

The Art of Ancient Iran; Pre-Islamic Culture

PREFACE

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With the collaboration of R. H. Dyson and contributions by C.K. Wilkinson

Iranian art created relatively few works of major importance, but rather many groups of objects, usually small and portable, with great artistic appeal. Animals were favoured as subjects. Their bodies were often transformed into severely formal compositions which nevertheless possess a mysterious life of their own. In them the beholder enjoys pure form and its enlivenment. A large number of the 61 colour plates of this book show such animal representations--boar, ibex and lion--from the various periods of ancient Iranian art.

The small number of plates makes it impossible to give a detailed survey of Iranian art from the beginnings to the advent of Islam. For that reason I have limited myself to discussion of those features of Iranian art which seem to have endured through the centuries. To that end an effort was made to choose as far as possible works with similar motifs: mostly animals, but also demonic combinations of animals and man. The most persistent motif is that of two-horned animals flanking a tree. The variant renderings of this and other motifs from the prehistoric period to Sasanian times provide a survey of the changing styles and of their basic traits.

As yet the knowledge of Iranian art is uneven, as is the interest in its various phases. While painted prehistoric pottery has been excavated in many different places in western and eastern Iran, the most spectacular finds of metal-work have been made in western Iran, especially in the region south-west of the Caspian Sea. Some phases of Iranian art are more fully illustrated in this book than others: prehistoric pottery, Elamite art of the late second millennium B.C., followed by a brief section on the Luristan bronzes. The last I consider to have been produced in part through stimuli received from Elamite art. Many objects from Hasanlu are illustrated thanks to

Though the chapters on Achaemenid and Sassanian art have most of the illustrations, these are nevertheless merely samples of the rich remains now known from these periods. Precise determination of the periods and of the local manifestations of pre-Achaemenid art such as the Luristan bronzes is still a matter of discussion, for modern excavations in Iran began as late as 1931-32 with the initial work of Georges Contenau and Roman Ghirshman at the pre-Achaemenid site of Tepe Giyan. The result of the work at this site was, for the first time, a relative dating of the prehistoric cultures of central western Iran. Before that, excavations in Iran--one must include Susa--were little more than unsystematic treasure hunts. Today there are scientific excavations carried out by different nations working with the Archaeological Service of Iran. Every summer excavations fill out a little more of the picture of ancient Iranian art and history.

In a field in which scholarly work has just begun, exchange of views with persons of varied knowledge and experience yields the most valid results. Thus chapters of this book contain not only my own ideas and those accepted from Robert H. Dyson Jr. and Charles K. Wilkinson, but also those of other colleagues [p. 13] like P. H. von Blanckenhage, Vaughn E. Crawford, Marc J. Dresden who very kindly consented to contribute to the glossary and the paragraphs characterizing the Iranian gods, Robert Gšbl, Jacques Duchesne Guillemin, Evelyn B. Harrison, Helene J. Kantor, Machteld J. Mellink, George C. Miles, Morton Smith, Ehsan Yar Shater.

Also some of my students contributed to the text Moreover, I have learnt a great deal from my frequent visits to the ever hospitable department of ancient Near Eastern art at the Metropolitan Museum [NY]. . . . I also want to express my deep gratitude to

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The Art of Ancient Iran; Pre-Islamic Culture Geography of Ancient Iran

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The historical development of ancient Iran and of its art was largely influenced by the geographical conditions of the country. Iran lies between the Caspian Sea in the north and the Persian Gulf in the south, between Iraq, ancient Mesopotamia, in the west and, in the east, Pakistan and Afghanistan. The Soviet Union has a common border with Iran across the north to the point where the Turkish border runs down through Azerbaijan in the north-west. The modern frontiers of Iran as a political unit correspond only in a very limited way with those which existed at the time of the country's greatest political and cultural expansion, in the Achaemenid and Sassanian empires. In some instances, however, some of the boundaries follow natural features which divided and also protected the inhabitants of Iran from their neighbours in antiquity just as they do today. One such border runs southward through Baluchistan in the east, where mountains and deserts present obstacles to easy communication. Another, the Zagros range, separates northern Iraq from north-western Iran except for the road which winds through Kurdistan over mountain passes and down through the Diyala valley in to the Mesopotamian plain. In other areas access to Iranian territories is much easier, as in the south-west where the Khuzistan plain forms an extension of the Mesopotamian lowlands. [1] . . .

As in Khuzistan so too in the north-east [of Iran] no difficult mountain barriers prevented the influx of peoples from the steppes of Central Asia. Repeated incursions of foreign groups came from this direction in historical times. Such groups as the Seljuk Turks or the Mongols subsequently took over political leadership in the entire country. We may assume that similar incursions also occurred in prehistoric times. These may have followed the great trade-route which is known in historic times to have come from Central Asia through the 'outer Iranian' towns of Samarkand, Bukhara, Merv, which are today in the Soviet Union, to Meshed, in modern Iran, from there to Raghesh, near Teheran, then by way of Hamadan and Kermanshah to north-eastern Mesopotamia, in the valley of the Diyala, which leads to Baghdad on the Tigris. In the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates, traders probably traveled upward along the green banks of the two great streams, especially the Euphrates, into Syria. No doubt this route or one much like it, which follows river courses and traverses mountain ranges at obvious passes, was already traveled in prehistoric times. There was probably also a more direct northern route of communication between Syria and north-western Iran, to judge by the Iranian or Syrian affinities of some of the finds made in northern Mesopotamia, affinities which are not shared with the more isolated south of Mesopotamia. [2]

As important as the roads which brought foreign influence into the country were the mountainous areas provided a refuge for peoples fleeing from invasions for a brief or permanent stay in the security of their mountain strongholds. The point has recently been made that 'the plains were the melting-pots [p. 17] of various peoples while the mountains provided isolated areas where various religious beliefs [or heresies], old traditions and customs could be maintained in comparative isolation from the great areas of history'. [3] The surprising survival of motifs and techniques in Iranian art over many centuries, and even millennia, may be explained by the traditions maintained in these refuge areas.

An example of such an areas is seen in the mountain valleys of western Pakistan in a region formerly called Kafiristan or 'Land of the Infidels'. Horses of an ancestor statue in a graveyard in the Rumbur valley wear ornaments which are very similar to those seen on Assyrian reliefs and which also resemble finds of such ornaments made in Iran in Luristan and at Ziwiye in Kurdistan. [4] . . . [p. 18]

In the earliest times trade was probably limited to objects passed from hand to hand rather than carried in large quantities by merchants in organized groups or caravans. In the earliest levels of excavations of Iranian villages, however, occasionally some stones and pottery types occur which cannot be of local origin. These must have come through trade, sometimes from a considerable distance. Perhaps we should not underestimate the spirit of adventure, and desire for material gain which may have already motivated intrepid traders in the New Stone Age. [p. 19]

NOTES:

1. For a description of the Khuzistan region and its connections with Mesopotamia, see Adams, 'Early South-western Iran,' p. 109.

2. Ann L. Perkins, in *Relative Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*, ed. R. W. Ehrich [Univ. of Chicago Press, 1954], p. 42, pointed to the fact that northern Mesopotamia lay 'in the path of migratory movements and commerce between Syria and Iran [and farther Asia] and the lands bordering the Mediterranean.'

3. For a discussion of these 'areas of refuge,' see Frye, *Heritage of Persia*, pp. 7-9.

4. The ornaments of the wooden horses from the equestrian statue in the Rumbur valley, Kafiristan, are reproduced in *LN* [March 30, 1963], p. 468, lower left. In the time of King Sargon [721-705 B.C.], Assyrian horses had similar ornaments worn in the same way, as shown in Barnett, *Assyrian Reliefs*, Pl. 43. Herzfeld, Iran, p. 141, Fig. 256, reproduced drawings of several slightly differing ornaments of this type, two of which are Assyrian, one comes from Luristan, another from the Ordos region. Examples made of shell in various shapes, which were found at Nimrud, are in the Metropolitan Museum, acc. nos. 54-117, 16-19.

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The Art of Ancient Iran; Pre-Islamic Culture The Beginnings of Art

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The earliest objects found in Iran which manifest the desire to express an idea by forms that are effective and perhaps even pleasing are clay figurines found in the excavation of a Neolithic village at Tepe Sarab near Kermanshab. Two of these, which were most carefully executed, are here reproduced. One is a female figure called here the 'Venus' of Tepe Sarab; the other is a little boar.

The female figurine is represented seated with its legs stretched out. Buttocks, thighs and legs are summarized in club-like forms which taper toward the end. Each 'leg' has an oblique groove on the side, perhaps meant to indicate the division between leg and thigh. The ends of the club-like forms are broken off, but it is unlikely that the feet were separately shaped. At most there may have been a line separating the end from the rest of the form and indicating the ankle joint. The upper part of the body, in which the arms are not indicated, is shaped like a broad cone from which the tall neck rises as a steeper and much narrower cone, ending in a short, slightly lengthened horizontal ridge with a rounded edge. The pear-shaped breasts project from the cone of the body approximately at the inception of the neck. One may note that the figurine is put together from several single parts and that the shape of the legs is not unlike that of the breasts, which gives a certain visual unity to the sculpture.

The abstraction of the rendering suggests at once that there was not intention here of showing a specific individual; instead, the stress was placed on the general female characteristics, the breasts and thighs, which are obviously meant to express ideas of fertility. Numerous fragments of figurines of this type and also much plainer ones were found at Tepe Sarab. Other such female figurines with more or less schematized forms were found in the remains of the Early Village Cultures of the Near East [about 6000-4000 B.C.] From Tepe Sarab in Iran to Çatal Hüyük and Hacilar in Turkey. [1] They must have had a specific meaning which we can understand and render only in the most general terms: there undoubtedly existed a belief in sympathetic magic according to which fertility and wealth could be increased by effective renderings in sculpture and painting of the objects associated with them. Thus art was an instrument capable of exerting influence upon nature, man and perhaps even god--though for this early period we cannot assume the existence of concepts of anthropomorphic deities similar to those later known in the cultures of the ancient Near East.

The second figurine from Tepe Sarab represents a boar which is rendered very naturalistically, in contrast to the abstract form of the Venus. The legs are rendered in the simplest way, by pressing together and bending the clay into more or less angular shapes. Yet they create the impression of an animal in rapid movement. The irregular crossing lines on the body may represent bristles, but more likely, and more in keeping with renderings elsewhere, they indicate the wounds received from the weapons of the huntsman. Whatever the significance of this detail, it seems likely that the figurine was made to assure in some way future success in the hunt of the boar. This magical, or should we rather say 'practical', meaning of art for the people who desired these objects, and for those who executed them, appears to have survived in Iran until the Sasanian period. At the same time the desire to decorate an object so as to enliven its appearance should not be disregarded. The bone handle of a flint knife found in a very early [p. 21] level of the excavations at Tepe Sialk near Kashan might be interpreted in this manner. The handle shows a man in what later was the Persian posture of greeting, bowing from the hips with arms crossed. The head may be covered by a round cap of a type still worn today, but the face is chipped off. He wears a kilt rolled up at the waist. The separation of the legs is indicated by a shallow groove in front, below which the feet are shown by a very slight projection. Below the feet was a deep groove for the flint blade, which is not preserved. Other handles made of bone from Tepe Sialk have plain animal heads. We do not know whether these handles were made for magical purposes or merely for the pleasure of decorating. In either case a convincing rendering of human and animal forms has been achieved here as at Tepe Sarab by the simplest means.

Pottery, which appeared in Iran early in the Neolithic Age, provided a cheap substitute for carefully ground stone vessels and less permanent wood and skin containers. It satisfied the need for a variety of such containers in shapes ranging from drinking-cups to cooking pots

and storage jars. Many of the vessels excavated in prehistoric sites are therefore utilitarian in nature with thick walls and little or no decoration.

From the beginning, however, the Iranian potter produced some decorated wares. Soon a whole range of fine pottery developed with local styles of decoration based on the ingenuity of the potter, who was inspired by materials and themes already established in his culture and by the stimulus provided by the natural forms of the surrounding countryside. The new medium, pottery, provided the wide range of creative opportunity. Not only could the plastic material be formed into a variety of shapes but its colour could be changed by changing the method of firing and its surface could be decorated by impressing or painting patterns on it. It is scarcely surprising that for over two thousand years, from about 5500 to about 3000 B.C., the shaping and painting of pottery was one of the principal artistic activities of the villagers of Iran. Even after 3000 B.C., the approximate date by which the first truly urban civilization had arisen at Susa in south-western Iran, the production of painted pottery continued in the villages of some areas for centuries.

A study of the art of Iran requires that only pottery representing high points in the artistic production of the country be mentioned here. It is to be understood of course, that such selected pottery by no means reflects the entire state of the ceramic industry in any given village culture.

The relevance of early pottery to the general development of art has been pointed out by Sir Herbert Read, who said: 'Pottery is at once the simplest and the most difficult of all arts. It is the simplest because it is the most elementary; it is the most difficult because it is the most abstract.' And continues: 'Judge the art of a country, judge the fineness of its sensibility by its pottery; it is a sure touchstone. Pottery is pure art; it is art freed from imitative intention. Sculpture, to which it is most nearly related, had from the first an imitative intention and it is perhaps to that extent less free from the expression of the will to form than pottery; pottery is plastic art in its most abstract essence.' [2]

The case for pottery is thus presented in a somewhat exaggerated form and without due consideration of the limitations imposed on the potter by his craft and by the purpose of the objects which he fashioned. Nevertheless, Read furnishes [p. 22] arguments for a consideration of pottery beyond that of archaeological chronology and the study of the diffusion of ceramic traits from one region to another. The latter two studies, however, provide our only guide to the arrangement of early Iranian cultures in space and time, since written sources are lacking for most regions until the middle of the first millennium B.C. --except at Susa, where Mesopotamian influence caused an output of cuneiform texts from the third millennium onward.

The limited extent of systematic archaeological investigation of Iran, and in several instances its poor quality, makes an outline of ceramic and consequently stylistic development highly tentative. Nevertheless, the broad outline for the piedmontal area of the central plateau and the lowland around Susa is discernible, as well as more recently that of early settlements in Azerbaijan.

In the mountain arc surrounding the central desert, reaching approximately from Persepolis and Kerman around to Teheran and Meshed, several early sites have been investigated which show a similar type of coarse buff-brown hand-made pottery. The clay contains a great deal of chopped straw used as a tempering agent to prevent cracking while drying and firing. Surfaces were commonly given a lustrous finish by over-all burnishing. In several excavated sites, such as Tall-i Bakun near Persepolis, and the Belt and Hotu caves, near Beshar on the Caspian shore, this ware, sometimes called soft ware because it crumbles easily, has been found to precede more decorated wares painted black on a red or buff ground. At two other early sites of importance, Tepe Sialk near Kashan and Cheshm-i Ali near Teheran, similar soft ware occurs without decoration along with the later painted pottery. Closely related plain wares associated with painted pottery also occur in the early sites of Tepe Sarab near

Kermanshah, in basal Tepe Giyan near Nihavend, and at Hajji Firuz Tepe in southern Azerbaijan. This extended enumeration of sites bearing a closely related type of pottery becomes interesting when it is realized that similarity in pottery implies contact between villages. In some way the knowledge of how to make pottery from clay mixed with chaff temper spread--whether by trade or by some other means is unknown. Nor is the centre of the earliest pottery manufacture in the Near East known, for the Iranian samples are as yet insufficient to suggest that they represent the sites where pottery was invented.

More distinctive of early Iranian art than the more primitive pottery are the Chalcolithic painted wares which developed on the plateau and also in the western mountains. Their distribution coincides on the one hand with the agricultural zone around the northern end of the central piedmont and on the other with major agricultural valleys in the Zagros. In the central area they have been found at sites near Kashan, Qum, Saveh, Rayy, Tepe Hissar Damghan and Nishapur, as well as on the Caspian coast at Hotu cave. In the Zagros they occur in the north at Hajji Firuz Tepe and Dalma Tepe in the Solduz valley of Azerbaijan; near Kermanshah they are found at Tepe Siahbid, and in the plains at Pasargadae and Persepolis we may mention Tall-i Bakun and Tall-i Nokhodi, [3] a new site. The history of one of these regional developments in painted pottery is best recorded at Tepe Sialk, where the earliest phase is one of purely abstract decoration. Typical of this stage are simple geometric patterns like the lozenges painted in black on a red ground inside the deep fragmentary bowl seen in Figure 2. Hatched and cross-hatched lozenges, zigzags and undulating lines were often used in groups of four, first on the inside and later on the outside of bowls. A second ware used a buff slip as the ground for a delicate type of panel [p. 23] pattern which may have been derived from basketry. All of the geometric designs are characterized by the extent to which they appear as net patterns imposed upon the background, which thus forms an integral part of every design. Only a few patterns composed of solid black triangles occur. The finer pottery with a narrow flat base from which the walls flare out and then change to a more vertical direction. The same basic form, but with the shoulder placed higher in the bowl, was still used in the third period of Sialk about a thousand years later. Another early Sialk form which has been associated with later shapes by the excavator, R. Ghirshman, is the open bowl on a large foot. The walls are much thicker than those previously described. Vessels of both types were covered with a buff slip and decorated with a panelled pattern. Radio-carbon tests indirectly suggest a date of around 5000 B.C. for this early phase on the plateau.

We speak here of one phase because there is consistency in the pottery found in the excavated layers or levels, of which there were five in Period I at Sialk. The first yielded no walls, but the other four present four subsequent levels of construction of *pisé* walls, which correspond to four levels of occupation. When the pottery changes, when new forms of decoration, new colours, new shapes appear, it is assumed that a new period or phase has begun. Such changes may have been brought about by the addition of a new element in the population, or they may have been independently evolved. The latter seems unlikely when a change in pottery is accompanied by changes in the other remains such as building materials and methods. Such changes occurred between Periods I and II at Sialk when the *pisé* walls of Period I were replaced by the mud brick of Period II and [p. 24] the pottery of Period II appeared, which is more evolved than that of Period I. It is thin-walled, generally fired a brick red, and contains less straw than the foregoing wares. Patterns now expand. The interiors of deep bowls are divided into segments of different design or are covered by over-all designs. Often the pattern consists of geometric forms and lines so combined as to suggest organic forms. Most distinctive of this new departure are ibexes obtained by adding two short curved lines as horns to a form composed of two semicircles with the space between filled by vertical hatching. A bowl in the Metropolitan Museum, with linked ibex horns in a delicate pattern inside, is a fine example of the style of Period II which has been found at numerous sites other than Sialk--for example, at Kara Tepe in Shahriyar province west of Teheran, where an almost identical bowl was discovered. [4]

The third period at Sialk witnessed the emergence of more naturalistic animal forms than before and the combination of motifs into more complex compositions. By the middle of the

period vertically and horizontally directed motifs had appeared. The vertical ones consisted of four elements: superimposed volutes, horizontal 'bird' chevrons, horned lozenges and vertical placed snakes. Horizontal motifs consisted of geometric forms like chequer-boards, but the more interesting vessels have rows of animals, felines, birds or a snake. At the end of the period horned animals are seen, first in panels, then in cursorily executed rows. Man appears fairly frequently with triangular thorax and summarily rendered head. To the same period belongs a vase in the shape of an animal; such vases are called theriomorphic.

The change in decoration corresponds to the change in the consistency of the clay and in the manner of manufacture. At the beginning of the period the clay still [p. 26] contains some straw, but by the middle the clay is very compact with virtually no straw and the surface is smooth, with a soapy feeling. Increased firing temperatures due to improved kilns changed the red colouring to buff or cream [the entire range often occurring on a single vessel] to which a slight lustre is added by light burnishing. Later the surface and paint are again left mat and the colour of the clay has a greenish cast reminiscent of the clays of south-western Iran and Mesopotamia. A most important technological revolution, which occurred during Period III, was the introduction of the potter's wheel, which permitted mass production of new and more regular shapes. The appearance of the actual 'fast' wheel may have been preceded by use of a turn-table, or *tournette*, as it is called in French. This was a device by which the potter could easily bring every side of the vessel within his reach by turning it on a movable base--a mat or perhaps a clay or stone disk--which in some instances may have been pivoted. The actual potter's wheel can be made to spin fast enough to impart centrifugal force to a centered lump of clay. The result is a more regular form with more sharply defined profiles. A footed beaker was one of the characteristic forms of this new technique, but older forms carried on as well. [p. 27]

In the middle of Period III at Sialk connections can be observed with the potter of other sites, for example, with that of Tepe Hissar at Damghan several hundred miles to the north-east. The main body of Hissar painted pottery [Period IB and IC] is very similar to its Sialk counterpart. Footed beakers with rows of animals and animals in panels, for example, are also found at both sites. One would like to theorize on the nature of this relationship. Why was one pottery essentially duplicated in another place? How did it become known: through trade, through migrant workers or through migration of a people? At any rate the fact that there were connections not only with Hissar but also with the pottery of Tepe Giyan--far to the west, over steep mountain passes--and with other sites indicates that the art of pottery-making was widespread and subject to influences from afar. The technique of mass production which had been created with the potter's wheel and the form of decoration, a combination of geometric and animal forms tastefully adjusted to the form of the vessel, laid the foundation for much of the stylistic tradition which subsequently characterized the pottery of Iran and which eventually found its way even to central India.

The sequence of south-western Iranian pottery cultures is known from two areas, Susiana and the Persepolis plain. Susiana, the region surrounding Susa, has prior claim to our interest because of the fact that prehistoric Iranian pottery was first discovered there and because, owing to its inherent aesthetic appeal, this pottery was the subject of a major essay in stylistic analysis made by the classical archaeologist E. Pottier. [5] Prehistoric Iran was thereby brought for the first time into the field of vision of general art history. When the painted pottery of Susa with its marvelously balanced panelled animal designs was first discovered, it was considered the earliest in the area. Recent excavations however, have shown that it came very late indeed in a development which began before 6500 BC., at a time when pottery was not yet used in the region. [6] Once painted pottery had been developed, several stages followed each other in the Susiana before the exceptional quality of the Susa I pottery had been attained [see Appendix, Chart I: Painted Pottery of Iran].

The example of Susa pottery usually shown is one of the large goblets with ibexes. Of all the painted pottery objects of the ancient Near East, the one here reproduced, which is in the Louvre, is the most successful. The design consists of three panels in each of which the principal figure is an ibex, its body formed by two connected triangles with curved sides. The

curve of the back is continued in the marvelous sweep of the horns, which enclose an unidentifiable round object, marked with a central line of chevrons suggesting a plant and, at the side, cross-hatched segments. It may be only a filler design for an otherwise empty space; at the same time it may also give a shorthand indication of plant and pasture. The frame surrounding the ibex becomes slightly narrower toward the bottom and thereby emphasizes the shape of the vessel. A stress on the circular circumference of the goblet is produced by a row of running saluki-like dogs with elongated bodies and also by the dark bands which border each register of [p. 28] animals. The top is formed by birds with long thin necks; these create a very light design in contrast to the bottom, which has a thick band of dark paint that gives solidity to the base. Our short description can only enumerate the elements of the design; it cannot render adequately in words the extraordinary feeling for balance in every detail expressed by the decoration of this vessel.

In addition to the goblets, the insides of open bowls show paintings of similar character, also with a remarkable equipoise between geometric ornament and animal form. The latter is so adjusted to decorative purposes that the over-all effect is entirely harmonious. The composition of the design stresses the circular form of the bowl in various ways: by bands which partly follow the curve of the bowl but turn several times at right angles, by three or four circles arranged within the bowl, or by lines which form counter-curves to the circumference of the bowl. Less artful arrangements involve concentric circles or radial compositions.

In the Persepolis region, at Tall-i Bakun, the probably contemporary painted pottery did not reach quite the degree of sophistication of that at Susa. A pleasing object is, however, one of the many conical bowls painted on the outside with two moufflons whose tremendously enlarged horns form swelling spirals. The space between the horns is filled by cross-hatched squares and circles with an enclosed cross.

Other patterns from Tall-i Bakun and Tal-i Nokhodi show the use of negative design with the same freedom as in a painted filled design. A reversal of forms in rhythmic sequence rather than axial symmetry is also to be observed.

The decorative inventiveness of the early potters of Iran, their sense of form and balance, the assurance with which they executed their lines and shapes, transformed these vessels of simple clay into pleasing works of art. It seems likely that the pottery motifs had more than merely decorative value, but all speculation about their meaning must remain simply speculation.

The use of seals accompanied the emergence of civilization in Iran as in many other regions of western Asia. These engraved seal-stones of various shapes were impressed on lumps of clay which had been pressed over the strings wound around the neck of a vessel to secure in place the piece of woven material or other device which was employed to cover the mouth of the vessel. Other such clay sealings assured the safety of the contents of baskets or of containers fashioned of various materials. No unauthorized person could tamper with goods protected by clay sealings without risking the heavy penalties imposed on thieves in antiquity. [p. 30]

Aside from its practical function, the design engraved on the sealing surface--geometric, animal or human forms--probably had a general protective significance. Thus the seals which were usually perforated and worn as a pendant on a necklace or bracelet surely also served as amulets.

As in the potter of Iran, several groups can be distinguished among the stamp seals of that country, their style differing according to place and date of origin. [7] Only two examples are shown here, both of them closely related to groups of seals represented at Susa, although both were said to have been found in Luristan. The first is a black plaque perforated lengthwise through the middle of the object. One side of the plaque is engraved with a demon with a human body and moufflon horns. The demon has the elbows bent and both hands

raised in a gesture of conjuration. Two snakes extend their triangular heads toward the demon's ampits. On either side of the demon appear several V-shaped lines of diminishing size and unknown meaning. The design is deeply and sharply gouged out from the relatively soft stone. All the shapes, such as the demon's limbs, are indicated merely by lines--except for his thorax, which is a triangular plane with horizontal lines and small vertical nicks, perhaps meant to suggest hair. Some surface design is also indicated on the bodies of the snakes, which are represented by two lines between which there is hatching in changing directions. The plaque belongs to the style of Susa A, contemporary with the beautiful pottery discussed above. In one of the painted bowls [8] occurs a human figure whose torso is similarly rendered in triangular form, although the fact that the demon on the seal has bent knees and the figure on the bowl stands upright makes the latter seem more advanced and human, whereas our demon seems to be shuffling along like an animal.

The second seal shown here is called in seal terminology a low hemispheroid. The seal is of dark red stone and has on the base the figure of a demon with the head of an ibex and feet in the form of heads of horned animals--the one recognizable horn looks like that of a bovine animal, but one cannot be sure with one hand the demon holds an ibex by the horns, with the other he raises a second ibex by one hind leg. It seems as if the demon were about to throw these animals into the air. His body is covered with short striations which probably indicate a hairy skin. The engraving is much more delicate than on the foregoing seal; the entire surface of the bodies is hollowed out of the stone, and the outlines are almost naturalistically drawn. Moreover, despite the animal-head form of the feet, the demon's posture is so human that one is inclined to think of a man in the guise of a demon rather than a creature from the fearful unreasoning world of animal demons.

It is interesting to note that in the period to which the second stamp seal belongs, Susa B, the painted pottery of Susa A appears to have been largely replaced by unpainted pottery with characteristics of the Uruk period of Mesopotamia. [9] At all times Mesopotamian art appears to have centered more on man than did the pre-Islamic art of Iran. Perhaps Mesopotamian influence, so noticeable in the pottery of Susa of that time, was also responsible for the striking differences from the moufflon demon in the conception of the ibex demon in this seal. The difference in the horns, moufflon and ibex, of the demons on our two seals may or may not indicate a basic difference in the meaning of the figures. We can only say that, of the two, the ibex demon was far more widely represented and seems to have alternated on seal impressions from Susa with a human master of animals who in one case wears ibex horns on a fez-like headgear. [10] [p. 32]

This is the first evidence for the representation of human and demonic creatures whose power to control snakes and other dangerous animals transcends that of ordinary men. Unfortunately we may never know whether we should call these powerful superhuman beings gods, shamans or--taking into consideration the occasional human form of the figure--kings with superhuman powers.

When the ibex demon was represented in Mesopotamia [11] he probably had a different and lesser significance. At least in historical times, gods were shown in Mesopotamia in human form and only demons, most of them evil, were given features of animals. [p. 33]

NOTES:

1. For a description of the Khuzistan region and its connections with Mesopotamia, see Adams, 'Early South-western Iran,' p. 109.

2. Ann L. Perkins in *Relative Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*, ed. R. W. Ehrich [Univ of Chicago Press, 1954], p. 42, pointed to the fact that northern Mesopotamia lay 'in the path

of migratory movements and commerce between Syria and Iran [and farther Asia] and the lands bordering the Mediterranean.'

3. For a discussion of these 'areas of refuge,' see Frye, *Heritage of Persia*, pp. 7-9.

4. The ornaments of the wooden horses from the equestrian statue in the Rumbur valley, Kafiristan, are reproduced in *ILN* [March 30, 1963], p. 468, lower left. In the time of King Sargon [721-705 B.C.], Assyrian horses had similar ornaments worn in the same way, as shown in Barnett, *Assyrian Reliefs*, Pl. 43. Herzfeld, Iran, p. 141, Fig. 256, reproduced drawings of several slightly differing ornaments of this type, two of which are Assyrian, one comes from Luristan, another from the Ordos region. Examples made of shell in various shapes, which were found at Nimrud, are in the Metropolitan Museum, acc. nos. 54-117, 16-19.

5. For an archaeological survey of Seistan, see W. A. Fairservis, *Archeological Studies in the Seiston Basin of Southwestern Afghanistan and Eastern Iran* [Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History 48, New York, 1961].

6. Numerous sources of copper are known elsewhere in Iran; see R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology IX* [Leyden, 1964], p. 9.

7. Textural evidence for ancient trade in metal from Elam is very limited. W. F. Leemans, *Foreign Trade in the Old Babylonian Period* [Studia et documenta ad iura orientis antiqui . . . VI, Leyden, 1960], gives a few references for tin, *op. cit.*, p. 124, and for copper, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-84. That the principal copper trade did not go through Susa in the late third and early second millennium B.C. but through Dilmun was demonstrated by A.L. Oppenheim, 'The Seafaring Merchants of Ur,' *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 74 [1954], pp. 6-17.

[notes 8, 9, 10, 11 are not included here . . .]

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The Art of Ancient Iran; Pre-Islamic Culture The Art of The Early Urban Civilization

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The early urban civilization of Susa appears to have matured in the last centuries of the fourth millennium B.C. under the impetus of the contemporary development in Mesopotamia called the Proto-Historic period. In this period stamp seals were almost completely replaced by roller-shaped and lengthwise perforated seal-stones called cylinder seals. These were to become the most distinctive product of art in Mesopotamia and also in Susa. The administrative officers of what we may assume to have been royal or temple estates of Susa made notations on clay tablets shaped like pin-cushions. At first these notations consisted only of numerals; slightly later, and probably owing to a

stimulus from the records of Mesopotamia, a pictographic script was developed whose signs were written with a stylus on the clay tablets. We call the script--which is still largely unintelligible--Proto-Elamite because it precedes the linear Elamite of the last third of the third millennium B.C., which was deciphered in 1961. [1] To authenticate the record on the tablet, the scribe rolled his cylinder seal over it while the clay was still soft and retained the impression of the design carved in reverse on the seal-stone. The tablet, which soon dried as hard as stone, became an almost indestructible document.

In Susa cylinder seals were made of marble, of variously coloured limestone, and also of a composite material which was probably faience, though it has not been analyzed. The seals were engraved with copper instruments used with an abrasive such as fine sand. Deep hollows were doubtless made with a bow-drill. Since the style and to some extent also the subject-matter of cylinder seals changed from period to period and since they are preserved in greater numbers than large works of art, the representations on cylinder seals are often our only evidence of the style and current themes of a given period. For the time of the early urban civilization of Susa, for example, cylinders and seal impressions are the principal sources for our knowledge of the art and culture of the period. They show men hunting, tending cattle, hoeing the ground, making and filling storage vessels, storing grain in silos which are not unlike Egyptian ones in outline, baking, weaving, and carrying an exalted personage or statue in a procession. A bearded warrior, doubtless the ruler, is shown transfixing with arrows a host of nude enemies who seem to have threatened a noble temple on a terrace. [2] Slightly later than this group of lively scenes, found on the tablets inscribed only with numerals, are seal designs, called Proto-Elamite, the repertory of which consists almost exclusively of animals or monsters such as griffins. These animals are arranged in rows, composed antithetically or combined in scenes. [3] Our example shows two ibexes leaping toward a pine-tree on a mountain indicated by a pattern of scales. Two equilateral crosses are in the upper field on either side of the crown of the tree; a further cross appears above the back of the ibex on the left. [4] A secondary motif shows in the upper field two antelopes leaping toward a second tree beside which flowers grow. The design is produced by deep lines; the artist was obviously most concerned with the expressive outlines of the animals. The motif of horned animals flanking a tree was preserved for several millennia until Sasanian times in Iran and also became known to other peoples of the Near East in whose art it is frequently found. We have no means of discovering the precise meaning of the motif, but the relation of tree and animal probably expressed certain ideas about the vital forces of nature. [p. 34]

The most interesting among the Proto-Elamite cylinders show animal demons. These monstrous forms with a combination of man and animal recall the demons of the stamp seals and may have been descended from them. In addition to these earlier ibex and moufflon demons, however, a lion and a bull demon were also rendered in Proto-Elamite seals.

Some indication of the significance of the lion demon may be given by a seal impression in which two such creatures are shown walking between mountains represented by heaps of small cones. The gigantic size of the lion demons in relation to the mountains is too striking to be without meaning, although proportions are usually not important in ancient Near Eastern renderings of landscapes. Here, however, one cannot escape the conclusion that the leonine demons were thought to have great power over the mountainous country through which they stride in the seal design.

To judge by another seal impression a bull demon was as powerful as the lion demon, for in this seal design both creatures are shown as if in equipoise: the lion seems to have two bulls in his power, and conversely the bull controls two lions.

A lion demon sculptured in the round is also preserved from this period. [5] Although the figure is little more than eight centimeters high, it conveys an impression of monumental power. The stone, probably magnesite, has the colour of ivory and a smooth, almost luminous surface. The figure is here called a lioness because of the obviously feminine forms of the lower body, but the sex of the figure is not defined and it is possible that a sexless creature was intended. The figure stands before us in an upright human posture, her paws held like fists below her breasts in a gesture characteristic of human figures of the same period in Mesopotamia. [6] From the heavy neck emerges the majestic leonine head, which is turned sideways to rest on the left shoulder. Only a shallow ridge separates the neck

from the back and shoulders so that there is the least possible interruption of the nearly triangular outline formed by head and thorax. The lower part of the body is turned at right angles from the thorax so that the legs [p. 35] and abdomen face in the same direction as the head. The accentuated abdomen balances the strong backward curve of the haunches. The legs are cut off above the knee, and the stumps are smoothed off. One stump bears a dowel hole suggesting that the lower legs were made separately, perhaps of a different material. Two holes were drilled in the back of the neck and four at the base of the spine. The four holes were surely intended to tie on the tail, and the pendent bands beside it, seen on the seal impression. The holes on the neck, at the back of the head, cannot be so easily explained. Perhaps the figure had occasionally to serve as a male lion and at such times received a mane, which was tied on with a thin cord slipped through the holes. These were certainly not intended to receive a support for some object which the lioness may have carried, as has been suggested without consideration of the position and the nature of the holes. [7]

The modelling of the figure is superb. The anatomical knowledge displayed, in the indication of the upper leg muscles, for example, is truly surprising. However, such details are stressed no more than is compatible with retaining the overall effect of the form. Thus the paws are treated rather summarily, so as not to weaken the powerful triangle of the thorax.

Only the head is accorded greater realism, a multitude of planes producing various changes from light to shade. The empty sockets of the eyes, in which the graded shadows now add a touch of mysterious life, were once filled with eyeballs of stone or shell and perhaps blue lapis-lazuli pupils. The detailed modelling of the small head effectively accentuates the impact of the less differentiated massive thorax. However, the unity of the form is preserved by the rhythm of the planes, which repeat the pattern of the head in simplified and larger manner throughout the body.

Sculptural means such as those employed for this little lioness might equally well have been used for the creation of a larger statue. This is undoubtedly the reason for the monumental quality of this figure, a quality shared by a number of small works of the proto-Historic period in Mesopotamia.

At the end of this period in Mesopotamia and in Susa, where it is called Susa C., there occurred a striking change in style. In Susa D and in the contemporary early Dynastic period of Mesopotamia the style which emerged in cylinder seals and also in a steatite vase, found at Khafaje but perhaps made in Iran, is flat and linear, almost as if there had been a return to the manner of the early Iranian stamp seals. The figures were hollowed out of the stone as flat planes and varied only by linear patterns. On one side of the vessel a bull which lies on his back is being devoured by a lion, while a falcon or hawk has swooped down to profit from the kill. The design of the animals is extraordinarily expressive: [p. 37] the tense, greedy lion, the lifeless mass of the bull, and the two little bears on either side of a date-palm which lick their mouths after having eaten the sweet fruit. The principal figures of the vase, however, seem to be human or divine. One of them kneels on the back of one of two addorsed bulls, holding streams of water with each hand. Another such figure stands between two lions, holding two snakes. Each figure appears to be characterized as a deity or her representative by a large rosette or star over the left shoulder. Plants which sprout from the watercourses and fill the field suggest the fertility of life-giving water. [8] Control of snakes and lions hostile to man may be indicated by the second motif. The third may show beasts, unrestrained by man or god, destroying a defenseless bull. Such interpretations, stimulated by a study of the vase, unfortunately cannot be proved. We may point, however, to the fact that the equipoise of the figure with bulls and what may be the same figure with lions seen on this vase recalls the Proto-Elamite cylinder seal with an apparent balance of power between lion and bull.

The imprint of a cylinder seal from Susa, from a later stage of the Early Dynastic period, shows long-haired youths who are perhaps related to the figures on the steatite vase. They are in attendance on a deity sitting or kneeling on a lion. The date of the cylinder seal is indicated by the frieze of fighting heroes and animals in the lower register. To judge by Mesopotamian examples, it cannot have been carved much before 2500 B.C. The imprint shows an interesting combination of Mesopotamian stylistic conventions with concepts which appear to have been at home in Susa and probably also in other parts of Iran.

The painted pottery of Susa D has fewer points of contact with Mesopotamian pottery than the cylinder seals have. Only the non-fast polychrome decoration is comparable to the scarlet ware with fugitive red paint used at the beginning of the First Early Dynastic period in the Diyala region. The motifs, of Plate 7, however--a large star, a curiously insecurely positioned goat with a small human figure above--have no parallels in Mesopotamian art. The powerfully stylized eagle with spread wings on the back of this vessel [9] is not unlike contemporary designs from Tepe Giyan near Nihavend; the star pattern also points to a connection with the pottery designs of that site in northern Luristan. [p. 38]

NOTES:

1. For the decipherment of some of the texts with linear Elamite script, see W. Hinz, 'Zur Entzifferung der elamischen Strichschrift,' *Iranica Antiqua* II/1 [1962], pp. 1-21.
2. For the lively scenes on seal impressions from Susa, see Amiet, *Glyptique*, Pls. 14-17 and Pl. 46, Fig. 659; for the observation that the silos resemble those of Egypt, see p. 104, remarks about Pl. 16, Figs. 267-269; Pl. 36, Fig. 555; Pl. 37, Figs. 567, 568.
3. For the impressions and extant seals assigned by Amiet to the 'Proto-Elamite' style, see *op. cit.* [in note III/2], Pls. 32-38 bis, to Fig. I.
4. Unfortunately the impression of the seal published in Delaporte, *Louvre* I, Pl. 24:8 [S. 254], was not fully reproduced on the present plate, Plate 5, owing to erroneous cutting on the part of the engraver.
5. For a discussion of this leonine demon, see E. Porada, 'A Leonine Figure of the Protoliterate Period of Mesopotamia,' *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 70 [1950], pp. 223-226.
6. A posture with both fists held below the breast is seen in the male figure from Uruk published by E. Strommenger, *FünfJahrtausende Mesopotamien* [Munich, 1962], Pl. 33.
7. The suggestion was made by Amiet, *op. cit.* [in note III/2], p. 109.
8. This interpretation agrees in part with the one given by Frankfort in *Art and Architecture*, p. 19.
9. For publication of the vase and a drawing of the entire representation, see *Revue d'Assyriologie* XXXIV [1937], p. 151.

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The Art of the Akkad and Post-Akkad Periods in Western Iran; Contemporary Art Works of North-Eastern Iran

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The powerful Akkad dynasty, which put an end to the Sumerian city-states of Mesopotamia about 2270 B.C., extended its rule over western Iran also, especially over the south-west: Elam, with its capital city of Susa. Susa may have been a trading centre for some of the raw materials from Iran needed in Mesopotamia: metals, stone and timber. Military campaigns by the Akkadians and later rulers of Mesopotamia were probably necessary to assure the continuous flow of these materials but also [and this was more important] to hold in check the predatory Elamite highlanders, who were always eager to raid the Mesopotamian towns which had grown rich through industry and trade. Elam seems to have had some sort of a federation of such highlanders, with their own, probably half-nomadic living pattern, and the townspeople of Susa and other centres who shared the urban way of life developed in Mesopotamia. [1]

No large monuments are known in Iran from the time of the Akkad dynasty, but a relief of King Naramsin [2291-2255 B.C.] near Darband-i Gawr in southern Kurdistan in Iraq may have influenced somewhat later reliefs at Sar-i Pul, [2] not far from Kermanshah in the Kurdish mountains on the Iranian side of the frontier. In one of these reliefs King Anubanini of the Lullubi tribes--which Akkadian texts locate north of the Elamites--represented himself triumphing over his enemies with the help of the goddess Inanna. Inanna extends to the [p. 40] king a ring, a symbol of divine authority in Mesopotamian iconography. The important role of the goddess Inanna in this relief corresponds to the significant position of the goddess Pinikir in the Elamite pantheon. In the treaty which Naramsin concluded with a king of Awan--a country probably also located north of Elam, but considerably further south than the Lullubi tribes--the invocation of the chief goddess Pinikir precedes the enumeration of the other thirty-five gods of the Elamite pantheon called as witnesses. The text of the clay tablet begins: 'Hearken goddess Pinikir . . . and you good gods of heaven.' [3] The predominance of a female deity declined later in the official religion of Elam, but the presence of numerous female figurines in all levels of the excavations at Susa until the middle of the first millennium B.C. documents her continued importance in popular esteem. A resurgence of veneration for a female goddess at the official level may be observed again in the ascendancy of the Persian Anahita from the later Achaemenid to the Sasanian period. At that time the relief of Anubanini may have been one of the numerous sources of inspiration for the rock-cut reliefs showing the investiture of Sasanian rulers by their divine patrons. The head-dress of the leader of the shackled enemies of Anubanini is very interesting. He wears a feather crown such as that found in a few hammered bronzes of Luristan belonging to the early first millennium B.C. [4]

In Susa the works of art dating from the Akkad period include few objects other than cylinder seals. These resemble Mesopotamian examples so closely that they can scarcely be differentiated. A cylinder seal of unknown origin in the collection of Mossène Foroughi, which can be dated in the Akkad period, shows, however, such unusual style and subject-matter, probably distinctly Iranian, that it will be described in detail. [5] The main figure of the scene seems to be a seated female with snakes issuing from her shoulders and a bull's head above her head. Presumably this is a deity. Before her kneels a servant with two triangular objects, perhaps small vessels, at her sides. Above the goddess appears an eagle [p. 41] over one of whose wings is a human head, perhaps a rendering of Etana [discussed below]. The eagle faces a snake, below which is a musical instrument. Two undulating lines, perhaps serpents whose heads are not indicated, divide off a curious combination of designs: the hind parts of a bull or ox, cut off and upside-down, appear above a female torso over a

stool with bull's feet. Below the stool appear the foreparts of the bull or ox. At the upper right of this extraordinary combination of motifs squats a female figure, resembling the goddess enthroned in another part of the seal. The second figure, however, merely seems to hold a snake in her hand, instead of having the reptiles emerge from her shoulders. Below this female figure is a stool marked by vertical and diagonal lines. Two small birds are seen on the ground beside the motif enclosed by undulating lines. A very tenuous interpretation of the scene may be suggested on the basis of the Mesopotamian myth of the shepherd king Etana who flew to heaven on the back of an eagle to obtain the plant of birth for his wife. Numerous Akkadian cylinder seals showing a man on the back of an eagle have been interpreted as illustrating the flight of Etana. In our cylinder the eagle with a human head appearing over its wing may render this subject in an abbreviated manner. The juxtaposition of the eagle with a serpent may refer to the widespread theme of the enmity between eagle and serpent. [6] In the preamble of the Etana myth the eagle devours the young of the snake, and the snake avenges itself on the advice of the sun god Shamash by hiding in the carcass of an ox and attacking the eagle when he crawls into the carcass to feed from it. One may wonder whether the latter incident is rendered in the motif of the female torso between the two halves of a bull or ox on our cylinder seal. While the serpent of the Mesopotamian myth is male, the Iranian version could have featured a female serpent in view of the early prominence of female deities mentioned above. Pictorial support for the existence of a major deity of fertility associated with snakes and streams of water is given by the later Proto-Historic or Early Dynastic steatite vase from Khafaje. In a Mesopotamian myth the motif of such a snake deity of Iranian origin could have been garbled to suit the taste of the Mesopotamian story-teller. The original dignified conception of such a deity in Iran at the time of the Akkad dynasty, however, may be reflected in the rendering of the enthroned goddess on our cylinder seal.

The empire of Akkad came to an end about 2230 B.C. largely as a result of the pressures of groups of tribes on the borders of the empire. The barbarous Guti who swept into the plain from the Zagros mountains brought about the final collapse of the dynasty. At the same time Susa seems to have experienced an invasion of similarly destructive and probably related tribes.

A curiously simplified and repetitious group of cylinder seal designs may be associated with these Guti. [7] The cylinders of this type found at Susa were made of faience and show a principal figure which has one or more pairs of horns rising like excrescences from the head. The figure usually grasps a two-headed horned animal while menacing a second horned animal. The renderings may be derived from Mesopotamian examples of cylinder seals engraved with a frieze of struggling heroes, demons and animals. Such groups of objects, in which Mesopotamian tradition seems to have lingered, may have served to transmit to later Iranian craftsmen garbled versions of ancient Mesopotamian motifs. In this way some of the iconography of the later Luristan bronzes which favoured a horned figure between animals might find an explanation. At the same time it is possible that the horned figure was more than an appealing formal motif for the [p. 42] inhabitants of the mountains of Luristan, and that the concept of a master of animals, a demon with animal horns, first found on the prehistoric stamp seals of the region, was preserved in this area.

The distribution of cylinder seals marks the extent of Mesopotamian and Elamite influence in Iran. Its absence in the north-east, at Tureng Tepe and Tepe Hissar, is shown by the fact that only very few cylinders were found at Tepe Hissar and none at Tureng Tepe. The earlier excavation at that site--for it is at present being excavated anew [8]--yielded several clay statuettes, the most arresting of which, dark grey in colour, is here reproduced in a drawing. It is interesting to compare this idol with the Venus from Tepe Sarab, which was made several thousand years before. In both idols the female characteristics are greatly stressed; in the example from Tureng Tepe, however, the proportions are more natural. Furthermore, there is a striking contrast between the earlier figure, which sits heavily on the ground--as if it were tied to the earth--and the idol from Tureng Tepe, which stands upright before the viewer with arms spread like wings so that the figure seems light and dignified despite its ample proportions. This effect, which is further enhanced by a diadem and many necklaces, suggests that the little figurine may represent a goddess. The fact that the figure was found in a burial, lying against the arm of the skeleton, would not militate against such an interpretation. [9]

The general context in which the figurine was found and its grey colour link it with levels of Hissar which were given the classification Hissar III B-C and which should be dated to the end of the third

millennium and the earlier part of the second millennium B.C. [10] These levels at Hissar, so undramatically classified, contain some of the great problems of Iranian archaeology and history: the origin of the metal wealth, metal technology and metal tools of the community at Tepe Hissar and the origin of its grey, often patterned, burnished pottery. Further problems concern the connection between the early ware of Hissar, Tureng Tepe and other sites in this eastern region of Iran and the later grey ware cultures of western Iran. The most important and the most difficult problem connected with this pottery, however, concerns the identity of its makers. The most recent theory put forward considers the possibility that the grey ware was the favoured pottery of the Indo-Europeans in Iran and that its distribution marked their advance in that country. [11] Of the rich metal finds from Hissar III we reproduce [p. 43] here only a drawing of a moufflon head, one of five, made of gold foil and intended to be sewn on to some sort of textile. These precious objects were part of a hoard buried at the end of Hissar III, probably shortly before the site was attacked and destroyed by fire. [12]

The powerful sweep of the horns, the eyes staring out of the head, suggest a more than decorative significance for this object. One would like to know whether there was any connection between the frequent representations of moufflon and ibex on the one hand and of female figurines on the other.

Tentatively we may suggest here that attention to be focused on some rites and concepts which Karl Jettmar was able to observe in villages of Dardistan, situated in north-western India, where 'the three most eminent mountain chains of Asia meet--the Hindukush, Himalaya and Karakoram. Most of this area is inhabited by Indo-Aryan or Iranian peoples'. [13] In the remote valleys of this region ancient religious traditions maintained themselves without interference by the Muhammadan zealots who had destroyed such traditions in neighbouring Kafiristan. Only the wood carvings of Kafiristan still manifest today a similarly tenacious retention of ancient traditions [see p. 18]. The most interesting tradition of Dardistan concerns the cult of a goddess Murkum who was worshipped by all the women of the Haramosh valley. 'She helped in delivery and protected mother and child; yet she was also the chief owner of all ibexes and wild goats denoted by the collective term of *mayaro*. Therefore she was venerated by hunters, too, who brought her horns'. [14] Jettmar describes a sanctuary of Murkum, which was still in use, as lying almost three thousand metres above sea-level just in front of the Haramosh; this was 'no accident as the mountain was considered the proper home of the Murkum. On the steep slope there is an altar built of boulders dominated by a cliff as big as a house with a juniper tree growing beside it. Next to it is a spring. Below the altar crude benches of stone were erected for the annual meeting of the women. Nut-trees grow between them. Even they are considered holy and no branches were ever broken off.' In the rites performed at the annual meeting of the women at the sanctuary, the goddess was to send the sacrifice, a she-ibex. A male priest is said to have participated in the ceremony by performing a dance and by killing the ibex and dividing it up. The ministry of this priest 'is now abolished but women anxious about the welfare of their families still come to the altar table and put leaves of juniper between the boulders.'

Similar concepts concerning a deity, 'owner-goddess of the animals', also prevailed in some districts of the Caucasus. There, as in the Haramosh valley, a hunter can capture his prey only with her consent. Sometimes the goddess appears in the shape of a "pure" animal. The precise idea that a slaughtered animal may be revived from its bones occurs in both areas. Even the detail that a missing bone can be replaced by a rod is identical. Here, as there, the belief is connected with wild goats and this must be a very old affinity, because Thor, the Germanic god, plays the same trick on his bucks.

'Today there is a vast empty distance between the two centres, the Caucasus and the Hindukush/Karakoram, but once perhaps similar beliefs existed on the Iranian plateau and were destroyed in the course of the violent history of this area.' The possibility here suggested of using the complex of ideas discovered in Dardistan and known from the Caucasus for the interpretation of early works of art from Iran is very tempting but must unfortunately remain a hypothesis without documentary proof. [p. 44]

NOTES:

1. For comments on the 'link between the plain and the mountains' which was 'one of the fundamental factors of Elamite history,' see W. Hinz, 'Persia, c. 2400-1800 B.C.,' *CAH I/XXIII* [1963], p. 4. E. Reiner and M. J. Stève are very doubtful of the validity of some of Hinz' historical interpretations.
2. A good photograph of Naramsin's relief from Darband-i Gawr is found in Von der Osten, *Welt der Perser*, Pl. 9. Details of the relief are reproduced in the article by E. Strommenger, 'Das Felsrelief von Darband-i-Gaur' *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 3 [1963], Pls. 15-18. For the reliefs of Sar-i Pul, see N. C. Debevoise, 'The Rock Reliefs of Ancient Iran,' *JNES* I [1942], pp. 80-82.
3. See Hinz, *op. cit.* [in note IV [1], p. 21 for the quotation from the Khita treaty with the appeal to the goddess Pinikir, and pp. 21-32 for a summary of religion in ancient Elam.
4. For a disk-shaped bronze pin-head of Luristan type with a figure wearing a feather crown, see A. U. Pope, *Masterpieces of Persian Art* [New York, 1945], p. 32 [Pl. 16], lower right.
5. For an article on this cylinder seal, see E. Porada in *Compte rendu de l'onzième rencontre assyriologique internationale* [Leyden, 1964], pp. 88-93.
6. The theme of eagle and serpent was treated by R. Wittkower, 'Eagle and Serpent; a Study in the Migration of Symbols,' *Journal of the Warburg Institute* II [1938-1939], pp. 293-325.
7. This attribution may be correct although seals of this type were discovered at Tell Asmar in the Diyala valley of eastern Mesopotamia in levels which preceded the end of the Akkad period; see H. Frankfort, *Stratified Cylinder Seals from the Diyala Region* [OIP LXXII, 1955], Pl. 49, No. 514; Pl. 53, Nos. 558, 567; Pl. 56, Nos. 596, 597; Pl. 60, No. 629; Pl. 69, No. 748.
8. The earlier excavations at Tureng Tepe were carried out and published by F. R. Wulsin, 'Excavations at Tureng Tepe near Asterabad,' *Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology*, Supplement 2/1 [New York, 1932]. For the excavations being carried on at present, see J. Deshayes, 'Rapport préliminaire sur les deux premières campagnes de fouille à Tureng Tepe,' *Syria* XL [1963], pp. 85-99.
9. For the discovery of the grey figurine from Tureng Tepe, see Wulsin, *op. cit.* [in note IV/8], p. 10; the head of a similar statuette was reproduced by him, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVII, Fig. 2.
10. Deshayes, *op. cit.* [in note IV/8], p. 99, would like to date these levels at Tureng Tepe in the third millennium B.C. V.E. Crawford, however, reported that a carbon-14 sample of a Hissar III B level from Yarim Tepe yielded a date between 2200 and 1900 B.C.; see *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* [April 1963], p. 271.
11. For the possible association of the grey ware with the Indo-European Iranians, see Cuyler Young, *Proto-Historic Western Iran*, especially pp. 231-232.
12. For the hoard on the Treasure Hill where these ornaments were found, see E. R. Schmidt, *Excavations at Tepe Hissar Damghan* [The University Museum, Philadelphia, 1937], pp. 171-173 and 189.
13. See K. Jettmar, 'Ethnological Research in Dardistan 1958; Preliminary Report,' *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 105 [February 1961], p. 79.
14. See Jettmar, *op. cit.* in note IV/13, pp. 88-91 for this and the following quotations. In note 58 he pointed out that at some places the urial, the wild sheep, is also included in the 'mayaro'.

source:

<http://www.cais-soas.com/CAIS/Art/porada/porada-akkad.htm>

The Art of Ancient Iran; Pre-Islamic Culture

The Art of the Elamites

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The destruction of the great old city of Ur in Mesopotamia by the Elamites in about 2000 B.C. left a deep impression on the contemporary Mesopotamians. Two Sumerian lamentations on clay tablets reflect the memory of this event: the lament over the destruction of Ur and the lament over the fate of Ibbisin, the last king of Ur, who was led away into captivity. A few lines of the latter lament describing the fate decreed by the great gods Anu and Enlil follow in translation: ' . . . hostile Su people and Elamites will attain the inhabitants [of UR], the king [of Sumer] will have to leave the palace, Ibbisin will have [to go] to the country of Elam, [go] from the Sabu mountain, the "breast" of the mountain range, to the end of Anshan; like a bird which left its abode, like a stranger [he will not return] to his city.' [1]

Not only the king of Ur, whose dynasty had ruled over all of Mesopotamia and Elam, but also the patron goddess of Ur, Ningal, seem to have been led away into captivity. [2] This statue was not the only one which was taken to Elam. Several centuries later an Elamite king Shutruk-Nakhunte dragged two of the greatest works of Mesopotamian art from the town of Sippar [north of Babylon on the Euphrates] to Susa: the stele of Naramsin of the Akkad dynasty and that of Hammurabi of Babylon. The French excavators of Susa discovered these monuments, as well as others which had been brought from Eshnunna in the Diyala valley, in north-eastern Mesopotamia. [3]

The divine and royal statues of the ancient Near East were meant to assure for the king the enduring protection of the deity, well being and a long life. Reliefs which showed a military victory of a ruler or his performance of a ritual action were surely intended to eternalize the effectiveness of such deeds. In the country of their origin works of art of this type must have been considered charged with beneficial power. Hostile intruders therefore would destroy them or lead them into captivity as representative of the conquered peoples--like Ningal of Ur. Often the conqueror had the original inscription erased and his own name and even a record of his conquest engraved on the captured statue or stele. To erase the name of a person literally meant to kill his memory.

With the destruction of Ur the Elamites under a king of Simash liberated themselves from Mesopotamian tutelage, but not for long. The successors of the Third Dynasty of Ur as rulers of Mesopotamia, the kings of Isin and of Larsa, continued a policy, developed earlier in relations with Elam, of 'military pressures and diplomatic marriages'. In the course of the second millennium B.C., however, some forceful Elamite ruler occasionally succeeded not only in establishing his independence from Mesopotamian interference but also in extending briefly his influence on regions lying on the western borders of Elam. In turn, some powerful kings of Mesopotamia like Hammurabi of Babylon claimed at least partial domination of Elam. Between these highlights in the political history of Elam and Mesopotamia there were long periods in which no major military engagement is recorded between the two countries. In

some measure exchange of goods and ideas certainly must have taken place between Susa and several of the rich Mesopotamian towns, especially Lagash, Larsa and Eshnunna. But Babylonian texts from the first half of the second millennium indicate a decline in the assumed large-scale trade of earlier times, when ships are thought to have plied the Persian Gulf with timber, silver and tin from [p. 45] Susa and to have returned with agricultural products such as barley and oil. [4]

The clay tablets on which historical texts were written and on which merchants recorded their business transactions mention towns and countries of Elam, but they rarely give any indication of their geographical location. Anshan, which seems at times to have been the most important region of Iran aside from Elam, may have been situated in the Bakhtiari mountains. Susa probably dominated the entire plain irrigated by the Kerkha and Karun rivers. Strong rulers of Susa probably also reigned over the green pastures of the valleys of Luristan, which would have been of great importance for the supply of the capital with sheep-- and later with horses for the army.

Little is known about the internal history of Elam. The texts which contain historical information are not numerous and are not yet fully understood by modern scholars. The language, Elamite, is neither Semitic nor Indo-European, and its relation to other languages is not yet clarified.

In periods of strong influence from Mesopotamia the texts, economic and legal records, were written in Sumerian and Akkadian, that is, in the languages of Mesopotamia. There are indications that the genuinely Elamite business practice was entirely oral, so that writing need not have been an integral element of Elamite culture. [5]

It is interesting to note some evidence of similarly oral business practice in the records found in the Hurrian region of northern Mesopotamia, in Nuzi near Kirkuk. Furthermore, other characteristics common to the legal documents of both Susa and Nuzi exist. This points to a relationship also manifested in the considerable proportion of Hurrian proper names found among the princes who played a role in the political history of the country. [6] Such relations between the populations of northern Mesopotamia and Elam are also reflected in the numerous Mitannian or Hurrian-style cylinder seals found at various sites in Iran. Only at Susa and in its immediate vicinity, where local Susian seal-cutters established a distinctive Elamite tradition was there a pronounced scarcity of seals of Mitannian or Hurrian style in the excavations.

These cylinder seals which were found at Susa and at the neighbouring site of Tchoga Zanbil serve to establish a framework of glyptic art in Elam from the Old Elamite period of the early second millennium B.C., through the Middle Elamite period of the second half of the second millennium, to the Neo-Elamite period of the early centuries of the first millennium B.C. [7] Occasionally this framework may serve for the classification of larger works of art which are uninscribed and undated. For this reason we begin the discussion of Elamite art with the cylinder seals. [p. 46]

Cylinder seals were produced in great numbers in the Old Babylonian period, about 1900 to 1600 B.C. The same is true of Susa, where we call the style of the seals Old Elamite. These Old Elamite cylinders conform to the Old Babylonian ones in the ubiquitous rendering of scenes of worship, a motif inherited from the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur. But certain details characterize seals as originating in Susa: for example, a tree at the end of a scene, or the placing before the deity of an offering-table bearing a bird, or some sacrificial animal, rarely a fish. [In Babylonia the tree design is not found in seals of that period, and the deity or its image is never shown partaking of food or even receiving a food offering.] Here distinctive ritual practices of Elam manifest themselves, practices which are reflected several centuries later in Assyria. These Old Elamite cylinders are often made of the black bitumen found near the oil-fields of the region. This material can be worked very easily, and the seal-cutter could indicate the surface of an object by a series of short incisions, as in the throne and the

palm tree of Figure 20. The imprint of such a cylinder seal shows ragged outlines and looks crude. A second style is smoother. The example of the latter shown here has a curious tree growing from a knoll. The branches of the tree with their leaves or blossoms not only grow upward but also point downward. This might have been a means to fill the field, but one should not rule out the representation of a candelabra-like artificial construction. Perhaps the style of this cylinder is slightly later than that of Figure 20. [8]

A Middle Elamite style of the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C. is here represented by a cylinder which can be dated approximately on the basis of similar imprints found on tablets of Nuzi. [9] It shows a carefully engraved scene with several figures. One of these is marked as a deity by a horned crown and sits on a throne, the back of which ends in an animal's head. This feature can be traced to other cylinders of the group, in which the god actually sits on an animal. We encounter here the characteristic Iranian practice of decorating and enlivening inanimate objects with animal heads. Both deity and worshipper [p. 47] have narrow waists; the worshipper who carries a sacrificial goat in his arms has his hair cut 'en brosse' or swept upward, a feature often observed in renderings of Elamites. In a subsidiary scene a worshipper appears before a standing deity, and in the upper register a lion pursues a horned animal, an ancient Mesopotamian and Iranian motif which appears in many different styles until the latest periods of Iranian art. This cylinder was found in a sanctuary in Luristan where it had probably been brought from Susa.

The next stage of Elamite cylinder seals became known through Ghirshman's discovery of a deposit of such seals in chapels of the sanctuary of Tchoga Zanbil. With few exceptions these cylinder seals probably belong to the latter part of the Middle Elamite period, in which King Untashgal [c. 1265-1245 B.C.] [10] built the sanctuary. A considerable number of these cylinders, of which we give one example here, resemble the early Kassite cylinders of Babylonia, dated in the fifteenth century B.C., in the use of attenuated figures carved with thin lines by means of a fine drill. However, the scene of adoration or worship shown here is characterized as typically Elamite by the servant who holds a fan behind the throne. The shelf with vessels in the upper field and the small goblin, more human than ape-like, are also long-lived Elamite motifs. This scene of worship of a deity may not have differed much from an audience with one of the great lords of Elam.

Most of these cylinders of Kassite style, which are among the finest found at Tchoga Zanbil, and others of good quality were made of deep blue glass. Such use of glass may ultimately go back to Egyptian influence. The seals of a much cruder style, here called common style, were made of a related composition, namely faience. An example of the common style shows a simplified version of the scene just described. Here the worshipper has taken over the function of the servant with the fan. The seated figure, probably a deity, raises a vessel to his mouth. The action here depicted and the shape of the vessel are most characteristic of this group of cylinder seals.

A later Neo-Elamite version of the scene is given in Figure 25. The smaller size of the cylinder and the proportions of the figures are comparable to those of [p. 48] Assyrian cylinders of the ninth century B.C. This dating is also suggested by the pointed headgear of the seated figure found in a Neo-Elamite relief from Susa [11] and in a rock relief at Naqsh-e Rostem, which will be discussed later.

Among the cylinders with religious themes we have chosen one which shows kneeling gods surrounded by streams of water that seem to issue from their shoulders and from their arms or their hands. [12]

From the fearful and destructive world of demons which can be successfully fought only with the help of the very same demons, if these are properly manipulated, comes the winged lion-headed figure of another cylinder seal. With his bird claws the demon stands on two kneeling ibexes and with each hand raises a gazelle by the hind legs. A related theme is shown in Figure 28, but there are several reasons for suggesting a later, possibly early Neo-Elamite

origin for this seal. Such a date would be important for the classification of some of the Luristan bronzes which the demon resembles in abbreviation of form and in the curved slender neck. The figures are attenuated and lack the solid verticality of the preceding seal. Moreover, the wedge-shaped fillers are not found in any other seal from Tchoga Zanbil, but they are reminiscent of the single wedges of cuneiform writing occasionally scattered in the field of Assyrian cylinders of the early first millennium B.C. Lastly, the cylinder is made of bitumen and was not found in the chapels with the other cylinders, which are mostly of faience or glass. [p. 50]

Faience continued as a favoured material for seals in Elam, and a cylinder from Susa which again shows the pursuit of a horned animal by a lion belongs even more certainly to the early first millennium B.C. Here, too, the vertical composition has given way to oblique inclination of the animal bodies, and plants of a type common in Assyrian cylinders of the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. rise from the ground-line. Of special interest is the cross, which has branches between the arms. This motif occurs in somewhat related manner on Luristan bronzes and may still be found in Sasanian textile patterns.

The next cylinder shows two griffins hovering over a creature which looks like a snake with a bull's head but which may merely present one of those curious abbreviations of animal bodies that occur in Elamite and even in Proto-Elamite art from the earliest to the latest periods. [13] The fact that the griffins have again filled out and show more rounded forms suggests that they are to be placed in the first millennium, in the late ninth or eighth--perhaps even in the early seventh--century B.C.

Two cylinders which may serve to date other works, one of faience, the other of bitumen, show horned animals flanking a tree. The simplified example in which the branches of the tree end in globules was found in one of the chapels at Tchoga Zanbil; the more elaborate version was found at Susa. It shows a tree with a crown consisting of five pointed oval leaves which remind one of the outline of date-palm blossoms. This type of tree design is typical of the late and post-Kasite [p. 51] period of Babylonia, between the thirteenth and eleventh centuries B.C., and even survived into later times. Curiously enough, there are not many examples of such a tree design at Susa, and none has so far been found at Tchoga Zanbil. However, one does find the design on bronzes from Luristan. Perhaps the frequency of the motifs should be investigated for indications of stylistic links, but this is still a task for the future.

On the basis of the chronological division into Old, Middle and Neo-Elamite periods suggested for the cylinder seals, we may now discuss some other Elamite works of art.

No architectural remains from the first half of the second millennium B.C. were observed and described at Susa, and no traces of buildings have been preserved. It is therefore impossible to form an opinion of Elamite architecture at Susa during this period.

In the minor arts, however, a definite style manifests itself, a style characterized by the use of animal bodies and animal heads on vessels and other objects. Our plate shows the foot of an object carved in bitumen [14] with the foreparts of an ibex whose head and neck are worked in the round. Nose and beard of the animal are broken off; nevertheless, the animal sculpture is quite expressive, which is in part due to accentuation of the eyes with white shell inlays. Hair is indicated by rows of sharply engraved and short, often slightly curved lines. The style is reminiscent of the Old Elamite cylinder seals which are also made of bitumen and which show similar rows of incised lines to suggest surface patterns.

The same workshop which produced the object just discussed may have also made the ram-headed bowl found in a coffin between the hands of the deceased. [15] The sides of the bowl represent in side view the extended body of the ram whose neck and head are carved in the round at one end of the bowl. The position in which this vessel was found suggests that such vessels decorated with animal forms lent themselves well to ritual purposes.

The finest example of a bowl of this type was found in the northern Mesopotamian town of Ishchali, in the Diyala valley. [16] Three recumbent ibexes, their heads and necks turned at right angles to the rest of the body and partly worked in the round, were originally carved along the circumference of the bowl, but only one of the animals is preserved. The body is simplified to almost geometric forms, and the hair is stylized in rows of hatchings running in opposite directions like a herring-bone pattern. Although minor differences can be observed between the bowl from Ishchali and the bowl and fragmentary foot of an object [p. 52] from Susa here reproduced, the existence of a large number of such vessels in the finds excavated at Susa, as against the unique example from Ishchali, and the material of these vessels, which is typical of works of art made at Susa, offer sufficient indications on which to postulate the origin of the group in Elam. The appearance of the single piece in Ishchali can be explained by the fact that one of the trade-routes went from Susa to Mesopotamia over Kurdistan, the route nowadays crossing through Kermanshah and into Iraq over passes that lead into the Diyala valley. [17]

If our Elamite bowls are correctly dated in the time of the dynasties of Isin and Larsa in Babylonia, that is, in the twentieth and nineteenth centuries B.C., when a very naturalistic style prevailed in Babylonian art, the abstraction noted in the decoration of these bowls must correspond to a specifically Elamite taste at that period. A distinctively Elamite feature may also be the way in which the head of [p. 53] the animal decorating the bowl is turned at right angles to the body in relief and carved partly or entirely in the round. This device for enlivening the decoration of a bowl was used in Mesopotamia only in the time of the early urban development shortly before and after 3000 B.C. Perhaps its use at Susa in the Old Elamite period--and later--shows that there this early device was retained with the same tenaciousness which characterizes the retention of earlier features in the artistic production of Iran through the centuries.

Two metal objects dated by the excavator of Susa, De Mecquenem, in a period corresponding to our Old Elamite period, present other features which are not Babylonian and may therefore be Elamite or generally Iranian. A small golden falcon with spread wings has its claws pulled up close to the body as if the bird were seen in flight from below. The representation of the falcon with short thick neck and short beak is a characteristic of later Iranian art, as is the position of the legs. For example, a cauldron attachment from Hasanlu, made about one thousand years later, shows a bird of the same type, similarly positioned. The wings and tail of the bird from Susa seem to have been made in two pieces, of which the lower was a flat plate while the upper one was made in open-work. Together the two pieces formed cells for an inlay of a blue composition. [18] The technique in which cells or cloisons of gold or some other metal are made to hold inlays of some material like blue lapis lazuli, red carnelian or white shell was known quite early in Western Asia, as shown by finds from the Royal cemetery of Ur. [19] An even earlier origin was postulated for small pieces of jewelry, decorated in the same technique, found in a child's grave at Susa, but the date of that jewelry seems somewhat uncertain. [20] Nevertheless, there can be no doubt about the fact that the technique of decoration used for the falcon from Susa was known in Western Asia before the Old Elamite period. The blue composition used for the inlays of the falcon, however, is not attested for the early periods and may indicate that the object should not be dated before the second half of the second millennium B.C.

The second object supposedly of Old Elamite date is a socketed head of a bird or reptile made of silver, perhaps the top of a standard. Within the opened mouth of the creature a pattern of scales can be seen, [21] which makes it more likely that this is the head of a reptile, perhaps a tortoise. The 'tail' shown at the back of the head may imitate in metal the coloured cords, rolled up at the ends, used on standard-tops made of impermanent materials. [22]

No comparable work from the early second millennium B.C. is known from Western Asia. The plain geometric forms, given almost demonic life by the large eye peering out from under the thick brow, are comparable rather to later Iranian renderings of animals. It is possible that the head is incorrectly dated and that it was made only after the middle of the second millennium B.C., when Mitanni and Hurrians ruled in northern Mesopotamia and Kassites in the south

and the prevalent taste favoured a geometric style there and also in Elam--as shown by the large number of Mittanian or Hurrian cylinders found in Iran and by the existence of at least one fine cylinder seal in Mitannian style with an Elamite inscription. [23] It is also possible, however, that the standard-top really belongs to a time before 1500 B.C. and that it prefigures the geometric style of a later age. This would mean, however, that the geometric style had its inception with standards and similar pieces and that it originated in Persia.

The Middle Elamite period is the only period of Elamite rule which has yielded [p. 54] coherent architectural remains--the sanctuary of Tchoga Zanbil a few miles from Susa. Here Ghirshman excavated a ziggurat and surrounding chapels and temples as well as a palace and various interesting installations. [24] The ziggurat, a temple tower, rises like a massive mountain from the flat and empty plain. Once fields and gardens probably surrounded the sanctuary and supplied the priests and other employees with grain and vegetables. The fact that the soil can be made exceedingly fertile by artificial irrigation is proved by an American and Dutch project for growing sugar-cane in fields located only a few miles from Tchoga Zanbil. In Tchoga Zanbil and Susa the temperature rises to 140 degrees in the summer. But in the desert the heat is dry and bearable in the shade, and nights are even cool. The great question whether or not the ancient inhabitants of Tchoga Zanbil and Susa sought out the cool and refreshing air of the mountain valleys of Luristan during the summer months cannot be answered today because we have too little evidence. The tendency of the present-day inhabitants of the towns of Khuzistan is to seek protection from the mid-day heat in subterranean rooms and to emerge only in the evening. Only the nomads wander with their herds of sheep and goats into the mountains in summer and return in winter to the plain around Susa and Tchoga Zanbil. [p. 55]

The sanctuary of Tchoga Zanbil was separated from the surrounding plain by an outer wall which measured 1200 x 800 metres. An inner wall enclosing the ziggurat and its courts measured 400 x 400 metres. It was pierced by seven gates of varying importance, all leading to the courts of the ziggurat. It is this inner wall which appears in the photograph in Plate 11; above it rise the three storeys of the ziggurat which remain of the original five-storeyed building. The single storeys look like square terraces built one above the other; in reality each storey rises directly from the ground. According to the excavator, R. Ghirshman, the two outer lowest storeys were first built around a central open court. Subsequently the higher storeys were concentrically encased in this court, with the highest storey rising in the middle.

In the second storey from the base several rooms were built behind the southeastern façade. Ghirshman interprets the complex as the lower temple [25] in which the god Inshushinak, to whom the entire Ziggurat was dedicated, was worshipped during the day. At night the god was thought to return to heaven, perhaps striding with gigantic steps up the ziggurat to the top, where a small temple is assumed to have stood. From this point the god would have ascended to heaven, and here he would have landed again in the morning. All this has been deduced from Mesopotamian parallels, however, and may or may not apply to Elamite beliefs. [p. 57]

The few human beings, priests and dignitaries who were admitted to the upper storeys would have had to climb narrow stairs with very high steps, partly covered by brick vaults and partly open to provide light for the stairs. The visual impression of the ziggurat was mainly determined by the horizontal lines of the terraces and by the regular alternation of salients and niches which formed the principal decorative elements here, as in the mud-brick decoration for which no earlier prototype is known is a triple-arched niche found to have decorated a round platform which had four such niches. [26] Two other platforms were found at Tchoga Zanbil, but they were too badly damaged to show any details. The curvature of these architectural forms contrasts strikingly with the prevalent rectangular forms employed in Babylonian architecture.

The principal gate which gave access to the courts surrounding the ziggurat was situated on the south-eastern side of the complex. It was called the 'Royal Gate' by the excavator both

because of its large size and because of its decoration of glazed bricks and 'nails' with pommels holding flat tiles in place. The pommels bore the name of the builder of the ziggurat, Untashgal. They were covered with blue glaze like the tiles, which also had a restrained decoration of quarter-rosettes in the angles. Other tiles were decorated with disks of white and black glass in various sizes. Some of the bricks were blue, others green; some had circles with a white or blue centre, or white lozenge shapes on a lapis-lazuli blue background. The strong colour of these glazed bricks and tiles must have given a very festive air to the 'Royal Gate' as seen from the ziggurat. [27]

A new site for rock reliefs was chosen by the Sasanian king Ardashir II [379-383] in the last quarter of the fourth century. He had a hieratically stiff scene of investiture carved in a rock in Kurdistan, at a place today called Taq-i Bustan, near Kermanshah, not far distant from the mountain of Bisutun. There also Shapur III [383-388], Ardashir's successor, had a relief made at the back of an iwan which he caused to be carved in the rock. Shapur had himself represented beside his great father Shapur II [310-379] in a pictorial documentation of the legitimacy of the son, who had had to fight for the throne. The documentary intent of these reliefs is fully compatible with their rigid composition and with the stiff rendering of the bodies, which merely provide surfaces for the decorative patterns of the material and drapery of the robes.

The iwan with the relief of Shapur III was included almost a century later in plans for a monumental triple iwan, of which the left wing was never completed. In the tympanum of the large new and supposedly central iwan an investiture scene was carved which resembled in its scheme of three figures the composition of the relief of Ardashir II, but corresponded in style to the heavy block-like pair of figures made for Shapur III. Below this relief of an investiture is one of the most impressive works of Sasanian sculpture, a king in full armour on horseback. For this figure one may cite the description of Ammianus Marcellinus: 'Moreover, all the companies were clad in iron, and all parts of their bodies were covered with thick plates, so fitted that the stiff joints conformed with those of their limbs; and the forms of human faces were so skillfully fitted to their heads that, since their entire bodies were covered with metal, arrows that fell upon them could lodge only where they could see a little through tiny openings opposite the pupil of the eye, or where through the tips of their noses they were able to get a little breath.'

In front of the entrances to the ziggurat itself stood pairs of animals of which a long-legged, slender humped bull whose head and legs were reinforced by copper rods was reconstructed by Madame Ghirshman. [28]

Before the principal entrance to the ziggurat, on the south-eastern side, two rows of sacrificial tables were made of big bricks forming low truncated pyramids. Between the last two tables there was a pit which the excavator assumes was meant to receive the blood of the sacrificial animals. Nearby he found an installation which he interpreted very convincingly as intended for liquid offerings, and facing both this installation and the pyramidal offering-tables were three large square tables made of baked brick placed against the enclosure wall; beside them was a large vessel probably intended for ablutions. [29]

We cannot judge to what extent these ritual, architectural and decorative elements so far described are typically Elamite because no Mesopotamian ziggurat of the same period is equally well preserved and shows so many details. A unique element, however, seems to be formed by the vaulted chambers found on three sides of the second storey of the ziggurat. Each chamber was accessible by a stairway, and no chamber communicated with the next. Some chambers formed a second inner row parallel to that of the rooms lying against the outside wall of the ziggurat. These inner chambers had been carefully filled up with bricks at the time when the core of the ziggurat was built in the inner court. Some of the outer chambers contained tiles and enamelled bricks as well as other materials which were doubtless used during the building of the sacred [p. 58] complex of Dur Untash, as Tchoga Zanbil was called in ancient times. The excavator doubts, however, that this was the function

intended for these chambers, which are carefully finished and painted white with lime. He thinks that they were store-rooms for offerings, and he also does not rule out the possibility that they were intended for royal tombs. That they were obviously used only during the building of the sanctuary speaks for the fact that the latter was not completed.

Opposite the south-western façade of the ziggurat several chapels were erected in which votive offerings were deposited, for example, more than one hundred cylinder seals. Furthermore, there were several groups of temples in the vicinity of the ziggurat, nine in all, dedicated to different gods of the Elamite pantheon. The most interesting structure aside from the ziggurat, however, is the palace, in the plan of which the position of the five tombs deep under ground level was obviously considered. The palace included a banqueting court and rooms which seem to have been pantries, to judge by the vessels which they contained. No living quarters, however, suggest themselves in the plan of this palace, which was obviously a hypogeum, perhaps comparable to the royal sepulchers at Ashur to which the Assyrian king Sennacherib [704-681 B.C.] probably referred when he spoke of the 'palace of repose, the eternal abode'. [30] The tombs at Tchoga Zanbil were vaulted with baked brick set in bitumen and a quick-setting cement-like plaster. The use of bitumen in place of lime mortar seems to have been specifically Elamite; in Mesopotamia this material was as a rule employed only for installations in which seepage of water was to be prevented, such as bathrooms and drains. This cannot have been the case here because the deceased were cremated and weapons were brought to the tombs. Yet Ghirshman has stated that in those cases where the tombs were intact the remains of two cremated persons could be distinguished. Only one skeleton was found which had not been cremated; it was lying on a bed-like platform beside the remains of two cremated corpses. Since the Elamites, like the Babylonians, were buried, not cremated, this evidence indicates that a different, perhaps western, custom prevailed in the royal house. One is reminded here of the cremation of Hittite kings and of one of the kings of Mitani. Nowhere else, however, is there evidence of the wife accompanying her husband into death--as the remains of two people in each of four instances at Tchoga Zanbil strongly suggest.

We must state here, moreover, that so far no inscription has been found which would definitely identify the tombs and the cremated corpses with the kings of Elam.

After the discussion of the ziggurat and the hypogeum one may view with special interest the unique model depicting a ceremony which might have taken place among surroundings resembling those of the ritual installations before the principal entrance of the ziggurat at Tchoga Zanbil. Most characteristic are the two rows of small knolls which closely resemble the pyramidal offering-tables excavated by Ghirshman. Two stepped structures in the model may be abbreviated renderings of ziggurats or large offering-tables in architectural form. The model was found at Susa, in one of two vaulted rooms which had been despoiled in antiquity but which could have been tombs like those described above. [31] The model was completely encased in gypsum so that it appeared in the masonry of one of these vaulted rooms as a large white tile with green spots of oxidization on the surface. Subsequently the gypsum was carefully removed and the entire [p. 60] scene appeared, though the foliage of the trees and other delicate details were forever lost. According to the inscription the model represents a scene at sunrise and was made for king Shilhak-Insushinak [1165-1151 B.C.]. [32] This is the only scene in Western Asiatic art preserved in three-dimensional form. It undoubtedly represents a ritual ceremony which would have been recorded in written form elsewhere in Western Asia.

The execution of the model shows that attention was paid to natural proportions but that the forms were greatly simplified. The bodies of the two men, for example, are rounded but show no subtle modelling of the surface. Tentatively we shall henceforth use this simplified rounded style of the model as a criterion for dating in the time of Shilhak-Insushinak, that is, in the twelfth century B.C.

The two greatest works of Elamite sculpture, however, belong to a slightly earlier time. They are the bronze statue of Queen Napirasu, wife of Untashigal, in the Louvre and the copper head of an Elamite in the Metropolitan Museum. The upper part of the statue of Napirasu can almost be inscribed within a rectangular block, while the skirt which covers her lower body has the form of a tall, very slightly flaring bell. A pattern of small circles enclosing a dot covers the upper part of the garment; long fringes decorate the upper part of the skirt at the back and are brought forward to frame on both sides a rich pattern of columns filled with alternating strips of zigzag and hatching and bordered by zigzag lines, almost suggesting a derivation from patterns of architectural origin. All these lines run horizontally or vertically except for the softly undulating fringes at the bottom of the skirt. In the absence of the statue's head, its hands attract the viewer's attention even more than might have been the case in the original state. Even in the original state, however, these hands with their long and slender fingers, of which only one is adorned with a ring--and their quiet pose--must have imparted a certain calm and elegance to the statue.

It is not known how the statue was made. All that can be said here is that the surface details just described indicate the delicacy of the execution; at the same time the exposed parts of the bronze interior--in which rods of an armature seem to be recognizable--suggest that the metal was not poured at one time. One may therefore doubt that the figure was hollow cast and then filled up, as stated in the original publication. [33] That this was not the practice of Iranian metal-workers is indicated also by the great head in the Metropolitan Museum, which is cast solid [Fig. 38]. The features have probably been coarsened by the disintegration of the copper. Thus the eyelids may seem heavier now than they originally were; the nose, which seems so thick as to suggest a feature characteristic of some individual, may again have been accidentally enlarged. The mouth, however, with the beautifully curved lips and the heavy moustache, can be fully appreciated even now. [p. 61]

The head is distinguished from Babylonian sculptures by the rendering of the eyebrows, which do not meet over the nose but terminate on either side of it in a sharp oblique line. This sets the eyes further apart and gives a distinctive cast to the man's face. Lines on the forehead were probably intended to indicate his mature age. The patterns formed by the curls of the beard as well as the ornaments of the asymmetrical headgear, which consists of a chequered piece of cloth over which ribbons are wound, stress the contrast between the inanimate materials and the face, which thereby seems more alive, more human than it actually is. The dating of this head was much discussed. It may belong to the second half of the second millennium, but it may also have been made somewhat earlier. [34]

The head has been called 'Head of an Elamite', which raises a problem since the object is said to have been found in Azerbaijan. It is possible that there existed in Azerbaijan a centre in which workshops produced objects related to those of Elamite style, but so far no archaeological expedition has discovered sculptures of such quality outside Susa.

The heads of two small figurines found at Susa, one of gold with a considerable amount of silver, occasionally called electrum, the other of silver, each carrying a sacrificial goat, somewhat resemble the 'Head of an Elamite', though they are more simplified and also show differences in detail. In the faces of the figures the eyes seem to be placed somewhat obliquely, an impression also created by the copper head. [35] The eyebrows of the figurines meet above the nose, which differentiates them from the copper head; instead of describing semicircles as in Babylonian sculpture, however, the eyebrows of the figurines are much straighter, so that they somehow create an effect related to that of the eyebrows in the copper head. Furthermore, the straight nose of the silver figurine may resemble that originally given the copper head, while that of the gold figurine is broader. Despite minor differences, eyes, eyebrows, nose and also the generous moustache worn by the persons portrayed seem to render a related ethnic type.

We can only guess that the large copper head belonged to a royal statue, but we are on more solid ground with the figurines, which surely represent a king in constant prayer and sacrifice

before his deity. The dedication in a temple of a valuable statue of the ruling king was frequently used in Babylonia as an event after which the entire year was named. [36] No text, however, unequivocally mentions the dedication of a gold and a silver statue. If we are right in assuming that an Elamite king dedicated two such images of himself, this would be a specifically Elamite practice.

The two figurines and a whetstone topped by a feline head in gold were found buried near the large group of objects deposited under the temple of Insushinak, [37] built in the twelfth century B. C. by the Elamite king Shilhak-Inshushinak. One wonders, however, whether objects of such great value were really deposited in the foundations of a temple. In general such figures of gold or silver [p. 62] representing the king as an offerer not only served a pious purpose but also had a value in ostentation that should not be underrated. This fact also speaks against De Mecquenem's later assertion that the gold statuette and the objects associated with it were originally funerary deposits. [38]

While it is therefore not certain that the place where these figures were found indicates a date before or in the time of Shilhak-Inshushinak, this is likely on stylistic grounds. The hair style and costume of the figures, the latter strewn with dots [reminiscent of the small circles which cover the garments of Napirasu] and bordered with the short fringe at the bottom, and the precious material point to a date in the latter part of the second millennium B.C. rather than to the first millennium. It is possible that the large head was made about the time of the figurines; as mentioned above, however, a somewhat earlier date cannot be excluded.

The golden lion's head of the whetstone, found together with the figurines and reproduced with them in Plate 12, shows greater stylization than the human figures. The formation of the leonine features, especially the large eye with the upper lid raised almost to a point and the beaded patterns of muzzle and mane, as well as the rendering of the lips by a continuous cord-like line, manifests a definite style particularly suited in its simplicity to the decoration of tools. [39] A more rounded and naturalistic rendering of animals is found in a rein-ring with two ibexes standing on either side of a tree. This motif is found in related form in an Elamite cylinder seal, and it seems likely that the rein-ring shows a transposition of the more or less two-dimensional form of the cylinder into the three-dimensional one of the rein-ring.

The shape of the rein-ring continues one which was developed in the Early Dynastic period of Mesopotamia and is documented in the Royal Cemetery of Ur. Its survival in Elamite times would not be surprising in view of the tenacity of earlier tradition in the art of Iran. [40]

The reliefs of the Middle Elamite period offer several examples of survival of earlier motifs. The most important of these reliefs is the great stele dated in the thirteenth century B.C. by an inscription of Untashgal. While the king and his consort, Napirasu, and her mother appear to have been rendered in a flat and stiff manner, at least as far as the remaining parts of the figures permit one to judge, [41] greater interest is created by the varied outline and textures of the demon with moufflon's or ram's horns, who may be derived from the demon of prehistoric Iranian stamp seals and who may be linked to demons on bronzes from Luristan discussed below. One wonders whether the demon's beaked profile with receding forehead and chin, not found in other Elamite sculptures of human figures, could have been meant to characterize an inhabitant of the mountainous regions bordering Elam. [42] The profile of the demon seems more exaggerated than that of the water goddess of the register above. As on a cylinder seal from Tchoga Zanbil, the goddess seems to grasp streams which flow from bases but which may have been meant to originate in the fins that replace the feet of the water goddess. Like the figure of the demon, the water goddess may reflect earlier iconographic traditions, such as the rendering of the watercourses in rope-like form which can be seen on the steatite vase from Khafaje of the early third millennium B.C. In turn, much later concepts concerning a vital fluid [43] could have been influenced by renderings like those of the stele. While the stele of Untashgal was buried in the ruins of Susa after the destruction of the town by Ashurbanipal, some rock reliefs which I would tentatively assign [p. 65] to the Middle Elamite period survived and may have preserved motifs of Elamite

iconography for a later time. The best preserved of these reliefs is the one on the rock of Kurangun in the Bakhtiari mountains, several hours northwest of Shiraz on a high cliff seen from afar. In the main scene, which is enclosed in a rectangular frame, a god sits on a throne formed by the coils of a serpent which he holds by the neck. He also holds a vessel from which two streams of water flow. One stream forms a canopy over the god and a goddess behind him and is probably caught in a vessel held by an attendant. The other stream flows toward the long-robed slender worshippers approaching the deities. A large number of squat pig-tailed figures in short kilts are carved on the rock as if descending toward the principal scene. There is a considerable difference in style between these figures and those of the main scene, which has been explained by assuming that this scene was re-cut at a later time than the procession of worshippers. It is not possible to be definite about this, however, or to fix the date of the main scene with any certainty. One can merely say that a god with a flowing vase first occurs in the Akkad period [c. 2370-2230 B.C.] but that the motif of the flowing vase survived in varied and extended form in the Middle Elamite period, as shown by the examples on the stele of Untashgal. It is not impossible therefore that the relief of Kurangun was made in the middle or even in the latter half of the second millennium B.C. [44]

The principal scene of the relief of Kurangun was copied several centuries later at Naqsh-i Rostem, but this relief was almost completely eliminated by a relief of the Sasanian king Bahram II [A.D. 276-293]. Only the two figures at either end are well preserved; they probably represent the Elamite king and the queen who had the relief made. The king wears the pointed headgear typical of the Neo-Elamite period; [45] the queen wears the battlemented crown that is also worn by the Assyrian queens of the seventh century B.C. [46] [p. 66]

To the same Neo-Elamite period as the relief of Naqsh-i Rostem also belongs the relief of a woman spinner from Susa, here reproduced to show the survival from Early Dynastic times of female figures in a seated posture with what must have been crossed legs. Another survival is shown in the servant with a fan of the same rectangular shape as that seen on Middle Elamite cylinder seals. The rounded relief of the piece brings out fully the artist's delight in observation of details of dress and jewelry, of hair style and furniture. None of the reliefs, however, approach the expressiveness found in the metal sculptures. One would like to conclude from this that the Elamites were principally metal-workers who favoured more than other techniques that of modelling in wax in preparation for casting. [p. 67]

Elamite work in glazed earthenware and faience is related to this technique of modelling in a soft material and was of equal if not of greater importance than metal in the decoration of Elamite palaces, temples, and probably also more modest homes. Unfortunately, most of the earthenware and faience [47] objects have lost their brightly coloured glaze and therefore look dull. Painted and glazed earthenware tiles, objects of faience, and glass all appear at the same time in the Middle Elamite period. [48] Glazed faience and glazed earthenware were widely produced throughout Western Asia around the middle of the second millennium B.C. In Nuzi, near modern Kirkuk in northern Mesopotamia, large animal sculptures were produced in the latter material, and the same was done in Tchoga Zanbil. [49] Outside Tchoga Zanbil glass is found only rarely and glazed tiles are not found at all at this time. They appear only later in Ashur, possibly under Elamite influence. [50] Conceivably there was in Elam a desire for and interest in production of cheap 'new' materials which had even greater brilliance and intensity of colour than the far more expensive natural stones like lapis lazuli. One may also think of the recurring indications--however slight--of direct contact by sea with Egypt, where glass was invented, probably at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and where the Elamites might have obtained formulas for producing glass. At any rate, the deep blue colour which they used for their cylinders is not used at other Western Asiatic sites.

Glazed tiles began to be used in Elam in the time of Untashgal, as is shown by the excavations of Tchoga Zanbil [see p. 58 above]. The tiles are blue, green or white, or have two of these colours combined, but they are not multi-coloured, nor do they have figured representations. Tiles which show such features surely mark a later development. Fragments of such tiles were found at Susa with glazed earthenware nails inscribed with the name of King Shilhak-Inshushinak [c. 1165-1151 B.C.] and also with glazed tiles of green and yellow

colour which bore the name of Sutruk-Nakhunte [c. 1207-1171 B.C.]. This evidence shows that there was in the twelfth century B.C. a further development in the decoration of glazed tiles. [52] We therefore date to this time a tile which shows a bird-footed demon standing on two griffins and probably holding two others in his hands. The composition resembles that of a cylinder from Tchoga Zanbil, Figure 27; the colours are strong, the forms carefully defined.

The second fragment represents a different style. The drawing is cursory; the forms are thin and pointed. The neck of the bull on the fragment rises sharply, [p. 68] then the line runs horizontally to the sharp bend of the horn. In contrast to this the curve in the neck of the griffin on the first fragment is smoothly rounded and terminates in the slight countercurve of the griffin's crest. Moreover, the colour of the second fragment is much duller than that of the first, although here accidental factors may have played a role in changing the original colours of the tile. [53]

The two styles represented here can scarcely belong to the same period. The cursory one is probably later and may be tentatively assigned to the tenth or ninth century B.C., which means that it would be Neo-Elamite. Another fragment from Susa which seems to belong to this later style shows a similar cursory treatment of the guilloche pattern. The rendering of the horned animal in this third fragment is interesting because it shows a curvature of the neck and an abstract division of the body which are reminiscent of the Luristan bronzes to be discussed below. The style here represented also seems to be reflected in Elamite cylinder seals, for the bull in the tile recalls the slender bulls with sharply bent horns in Figure 28. Moreover, the uncertain position of the bull's forelegs is comparable to the insecure postures of the demon and the animals in the cylinder seal. Such painstaking comparisons of small details are necessary in order to obtain some tentative outline of the development of Elamite art at the beginning of the first millennium B.C.

Somewhat later works of Neo-Elamite art can be recognized in several faience vessels and objects hammered in bronze, called *repoussé* work. The faience vessels are small jars similar to the small round boxes of ivory made in Syria in the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. One of them even has the same pattern of rosettes and double lotus-blossoms found in the diadem of an ivory head of the eighth century B.C. excavated at Nimrud. [54] These Syrian ivories probably indicate the date at which the Elamite jars were made. The jars rarely have a figured decoration, but one example has designs in flat relief and also heads worked in the round in place of the bosses seen on other jars for fastening the lid to the vessel. The reliefs show on one side a griffin and on the other a winged and bearded sphinx. The horned mitre of the sphinx has a curious shape; the horns are bent forward with the tip pointing down. At the back of the cap there is an inexplicable oblique strip, like the end of a band. Above the cap rises a globe. These three characteristics are found again on the horned mitres of bull-men seen on a bronze quiver of which the lower half is reproduced here. Again a small detail has led us from one work of art to another. The fact that we are not mistaken in assuming that the faience vessel and the bronze quiver belong to the same general style is indicated by the composition, which shows rosettes and other fillers placed in the larger intervals between the figures. In both the jar and the [p. 70] bronze, the figures are characterized by fleshy noses, large eyes and round mouths. Perhaps one may relate this striking facial type and the Syrian elements in this stylistic phase of the ninth to the seventh century B.C. with the presence of many Arameans in Elam at the beginning of the first millennium B.C.

A group of Neo-Elamite bronze objects which should be associated with the bronze quiver and the ivories are the so-called *situlae*, slender buckets of bronze with a conical base. The shape of these vessels was originally Egyptian, like the lotus pattern on the base. The style of the decoration of this group of *situlae*, however, is Neo-Elamite. [55] Our example shows a winged ibex with bearded human face beside a tree. Although the heavy forms and the fleshy nose of the demon remind us of the style of the quiver, the lines of the *situla* are nevertheless somewhat more fluid and the space is not as tightly filled. Conceivably this [p. 71] marks a slightly later date for the *situlae*, but it is also possible that these variations are due merely to different workshops.

The situlae and the quiver were usually dubbed 'Luristan' because no comparable object of bronze has so far been found at Susa, while many bronzes of different styles were found in the mountainous region of Luristan, north-west of Elam. The reason why no metal objects of the early second millennium were found at Susa is surely to be found in the thorough pillaging of the town by the Assyrians in about 640 B.C.

It is more difficult to explain how Elamite bronzes came to Luristan. They could have been pillaged by robbers from Luristan, for the people of these mountain regions must have been as difficult to control in ancient times as they have been until very recently. It is also possible that Elamites seeking refuge in Luristan from Assyrian attacks brought some of their valuables with them. Modern tourists who know the searing heat of Susa in summer like to assume that the Elamites moved to the cool mountains in these months. Reasons against such a hypothesis are the above-mentioned custom of the modern townspeople to seek protection from the heat in subterranean chambers and, secondly, the disinclination of the inhabitants of ancient towns to venture into such dangerous regions as open and mountainous country. It is possible, however, that the Elamite rulers did not belong to the same urban tradition as their townspeople, if we are right in ascribing to the kings burial rites which involved cremation in contrast to inhumation in various types of graves for the townspeople. The royal family and the court may therefore have followed a different pattern of life from the common people and may have enjoyed hunting in the mountains during the summer. For such royal hunting parties valuable objects could have been brought to Luristan and kept there. [p. 72]

Lastly, it may be suggested that there were sanctuaries in the mountains of Luristan in which Elamite works of art could have been deposited as offerings, either by Elamites themselves or by people who obtained Elamite objects for votive purposes. This possibility seems the most likely for two reasons: one, the objects which have been found, such as bronze coverings of quivers, were not objects of actual use, since it has been shown quite conclusively that bronze sheathing offers poor protection in comparison to leather [56] and two, a sanctuary with votive objects was actually excavated near Surkh Dum in Luristan. [p. 73]

Notes:

1. A translation with discussion of the text was given by A. Falkenstein, 'Die Ibbisin-Klage,' *Die Welt des Orients* [1950], pp. 377-384. I owe the English translation of the passage to D. O. Edzard.

2. For a discussion of the removal of the Ningal statue, see D. O. Edzard, *Die 'sweite Zwischenzeit' Babylonians* [Wiesbaden, 1957], p. 57.

3. For a discussion of these statues, see E. Strommenger, 'Das Menschenbild in der altmesopotamischen Rundplastik von Mesilim bis Hammurapi,' *Baghdader Mitteilungen I* [1960], pp. 72-74.

4. For a summary of the relations between Elam and Mesopotamia from the end of the third millennium B.C. to the beginning of the second, see Hinz, 'Persia . . .' [*op. cit.* in note IV/1], pp. 12-20; for the imports from Susa to Mesopotamia, see *op. cit.*, p. 4. For the exports of barley and oil from Mesopotamia to Elam, see Leemans, *op. cit.* in note I/7, p. 116. The

shrinking of trade can be deduced from the evidence presented by Leemans, especially p. 175.

5. The probable oral nature of the local business and legal practices in Susa was discussed by L. Oppenheim in a study of the legal records from Susa and their relations to records from northern Mesopotamia, from the Hurrian town of Nuzi, and from Assur; see 'Der Eid in den Rechtsurkunden aus Susa,' *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* XLIII [1936], pp. 242-262.

6. R. Labat, 'Elam, c. 1600-1200 B.C.,' *CAH* II/XXIX [1963], pp. 4-6, stressed the ethnic changes which occurred in Elam toward the end of the First Dynasty of Babylon, in the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries B.C., and pointed to the likelihood of a considerable proportion of Hurrians among the newcomers.

7. The division into an Old, Middle, and Neo-Elamite period is based on a terminology suggested by H. H. Paper for Elamite texts; see his 'Elamite Texts from Tchogha-Zanbil,' *JNES* XIV [1955], p. 44. Paper merely made this suggestion for Middle Elamite texts, suggesting the use of Old Elamite for the 'proper names and isolated words and phrases embedded in Akkadian and Sumerian texts from Susa and elsewhere' before the beginning of Elamite literature. The term Neo-Elamite is introduced here, paralleling the general use of terms Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian.

8. A large group of Old Elamite cylinders was published by Delaporte, *Louvre* I, Pl. 34:2-10, which show the motif of a worshipper before an enthroned deity, with a vessel, an offering table, or a bird between the figures; Pl. 34:11-15, 17-21, and Pl. 35:1, 2, which are also Old Elamite but different in theme. Old Elamite cylinders with various themes were also published by M. Rutten in *Revue d'Assyriologie* XLIV [1950], Pl. IV: 35, Pl. V: 37, 40-51, Pl. VI: 52-54, 56.

9. For a discussion of imprints of Elamite style on tablets from Nuzi, see E. Porada, 'The Origin of Winnirke's Cylinder Seal,' *JNES* V [1946], pp. 257-259.

10. The discussion of the cylinder seals from Tchoga Zanbil and the drawings of a few examples are excerpted from a manuscript on this material which I am preparing for publication at the invitation of R. Ghirshman. Drawings of cylinders from Susa were made by Paul Lampl after impressions which I was able to make at the Louvre with the kind permission of A. Parrot. The dates of Untashgal and other Elamite things are given according to G. G. Cameron, *History of early Iran* [Chicago, 1936], pp. 230-231. R. Labat in 'Elam,' *CAH*, II/XXIX, pp. 3-13 and inside back cover, does not commit himself to absolute dates for the length of the rulers' reigns.

11. The Neo-Elamite relief from Susa showing a prince wearing headgear of a pointed type is best reproduced in *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art* I, p. 274, where it is erroneously dated in the end of the second millennium B.C. The correct date: 653-648 B.C., for Addahamiti-Inshushinak, the king represented, is given by Debevoise in *JNES* I [1942], p. 84.

12. That this was indeed the intention of the seal-cutter and not the representation of figures bound by the water-courses, as one might also think, is proved by the representation on a gold bowl in the Archaeological Museum, Teheran, reproduced in *Archaeology* 17 [Autumn 1964], p. 200.

13. For Proto-Elamite abbreviated animal forms, see Amiet, *Glyptique*, Pl. 32, Fig. 516; Pl. 35, Fig. 550.

14. What we call here bitumen is referred to as rock-asphalt in C. Singer et al., *A History of Technology* I [Oxford University Press, New York, London, 1954], p. 256, caption to Fig. 161.

15. The leg of an object with an ibex, Plate 8 above, was published by De Mecquenem in a drawing in *MDPXXIX* [1943], p. 111, Fig. 83:4. The animal-shaped legs of a bitumen basin from Susa, *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art I*, p. 248 C, show how the leg here reproduced was probably attached to a vessel. The bowl, Plate 8 below, was published in *MDP XXV* [1934], Pl. XII: 1. De Mecquenem said about it [*op. cit.*, p. 211] that it was found 'A l'intérieur du sarcophage... pour l'utime purification des mains du mort . . .' I have deduced from this statement that the object was found between the hands of the skeleton.
16. For a reconstruction of the vessel, see *OIG 20* [1936], p. 100, Fig. 79.
17. This route seems to have been used even by Babylonian merchants when political disturbances interfered with the passage of valuable goods through central Mesopotamia; see Leemans, *op. cit.* [in note I/7], p. 171.
18. The falcon was published in *MDP XXV* [1934], p. 210, Fig. 53:3. The blue inlays, unfortunately, seem to have disappeared between the summer of 1960, when I saw them and photographed the object which was then still intact, and the summer of 1962 when they were no longer there. I was told that the objects in the hall had been moved about a great deal and we may presume that the inlays were lost at that time. The inlays were referred to as enamel by the the excavator, but they seemed to me to be of the powdery blue composition called 'Egyptian blue', described by F. R. Matson in *Persepolis II*, pp. 133-135. A small head which was found in the same group of graves as the falcon was made of the same composition; see *ibid.*, Fig. 53:14.
19. See especially the rings [C. L. Wooley, *The Royal Cemetery* [Ur Excavations II, 1934], Pl. 138, U. 10878, U. 9778] but also a circular penant [*ibid.*, Pl. 133, U. 8565] and even the silver hair ornaments inlaid with gold, sheel, lapis lazuli and red limestone [Pl. 136, text p. 240] which are decorated in this technique.
20. The jewellery was published in *MDP XXIX* [1943], p. 15, Fig. 12, and dated by Le Breton in the time of Susa Cb [*Iraq XIX*, 1957, p. 109, Fig. 27]. This date seems to have been based on the position of the tomb rather than on its contents, which should be studied more carefully before one can be certain of their date.
21. Unfortunately irregular lines were scratched on our plate; the regular pattern of the original is rendered in the drawing *MDPXXV* [1934], p. 210, Fig. 53:15.
22. Similar cords transposed into bronze are seen on bronze hammers, of which one has an inscription of King Shulgi of the Third Dynasty of Ur [c. 2097-2051 B.C.]; see J. Deshayes, 'Marteaux de bronze iraniens,' *Syria XXXV* [1958], p. 287, Fig. 3, bottom. The silver head from Susa was considered by De Mecquenem to be the head of a staff; see 'Têtes de cannes susiennes en métal,' *Revue de'Assyriologie XLVII* [1953], pp. 79-82. A drawing was reproduced on p. 81, Fig. 2:3.
23. A Cylinder of Mitannian style with an Elamite inscription is in the collectin of M. Foroughi and will be published in 1966 in *Iranica Antique*.
24. See especially the report on the excavations at Tchoga Zanbil in *Arts asiatiques VIII* [1961], pp. 251-254, where the ingenious installations for a reservoir are discussed.
25. For a summary in English of the architecture of Tchoga Zanbil, see Labat in 'Elam....,' *CAH II/XXIX* [1963], pp. 17-22. Labat writes the name of the founder of Tchoga Zanbil as Untash-[d] GAL; see *ibid*, p. 9 and note 1. I have adopted this writing for the same reasons that he gives in the cited note, but have simplified the name in the text for smoother reading to Untashgal.

26. For the 'postament' with niches, see Ghirshman in *Arts asiatiques* II [1955], p. 172, Fig. 11, and pp. 176-177.
27. For the description of the 'royal gate,' see Ghirshman in *Arts asiatiques* IV [1957], pp. 116-119.
28. For the restoration of the bull by Mme. Ghirshmann, see *Arts asiatiques* VI [1959], pp. 279-280
29. For a description of these 'offering tables' and the other elements of the cultic installations here described, see Ghirshman in *Arts asiatiques* IV [1957], pp. 120-122.
30. For Ghirshman's description of the tombs at Tchoga Zanbil, see *Arts asiatiques* VI [1959], pp. 272-278. For the plan of the palace of Adad Nirari I with the royal sepulchres, see C. Preusser, *Die Palaste in Assur* [WVDOG] 66, 1955], Pl. 4. For Sennacherib's inscription on a brick of the royal sepulchre at Assur, see D. D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib* [OIP II, 1924], p. 151, XIII.
31. De Mecquenem made this suggestion in *Vivre et Penser*, 3^{ème} série, which corresponds to *Revue Biblique* 52 [1945], p. 141. P. Amiet kindly drew my attention to this article.
32. For the publication of the model by J. E. Gautier, see 'Le "Sit-Samsi" de Silhak In Susinak,' *MDP* XII [1911], pp. 143-151. [Note: Accents are not correctly placed in the Title of this article.]
33. The statue of Napirasu was described by G. Lampre, *MDP* VIII [1905], pp. 245-250. For an enlarged detail of the hands, see Parrot, *Sumer*, p. 323, Fig. 399.
34. The head of an Elamite was published as Pre-Achaemenid in *Survey* IV, Pls. 105, 106. I. M. Diakonov was the first to recognize that the head belonged to the early art of Iran; see 'On an Ancient Oriental Sculpture' [English summary of an article in Russian], *Musée de l'Ermitage, trav. du département oriental* IV [Leningrad, 1947] [Gosudarstvennyi Ermitazh; Trudy Otdela Vostoka], pp. 117-118. Diakonov made a careful comparison of the stylization of the beard with those of other sculptures, mostly Mesopotamian, and pointed to the close relation which exists with the stylizations of the Akkad period. In view of the tendency of Iranian art to retain earlier traits over many centuries, I think that a date for the head after the Akkad period, in the middle of the second millennium B.C., is possible.
35. A rendering of the eyes with the lower lid rising perceptibly at the outer end, to create the impression of slightly oblique position, is also seen in the head of a bearded Elamite of clay from Susa, juxtaposed with a photograph of the bronze head by Parrot in *Sumer*, pp. 330, 331, Figs. 406 and 407.
36. The dedication of a golden statue of the king can be found among the names of years from the reigns of the Babylonian kings Ammidiatna [c. 1684-1647 B.C.] and Samsuditana [c. 1626-1595 B.C.]; See Unger, 'Daten-listen,' in *Ebeling-Meissner, Reallexikon der Assyriologie* II, p. 189: 245 [Ammiditana], and *JNES* XIV [1955], p. 156: XI/21 and perhaps XI/23 [Samauditana]. The formula which mentions a statue of gold and of silver [Unger, op. cit., p. 192:288] probably was due to an error on the part of one of the modern translators of the text; see J. J. Finkelstein in *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* XIII [1959], p. 47:k.
37. For the description of the Inshushinak deposit and of the deposit in the vicinity; the gold statuette and associated finds, see *MDP* VII [1905], pp. 61-130 and 131-136.
38. This statement is found in the article in *Vivre et Penser*, cited in note VI/31, p. 141.

39. The lion's head of the whetstone is not unlike that of the axe from Tchoga Zanbil [well reproduced in Godard, *L'art de l'Iran*, Fig. 14], despite the more rounded forms of the latter.

40. In an article entitled 'Archaische Zügelringe; zur Auflösung der Gattung "Luristanbronzen", 'to be published in the Festschrift for A. Moortgat, P. Calmeyer attempts to place all rein-rings of similar shape, including our Plate 13, in the third millennium B.C.' Without stratigraphic proof for a survival of earlier types into later periods, my argument for a later date cannot be pressed.

41. For the fragmentary figures of Napirasu, her mother and her consort in the upper register of the stele, see *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art I*, p. 270 C, also Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie*, Pl. 102c.

42. We find in the human-headed bulls of a bitumen vase from Susa, *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art I*, p. 255, A, a profile related to that of the demon on the stele of Untashgal. Again inhabitants of the mountain regions may have been in the mind of the artist who carved these creatures of primeval strength recumbent among the characteristic Elamite pine-trees growing on mountains.

43. We can do no more here than point to the possibility of the survival of early iconographical features in later literary concepts. Detailed comparisons, however, can be made only by scholars who have first-hand knowledge of the late literary texts .

44. The relief in the central panel was placed in the Guti period and the procession of figures was considered to have been made earlier by N. C. Debevoise in 'Rock Reliefs in Ancient Iran,' *JNES I* [1942], p. 78. Herzfeld placed the relief in the time of Gudea; see Iran, p. 188. Some indications, however, seem to point to a later date, for example, the hair style of the enthroned god, which seems to resemble that of warriors on a bronze relief of the late second millennium B.C.; see *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art I*, p. 275. Though the latter relief is not inscribed, it is nevertheless probably that it was set up by Shilhak Inshushinak about 1130 B.C. in the temple of Inshushinak at Susa; see R. Labat, 'Elam and Western Persia, c. 1200-1000 B.C.,' *CAH III/XXXII* [1964], p. 17. Vanden Berghe, who followed the dating of earlier writers in *Archéologie*, p. 58, states in *Iranica Antiqua III/1* [1963], p. 32 [note 3 continued from p. 31] that the central scene is much older than the procession of figures, which he tentatively dates in the eighth century B.C.

45. See the reference to the relief of 'Addahamiti-Inshushinak' in note V/11.

46. Naqia, the mother of Esharhaddon [680-669 B.C.], is represented with such a crown in Parrot, *Assyria*, p. 118, Fig. 133. The wife of Ashurbanipal, Ashusharrat, was shown with such a crown in the so-called Garden Scene reproduced by Frankfort, *Art and Architecture*, Pl. 114, and on her stele; for the latter, see Andrae, *Die Stelenreihen in Assur* [WVDOG 24, 1913], p. 7, Fig. 3 and Pl. X, stele I.

47. We differentiate here between faience, a composite material consisting of a body or core 'of finely powdered quartz grains cemented together by fusion with small amounts of an alkali or lime or both,' and earthenware in which the body contains clay. Both are glazed but earthenware objects have to have a sliceous covering to which the glaze can adhere. The quotation about the composition of faience was taken from J. F. S. Stone and L. C. Thomas, 'The Use and Distribution of Faience in the Ancient East and Prehistoric Europe,' *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society N.S. XXII* [1956], pp. 37-84, especially p. 38.

48. Especially interesting are the doors, found at Tchoga Zanbil, which were decorated with glass rods; see Ghirshman, *Arts asiatiques III* [1956], p. 169, Fig. 8. De Mecquenem found one hundred kilos of such rods without recognizing how they had been used; see *MDP XXIII* [1953], Pl. B:1 and pp. 52-53, Fig. 20:1,2.

49. For the sculptures from Nuzi, see R. F. S. Starr, *Nuzi* [Cambridge, 1937], Pls. 110: A and 111; for an analysis of the glaze, see *ibid.*, pp. 523-525. For the bull from Tchoga Zanbil, see note 28 above.

50. The earliest glazed bricks dated with any certainty are the orthostates of Tukulti Ninurta II [890-884 B.C.]; see W. Andrae, *Coloured Ceramics from Ashur* [Berlin, 1925], Pls. 7, 8.

51. It will be interesting to see whether this colour was produced by copper compounds as in Egypt or by cobalt, which was available in Persia; see A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 4th ed. revised by Y. R. Harris [London, 1962], p. 189.

52. To the same time, the reign of Kutir-Nahhunte after 1160 B.C., belong the brick reliefs, conveniently reproduced by Parrot, *Sumer*, p. 329, Fig. 405.

53. The fragment of the horned animal, Fig. 44, which I believe to come from a late tile, is shown in the reproduction [*MDP I* [1900], Pl. VI, upper left] with a strong yellow colour like Plate 14 below, which I consider an earlier tile.

54. Ivory boxes which resemble the Elamite faience jars in shape are represented among the Nimrud ivories; see R. D. Barnett, a *Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories* [British Museum, London, 1957], Pls. XVI-XXIV. The small ivory head with the diadem of rosettes and double lotus-blossoms was published in *ILN* [Aug. 16, 1952], p. 255, Figs. 8, 9. It is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 54.117.8. Perhaps the rosettes and the lotus-petals placed above and below a double band are derived from Hittite hieroglyphs with an auspicious meaning. This would help to explain the frequent occurrence and longevity of the motif, especially its use on the crown of Darius at Bisutun, Fig. 85.

55. An undecorated situla was found at Hasanlu in a context of the ninth century B.C. Perhaps this means that the situlae decorated with repoussé were later. Mme. Maliki, who published the finest situla so far known, gave numerous reasons for dating the piece in the twelfth to tenth centuries B.C. and proposed to see in the situlae a group of objects from Luristan which extends over several centuries; see 'Situle à scène de banquet,' *Iranica Antiqua I* [1961], pp. 21-41. I am inclined to call the situla Elamite and to date it in the ninth or eighth century B.C. on the basis of the hair style of the principal male figure, which differs from that of King Marduknadinahhe cited by Mme. Maliki. Moreover, I do not know of another example of the empty honeycomb pattern of the figure's robe, which should be dated before the first millennium B.C.

56. The point that bronze shields were 'for ritual and show,' leather for use, was demonstrated by J. M. Coles in *ILN* [March 2, 1963], pp. 299-301.

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THE ART OF ANCIENT IRAN; PRE-ISLAMIC CULTURE THE BRONZES OF LURISTAN

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About ten years ago it was still unsafe for tourists to venture into the mountainous region of Luristan, which derives its name from the Lurs, a tribal people who practiced a little agriculture, raised horses and some cattle, and indulged from time to time in brigandry. Today one of the most scenic routes of the Near East leads from Susa to Khorramshahr and BurĀdjird or Harsin to Kermanshah. At the entrance into the valley of the Kherka river, called Simarreh in Luristan, the mountains rise like fortresses to protect this still remote region. The houses of the villagers, built of mud brick, have a striking feature: horns of an ibex, with the head partly modeled in clay over the bones of the cranium, are placed on the edge of the roof, usually above an entrance, perhaps to protect the dwelling. [1] This may reflect very ancient customs, though proof is lacking at present. The further one progresses toward the north of Luristan, the greener are the pastures in the valleys. This is good horse-breeding country, and we may assume that Kassites, Elamites and others obtained many of their horses from this region. Perhaps there was a connection between the breeding of horses and the mercenary military service engaged in by men of Luristan, by which some historians explain the presence in Luristan graves of daggers inscribed with the names of Babylonian kings of the twelfth and eleventh centuries B.C. [2] By some means the inhabitants of Luristan must have accumulated great wealth; it manifested itself in hundreds if not thousands of bronze objects taken illicitly from graves and perhaps also from sanctuaries in Luristan, such as the one excavated at Surkh Dum. [3] This excavation was carried out in 1937 but is still unpublished. A Danish expedition undertaken in 1963 discovered some tombs with bronzes and--it is hoped--will soon publish its important finds.

Because very little is known about the circumstances under which most of the Luristan bronzes in museums and private collections were discovered, the dating of this material and the identity of the people who produced it are still subjects of lively controversy among scholars. The dates assigned to the bronzes vary from 1500 to 700 B.C.; some scholars would even include the span of the seventh century B.C. in the time during which bronzes were produced in Luristan. Among the people who were supposed to have created the bronzes are the Kassites of the sixteenth to twelfth century B.C. and the Cimmerians of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. The great differences in the dates are due in part to the fact that the bronzes are often considered to have been produced within a relatively short time. In the present book, however, an effort is made to distribute them over a longer period. [4] This approach may also help to bring the problem of the originators of the bronzes a little closer to a solution.

A few indications for classifying the groups of finds from Luristan are given by the seal types which are seen together with Luristan bronzes in dealers' shops and in collections. There were seal-rings and stamp seals of bronze, the latter often in the shape of very simplified birds; a few stamp seals were made of stone; and cylinder seals were made of stone, faience and bronze.

Two types of seal-rings are typical of Luristan; I have called them sheet-rings and lobed rings after the most salient feature of their shape. The sheet-rings are made of an engraved sheet of bronze, wider in front than at the back where the narrow ends are bent together. The lobed rings have the hoop greatly enlarged in front, forming an upper and a lower lobe which diminish in sharp curves. [p. 75] toward the back. These lobed rings were cast, and the design was subsequently engraved--often merely scratched--on the front of the ring.

The sheet-ring reproduced here shows in the centre of the design a tree with a crown composed of the pointed serrated oval forms seen in an Elamite cylinder [Fig. 32]; in the ring the tree is flanked by two bulls. The close resemblance to the Elamite design precludes a much later date for the ring. Moreover, a closely related design of a tree flanked by two confronted walking bulls is found in the design of the king's crown on a Babylonian boundary-stone dated about 1100 B.C. [5] In the Babylonian example, however, the bulls do not have the same distinctive outline of neck and horn as in the seal-ring and also in an Elamite tile, where the neck rises sharply at first and then bends, almost at a right angle, to continue in a horizontal direction to the end of the horn. The Babylonian bulls also lack the strongly arched breast and the long body on thin graceful legs of the bulls on the Elamite tile and the sheet-ring from Luristan. To these principal features one might still add a number of minor ones to prove the origin of this and related sheet rings in Iran.

No gradual transition can as yet be discerned from the sheet-rings to the lobed rings. The example chosen here shows a winged demon who stands on horned animals. His frontally rendered head and raised hands with spread fingers create an arresting impression. At the same time the rendering of the feet, placed on the hindquarters of two recumbent horned animals, lacks definition. The linear execution of the design and the slightly unbalanced posture of the demon differentiate the rendering of the lobed ring from an Elamite tile which, though fragmentary, also shows a demon standing on two adorsed animals or rather griffins. I think that the differences between the design of seal-ring and tile are not only those of medium, locality and craftsmanship, but also of style, which in [p. 76] turn would express a difference in time. The rendering of the birds' wings in the seal-ring, for example, reminds one of the skeleton of a bird, an impression which is more in keeping with the lean bull of the Elamite tile tentatively dated in the tenth to ninth century B.C. than with the fat griffin solidly lying on the ground-line in the earlier Elamite tile, here dated equally tentatively in the twelfth to eleventh century B.C.

The two-seal-rings shown here seem to represent two different phases in the art of Luristan: the first one, of the twelfth and eleventh centuries B. C., under strong Babylonian influence; the second, dated to the tenth and ninth centuries B.C., based on Elamite prototypes but showing distinctive characteristics in the expressiveness of the often very simplified and linear representations.

The cylinder seal from Luristan reproduced here also recalls earlier Elamite forms in a general way, although it is difficult to cite exact parallels. The enthroned deity with a horned mitre makes one think of an early Middle Elamite cylinder; however, the mitre in the cylinder from Luristan is differently shaped, and the deity has saber-shaped wings, to cite only the most obvious difference. The goblin squatting before the deity may have been taken over from such renderings, as seen in an Elamite cylinder; this little figure appears in several Elamite examples and was also occasionally represented by the bronze-workers of Luristan. [6]

The animal behind the throne on the cylinder from Luristan is a feline creature, to judge by its claws, perhaps intended to represent a lion, but of a supernatural variety since he has a horned mitre. The rendering of this animal in particular conveys an impression of thin, linear and pointed forms. These are criteria of style here assumed to point to a date in the tenth or ninth century B.C. The fringes on the throne of the deity, which occur in related manner on Assyrian cylinder seals approximately dated in the ninth century B.C. and probably earlier, [7] tend to confirm this date.

The date of the cylinder seal thus appears to correspond with that of the lobed rings, although the style of the latter differs from the cylinders in that it does not represent a well-defined stylistic group in which one or more artists had worked out certain conventions, such as the rendering of the claws or the mitres that are found on more than one cylinder seal. The bronze rings, on the contrary, differ from each other and seem to have been scratched almost accidentally and singly rather than by practiced craftsmen. Yet renderings like the demon of Figure 48 are important because they reflect, however crudely, the themes current at that time in Luristan.

A square plaque, probably an amulet rather than a seal-stone, belonging to a [p. 78] distinctive type said to have been found in Luristan, shows on one side a gazelle, on the other a crouching lion whose claws might be called simplified versions of those of the feline monster in Figure 49. The lion of the plaque, however, has more rounded forms than the figures in the cylinder. This is in part due to the drill which was employed to make the major hollows for the animal bodies in the plaque and also for the details in the head, as well as for rings, each with a dot in the centre, which fill the field. The use of the drill, which can also be noted in Assyria and Babylonia on cylinder and stamp seals from the ninth to the sixth century B.C., suggests that taste turned to rounded, fuller forms than those common in Luristan at the slightly earlier time to which I assigned the cylinder [Figure 49]. Moreover, the lion of the plaque with its strongly arched and powerful neck seems to prefigure representations of lions made in the Achaemenid period. [8] [p. 79]

In addition to the seals here discussed, which seem to be typical of Luristan and have not been found elsewhere, other seal types also occur in this area. Some are faience cylinders engraved with human figures, often shown with a tree in a very simplified globular style referred to as Mitannian or Hurrian.

The style can be dated in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C. because so many seal impressions of this style were found on tablets at Nuzi in northern Mesopotamia and at Ashur. Cylinders of this type obviously could be manufactured in large numbers and therefore probably sold cheaply. Moreover, they may have been sought after because of the prestige enjoyed by the Mitannian empire at that time. [9] The same situation prevailed with respect to the Assyrian faience cylinders of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. Again the prestige of a great power, this time Assyria, could have been coupled with the relative cheapness of such cylinders to cause their wide distribution.

These two groups of cylinders may mark the periods of most active exchange between Luristan and northern Mesopotamia. The fact that the majority of the bronzes of Luristan do not show Assyrian influence may indicate that they were made when there was less communication between the two regions.

At first the many types and styles among the Luristan bronzes confuse the viewer. Only gradually can one succeed in assembling distinctive classes of objects and in postulating stylistic connections and sequences. A large number of the bronzes are cast. They comprise weapons such as axes, daggers and the so-called halberds, which were named for their superficial resemblance to medieval halberds; there were also picks and mace-heads. The bronze jewelry [p. 80] includes rings for all the joints of the human body from finger-rings to anklets. There were also pins with all sorts of heads, shaped like animals, birds or plants, and there were pendants of various types. Another large group of Luristan bronzes consist of parts of horses' gear, of which only the bits and cheek-pieces can easily be identified, whereas the use of other objects remains unknown. The best-known Luristan bronzes are the so-called standards, consisting of a pair of ibexes or a pair of feline animals, panthers or lions, or of a demonic figure with support and held in place by a thin tube or a pin.

Another group of Luristan bronzes consists of objects worked in repoussé and chased. Disk-headed pins, plaques for belts and quivers, and vessels of various shapes belong to this group. [p. 81]

A few of the bronzes from Luristan can be fitted into the phases worked out above for the seals: an early phase under strong Kassite and Mitannian influence, a second phase in which an expressive style was formed on the basis of Elamite prototypes [tentatively that phase may be dated in the tenth and ninth centuries B.C.], and a third phase [which may have lasted until the end of the seventh century B.C.] in which earlier forms were varied and enriched.

All the objects cannot be found in all phases. The only objects which one can certainly assign to the earliest phase are daggers and axes which have inscriptions naming Babylonian kings of the twelfth and eleventh centuries B.C. [10] The reason why these inscribed daggers were found in Luristan is subject of debate among scholars. While it is undeniable that certain ones were dedicated to deities, and were presumably deposited in sanctuaries, others could have been used to compensate deserving leaders of auxiliaries. Another interpretation sees in the weapons loot from Babylonian and Elamite temples. [11] At any rate, both daggers and axes served as examples for later, somewhat more exaggerated forms produced in Luristan. [p. 82]

The bowl in Plate 18 is said to have been found with two such daggers in a cave near Kermanshah. Its decoration of a tree flanked by two walking bulls is closely linked with that of the seal-ring discussed above. Both differ from Babylonian renderings of the theme, which have neither the typical curve of the neck nor the strongly arched breast. Moreover, the raised foreleg of each of the bulls deprives their stance of the solidity which a Babylonian artist would have sought for his figures. In Iran, on the other hand, the natural relation to the groundline is often disregarded. A good example is the goat and man on the admittedly far earlier vase from Susa D.

The majority of the bronzes appears to belong to the second and third phases, which are as yet difficult to differentiate. Only a few types of bronzes will be discussed here, and only very tentative suggestions can be made for their classification.

Among the cast bronzes the standards show the greatest variety in style and form. Possibly the simply and naturalistically modelled standards with two small ibexes are the earliest. Standards in which the bodies of the ibexes are more elongated and subjected to an abstract principle of decoration are here taken to be of later date. In these standards the curvature of the horns is answered by a curvature of the neck which continues in lesser curves throughout the body. Such a tendency toward more abstract and attenuated forms was observed in cylinder seals from Luristan dated approximately in the tenth or ninth century B.C. In the standards with feline creatures no such development from a more naturalistic to an abstract type can be observed; instead, the felines immediately appear with long, decoratively curved necks. These long-necked feline creatures remind one of the demon of an Elamite cylinder seal from Tchoga Zanbil, which is probably later than the bulk of the seals from that site and may be contemporary with the bronzes.

The bronzes were probably first formed in wax and later cast in bronze by the lost-wax process. The heads of the feline animals seem to have been formed of coils of wax, which were made to surround the eyes and the jaws. It seems likely that the most carefully formed were the earliest, whereas those made with 'labour-saving devices' became less clearly differentiated in form and probably belong to a later period. [p. 84]

Composite standards in which a demonic figure with human head and torso is combined with animal forms may be later than the simpler feline and ibex standards, though the strong geometric tendency in the composition of these standards corresponds to the style here thought to characterize the art of the beginning of the first millennium. There have been rumours that such standards were found together with pottery of the second millennium B.C. [12] Before positive evidence is produced by controlled excavations, however, we can do no more here than draw the reader's attention to the extraordinarily powerful impact produced by these standards. In the standard shown here a demonic figure grasps by the throat monsters which have yawning jaws or beaks and cocks' combs and may represent griffins. A pair of similar heads with closed beaks clearly recognizable as griffin heads appears on a lower level of the standard. The lower part of the demonic figure is formed by the hips and legs of an animal, and human feet, with the toes as if seen from above, form the whiskers of a demonic face. Two other faces with staring eyes appear above. The eyes and the combination of monstrous and human forms were surely thought to be a powerful means of averting the approach of evil demons. The specific significance of this and other composite demons in Luristan bronzes, however, may never be known.

Some suggestion for the way in which standards could have been set up can be made merely for the ibex standards. A tube is frequently pushed through the ring against which the ibexes lean with their forefeet; in some cases it has become permanently attached to the standard by corrosion. [13] The tube could have held a flower or slender branch, or perhaps a pin with a head in the form of a fruit such as a pomegranate. [14] With such a vegetal element between them, the ibexes would have been a three-dimensional version of the venerable motif of goats with a tree. The same motif is shown in a rein-ring here taken to be Elamite. If this assumption can be maintained, [15] it seems possible that the ibex standards go back to Elamite prototypes.

The representation of ibexes with a tree, which is also found on a cylinder seal excavated in Luristan, [16] recalls the fact that horned animals and a tree are associated with a mother goddess in the Haramosh valley. Perhaps similar concepts were current in Luristan, although ibex and moufflon are indigenous animals and would naturally appear in any iconography of the region.

Whether the two feline animals with a tree seen in the pin-head reproduced here indicate that the feline standards should be reconstructed in the same way as the ibex standards, and whether they belong to the same cycle of ideas remains unknown.

Other bronzes have motifs derived from nature and the life of animals, perhaps without any deeper meaning. Such is the pin of the type here reproduced as Figure 56. A feline animal, lion or panther, or a dog pursues an ibex and a moufflon rendered by a play of curves which is not only visually pleasing but also expresses the desperate and doomed flight of the horned animals as they escape their pursuer.

Comparison with the placid rendering of a related motif, a lion pursuing a goat, in the ancillary scene of an Elamite cylinder shows up the singularly expressive powers and aesthetic qualities of some of the Luristan bronzes. If we are right in dating late those feline heads which are rendered in a very simplified manner, the pin should be dated about 800 B.C.

Curious square or round finials, here called wands [a term coined by Erich [p. 86] Schmidt], [17] constitute a group which I should like to place relatively early in the Luristan sequence because of the carefully coiled feline heads and the painstaking hatching of the framing device. It is interesting to note how ably the artist linked the figure of the moufflon demon in the centre with those of the feline creatures at his sides, occasionally using rosettes to fill the interval between figure and frame.

The figure of the demon with moufflon horns shows how long this demon survived in the regions of south-western Iran. We found the demon first on a prehistoric stamp seal, then again on the stele of Untashgal from Susa; now it appears on Luristan bronzes. This shows how much of the ancient Iranian heritage was preserved in the Bronzes of Luristan.

One of the most attractive groups of bronzes from Luristan comprises the cheekpieces, usually a pair of animals or monsters joined by a rigid bronze bar. Ghirshman made the interesting observation that none of these bars, of which he examined several dozen, showed the slightest sign of usage. The peasants who dig up these cheek-pieces call them 'under the head'. Ghirshman suggested that, by placing such a bit under the head of the deceased, one created the illusion that he would make his last journey on horseback or in a chariot [even though he might not have been one of the privileged group of charioteers or horsemen during his life]. [18]

It will surely be possible one day to differentiate between earlier and later cheek-pieces, but at present such divisions cannot be supported by results from stratified finds. In some of the cheek-pieces, such as those reproduced in Plate 20, an ancient artistic device of Iranian art is employed in turning the animals' heads at right angles to the axis of the body and modelling them three-dimensionally [see the comments below on this device in connection with some of the gold vessels from Marlik, p. 91]. Yet there is no reason to assume that these cheek-pieces are earlier than those in which the head is shown on the same axis as the rest of the body, as in the piece reproduced in Plate 21 above.

The stylistic differences between the two pairs of cheek-pieces reproduced in Plate 20 are striking. In the lower pair the bodies are quite flat and merely show a linear patterning of the surface, and the heads are worked in the round without much differentiation of the planes. In the upper pair a greater amount of modelling has resulted in more rounded forms. Probably such differences indicate that these cheek-pieces were made in different work shops situated in different localities rather than that there was a difference in time between objects of such similar type. [p. 87]

The rounded modeling of the upper pair seems to be related to the cheekpieces in the form of a horse, which may be dated in turn by comparison with an Assyrian relief traditionally assigned to Sennacherib [794-681 B.C.]. [19] This relief gives us at least a general indication as to the date of the cheek-pieces from Luristan, though it may mark the end of the series.

The few examples of Luristan bronzes of cast type shown here may suffice to give an idea of the fascination of these objects and of the tantalizing problems involved in probing into their date and meaning.

The work in repoussé from Luristan is perhaps even more arresting and even more difficult to place in time. We reproduce here a drawing of the lowest panel of a quiver plaque found at Surkh Dum. The motif of two bulls flanking a tree needs little comment since we have encountered it so often. In contrast to the relatively naturalistic rendering of the motif in a seal-ring, Figure 47, and a bowl, Plate 18, however, the bulls are rendered here in a more patternized manner. Their bodies are outlined by jeweled bands,[20] and more such bands seem to be wound around parts of the body, especially around the legs. The bodies therefore seem to be divided up in a rather unnatural manner. The effect obtained is not unlike that of the fragment of an Elamite tile in Figure 44. In the postures of the figures, especially in the arched neck, a relationship may also be felt with the elegant decorative style of

Marlik discussed below [p. 94]. The design on the panel of the quiver from Surkh Dum, which seems a little even with the tile fragment from Susa, may be somewhat later than both these works, so that a date at the beginning of the first millennium may be suggested for the panel and naturally also for the quiver as a whole. This would put the object from Luristan at a time when we have postulated a general tendency for a geometric abstract style in seals and bronzes.

Some slight support for such a dating on stylistic grounds is provided by the pattern of multiple parallel lines in changing directions which marks one of the horizontal ridges dividing off the panels in the quiver plaque from Surkh Dum. The same pattern is found on the horizontal ridges which divide the registers in the beaker from Hasanlu, Plate 28, an object dated with some assurance in the ninth century B.C. [p. 88]

A fragmentary piece of repoussé work from Luristan, which may have come from a pin, shows in the rendering of a frontal positioned female figure, with what are probably her servants, a style which is related to that of the quiver from Surkh Dum, though it is here perhaps a little more exaggerated. The female figure probably represents a goddess between two trees with branches like those of a palm-tree and stems which have jeweled bands at more or less regular intervals. The servants of the deity, perhaps priests, seem to hold horned animals, of which only one is preserved. One may think again of the complex of goddess, horned animals and tree repeatedly recalled throughout this chapter. Beside the goddess there is a small goblin, probably the same creature also found on Elamite cylinders, on a cylinder from Luristan, and on another Luristan bronze.[21] On the other side of the goddess there is a rosette which fill the space but which may also have a specific meaning. The goddess herself wears gigantic disk-headed pins, the points of which project over her shoulders. This way of wearing pins is known from renderings on Greek vases, though there the pins are of normal size.[22]

The large goddess with her mask-like face, the priests or servants with their bushy hair, straggly beards, and curiously long noses with bulbous tip, wearing long, fringed garments with jeweled bands, seem to derive from a world so different from ours that its thoughts and aims may remain forever unknown to us. While there will probably always be some discussion concerning the identity of the people whose lively imagination, fine craftsmanship and interesting artistic sense were responsible for the production of the Luristan bronzes, we may not be far wrong in suggesting that craftsmanship in the Near East was usually handed down from generation to generation and that the craftsmen who worked for the political masters of Luristan [no matter who they were at a given period] --and who may have even tried to please their rulers' taste--were nevertheless people who continued an old and local tradition with motifs and techniques preserved over many centuries in what may have been to some extent one of the refuge areas of Iran.[23] [p. 89]

NOTES

1. H. Field noted that this procedure was 'practised by Yezidis and Kurds in northern Iraq and by villagers between Isfahan and Shiraz in Iran'; see *Antiquity* X [1936], p. 223.
2. The daggers with inscriptions were assembled by W. Nagel in 'Die Königsdolche der Zweiten Dydnastie von Isin,' *Archiv für Orientforschung* XIX [1959-1960], pp. 95-104. A new group of such daggers, augmented by inscribed axes and arrow-heads, was published by G. Dossin, 'Bronzes incrites du Luristan de la collection Foroughi,' *Iranica Antiqua* II/2 [1962], pp. 149-164. The theory that the daggers were given to mercenaries or auxiliaries in recognition for their services was taken up by me in my article 'Nomads and Luristan Bronzes,' *Dark Ages*, p. 111 ff.; see especially note 10 contributed by J. A. Brinkman. I reserve judgment on a dagger of Luristan type which has the name of Darius in Old Persian cuneiform signs inscribed on one side, but on the other side signs which do not make any sense; see R. Borger and H. R. Uhlemann, 'Ein neues achämenidisches Schwert,' *Bibliotheca Orientalis* XX [Jan.-March 1963], pp. 3-5.
3. The excavations of the sanctuary of Surkh Dum were described by E. F. Schmidt in 'The Second Holmes Expedition to Luristan,' *Bulletin of the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology* V [1938], pp. 205-216.

4. For a brief account of the principal viewpoints concerning the dates of the Luristan bronzes, see my introduction in 'Nomads and Luristan Bronzes' [cited in VI/2]. C. F. A. Schaeffer in *Stratigraphie*, pp. 477-495, assumes an even longer time span for the bronzes than I do; my principal disagreement with his theory, however, is that he places the entire output of bronzes before the Iron Age, that is, before 1200 B.C.
5. The bulls flanking a tree appear on the crown and on the robe of King Marduknadinahhe [c.1100 B.C.] on a boundary-stone dated on stylistic grounds in his reign; see L. W. King, *Babylonian Boundary-Stones* . . . [British Museum, London, 1912], Pl. LIV and text, P. 37.
6. An example of such a goblin can be seen in the votive pin in the booklet by Y. and A. Godard, *Bronzes du Luristan* [The Hague, n.d., approximately 1956], Pl. 8, cat. no. 150.
7. For Assyrian cylinder seals showing a throne decorated with a line of fringe, see Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, P I. XXXIV: h, or Corpus I, nos. 673-676.
8. A lion with a powerful arched neck can be seen on examples of Achaemenid cylinder seals of the late sixth or fifth centuries B.C., e.g., *Persepolis* II, Pl. 15, PT 6673, or Corpus I, nos. 824, 825.
9. For comment on the wide distribution of Mitannian seals of Common Style, see Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, p. 280.
10. For the documentation of these daggers, see the articles cited in note VI/2.
11. R. Ghirshmann, who ascribes the Luristan bronzes to the Cimmerians, is of the opinion that the inscribed objects from tombs in Luristan come from temples sacked by the Assyrian army, in which the Cimmerians formed a corps of mercenaries; see 'A propos des bronzes inscrits du Luristan,' *Iranica Antiqua* II/2 [1962], pp. 165-179, especially p. 175.
12. In the meantime an article on these finds, entitled 'Une Fouille en Luristan,' has been published by Yolande Maliki in *Iranica Antiqua* IV/1 [1964], pp. 1-35. More than anything else the article illustrates the tragedy of Iranian archaeology, in which the principal evidence for theories concerning the date of this important material comes from uncontrolled excavations.
13. In the collection of Dr. Arthur M. Sackler, made available to students at Columbia University in New York, there is an example of an ibex standard in which a tube has become fused by corrosion with the ring on which they rest their 'elbows'. Furthermore, a standard with felines reproduced by A. Moortgat, *Bronzageräts aus Luristan* [Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatische Abteilung, 1932], Taf. VI: 15 also shows a tube which seems to have been originally connected with the standard and not added later by dealers, as was often done with the more complicated elements of the composite standards.
14. For Western Asiatic pins with a head in the shape of a pomegranate, see P. Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins and their Connexions with Europe and Asia* [Oxford, 1956], p. 39.
15. See note VI/40.
16. The cylinder seal showing ibexes flanking a tree or bush, found at Surkh Dum, was published in *Dark Ages*, Pl. 1, Fig. 1.
17. The term 'wands' was used by E. F. Schmidt in his report on the Holmes expedition to Luristan [cited in note VI/3], p. 210.
18. For Ghirshman's ideas concerning horse bits and cheek-pieces, see *Iranica Antiqua* II/2 [1962], p. 168.

19. In the German and French editions of *Alt Iran*, I placed the relief in the time of Ashurbanipal but have now returned to labeling it Sennacherib.

20. The term jewelled line was used by Ellen Kohler in connection with ivories from Gordion and North Syria. I stress the derivation of the term because these jewelled bands or lines, whether found in Syria or Luristan, may have been a general fashion of the early first millennium B.C.

21. See note VI/6 for reference to a goblin on another Luristan bronze.

22. Women wearing pins with the points sticking up, rendered on Greek vases, were reproduced by Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins*, Figs. 333, 335.

23. For comment on the refuge areas of Iran, see Frye, *Heritage of Persia*, pp. 7-9; for comment on the Zagros mountains, see especially p. 9.

source:

<http://www.cais-soas.com/CAIS/Art/porada/porada-luristan.htm>

The Art of Ancient Iran; Pre-Islamic Culture Finds of The Late 2nd & Early 1st Millennium BCE at Sialk

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Finds of The Late Second and Early First Millennium B.C. at Sialk Near Kashan

Some time after the middle of the second millennium B.C. the old site of Tepe Sialk was settled by what seems to have been a new group of people. As at Marlik, the dead were buried in a cemetery, not in their houses as had been customary in the prehistoric levels at the site. Pottery, weapons, and jewelry of bronze were put in the graves, but very little precious metal. Perhaps the group buried at Sialk was less affluent than the nobles interred at Marlik; perhaps these graves at Sialk were made somewhat earlier, when less ostentation was practiced in every respect.

Two periods were distinguished in the late levels at Sialk: Periods A and B, which were also given the Roman numbers V and VI in the sequence of levels that begins with the first prehistoric settlement of Level I at Sialk. At a later time the constructions of Level V were virtually destroyed to make way for a citadel at the highest point of the settlement. [1] Therefore only graves remain of the earlier period, and these contain little more than a fine pottery of grey-black colour, more rarely red, and in a very few cases painted. The shapes are restrained; the variety of decorative techniques shows that much effort was expended on making this pottery as unobtrusively pleasing as it appears to us.

The cemetery of Level VI, on the other hand, yielded the striking jars with a long spout which have become a familiar feature in most exhibits of Western Asiatic art. These jars were made in grey or red monochrome pottery, or they were of brown or buff clay and painted with a red

colour which varied from pink to purple. The spouts frequently imitate by their shape and by the design painted upon them the neck and beak of the comb of a bird. Occasionally the head of an animal appears at the back of the spout [see the example in Chart II, lower left].

The geometric motifs employed in the decoration of this pottery are combined in such a way as to suggest some meaning. The pointed triangles, for example, are often arranged in a circle or semicircle and suggest rays, while small squares or lozenges seem to form large carpet-like strips or squares. So arranged, these apparently 'meaningful' geometric motifs differ from those of similar form used purely decoratively on the rare examples of painted pottery from the cemetery of Level V. Most characteristic of the pottery of Level VI, however, are the designs of animals, of which, in turn, the example with a bull in Chart II is the most distinctive. There the animal is rendered with lowered head and horn in the posture of attack, and so distinguished from the usual rendering of walking animals which carry their horned heads proudly upright. The posture of the heads and the decoratively curved necks seem to be derived from the elegant decorative bulls of the Marlik beaker with concave sides. Instead of the delicately stepping bulls of that beaker, however, which still maintain a tenuous relation with the ground-line, the ground-line is here disregarded as a base for the figure, [p. 105] since only the forefeet are set down upon it, while the hind legs float in the air. The resulting pose is awkward and insecure. A similarly uncertain pose caused by the same disregard for a common ground-line for all four feet of the animal can be observed in the jar in Plate 26.

Thus it seems that the insecure pose, originally derived from the very slight relation to the ground-line of the thin-limbed delicate creatures in the abstract decorative Marlik style, became a criterion of the more vigorous style of the early first millennium B.C. In other words the provincial painters of Sialk misinterpreted the delicate renderings of the earlier style-- which may have already reached them in later coarsened and adulterated renderings [2] --to mean that animals could be put in a field in various poses without having a solid ground-line on which to stand.

On the same vessel in Plate 26 a facon is painted below the handle. The bird's body is shown as if viewed from below, a type of rendering also found on the gold bowl from Hasanlu, on a handle attachment in the form of a bird from the same site, and also in the Old Elamite falcon from Susa. These examples show that this rendering of the bird of prey is a criterion of style which prevailed for many centuries in many regions of Iran.

Another link with other regions of Iran is provided by the small copper figurines of women in the same posture and with the same perforated ear-lobes as the large female figures from the Marlik tomb. The smaller size of the figures from Sialk may again be due to the lesser wealth of the people buried there. But it may also exemplify a development toward smaller figures for tombs in the centuries following the Marlik burials. [3]

These are all tentative suggestions, however, which remain to be substantiated by further discoveries. [p. 106]

NOTES:

1. In *Proto-Historic Western Iran*, pp. 72-76, Cuyler Young throws reasonable doubt on the origin of the 'grand massif' in period VI as postulated by Ghirshman, and makes it appear possible that the 'massif' was a Sasanian or Early Islamic construction. This would greatly modify Ghirshman's reconstruction of the first settlement of Indo-Europeans at Sialk [*Iran*, pp. 83 ff].

2. I have seen iron finger-rings in which the inspiration from the Marlik style of metal vessels was clearly recognizable but which showed considerable coarsening of that style. There may have been metal vessels, not yet known, which corresponded to the style of these finger-rings and could have in turn inspired the potters of Sialk.

3. Perhaps the numerous small bronze figurines from the 'Dailaman region' published by E. L. B. Terrace, 'Some Recent Finds from Northwest Persia,' *Syria* XXXIX [1962], pp. 212-224, belong to a later phase of the South Caspian culture, contemporary with Sialk B, as suggested by Terrace [*Ibid.*, pp. 214-215]. He would, however, include the entire 'culture' in this late period, which is unacceptable on the evidence presented in Chapter VII.

source:

<http://www.cais-soas.com/CAIS/Art/porada/porada-siyalk.htm>

The Art of Ancient Iran; Pre-Islamic Culture

The Finds of Hasanlu

The Art of the Manneans

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The excavations at [Hasanlu](#) in the Solduz valley of present-day province of West-Azerbaijan, in which the gold bowl was found, have thrown light on the prehistory of north-western Iran, especially in the late second and early first millennium B.C. The best known and richest period so far excavated, Period IV, is characterized by grey pottery, accompanied by black and red varieties. The black variety is very thin and brittle, burnished and fired in a reducing atmosphere; the cross-section of some of the sherds shows that the pottery was occasionally fired a second time in a reducing atmosphere to obtain the desired black metallic surface. The body of the vessel is sometimes fluted, quadroned or may be decorated with grooves. The handles are often raised higher than the vessel rim and have a tab for the thumb, like beer-mugs of modern times. This fine black pottery was used in the citadel as a kind of palace ware and was undoubtedly made in imitation of metal vessels. While it has been found in buildings, it has not to date been found in graves. The grey to grey-black pottery which has been found in graves of this period is much thicker than the black pottery and is of a less fine paste. An average grave in the cemetery area contains a combination of small bowls, a large storage jar and a long spouted jar for liquids. We show one of these spouted jars standing on the tripod on which it was found. The feet of the pottery tripod are in the shape of a bull's cloven hooves; in another example, they are formed like shoes with upturned toes. A spouted jar has been found in every excavated grave as well as in the living quarters. Obviously the jars served not only as funerary gifts but were also used for practical purposes; one can pour from them very well.

The period of grey pottery is preceded by an earlier stage of grey button-base pottery, Period V. Instead of spouted vessels, goblets like the one in Plate 27 [above right] were placed in the grave with the last drink for the deceased. They were accompanied by small storage jars and bowls and, as in the later graves, a quarter or two of goat or sheep. The light grey pottery of this period is related to that of central Iran both in its grey colouring and in its goblet shapes, which are similar to pottery from Sialk V, Giyan I and I Khurvin, a necropolis near Teheran. At the same time the shapes of associated painted buff-coloured pottery, also with tiny bases, connect the entire cultural layer of Period V at Hasanlu with levels in northern Mesopotamia which are dated about 1500-1200 B.C., the period during which the Hurrians were a dominant ethnic element. The painted vessels are, however, rare in Period V and appear to be a carry-over from the preceding level in which they are characteristic and the grey pottery is completely absent.



Fig. 1. Polychrome glazed tiles from Qalaichi, NW Iran (Click to enlarge)

These ceramic comparisons indicate approximately the dating of the levels at Hasanlu, which has now been given greater precision through radio-carbon measurements. The time of the button-base pottery of Period V is given by four samples which range in date from 1217 ± 122 B.C. For the period of the grey ware eight samples have been assayed, mainly using fragments of wooden beams and columns of poplar wood from the buildings. The dates obtained should determine, therefore, the time of the cutting of the wood and the construction of the buildings. These dates range in time from 1033 ± 51 B.C. to 950 ± 55 B.C. [p. 108] [P-424] with an average of 1001 ± 20 B.C. The beginning of the period should thus fall around 1000 B.C. Only two samples of material which may be considered contemporary with the destruction of the citadel have as yet been measured: one, a sample of grapes [hence the fire took place in August or September of the year], measured 912 ± 69 B.C. [P-577], and the other, a sample of charred wheat, 811 ± 69 B.C. [P-576]. More samples must be assayed, but the present evidence provides an average date of 862 ± 49 B.C. for the general time of the destruction--a date which is significantly different statistically from the date of the construction. [1] A date in the late ninth century is also supported by a comparison of the artifacts found in the burned buildings at Hasanlu and those discovered elsewhere.

The description of the pottery of these two periods provides an indication of historical conditions in the area to which Hasanlu belongs. There is a major break around 1200 B.C. with the end of the painted buff ware and the abrupt appearance of the button-base grey ware. There is no break in the development of the grey ware between the late second and early first millennium B.C., although new forms probably reflect new influences. The spouted jar, which is a large container, replaces the goblet of earlier times; moreover, the concept of a spouted jar appears to occur in Sialk V earlier than at Hasanlu and probably indicates influence from central Iran at the latter site. Non-ceramic finds at Hasanlu show that in the ninth century B.C. strong Assyrian influence was also felt.

Assyrian military reports and administrative documents of the ninth century indicate that the area from Lake Urmia and its vicinity in southern Azerbaijan to the mountains of Kurdistan was called Mannai. Tentatively, therefore, we have called Hasanlu IV, with its characteristic grey pottery dated to the tenth and ninth centuries B.C., 'Mannean', assuming at the same time that the Manneans of that period were partly descended from Hurrians or a relative people of the second millennium. Such an assumption is supported by the place-names and



Fig. 21. Hasanlu Pottery (Click to enlarge)

personal names of the Mannaeans recorded in the Assyrian and Urartian annals. At the same time we recognize the possibility that other ethnic elements such as the Indo-European also may have been included by this time within the Mannae area. In the north and north-west the Mannaeans were neighbours of the powerful Urartians, whose centre was situated on Lake Van about 800 B.C. To the west of the Mannaeans were the Assyrians, separated from them by the Zagros mountains. In the south-east the Medes began to occupy the plain of Hamadan and emerged in the seventh century as a third power bordering Mannai.

The Mannaeans are first mentioned in the reports of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III [858-824 B.C.], who made allies into the neighbouring countries in the east and west in order to secure his frontiers and to collect booty. At the time of the Urartian expansion under King Menua [810-781 B.C.] the Mannaeans are also mentioned in Urartian inscriptions. This is roughly the time of the destruction of the citadel of Period IV at Hasanlu.

Hasanlu, whose ancient name we do not know, was one of the small towns of the region, crowned by a high citadel. In the citadel, which was surrounded by a powerful fortification wall of mud brick set upon a stone foundation, were probably housed the religious centres of the town and the seat of the local lord or administrator. The scattered houses of the outer town, which were inhabited by craftsmen and probably also by merchants and farmers, and the cemetery [p. 110] which belonged to the town had no protection. In case of war the inhabitants fled to the citadel. The walls of the citadel were probably about nine metres high and were over three metres thick. Every thirty metres there was a fortification tower. Evenly spaced between the towers was a pair of piers which reinforced the mud-brick wall. This type of fortification wall is very similar to that of the Urartians. The main gate was on the western side of the citadel but has not yet been excavated. Within the fortification wall three major buildings have been unearthed: two in the south-western quarter and one in the north-west. The three buildings all share a common general plan consisting of an entry portico leading into a long, narrow reception room, behind which lies a columned hall. Either the portico or the reception room is flanked by a stairway leading to an upper floor. The columned hall is flanked by storage-rooms on both sides. These halls may be the prototypes of the later columned halls of the Achaemenid period. Only the column-bases remain. Each consists of a stone slab under a mud-plaster socle which preserves the original round shape of the wooden column. Charred fragments of the columns show that they were of poplar wood. The columned halls of all three buildings were roofed with poles, small pieces of timber, small wooden slats, mud plaster and probably reeds. In Buildings I and II a small rectangular area of paving with a sunken pithos drain suggests the possibility that there may have been an open area in the roof for purposes of light and ventilation. On the other hand these paved areas might also have been used for some ritual or more practical purpose. A bench ran along the walls, and in Building I there were three hearths.

Building I consisted of two wings, east and west, lying across an open court. Building I East has a portico leading to a large square room on the entrance wall of which a flat stone forms a platform. One is reminded here of similar raised daises in Assyrian throne-rooms and may assume that here, too, a reception room was intended. The entrances of the two wings of the building which face the court, as well as the entrances to Buildings II and III, are reminiscent in the position of the portico and the reception room lying behind it--both parallel to the facade--of the frontal section of northern Syrian places called *bit hilani* by the Assyrians. The joining of this architectural plan with the local columned hall is interesting. Building II is considered tentatively to be a temple. Such an identification is suggested by the stone platform set in the centre of the portico entrance, some of the small objects found in the building, and the tragic evidence of some forty skeletons, mostly very young women, who apparently were killed just inside the entrance to



Fig. 3. Polychrome glazed tiles from Qalaichi, National Museum of Iran
(Click to enlarge)

the columned hall in which they had sought refuge. In the storage-rooms, on either side of the columned hall in all three buildings, were large pottery containers and pottery funnels, probably for wine [crushed wine grapes have been identified among the plant remains], which is still made in this region.

Between Buildings I and II lies a two-room structure called the Bead House by the excavator because so many beads of white paste, carnelian and sea-shells were found in it. Many of the shells were brought back from the area of the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean and indicate trade with the south. Broken bone cosmetic containers decorated with patterns of incised circles and shattered tripod bowls of grey basalt were also found. Together with these objects was a tiny fragment of gold foil bearing the figure of a winged Assyrian genius. This motif points to a connection of this small building with the religious installations of Hasanlu. In a single-roomed structure nearby, called South House by the [p. 112] excavator, a hearth and a large number of small grey-brown pottery bowls with pointed bases were found. These vessels may also have had a ritual use.

The ground-floor rooms which have been discussed may not have been the most important at Hasanlu. On the second floor, over the rooms around the columned hall, indicated by the stairways, the volume of collapsed brickwork, a section of collapsed wall six metres in height, and the scatter of objects in the debris above burned ceiling beams and plaster, there may quite possibly have been the most important rooms, just as they are in modern buildings near the site. At any rate, an important second-floor room must have been in the southeast corner of Building I above a little refuse room, for it was into this area with its fill of broken shallow black bowls and sheep and goat bones that the three soldiers and the golden bowl discussed above had fallen. In a similar manner a mass of objects including a bronze stand with figured decoration and a silver and electrum beaker had fallen from above the doorway at the rear of the portico of the west wing of the building.

The silver beaker was wrapped inside and out in a piece of material which may be seen in the impression of the weave on the partially corroded surface. The simplest explanation is that this material was meant to protect the beaker from [p. 113] tarnishing by oxidization. Since leather fills this purpose better than cloth, an alternative suggestion might be that the bowl was in a bundle of loot being readied for removal from the building.

The shape of the beaker is reminiscent of the beaker with concave sides from Marlik, of vessels from Luristan, and also of tall beakers found in Georgian excavations. [2] The decoration of the beaker, however, is unique.

Four raised ridges divide the surface of the beaker into five cylindrical fields, of which the upper and the lower ones are the narrowest and have a decoration of triple palmettes. In place where the electrum overlay is well preserved, one can see that it was hatched in different directions; this hatching gives the impression of tightly wound silver thread. The wide field shows the victory scene following a battle. Below there is an animal contest and possibly a hunting scene. One field has been left empty. Most interesting is the victory scene. The charioteer looks in the direction of the horses he guides, while the archer, with drawn bow, probably the main figure of the scene, guards a disarmed figure walking behind the chariot, who in turn is followed by an armed soldier leading a riderless horse. A second armed soldier brings up the rear. A second enemy appears to lie between the chariot body and the wheel, imploringly raising one hand.

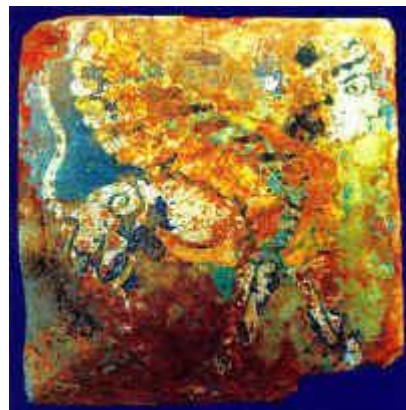


Fig. 4. Polychrome glazed tiles from Qalaichi, NW Iran (Click to enlarge)

The organization of the victory procession reflects the Assyrian style of rhythmically ordered strips illustrating battle scenes, especially as created by the artists of Ashurnasirpal II [883-859 B.C.]. [3] Several features of the chariot on the beaker can be paralleled in Ashurnasirpal's reliefs: the heavy body of the chariot to which crossed quivers are attached on the side, the form and proportion of the wheel, even the bird's head in which the chariot pole ends. The fact that the body of the chariot here rests directly upon the axle, not in front of it, may be due to the artist's quest for symmetry.

In the hunting reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II, the king is occasionally shown shooting backwards with bow and arrow—a remarkable physical feat in a rapidly moving chariot without springs. In battle reliefs the Assyrian king is never shown in this position, probably because such a representation offended the Assyrian sense of realism. There can be found parallels in the Assyrian reliefs for the enemy who raises a hand in supplication and also for one hanging over the chariot wheel, [4] but not for the prisoner walking calmly behind the chariot and represented in a more dignified manner than are similar captives in Assyrian reliefs. Whether this representation on the silver beaker is purposeful or accidental cannot be decided here. The detail is one of many which differentiate the beaker of Hasanlu from Assyrian prototypes. The most characteristic features of the figures of the Hasanlu beaker are the straight hair tied with a band or diadem [except for the charioteer who wears a pointed helmet] and the straight beard, in contrast to the curly hair and beard of the Assyrians. Further characteristics of the figures of the Hasanlu beaker are the low receding forehead, strongly accentuated noses, large circular eyes and the rich decoration of the clothes. The outlines of the animals are marked on the inside with a series of concentric arches similar to those which indicate some of the joints of the figures on the gold bowl. The rest of the animal body is here indicated by hatching in irregular strips. Despite its crude exaggeration the decoration of the animal bodies is reminiscent of that on the gold bowl. Moreover, one can note in both bowl and beaker a related intensity of expression. Although the beaker belongs to a period which is two hundred years later, and has incorporated Assyrian [p. 114] influence in theme and composition, the liveliness of the representation, which is the most attractive trait of this metal art, has been retained.

It is not impossible that we may be able to associate with the style of the beaker a group of objects of a different nature also found at Hasanlu: large iron garment pins which end in bronze lions. Their use was determined only through their association in groups of one to three with individual bodies in the columned hall of Building II. The fragmentary lion reproduced below in our Plate 29 was purchased during the first season of the excavation, but had certainly been found at Hasanlu. It shows the thin ruff and tufts of hair on the mane also found on the lion represented on the silver beaker from Hasanlu. One might even point to the fact that the bronze lion's legs and body are marked by patterns of hatched lines also used on animals of the beaker, though none have the same regular herring-bone pattern. The tendency toward geometrization noticeable in Iranian art of the tenth to ninth centuries B.C., as seen for example in some of the Elamite tiles assigned to the same period, and also in seals and bronzes of Luristan, again manifests itself here but in a different, local conditioned manner.



Closer connection between objects made and used at Hasanlu and the style of Elam in south-western Iran may be manifested in a glazed square wall-tile

which has the bearded head of a human-headed bull in place of a plain knob. Both parts of the tile were fashioned separately, and then joined together before glazing and firing. The head is separated from the tile by a ridge which forms a kind of collar. The head is hollow, allowing the piece to fit over a wooden peg driven into the wall. Once in this position, the tile was fastened by a much smaller peg driven through a hole in the side just below the ridge. The colours now visible in the head are red, blue-green and black, but of course they were modified by fire during the destruction of the town.

Fig. 5. Polychrome glazed tiles from Qalaichi, NW Iran (Click to enlarge)

This wall-tile represents a combination of the glazed wall-tiles of Assyrian palaces and their protective human-headed bulls, which were placed at the main entrances. [5] In none of the Assyrian palaces, however, has a similar combination of tile and plastically sculptured human-headed bull been found. One can only refer to a comparable tile found in the Ishtar Temple at Ashur, which bears a sculptured calf's head. [6] On the other hand the shape of the horns, the thick nose, the beard which is not too long, all relate to a terracotta head from Susa. [7] Since the use of glazed wall-tiles probably came into fashion at Susa, the head from Hasanlu may be traceable to Elamite influence. Other tiles from Hasanlu, however, which show stylized lotus and palmette designs and other Assyrianizing patterns, are surely imitations of Assyrian prototypes.

An object for which no foreign parallels can be cited is a knife-handle with gold cloisonné found in the excavation of Building II. The gold outlines describe a [p. 116] bearded man with shoulder-length hair and short-fringed kilt. His right hand is raised in a gesture of greeting or worship. From the wrist of the left hand, which is brought around the body, hangs a scarf or cloth. As on the prehistoric knife-handle from Tepe Sialk, a human figure seems to be represented in a posture of reverence. In both instances one may guess at the ritual use of the knife without being able to give any proof. Earlier cloisonné works are unknown in Iran, although the small falcon from Susa was produced in a related technique. The execution of the knife-handle of Hasanlu, however, is not careful enough to indicate a beginning of cloisonné technique. Rather, one would think that an already established technique was here applied cursorily and somewhat awkwardly. The Hasanlu knife-handle and later cloisonné work from Ziwiyeh [8] indicate the path which this technique took from its point of departure somewhere in Iran toward the north. From there it may have spread to the northeast, to reappear a few centuries later in more elegant form in the magnificent armlets of the Oxus Treasure. The reason for the rarity of cloisonné objects is surely their precious material. Originally this colourful technique must have been widely distributed in Iran and the neighbouring countries.

Some of the finest metal-work discovered at Hasanlu is preserved in the form of rhyta. The Greek word *rhyton* is derived from the running of liquid; it actually refers only to a vessel from which a thin stream of liquid issues. Usually the word is used, however, for drinking-vessels the lower part of which is formed by an animal head that often, but not always, has an opening between the lips from which the liquid can flow. The bronze vessel from Hasanlu in the form of a ram's head has no such opening and should therefore better be called a cup or situla in the form of a ram's head, like the closely related situlae from Gordion. [9] All these situlae have a separate cup to hold the liquid placed within the animal's head. In a second example, a bronze horse's-head rhyton, no cup has been preserved, nor is there a spout between the lips. Both vessels, like the earlier drinking-horns from which they descend, would have had to be carried by cup-bearers, since they have no base on which to stand.

In the situla representing a ram the eyes are inlaid with an opaque blue substance, as were the eyebrows, and probably also the nostrils. [10] Below the rim there is a silver band with a pattern in repoussé of gazelles and rosettes. The horns were originally covered with silver, as is shown by tiny pieces still preserved. These different materials would have created a fairly colourful impression, as suggested in the reconstruction in our plate.

In the horse rhyton no traces of another material have been found. This object may have been meant to impress by its noble, naturalistic outline rather than by any effects of contrasting colours. The indication of the mane by undulating strands of hair reminds one in more naturalistic form of horses on Urartian bronze *psalia* found in a grave at Altin Tepe near Erzincan. [11] The mane, which is combed onto the neck, and which forms a semicircle on the forehead, seems to be characteristic of Urartian horses as well as of the horse rhyton from Hasanlu. It is also visible on a somewhat later horse from the Urartian fortress Taishebaini at Karmir Blur in Russian Armenia. [12] The Urartian horse is much more stylized than the softer naturalistic horse rhyton of Hasanlu.

A lively representation of animals in relief, more precisely of one preserved animal in relief, is found on the fragment of a vase made from a composite blue substance identical with or very similar to the inlays on the ram's-head rhyton already described. The rampant goat seen on the fragment is one of a pair [p. 118] flanking a central palmette-tree. The second goat is represented only by a fore and a hind leg. A winged figure may be indicated by the border of a wing on the upper left edge of the fragment.



Fig. 6. (Click to enlarge)

Like all objects from Hasanlu, this one also has its own character, although connections with Assyrian representations are obvious. The closest similar motifs are found on the painted pottery from Ashur. In the Assyrian representations, however, natural trees which grow on mountains are clearly differentiated from palmette-trees, which seem to be artificial structures and do not issue from a mountain. Here, on the fragment from Hasanlu, the palmette-tree grows from a mountain which is indicated by the scale pattern below. Furthermore, the moufflons or ibexes of the Assyrian representations usually do not touch the tree; if they do so, they only place one leg on the tree. On the Hasanlu fragment, however, the animal places the three legs which are preserved upon the branches of the palmette-tree. In fact the branches almost seem to bend under the weight of the goat and remind one of goats eating the leaves of trees, as they may be observed doing today in Iran. It is instructive to compare the representation from Hasanlu with the repoussé gold plate from Ziwiye, where there is also an ibex next to a tree. The ibex from Ziwiye does not even touch the tree--indeed, does not seem connected with it--while this connection is made very clear on the Hasanlu fragment. Again one is struck by the liveliness of the expression in this and in the other works of Hasanlu discussed here. This liveliness seems to be a criterion of the style of this region during the end of the second and beginning of the first millennium B.C. Whether, as suggested by the find of a beaker from Marlik with similar lively, factual renderings of animals, the style extended considerably beyond Hasanlu, through northern Iran, is not yet certain.

The seals found at Hasanlu give a picture of the external connections of the town in the tenth and ninth centuries B.C. Most of them were made in Assyrian style, although probably only a few were actual imports. A distinctive and probably local style is represented by a tall cylinder [13] of the same blue composition already seen in the vase fragments and rhyton inlay. The slender animals with their uncertain postures in relation to the ground-line correspond to a general trend of seal representation in Iran in this period. Several stamp seals were brought from Palestine and Syria. A connection with these regions is also indicated by certain sea-shells and by the discovery of a ritual lion bowl of the blue material mentioned above, the base of which is in the shape of a hand. [14] This type of vessel is widely distributed in the West. The establishment of this contact with the West is very important, because it continued in the following centuries and is represented in the art of the Treasure of Ziwiye discussed in the next chapter. [p. 120]

Notes:

1. Carbon-14 dates for Hassanlu are published in E.K. Ralph, 'University of Pennsylvania Radiocarbon Dates III,' *American Journal of Science, Radiocarbon Supplement I* [1959], pp. 49-51 and R. Stuckenrath, 'University of Pennsylvania Radiocarbon Dates VI,' *Radiocarbon* 5 [1963], pp. 85-90. The published dates are given in the old half-life of 5568 ± 30 years, but have not been recalculated in the above statement for a half-life of 5730 ± 40 years, adopted by the Carbon-14 Conference of 1962 as the best present estimate. Only samples receiving equivalent laboratory processing have been used in the above presentation.
2. Two beakers said to come from Luristan show forms somewhat similar to that of the silver beaker from Hasanlu and also have raised ridges which divide the surface of the beaker into several horizontal bands. One is illustrated by G. Goossens, *Bronzen uit Loeristan* [Koninklijke Musea... Brussels, 1956], Pl. 17 [formerly in the Graeffe Collection]; the other is reproduced in *Survey IV*, Pl. 68 B [formerly in the Holmes Collection]. Tall beakers of somewhat similar shape were found in Beshtasheni in Georgia, of which representative examples were illustrated by Schaeffer in *Stratigraphie*, Fig. 285.
3. The characteristics of the Assyrian chariot from the time of Ashurnasirpal can be seen in the reliefs reproduced in R. D. Barnett, *Assyrian Reliefs*, Pls. 24-27. See also, the article by B. Hrouda, 'Der assyriache Streitwagen,' *Iraq* XXV [1963], Pl. XXIX: 3, 5, 6 and p. 156.
4. An example of an enemy with his hand raised in supplication, as if to ward off the arrow which has already pierced his breast, is seen in the relief of Ashurnasirpal, Barnett, *Assyrian Reliefs*, Pl. 24; an enemy hanging over a chariot wheel is seen in *ibid.*, Pl. 25-Both postures are combined in the rendering of the enemy on the chariot of the Hasanlu beaker.
5. For the glazed knobs and tiles of Assyrian palaces, see Andrae, *Coloured Ceramics*, Pls. 31-36. For the human-headed bulls and lions at the entrances to the main halls of the palace of Ashurnasirpal II, see A. H. Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh* [London, 1849], Pls. 3. For the human-headed bulls at the entrance to the throne room of Sargon II [721-705 B.C.], see Frankfort, *Art and Architecture*, pp. 76-77, Fig. 31.
6. W. Andrae, *Die jüngeren Ischtar = Tempel in Assur* [WVDOG 58, 1935], Pl. 37 b, text p. 93.
7. A glazed terracotta head of a human-headed bull or bull-man from Susa was published in *MDP* XXIX [1943], p. 64, Fig. 53:3. It seemed to correspond in size to the head from Hasanlu.
8. Godard, *Ziwiye*, p. 104, Fig. 90.
9. For a discussion of these situlae or cups, see R. S. Young, 'Bronzes from Gordion's Royal Tomb,' *Archaeology* II [Winter 1958], pp. 227-231.

10. The blue material used for inlays on the ram rhyton, which is at present being analyzed, appears to be similar in quality to the 'Egyptian blue' objects from Persepolis analyzed by F.R. Matson and published in *Persepolis II*, pp. 133-135. The blue colour in most of these man-made materials is formed from various copper compounds and not from lapis lazuli as is often stated in the absence of analytical data.

11. The Urartian psalia with horse heads from Altin Tepe are published by Tahsin Ozgüç, 'Excavations at Altintepe,' *Belleton XXV* [1961], p. 287, Figs. 16, 17.

12. The horse head from Karmir Blur was published by B. B. Piotrovskii in *Iskusstvo Urartu* [Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, 1962], Pls. XXVI-XXVII.

13. A drawing of the impression of this cylinder seal was published in *Archaeology* 13 [Summer 1960], p. 128.

14. For a discussion of the 'lion bowl from Hasanlu', see the article with that title by M. N. van Loon in *Expedition* 4 [Summer 1962], pp. 14-19.

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The Art of Ancient Iran; Pre-Islamic Culture The Art of Medes

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Iran under the Median Dynasty (728-550 BCE)

Iranian Medes and Persians appear in history in the latter part of the ninth century B.C. That is, their names are mentioned from that time onward in the military and administrative records of the Assyrian kings who campaigned in western Iran in order to safeguard the eastern frontiers of their empire and to keep open the roads on which trade and tribute brought horses, timber and metal from Iran to Assyria.

The penetration of western Iran by the Medes probably began much earlier, but the archaeological evidence on which the history of the region before written sources becomes available must be based is still incomplete. [1]

Coming from the east, the Medes probably moved along the ancient high road which passed from Tepe Damghan through Saveh to Hamadan and Kermanshah. In view of the later location of the capital of the Medes at Hamadan-Ecbatana, we may conclude that they soon settled in the wide and fertile plain of Hamadan. From there they seem to have extended to the north and west. In the time of Sargon II [721-705 B.C.] the Medes could be described as being located between the Mannaeans in the north and the Elamites in the south. [2]

The Persians, whom we must surely associate with the land Parsua referred to in Assyrian texts, present quite a problem because at different times Parsua is encountered in different localities. It was a loyal Assyrian province, probably located in what is today the Solduz region of Hasanlu, in the time of Sargon II. From the time of Sennacherib [704-681 B.C.] onward, a Parsua is mentioned in south-western Iran, north of Elam. Finally, in Achaemenid times, there was Parsa in the province which we call Fars today. The different locations of Parsua-Parsa have been thought to mark the progress of the Persians from north-western Iran to the south and further to the east. It has also been argued, however, that the three countries named Parsua may have been established at the same time by different groups of the same people. [3] Many facets of the problem of how and when Iran was transformed from a country dominated by so-called Asianic peoples--Hurrians, Mannaeans, perhaps also Elamites--into one ruled by Indo-Europeans, namely, Medes and Persians, thus still remains to be elucidated. In areas which were no longer effectively defended by Urartians, Mannaeans, Elamites or Assyrians, the Indo-Europeans probably established themselves by force and fairly rapidly. In regions in which the old ruling group still maintained its power, the newcomers probably sought employment ranging from agricultural work to military service. In the time of the Assyrian king Esharhaddon [680-669 B.C.] treaties concluded with the vassals of Iran, to assure the succession of Esharhaddon's son Asurbanipal, give some information concerning Median tribes and their leaders. [4]

The treaties that bound the Iranian princes to the Assyrian throne by oaths and curses were written on clay tablets and deposited at Nimrud, the ancient Calah. In the destruction of the palace of Calah by the Medes in 612 B.C. these tablets were hauled into the throne-room, where they were smashed and burned. This was surely a symbolic act, destroying the bonds which had tied the Medes to Assyria. The Victorious Median king was Cyaxares, who also took Nineveh together with Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon and possibly with the help of Scythian hordes. The twenty-eight-year rule of terror of the Scythians which Herodotus reported, during which the Urartian empire was eliminated, may [p. 137] have occurred only after the fall of Nineveh and may not have lasted the full length of the time reported by Herodotus. [5]

Only when the Medes were free of Scythian interference could they take over the Assyrian and Urartian heritage. At its greatest extension, of the Median empire dominated western Iran and reached from the former Urartian and Mannaeans areas in north-western Iran and northern Mesopotamia to Asia Minor, where the river Halys formed the frontier between Medes and Lydians. This great empire, however, was of short duration: Cyaxares' son Astyages was vanquished in 550 B.C. by his own grandson Cyrus, king of the Persians, in a battle as a result of which Media and Persia were united and the foreign possessions of Media came under Persian suzerainty.

As yet it is impossible to give a survey of Median art because no unquestionably Median site has been excavated and no inscribed work of Median art has been found. Claims to the contrary about works of art of the seventh century, like those of Ziwiye, [6] are very stimulating but remain to be proved. Nevertheless, Median art must be mentioned here because it surely played an important role as an intermediary between the different art styles of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. and the Persian style which prevailed during the dynasty of the Achaemenids in the late sixth and fifth centuries B.C.

A few rock-cut tombs situated in north-western Iran, in present-day Kurdistan and Azerbaijan, were considered Median by Herzfeld. None of these tombs, however, are dated with any certainty, and they may actually be of the Achaemenid period or even later. The most interesting of these tombs, called Qyzqapan, [7] located beyond the Iranian frontier in Iraqi Kurdistan, has a relief carved above the door which shows two men in Median costume. They stand on either side of a fire altar on which a flame seems to be rendered schematically by a semicircle.

The two men wear garments like those pictured as the apparel of Medes in the reliefs of the Achaemenid palaces at Persepolis: jacket, tight-fitting trousers, probably of leather, and a cap with shawl-like knotted ends. In addition, the figure at the left wears a coat, probably made of fur worn on the inside except for the revers; narrow empty sleeves hang down at the sides. Each man holds his bow with the left hand and sets it down on the tip of the forward foot. One is reminded here of the similar position of one of the figures on the gold bowl of Hasanlu. The position therefore suggests a tradition of what may have been ceremonial military poses from late second millennium Hasanlu to the Median tomb of the middle of the first millennium B.C. [p. 138]

The approximate date of the tomb just mentioned is suggested by its architectural decoration. Deeply hewn into the rock is a portico which has columns with capitals resembling the Ionic in the volutes at the sides. The shape of these capitals and their palmette decoration suggest a date after the sixth century B.C. rather than an earlier date. While the tomb was probably made for a Mede, its date would thus fall in the time of the Achaemenid dynasty. Similarly, the rock-cut tomb of Da-u-Dukhtar has large close-set volutes reminiscent of Greek fifth-century capitals [8] and thereby also suggests an Achaemenid rather than an earlier date. Perhaps the fashion of having a rockcut tomb, so common in Asia Minor toward the middle of the first millennium B.C., was introduced into Iran by King Darius I [522-486 B.C.], whom we may regard as a conscious innovator in matters pertaining to ritual and iconography [see below, p. 159]. The use of columns as such is already documented in Iran in the ninth century B.C. by finds of stone base-slabs for columns in Hasanlu. The wooden shafts and capitals of these columns, however, are not preserved. Syrian, Assyrian and Babylonian renderings of the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. show columns with volute capitals [9] according to which one may reconstruct those of the early Iranian columns also. Such a use of volute capitals would have prepared the way for the later acceptance in Iran of the Ionic capital. The latter would have seemed a refined and enriched development of earlier simpler types.

At what point in time and where the Achaemenid capitals of Pasargadae and Persepolis began to develop is unknown. Perhaps they had Median prototypes, but these remain to be discovered.

A very interesting feature in the decoration of column shafts at Persepolis leads us in another direction in our search for possible evidence of a Median style or Median styles which preceded the Achaemenid period. A type of column with a wooden core had a plaster covering upon which scroll and lozenge patterns were painted in red, blue and white. These patterns seem to run in a direction determined by oblique lines and are therefore basically different from the common patterns of the ancient Near East, which are axially symmetrical and therefore seem static. Even in the case of the twist or guilloche, well exemplified by the fragment from a vessel found in Hasanlu, the single scrolls have been adjusted to the circle so that again a static impression is conveyed by the pattern. Furthermore, the rhythm of

ancient Near Eastern patterns is usually just a simple, regularly proportional alignment of forms, such as the pattern of linked cones on the gold pectoral from Ziwiye, not a relatively complicated rhythm, such as that on the column shafts, where scrolls are paired and then separated by bars of a length which would have seemed impossible to a traditional Near Eastern artist. Such a 'free' treatment of patterns points outside the frontiers of Western Asiatic conventions and perhaps to the more dynamic and freer ornamentation of Central Asia. Relations between the decoration of the column [p. 139] shafts from Persepolis and of shafts of arrows found in the third kurgan at Pazyryk, in southern Siberia, have indeed been pointed out and ascribed to Scythian influence. [10] It is not inconceivable, however, that the Medes also had some connection with the art forms of Central Asia, and that they had a taste for dynamic patterns and little concern about the preservation of conventional Western Asiatic forms.

The richly decorated weapons carried by Median dignitaries in the reliefs of Persepolis point in the same direction. The example illustrated [Fig. 76] is the scabbard of the Median armour-bearer of Darius I [522-486 B.C.] in the reliefs of the Treasury. In turn this scabbard corresponds in its shape to one in the Oxus Treasure for which Median origin seems quite likely and to other which have been associated with it. [11]

In the scabbard of Darius' attendant monsters, animals and palmettes are grouped antithetically or are aligned in rows to form different ornaments. Two lion-griffins back to back, their heads turned backwards in a heraldic pose, called regardant, fill the escutcheon-shaped field which covers the quillons of the short sword in the scabbard. At right angles to the griffins a row of slender rampant goats, regardant, runs down the length of the scabbard, diminishing slightly in size toward the bottom, a feature unparalleled in truly Western Asiatic designs. The trefoil of the chape at the end of the scabbard is decorated with a linear ornament formed by a dog-like animal in a folded pose with naturalistically rendered head and palmette-shaped ear. Chapes with closely related designs but made of bone have been found in Syria. [12] Such animals in folded poses are characteristic of Scythian gold work from southern Russia. Another Scythian element in the scabbard is the spiral border which runs around most of the edge and which may be derived from the heads of birds of prey with prominent hooked beaks, the so-called beak-heads of the Scythian repertory. [13]

Just as the Medes probably handed down to the Persians the elements of Scythian art which they had absorbed or obtained independently through eastern connections, so they must also have been the middlemen for the continuation in Achaemenid art of other stylistic traditions which prevailed in Iran in Median times. A fine gold bowl in the Cincinnati Art Museum, for example, which Helene Kantor convincingly interpreted as showing Median workmanship, [14] is reminiscent both of features found in the Ziwiye Treasure and of later Achaemenid gold and silver vessels. Thus the pointed leaves of the palmettes on the gold bowl in Cincinnati resemble the palmettes of Ziwiye, while the double-headed ibexes of the Cincinnati bowl resemble in their posture those of ibexes on an Achaemenid silver vase reproduced below. For the severe stylization in the rendering of the animals of the Cincinnati bowl, whose hair on the neck and back is indicated by regular rounded ridges, no parallel has been found as yet in objects excavated at known sites. Doubts have therefore been voiced concerning the genuineness of this and related pieces. It seems quite possible, [p. 140] however, to see in such sharply delineated designs an expression of a Median style descended from the more rounded lines of Urartian designs. It would merely be one of several Median styles, since there were probably at least as many styles represented in the Median capital of Ecbatana-Hamadan as there had been at Ziwiye. Such styles would have corresponded to the varying traditions and craftsmanship of the goldsmiths and ivory-workers, and to the different tastes of their patrons. [p. 141]

NOTES:

1. In *Proto-Historic Western Iran* Cuyler Young has examined the ceramic evidence concerning the Medes, but weapons, tools and burial patterns, and perhaps architecture, remain to be sought out and studied in an equally methodical way.

2. These remarks about the location of Medes and Persians are summarized from Cuyler Young's relevant sections in *Proto-Historic Western Iran*, where he gives an interpretation of Assyrian topographical indications based on his thorough knowledge of the Geography of western Iran.
3. This last point is made by Cuyler Young, *Proto-Historic Western Iran*, pp. 203-204, whereas other historians of Iran have assumed a migration of the Persians [see most recently D. Stronach, *Iran I* [1963], p. 22].
4. *The treaties of Esharhaddon*, in which the names of Median, Persian and other Iranian vassals are mentioned, were published by D. J. Wiseman in *Irag XX* [1958], pp. 1-99.
5. This is the assumption of Cuyler Young, supported by Jettmar's suggestion that the twenty-eight years of Scythian terror merely referred to a period of activity as a warrior, an age group rather than a historical period; see the references given above in note X/5.
6. See Barnett, 'Median Art,' *Iranica Antiqua III* [1962], pp. 77-95.
7. The façade of Qyzqapan is reproduced in a drawing in *Irag I* [1934], p. 186, Fig. 2.
8. See J. Boardman, 'Chian and Early Ionic Architecture,' *The Antiquaries Journal XXXIX* [1959], p. 215 and note 2.
9. Examples of representation of columns with volute capitals in ancient Western Asiatic art were cited by Boardman, *op. cit.* in note XI/8, p. 214, and note 4.
10. The ornaments of the shafts of arrows from the third kurgan at Pazyrk are reproduced in S.I. Rudenko, *Kul'tura naselenia gornogo Altaia v Sifskoe vremia* [Adademia Nauk SSSR, Moscow, 1953], Pls. CXIX, CXX. K. Jettmar first drew attention to the relation between designs of the painted columns of Persepolis and the shafts of arrows from Pazyrk in 'Die Fürstengräber der Skythen im Altai,' *Die Umschau in Wissenschaft und Technik*, 61, Jabrgang, Heft 12 [1961], pp. 368-371.
11. For these 'Median' scabbards, see Barnett, 'Median Art,' *Iranica Antiqua III*, [1962], Pls. III, V.
12. The chapes were discussed by B. Goldman, 'Achaemenian Chapes,' *Ars Orientalis II* [1957], pp. 43-54; see also E. Porada in *Artibus Asiae XVIII* [1955], p. 218. Herzfeld, in *Iran* pp. 265-267, not only discussed the chapes but also the patterns running along the edges of the scabbards.
13. G. Borovka, *Scythian Art* [reprinted in 1960 by Paragon, New York, after the edition of 1928], pp. 40-43, gave what is stil the best characterization of the Scythiain stylization of birds of prey.
14. H. J. Kantor, 'Goldwork and Ornaments from Iran,' *Cincinnati Art Museum Bulletin VI/2* [1957], pp. 16-19, Figs. 10, 11.

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