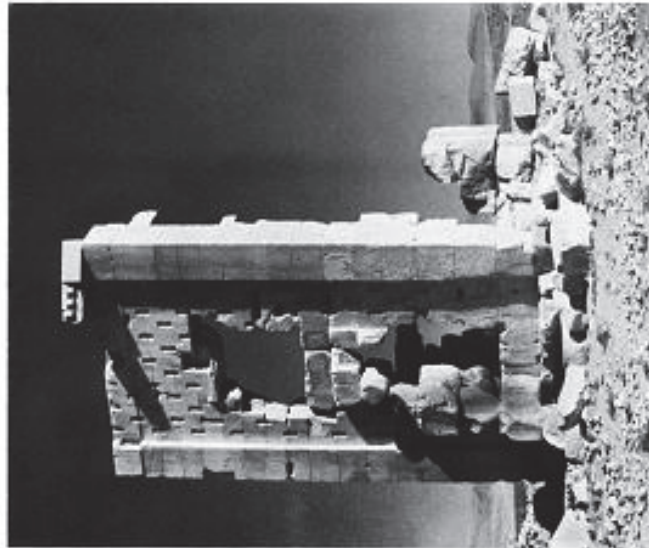
⁵¹ Cf. Sarre and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.* and (for a schematic view of the section only) M. Dieulafoy, *op. cit.*, Fig. 19.

⁵² This circumstance may even account for the absence of any inner "jambs" in the plan of the Ka'bah (our Fig. 1, 5). As for the two outer jambs—such as were only 88 cms. apart (Fig. 1, 5)—their former presence is indicated by the incomplete side fascias shown in the lintel (Pl. XXIV, A); certain lines visible on both the surface of the threshold and the underside of the lintel; and by the well preserved anathyrosis found on each of the existing jambs.

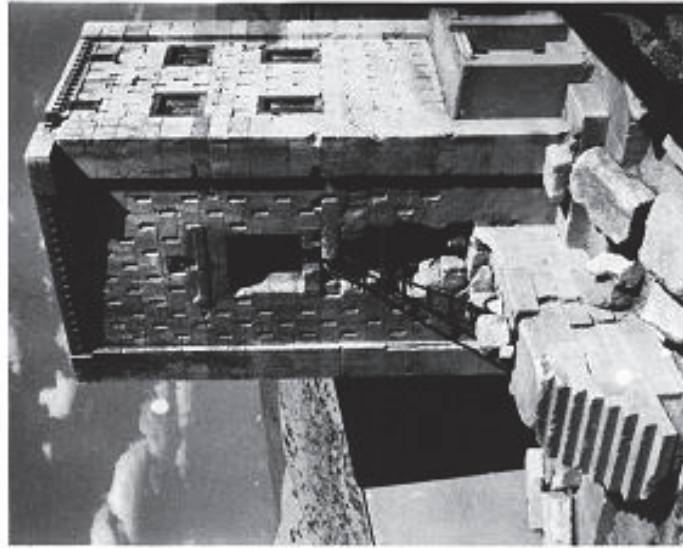
⁵³ Cf. R. D. Barnett, *Iraq*, XII, Pl. 1; E. Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran* (1935), Fig. 8; R. Naumann, *op. cit.*, Fig. 449; and B. B. Piotrovsky, *Iskusstvo Urartu* (1962), Figs. 55 and 56.

⁵⁴ Cf. R. D. Barnett, *Iraq*, XVI, 5 and Fig. 1.

PLATE XXIV



A.—FRONTAL VIEW OF THE ZOSTAN



B.—FRONTAL VIEW OF THE KERDAH (PHOTOGRAPHED THROUGH THE TERRACE)

پرستشگاه‌های برجی اورارتویی و هخامنشی

PLATE XXV



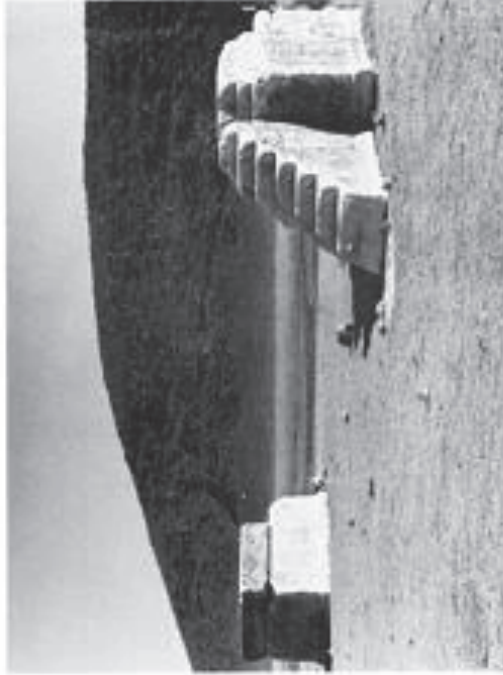
A.—FRAGMENT OF DOOR LEAF. FRONT VIEW



B.—FRAGMENT OF DOOR LEAF. REAR VIEW



C.—PART OF A STEPPED FIRE ALTAR FROM PASARGADAE

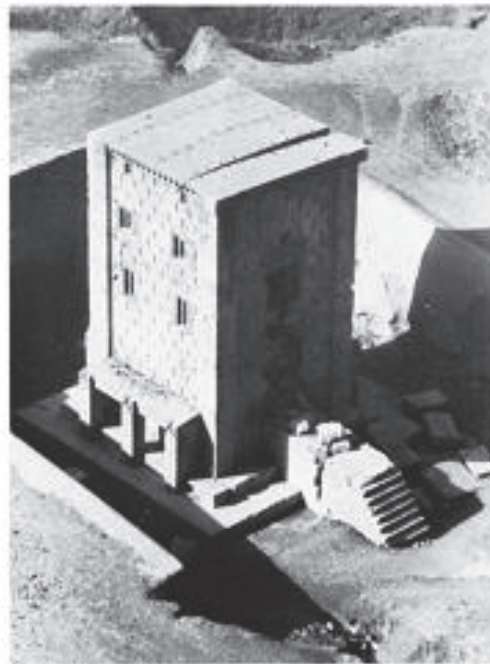


D.—THE TWO PAINTED FRAGMENTS FROM THE SACRED PRECINCT BEFORE EXCAVATION

PLATE XXVI



A.—FUNERARY RELIEF OF DARIUS THE GREAT



B.—VIEW OF THE KA'BAH-I-ZARDUSHT FROM THE CLIFF-TOP AT NAQSH-E-RUSTAM

distinct resemblance in size and shape to the lowest row of blind stone windows found in the Zendan and the Ka'bah.⁵⁵

Such anomalies as do occur, such as the low, compressed shape of the tent roof, can almost certainly be ascribed to the difficulties of translating an original, wooden type of roof into a solid stone form. The more compact ground plan of the Achaemenian towers may be ascribed also to the new stone medium since the stone-roofed cella could no longer be quite so large and its stone walls no longer had to be quite so thick. Even in the case of the unique elevated cella (Fig. 2) it may well be that the Achaemenian architects had doubts about extending the walls of the cella beyond a certain height and that it was at least partly for structural, as well as more important ritual, reasons that they decided to raise the level of the chamber, adding a monumental ascent to it. In a more modest sense, of course, a stepped approach was already present in certain of the Urartian temples—and this local feature may have provided the inspiration for the bold Achaemenian staircases.⁵⁶

From these various observations, then, we may list some six points that help to document the original appearance of the Urartian tower temple. First, the great width of the Urartian stone socles must speak for walls of great height. If we use the proportions of a double cube as a guide, the massive walls of the Altantepe temple must have soared to a height of at least 26 metres. Second, whatever other decorations may have been applied to the walls, we should expect blind if not real windows to have been let into the upper walls. Third, despite various arguments in favour of a gabled, flat, or even partly open roof, there is every indication from the otherwise parallel Achaemenian evidence that a tent roof must have been preferred. Fourth, some form of dentil cornice was almost certainly used. Fifth, small wooden slats may well have been used to cover the surface of the roof; not only does the net pattern on the Musasir gable suggest this,⁵⁷ but also the contemporary treatment of many village roofs in the mountains south of Trebizond.⁵⁸ And sixth, from the evidence of both the rock-cut monuments of Phrygia and the Musasir relief, we might postulate, as Kleiss has already,⁵⁹ a dominant religious symbol at the highest point of the roof.

At the same time the extensive appointments round each Urartian temple are a sharp reminder that far from enough has been done to test the environs of either the Zendan or the Ka'bah. At Naqsh-i-Rustam the ground round the Ka'bah only appears to have been explored for a distance of five or six meters, while our present understanding of the supporting appointments at the base of the Zendan can hardly be described as complete either.⁶⁰ In particular, Schmidt's aerial view of the Zendan⁶¹ appears to illustrate a large square enclosure well beyond the limits of any recent excavations.

CONCLUSIONS

It is not within the scope of this paper to comment on the possible origins of the Urartian tower temple, although an attempt must be made to explore two related points: the date at which the Persians first borrowed this unique Urartian form and the reasons for which it was borrowed.

⁵⁵ The one published slab from Toprakkale measures 1.47 m. in height, while the black limestone windows from the lowest register in the Zendan were probably not more than 10 cm. taller.

⁵⁶ Cf. *Altantepe*, Pl. 10, 1.

⁵⁷ Cf. Kleiss, *op. cit.*, Fig. 5.

⁵⁸ Personal observation.

⁵⁹ Kleiss, *op. cit.*, Fig. 9.

⁶⁰ Cf. *Iran*, III, 14 and 16.

⁶¹ E. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I (1953), Fig. 5.

To judge from an Assyrian relief of the Median city of Kharkhar,⁶² the Medes, as neighbors of the Urartians, were acquainted already with monumental stone platforms. But neither the ninth century evidence from Hasanlu nor the eighth century evidence from Kharkhar, nor indeed the evidence from eighth or seventh century Takht-i-Suleiman, suggests that any of the peoples living in Iran had adopted any variant form of tower temple before the sixth century B.C.

Further, if we accept the veracity of Herodotus' statement that the Persians (meaning the population as a whole down to the middle years of the fifth century B.C.) were not acquainted with the use of temples or altars⁶³ there is little reason to suppose that either the Medes or the early Persians would have borrowed the tower temple design or have preserved any special memory of it.

Accordingly, the sudden appearance of the tower temple form at Pasargadae can hardly be ascribed to any long-cherished interest in this exceptional type of building. Instead we have to acknowledge that Cyrus was almost certainly without any earlier Median, Persian, or even East Iranian temple models that he could turn to and that here, as in much of his purely secular building program, he had to look further afield for suitable inspiration.

In addition, the fundamental question remains: why was Cyrus concerned with religious construction at all? Remarkably little has been said about the religious beliefs of this great monarch, chiefly because our available written evidence is so slight. Yet if we survey the chief features of his religious monuments we see that important and eloquent documents of another kind have been surprisingly neglected.

Thanks to the recent researches of Sayyid Hasan Taqizadeh and others,⁶⁴ it is now generally agreed that the great Iranian prophet, Zoroaster or Zarathuštra, was born not at some distant and uncertain remove of time but rather within the last decades of the seventh century B.C. Furthermore, as Henning has pointed out,⁶⁵ his protector, Kavi Vištāspa, was probably the last ruler of the Khwarezmian state of Marv and Herat in the first half of the sixth century B.C. Thus—if Henning is right—Zarathuštra is no longer a remote figure whose possible influence on Cyrus is too abstruse to consider, but rather an almost contemporary prophet whose ethical teachings had already won over one of the first rulers whom Cyrus was to depose.

We know more than enough of Cyrus' repute from foreign sources—not least from the prophecies of the Jews of Babylon and from what Xenophon tells us in his "Cyropaedia"—to be certain that his view of life was not solely guided by the precepts of an ambitious conqueror. Furthermore, as Walther Hinz was the first to stress, there are several internal clues from sixth century Iran concerning the nature of his beliefs.⁶⁶

First and foremost, it should never be forgotten that Darius the Great was exercised in his Bisitun inscription to affirm the essential continuity of Achaemenian political and religious leadership: "The kingdom which had been taken away from our family, that I put in its place; I re-established it on its foundation. As before, so I made the sanctuaries (*āyadanā*) which Gaumata the Magian destroyed."⁶⁷

⁶² Y. Yudin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands* (1963), lower figure on p. 425.

⁶³ Herodotus i. 131.

⁶⁴ See especially Taqizadeh, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, X, 129 f.

⁶⁵ W. B. Henning, *Zoroaster Politician or Witch-Doctor?* (1951), p. 43.

⁶⁶ W. Hinz, *Zarathustra* (1961), pp. 146 f.

⁶⁷ R. G. Kent, *Old Persian Grammar, Texts, Lexicon* (1953), p. 120.

As Hinz has observed,⁶⁸ the ruined *āyadanā* can hardly have been constructed in the brief, broken reign of Cyrus' son Cambyses II; instead the monuments in question must have been built by Cyrus himself.

The parallel argument that the Zendan must have been one of the *āyadanā* that were destroyed by Gaumata is tempting but less convincing. Apart from all else, a crude repair to one of the supporting plinths, where the stone-masons made vigorous use of the toothed or claw chisel, is an almost certain indication that the building remained substantially intact after 522 B.C.⁶⁹

At the same time, however, Darius' claim to have maintained the exact character of the religious constructions already associated with the Achaemenian royal house can be said to find its most vivid confirmation in the close resemblance between the Zendan and the Ka'bah. This exclusive form had already graced the first dynastic home and, whatever other temple models may have started to appear elsewhere, the king clearly wished this special form to find an honoured place at the new dynastic abode too.

Among other parallels it is clear from a fragment of a stepped altar from Pasargadae (Pl. XXV, C),⁷⁰ such as is quite without toothed chisel marks, that Cyrus employed exactly the same type of portable fire altar as that illustrated by Darius in his funerary relief.⁷¹ Also, as a third significant comparison, it seems legitimate to suggest that the twin plinths at Pasargadae (Pl. XXV, D) and the twin plinths in Darius' relief each performed a similar function: in each case the king ascended a stepped plinth in order to worship before an altar on a second plinth but a little distance away.⁷²

As to the religious beliefs of Darius and his son, Xerxes, Gershevitch⁷³ has done much to show that the supposed inconsistencies between the gathas—Zarathuštra's own verses—and the inscriptions of these last two rulers have little force. Darius emerges as a deeply committed Zarathuštrian while Xerxes, a man of less penetrating intellect, is seen to have tried at least to follow in his father's steps. Thus, taking together the unusual qualities of Cyrus, his not improbable opportunity to absorb the faith and principles of Zarathuštra, the evident importance of the passage quoted from the Bisitun inscription, and the remarkable identity of the religious symbols used by both Cyrus and Darius, it seems difficult to deny that Cyrus himself must have been a Zarathuštrian too.

Not the least consequence of Cyrus' conversion must have been a wholly new spur to royal construction. Permanent structures are not mentioned in the Avesta,⁷⁴ and Zarathuštra himself probably had little interest in the outward symbols that would become the mark of his message. But for Cyrus the position had to be otherwise. No monarch of his standing could aspire to be less than a monumental builder and, as such, he had to devise the first permanent religious installations of his new faith.

In this context the eclectic nature of Achaemenian art and architecture offered no regional barrier: he was free to choose any evocative but no longer current religious symbol that could be re-used in a new setting. Less than thirty years later, we should remember, Darius was to turn to Assyria and the image of the god Assur in his search for a suitable symbol to represent Ahura Mazdāh, the "wise lord" of Zarathuštra's teaching.

⁶⁸ W. Hinz, *op. cit.*, pp. 150 f.

⁶⁹ Cf. C. Nylander, *AJA*, 70, 374 and 378.

⁷⁰ First published in *Iran*, III, Pl. VII.

⁷¹ Despite its damaged condition, the form of Darius' altar is still clear (Pl. XXVI, A).

⁷² For clear confirmation that only one plinth possessed a staircase see *Iran*, III, Figs. 5 and 6.

→ I. Gershevitch, *JNES*, XXIII (1964), 16 f.

⁷³ H. S. Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran* (1938), p. 369.

From an architectural standpoint, Cyrus' choice was probably most strongly influenced by the welcome opportunity to raise the height of the cella within such a tall outer frame. For although an elevated cella never became a common feature in Achaemenian temples, we should be wrong to discount either the Persians' ancient regard for "high places"⁷⁵ or the extra significance that elevation alone may have had in Iran in the first phases of religious construction.⁷⁶

It is probably relevant too that Cyrus' first opportunity to see temples of any size—albeit partly ruined—must have come with his control of Media's Urartian province. The alternative suggestion that the Zendan was inspired by the remote tombs of Lycia⁷⁷ has never seemed very likely and now seems all the more improbable. Given the clear Urartian ancestry of the Zendan, any evident points of contact between that structure and the monuments of Lycia can be seen to depend on still older, presumably broadly diffused, traits in the architecture of Anatolia.

Finally, aside from all other arguments concerning the function of the two Achaemenian towers, it is not without value to learn of the strictly religious, rather than funerary, antecedents of both monuments. Such knowledge complements many clues of Fradara and still later date⁷⁸ and may even dispel the last lingering suspicion that each was built as a tomb.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Cf. Herodotus I. 131.

⁷⁶ Compare especially the height of the two plinths in the Sacred Precinct.

⁷⁷ Dieulafoy, *op. cit.*, pp. 17 f.

→ D. Stronach, *JNES*, XXV (1966), 220 f.

⁷⁸ Even in terms of providing sufficient ventilation for the eternal fire—if it were the religious function of these buildings to harbour a fire at all—the regular visits of the priests (cf. Strabo XV. iii. 15) must have helped to balance the closed character of each cella.

URARTIAN AND ACHAEMENIAN TOWER TEMPLES

David Stronach

Abstract

Ancient excavations in Urartu have revealed a wealth of new material that must command the closest attention of all concerned with eastern Asiatic archaeology. In the □□ discovery has been exceptional, and we can now survey whole new patterns of town, palace, temple, and military architecture that call for further study. Not the least important of these developments has been the dramatic recovery of a distinct and satisfying form of tower temple of almost as much interest to the Achaemenian, as to the Urartian, excavator. Whereas we knew only one Urartian tower temple imperfectly some □□□□ is now available for study. Not all have been published in detail as yet, but the few that have been would seem to serve as adequate models for the rest. Since this new Urartian form was □st recognized several scholars have discussed possible reconstructions and almost all of them have attempted at one time or another to link the newly excavated form with the relief of the Musasir temple found at Khorsabad. 1But, remarkably enough, almost nothing has been said about the strong architectural parallels that exist between the newly- excavated tower temples of Urartu and the Achaemenian tower temples found at Pasargadae and Naqsh-i-Rustam.

Key words: Urartu, Medes, Achaemenians, Urartu temple, Achaemenid temple