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The Early Urartian Kings Ishpuini and Minua's Search for a Royal Architectural Idiom as Reflected in the Lower and Upper Anzaf Fortresses*

Aşağı Anzaf ve Yukarı Anzaf Kaleleri Örnekleri Işığında Erken Urartu Kralları Išpuini ve Minua'nın Krali Mimari Arayışları

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ABSTRACT

In the early 1st millennium BC, Urartians built a powerful kingdom centered at Van Fortress overlooking Tushpa and ruled over Eastern Anatolia, modern Armenia, and northwest Iran. Apart from the Madır Burcu inscriptions at Van Fortress, little is known about the founding king, Sarduri I (r. 840-830 BC). His son and successor, Ishpuini (r. 830-820 BC), is accredited as the founding king of the Urartian Kingdom, because recognizable Urartian traits emerged in the archaeological record during his reign. Ishpuini's religious, architectural, and military reforms were continued by his son, Minua (r. 810-780 BC), with Ishpuini's search for a royal building program in particular culminating in the emergence of a royal architectural idiom with clear rules and standards under Minua's reign. This study examines the differences in the topographical location and architectural elements of two excavated settlements at Anzaf that reflect the observable changes from the reign of the father to that of the son: the Lower Anzaf Fortress that is attributed to Ishpuini and the Upper Anzaf Fortress that was constructed by Minua, which lasted until the end of the kingdom similar to the royal architectural idiom created at this site.

Keywords: Išpuini, Minua, Urartian Architecture, Yukarı Anzaf Fortress, Aşağı Anzaf Fortresses

ÖZ

MÖ 1. binyılın başlarında Van Kalesi (Tuşpa) merkez olmak üzere Doğu Anadolu, Ermenistan, Kuzeybatı İran'ı içine alan bir coğrafyada güçlü bir krallık kuran Urartuların kurucu kralı I. Sarduri'den (MÖ 840-830 sonra gelen oğlu kral İşpuini (MÖ 830-820) Urartu'nun kendi özgünlüklerini yaratan asıl kurucu kral kabul edilir. İşpuini ile başlayan Urartu'nun din, mimari, askeri alandaki yenilikleri oğlu Minua döneminde (MÖ 810-780) tamamlanmış olmalıdır. Burada özellikle İşpuini ile krallığın erken döneminde krali bir mimari tarz arayışının Minua ile belli kuralları olan standart bir mimarinin oluşması ile sonuçlandığı görülür. Bu yazıda İşpuini ve Minua dönemlerine ait iki merkez arasındaki mimari farklar irdelenmektedir. Bu kapsamda İşpuini'ye atfedilen kazısı yapılmış Aşağı Anzaf Kalesi ile Minua'nın kurduğu ve krallığın sonuna kadar devam eden klasik bir Urartu Kalesi olan Yukarı Anzaf Kalesi arasındaki farklar mercek altına alınmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Işpuini, Minua, Urartu Mimarisi, Yukarı ve Aşağı Anzaf Kaleleri

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Introduction

The Urartians established a powerful kingdom centered at Van Fortress overlooking Tushpa and ruled over a vast region in Eastern Anatolia, Armenia, and northwest Iran between the 9th-7th centuries BC (Fig. 1). Very little is known about the founding king of the Urartian Kingdom, King Sarduri I (r. 840-830 BC). In fact, the only building in the Urartian landscape that is dateable to the period of Sarduri I is the rectangular structure at Madır Burcu located at the western tip of Van Fortress. This structure was built from travertine ashlar blocks, and its architectural style and functions remain under debate. During the subsequent reign of King Ishpuini (r. 830-820 BC), son of Sarduri I, buildings and architectural elements reflecting a unique style began to emerge in the Urartian territories (Salvini, 1995, pp. 38–39). King Ishpuini initiated reforms in the architectural, religious, and military spheres, and these gained more vitality and grandeur under the rule of his son, King Minua (r. 810-780 BC). This sociopolitical transformation was most vividly demonstrated by the emergence of an architectural idiom unique to the Urartu of this period. This study argues the architectural characteristics of the Lower and Upper Anzaf fortresses examined herein to reflect the search of the early Urartian kings Ishpuini and his son, Minua, for an architectural style for their royal building programs.

First investigated and published by Charles Burney (1957, pp. 38, 40, 44–45), the archaeological site of Anzaf consists of two fortresses known as the Lower Anzaf and Upper Anzaf Fortresses. The Lower Anzaf Fortress lies 11 km northeast of Van Fortress alongside the modern road and railway (Belli, 2000, p. 201; 2007a, p. 176), and the Upper Anzaf Fortress is situated 800 m south from the lower fortress. Systematic excavations at the Lower and Upper Anzaf fortresses were initiated in 1991 under the directorship of Oktay Belli and continued uninterruptedly until 2006.[1] The sixteen seasons of fieldwork unearthed the major buildings of both fortresses, thus providing well-documented evidence for the architectural elements of the two fortress sites near the capital of Tushpa at Van Fortress. That both fortresses were built in the formative period of the Urartian Kingdom is important, for scant evidence of that period has been found at other sites. Moreover, the two fortresses intriguingly bear many differences in terms of the topography of the locations chosen for their construction, building techniques, and building types.

Lower Anzaf Fortress

The Lower Anzaf fortress was built during the reign of King Ishpuini, as was learned from the building inscriptions unearthed illicitly by bulldozers in 1980 when road construction work was carried out around the fortress' South Gate (Belli, 2007, p. 200). Other inscribed

1 For annual reports of the results from the Anzaf excavations, see Belli, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1998b, 1999b, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004a, 2005, 2006, 2007b, 2008 as well as Belli & Ceylan, 2000, 2003; for an early overview of the findings in Turkish, see Belli, 1998a; for the overview in English, see Belli, 1999a.

blocks were found by chance in earlier years at the site and were first studied by P. Hulin (1960, pp. 205–207). Additionally, four other building inscriptions bearing the same text were also revealed by other systematic excavations at the fortress (Belli, 2007a, p. 176) and have been translated as follows (Salvini, 2008: CTU VI. A 2-6 A-C): "Through the protection of the god Haldi, Ishpuini, son of Sarduri, built this fortress to perfection, the strong king, great king, king of the Biaini Land" The north-south-orientated Lower Anzaf fortress is built atop a relatively flat limestone ridge. The fortress has a rectangular layout measuring 62x98 m and covering about 6,000 m² (Belli, 2003, pp. 1–2). Considering its location at the end point of the ancient roads that connected the Urartian capital to northwest Iran in the east and Transcaucasia further north, this fortress was built during the founding phase of the kingdom and must have played a significant role in defending the kingdom's core. Therefore, this lower fortress can be identified as a military outpost that had defended the Upper Anzaf Fortress, Toprakkale (Rusahinili), and the royal capital at Van Fortress (Tushpa) within the core area of the kingdom from assaults coming from the north and the east (Fig. 2).

The fortifications surrounding the site are built of large limestone blocks, and the width of the wall ranges between 3.60-3.80 m. Fortifications are well-preserved to a height of six to eight courses of stones. Each new course was laid slightly recessed from the lower course with an offset of about 6 cm to 10 cm, creating a sloping facade for the wall body. The faces of the stone blocks were roughly dressed, with a clay mortar being used as a binder for filling in the crevices at the articulations of the blocks. As the use of this curtained wall technique and the absence of bastions in the fortifications of Lower Anzaf Fortress demonstrate, this fortress was built before the other Urartian fortresses (i.e., Kalecik on the Van plain and Zıvıstan in Edremit) in the kingdom's center (Belli, 2003, p. 2).

The Lower Anzaf Fortress hosted a large settlement in the Middle Ages, which caused the architectural remains of the Urartian levels to be severely disturbed. The excavations have documented a finely constructed, 50-cm-high terrace wall running across the entire length of the site and joining the eastern and the western fortification walls, located about 24 m south of the northern fortifications (Belli, 2007a, p. 178). The northern part of this terrace was built as an open-air platform and constructed of large mudbricks covering an area of 1,300 m². The director of excavations has concluded this rectangular area to have been an inner courtyard associated with the large buildings to the north (Belli, 2007a, p. 178). Unfortunately, however, due to intensive construction in the Middle Ages in the northern portion of the fortress, the Urartian buildings in this area were severely disturbed. Masonry in the walls rises to about 80-100 cm, upon which the superstructure is built with mudbrick, as is typical in Urartian architecture.

The fortress gate (South Gate) is located on the southern fortification wall, where systematic excavations have been carried out (Belli, 2003, p. 3; 2007a, p. 179). In 1980

during the construction of a section of the Özalp-Saray-Iran highway, however, the gate structure, building remains to the west, and the remains of an ancient road leading up to the gate were all severely damaged. Although the southern walls of the gate structure could be traced to a depth of 2.5-3.0 m during excavations, due to the poor preservation of the floor pavement and the wall foundations of the gate and its connection to the road, excavators were unable to document whether the gate had been flanked by two towers or not. Two inscriptions encountered in this area may have originally been placed on the wall facade next to the gate. The gate room has a rectangular plan with a width of 5 m and length of 7 m along the north-south axis. The eastern and western walls of the gate room are about 2.40 m wide and were built from large limestone blocks that rise about 1 m above the packed clay floor of the gate room. In total, together with the destroyed southern wall, the entire structure spans about 11 m. Archaeologists who have excavated the site believe that this 5 m-wide gate, which is reminiscent of the East Gate leading to the Haldi Temple in the Çavuştepe Upper Fortress, would have featured a double-wing door.

Upper Anzaf Fortress

As was learned from the building inscriptions found at the site, the Upper Anzaf Fortress had been built by King Minua. Unlike the defensive function of the Lower Anzaf Fortress, the upper fortress was built as a farming settlement to carry out focused agricultural production in the surrounding fertile plain and as a storage and distribution center for agricultural surplus. The small dam King Minua built is situated 1 km east of the fortress (and still functional today) and must have played a major part in sustaining this high-capacity production cycle (Belli, 2007a, p. 180).

Similar to the Lower Anzaf Fortress, the Urartian name of the Upper Anzaf Fortress is unknown. This fortress is much larger than the lower fortress and covers about 60,000 m². The fortress has a Lower Town, which was planned and built at the same time as the fortress. Spreading over an area of about 141,000 m², the Lower Town is located south of the fortress, partially within the boundaries of the village of Dereüstü (Anzaf). The building blocks that were used in the fortifications and the monumental buildings had been brought from the rock quarry and workshop at Beyaztaş Tepe [white stone hill], 300 m south of the fortress.

Impressive architectural structures have been unearthed by the systematic excavations at the site, including the East Gate of Lower Town, the partially excavated storerooms on the Terrace of the Western Fortifications, the North and South Gates of the citadel, the Great Tower, a Susi temple, and the palace complex with its kitchens and storerooms. Moreover, the 200-year-long span of the settlement allows one to observe the architectural development of the site and its buildings over time.

Unlike the Lower Anzaf Fortress, the fortifications of the Upper Anzaf Fortress feature bastions in addition to curtain walls, which makes this fortress the earliest Urartian fortifications in which bastions and curtain walls had been used in conjunction. The width of the bastions varies from 4.5-6 m, and the length of the wall body with curtain walls between the bastions ranges between 10.0-12.7 m (Belli, 2007a, p. 181).

Comparison of the Two Fortress Sites

Topography and Choice of Location

The location of the Anzaf fortresses being not more than 13 km northeast of the Urartian capital of Tushpa is significant. Several reasons exist as to why the Urartians would have preferred this location for constructing the two fortresses. Firstly, the location of the fortresses marks the starting point of the military route for the Urartians' eastern campaigns that were dispatched from the capital. Within this context, Lower Anzaf Fortress in particular is situated at a spot that could have effectively defend the capital from assaults from the east. In fact, during the reign of King Ishpuini, defensive fortresses were built at strategic spots surrounding the capital of Tushpa, such as Kalecik to the north, Zıvıstan in the south, and Lower Anzaf in the east.[2] However, military defense was not the only factor in determining the location of the Anzaf fortresses within the center of the kingdom. In addition to their strategic positions as military outposts lying at the southwestern tip of the fertile Lake Erçek basin, the Anzaf fortresses also served as agricultural production centers where surplus could be stored for the needs of the capital city and/or the army. In fact, the storerooms with sunken pithoi found at the Upper Anzaf Fortress in particular have a capacity that far exceeded the needs of the population of this single city (Belli, 2003, p. 5), and a cuneiform text corroborating the idea that the fortress may have been instrumental in supplying the Urartian army with necessities during their eastern campaigns has actually been found at the site. This text concerned the distribution of bows and arrows to a list of individuals who were cited by name and were likely Urartian soldiers (Belli & Salvini, 2003, pp. 148–152, Figs. 13-17).

The ridge on which the Upper Anzaf Fortress is situated is higher than and lies 800 m south of the Lower Anzaf Fortress. While the Lower Anzaf Fortress is 1,900 m asl, the upper fortress is at 1,995 m asl. Additionally, the settlement area of the Upper Anzaf Fortress spreads out over 60,000 m^2 and is about 10 times larger than the Lower Anzaf Fortress (Belli, 2000, p. 203; Fig. 3). At the Upper Anzaf Fortress the fortifications feature towers and bastions. These architectural elements may have been adopted by the Urartu when interactions with the Assur had intensified during the reign of King Minua (Forbes, 1983, p. 27). These architectural features are not present in the defensive architecture dating to the reign of King

2 Although systematic excavations were not carried out at Kalecik or Zıvıstan, inscriptions from the reign of Ishpuini were found at these sites. For column base inscription from Kalecik, see CTU I. 2-1; for inscriptions on column bases from Zıvıstan, see CTU I. 2-2 A-B-C-D-E-F-G in Salvini 2008.

Ishpuini (e.g., the Lower Anzaf and Zıvıstan Fortresses). Therefore, this novelty can be said to have emerged during King Minua's rule, who had adapted an architectural style for the settlements he established that was modelled upon the city of Assur. This transformation in the architectural idiom of the Urartian Kingdom was most probably an outcome of King Minua's campaigns into the Upper Tigris region, during which the Urartians came into close contact with Assyrian cities in this region (Genç, 2015, pp. 64–65). This study can therefore suggest that the Urartian royal architecture had been influenced in part by the Assyrian royal architecture.

The Lower Anzaf Fortress appears to have been abandoned at some point during the individual regency of King Minua, with its settlement being moved to the newly constructed Upper Anzaf Fortress just south of it. The most likely factors that led to this change may have been the small size of the Lower Anzaf Fortress and its buildings and the site being located at a lower elevation, which made defense a challenge. However, these factors do not constitute a good enough reason for building a new settlement of such proportions from scratch. This study may therefore postulate that the Lower Anzaf Fortress that had been built by King Minua's father may have fallen short of satisfying King Minua's goals and expectations with regard to pioneering a new royal building style in the Urartian settlements. Minua's command and the impetus of his political agenda was probably what had resulted in the relocation of the population of the Lower Anzaf Fortress to the Upper Anzaf Fortress. The scarcity of archaeological finds at the Lower Anzaf Fortress bears testimony to this planned abandonment of the site. Moreover, inscribed bronze objects bearing King Ishpuini's name have been found at Upper Anzaf, which were probably heirlooms that had been brought to the site from the original settlement at Lower Anzaf during the relocation process. The objects that were found during the Upper Anzaf excavations include five bronze rings dedicated to the god Haldi by King Ishpuini (Belli et al., 2009, pp. 100–104; Figs. 8-12 and Ills. 3-7), an inscribed sword sheath (Belli et al., 2004, pp. 5–6; Figs. 8-10), and fragments of inscribed bronze objects (Tuğrul & Belli, 1994, pp. 639–640; Figs. 2-3). Most of these objects are votive offerings, and they all have been dated back to the individual regency of Ishpuini.

The new settlement had a much larger capacity for surplus storage in addition to the defensive advantages brought about by its location. This intentional choice of location for the new fortress on top of an impressive rocky outcrop at the foothills of a mountain was a novelty King Minua introduced to Urartian architecture. Such fortresses on top of rocky ridges where terraces were used for the construction of massive buildings with stone foundations and mudbrick walls became a trademark of Urartian settlements until the end of the kingdom. In this regard, the Lower Anzaf Fortress as built by King Ishpuini on a low limestone ridge at the level of the plain was very different than and overshadowed by the impressive outlook of the Upper Anzaf Fortress. To begin with, the difference in the sites'

elevations is immediately apparent. Moreover, the steep cliffs and rugged topography of the rocky outcrop upon which Upper Anzaf lies stands in stark contrast to the low ridge where Lower Anzaf is located.

Settlement Layout

The Lower Anzaf Fortress has a simple settlement plan. The site consists of a north-south-orientated, rectangular (62 m x 98 m) building complex built on top of a platform created by levelling the natural bedrock. The outer walls of this structure were made from local limestone and are preserved up to 3-4 m; however, the dividing walls within the building are not as sturdy, and the functions of the architectural contexts inside the fortress have been indeterminable. The entire structure covers no more than 6,000 m^2 (Belli, 2000, p. 201; Fig. 4a-c).

The settlement layout of the Upper Anzaf Fortress stands in stark contrast to the Lower Anzaf in many regards. While the bedrock had been levelled to serve as a flat foundation for construction atop the hill at Lower Anzaf, Upper Anzaf contrarily saw its citadel and fortifications built in line with the natural topography of the rocky ridge (Fig. 5). This construction method, in which intensive terracing is used to create a level surface for its fortifications and other structures on the slopes of a rocky terrain also became the model for all other Urartian fortresses.

The highest point of Upper Anzaf's citadel along the southern tip of the ridge is occupied by a Susi temple, a square-planned building adorned with risalites and dedicated to the supreme god Haldi (Fig. 6). Beginning with King Minua, the practice of building a Susi temple at the peak of the citadels became a well-established principle in Urartian centers. King Minua also had Susi temples built at Aznavurtepe[3] (Balkan, 1960, pp. 137–158; 1964, pp. 235–243; Işık & Genç, 2012, pp. 99–104; Genç & Schachner, 2022, pp. 71–88) and Körzüt (Pertak) Fortress (Dinçol, 1976, pp. 19–24; Kuvanç et al., 2020, pp. 112–138). Therefore, this temple at the Upper Anzaf Fortress and the Susi temples at Aznavurtepe and Pertak[4] are the earliest temples the kingdom had built in citadels and occurred no later than the reign of King Minua. In other words, archaeological evidence reveals the temple structure

3 In the duplicate inscriptions found *in situ* on the interior walls of the Aznavurtepe Haldi Temple, Minua states having built an *É.GAL* [temple] and Haldi Gates (*Ḫaldinili KÁ*) for the city of ^{URU}Aludiri (CTU A 5-11 A/B & CTU A 5-37/38 in Salvini 2008). Excavations have documented the fortifications with towers enclosing the citadel on the western, southern, and eastern sides to have been built during Minua's reign. Citadel fortifications are associated with the *É.GAL* [temple] mentioned in the inscription. Instead of stating that he had built a Susi temple, Minua instead states that he built Haldi Gates, which correspond to the Susi temple at Aznavurtepe (CTU A 5-11 A, B in Salvini 2008). This Susi temple was a square building measuring 13.30x13.50m. For more details, see Işık & Genç, 2012, pp. 99–104; Genç & Schachner, 2022, pp. 71–88.

4 According to Kuvanç et al. (2020, p. 120), the temple at Körzüt Kalesi may have been built prior to King Minua's reign.

to have becomes an essential, free-standing architectural unit at Urartian fortresses under King Minua's rule (Genç, 2016, pp. 67–76). No archaeological or textual evidence exists that implies the presence of a Susi temple at the Lower Anzaf Fortress. Surely, if such a temple had been at this site, even if destroyed, its wide wall foundations and ashlar masonry would be easily spotted. Furthermore, due to its sanctity, the structure would have been intentionally preserved even when the site was abandoned. Thus, one may safely conclude that no classical, square-planned Urartian temple had ever existed at Lower Anzaf. Meanwhile, despite the disturbance from Medieval constructions, a partially preserved Susi temple has been unearthed by excavations at the Upper Anza Fortress, the eastern wall of which contains a well-preserved front facade with an *in-situ* inscription also having been discovered on this wall. Other inscribed blocks have additionally been found scattered around, leading to the conclusion that the front facade of the temple had originally been adorned with multiple inscriptions (Işık, 2015, pp. 61–71; Figs. 7-8).

Another novelty at Upper Anzaf Fortress is the palace complex, which features multiple functional units including a colonnaded audience hall, storerooms with half-sunken pithoi, and kitchen and workshop rooms (Fig. 9). The inscribed column bases found at the Lower Anzaf Fortress actually indicate the use of columns in Urartian architecture to have begun with King Ishpuini.[5] However, the formalization of palace architecture as a building with standard units must be attributed to King Minua's reign.

According to the director of excavations, Belli, the five storage rooms in the northern section of the palace complex had to have belonged to the basement floor of the building (Belli, 2003b, pp. 5–6). Rooms 14 and 16 in the eastern section of the palace were also storerooms with sunken pithoi. The large hall (26x13 m; Room 15) identified south of the palace was labelled 'the great audience hall', in which 11 circular column bases were discovered, some with inscriptions (Belli 2007a, p. 200). This colonnaded hall contained many pillars to bear the weight of the roof, which supports the hypothesis that the building form known as *apadana* in Persian architecture had been inspired by these types of audience halls in Urartian palaces (Stronach, 2012, pp. 309–320).

Fortification Walls

The most noticeable difference between the construction techniques of the Lower and Upper Anzaf Fortresses can be observed in the fortifications. The entire Lower Anzaf Fortress (62 m x 98 m) had been built from roughly dressed, cyclopic limestone blocks (Belli, 2003, p. 2; Fig. 10). Another nearby fortress King Ishpuini had built was the Zıvıstan Fortress. These fortifications at Lower Anzaf and Zıvıstan having no towers or bastions has been refenced to point out how this architectural design had not yet been established in the incipient stages

5 For the column bases with inscriptions dated to Ishpuini's reign, see CTU I. 2-7a-b & 2-8 in Salvini 2008.

of the kingdom but had instead been integrated into the kingdom's architecture during King Minua's reign (Burney & Lawson, 1960, pp. 181–182; Forbes, 1983, p. 27). This structure does not display the typical characteristics of Urartian fortifications, in which bastions and curtain walls are used together, and the Lower Anzaf fortifications were built as a single wall with a smooth facade and uniform width (3.60 cm to 3.80 cm) and varying only 20 cm across the entire structure (Fig. 11).

Meanwhile, the Upper Anzaf fortifications had been built following the topography of the rocky outcrop with alternating stretches of curtain walls (10.0-12.7 m long) and bastions (4.5-6.0 m wide) bulging out from the wall body (Belli, 1998a, p. 16; Figs. 12-13). This construction technique is found in defensive architecture, which was introduced to Urartian architecture by King Minua and lasted until the end of the kingdom. Both the citadel and the Lower Town in the south were also enclosed by fortifications.

In order to be able to build new structures in the fortresses situated atop rocky ridges, the Urartians constructed terraces abutting the fortifications on the slopes. The earliest application of this construction method is known from the Upper Anzaf Fortress, where the most illustrative example is the terrace that housed many storerooms that was built atop the outer fortification wall on the western slope (Belli, 1998a, pp. 19–20; Fig. 14).

Fortifications were built from local limestone, and the bastions must have served as defensive towers. In this regard, the monumental Great Tower of the Citadel Gate, located southwest of the Upper Anzaf Fortress, is noteworthy (Fig. 15). At the Aznavurtepe and Pértak Fortresses, which Minua also built, the fortress citadel is accessed through a monumental gate structure, as well. Therefore, this architectural element also appears as an essential element in the architectural plan of Minua's fortresses.

Another innovation in the architecture from King Minua's reign was the intensive use of mudbrick as a building material. Mudbrick is a preferable building material for heat insulation in the harsh, cold climate of the region and was used especially in the buildings inside citadels to build a superstructure a few courses above the stone foundations. In fact, a mudbrick superstructure was also encountered, albeit infrequently, at Lower Anzaf during excavations, especially on the north terrace, with the mudbricks used in construction there measuring 35x40 cm and 50x65 cm in size and 10-12 cm thick (Belli, 1998a, p. 13). On the other hand, the Upper Anzaf Fortress and especially the citadel saw mudbrick used extensively in construction and to have survived to the present day. The walls there were built of mudbricks measuring 35 x 50 x 15 cm and 50 x 48 x 15 cm and have been preserved up to 4 m in certain sections (Belli, 1998b, p. 549; 2007a, p. 198; Fig. 16). The north-south-orientated Great Corridor (2.5 m wide and 46 m in length) connected many buildings to one another, thus facilitating circulation and pedestrian traffic at the site (Fig. 17).

Storage System and Storage Rooms

One of the typical and essential elements of Urartian royal settlements was the storerooms containing rows of very large pithoi half-sunken into the ground. These pithoi had the capacity to store tons of grains such as wheat, barley, and sesame and thousands of liters of liquid commodities such as wine and sesame oil, allowing people to survive through the harsh and long winters in the Urartian landscape. This type of storage system was utilized at Urartian sites until the end of the kingdom. Although the storerooms are generally accepted as having been first established by the founding King Ishpuini, the earliest archaeological and textual evidence for this storage system actually dates to the reign of King Minua. No storage buildings or storerooms, inscribed pithos sherds, or storeroom inscriptions dating to the reign of King Ishpuini have been discovered at the Lower Anzaf Fortress or any other Urartian center. Extant evidence shows the establishment of such large-scale storage facilities as part of an officially administered redistribution system to have occurred under the initiative of King Minua, with extensive storerooms having been built inside citadels, and pithoi bearing cuneiform inscriptions indicating their capacity just below the neck being placed inside symmetrically arranged pits, sunken up to shoulder level. At the Upper Anzaf Fortress, five storage rooms were found north of the fortress and two storage rooms in the east. The largest storage unit among the structures is Storeroom 14 (Fig. 18), in which inscribed pithoi were also found (Fig. 19).

Lower Towns

Lower towns were built adjacent to citadels and constituted an important part of the building schedule at Urartian royal settlements. Structures identified as the remains of a lower town have bene encountered at Tushpa (Van Fortress) and other Urartian settlements such as Pértak (Körzüt) Fortress, as well as the Arinberd, Karmir-Blur, Armavir-Blur, Bastam, and Ayanis settlements. Nothing remains in association with the Lower Anzaf Fortress that can be considered an outer town or a lower town, while Upper Anzaf does have the Lower Town settlement that is enclosed by a fortification wall and spreads over 141,000 m^2 at the southern foothills of the cliff (Belli, 2003, p. 5; Fig. 20).

What is left of Lower Town can also be traced within the settlement area of the modern Upper Anzaf village. The published plans of the excavations show the foundations of a fortification wall enclosing the lower town located southeast of the citadel; however, no substantial excavation was conducted within the defined area. The practice of deporting and resettling conquered populations after military victories, which began with Ishpuini, was carried out intensively by Minua. These deportees that were resettled around the capital of Tushpa after military campaigns were settled in the lower towns of the fortresses. These practices concerning forced resettlement and urban planning are also reflected in the Urartu

inscriptions from Ayanis, Karmir-Blur, and Adilcevaz (Kef) Fortress that date to the reign of King Rusa II, son of Argišti. At Upper Anzaf, the main entrance to Lower Town opens to an ancient road winding north of the Beyaztaş Tepe ridge in the east (Fig. 21).

Conclusions

The settlement system of the Urartians had developed as a response to the challenges as well as advantages presented by the landscape and is one of the most distinctive archaeological traits of the kingdom (Zimansky, 1985, p. 32 ff.). The formative process that ultimately shaped the architectural fingerprint of the Urartu in terms of settlement locations, building techniques, and building types can best be investigated based on the findings from the Lower Anzaf and Upper Anzaf Fortresses. The founding King Ishpuini and his son King Minua who respectively built these two fortresses had launched an attempt to create signature royal settlements that would sustain the mass deportation and relocation programs they carried out systematically after successful military campaigns. When undertaking building programs for various types of settlements (fortress, garrison, outer town), the Urartian state had to take into consideration the rugged topography of the region, the long winters, and assaults from neighboring lands.

The Lower Anzaf Fortress is representative of the earliest construction projects of the kingdom but unfortunately has not yielded coherent archaeological evidence. Before and after systematic excavations were carried out at the site, it was severely disturbed by modern human impact causing architectural remnants to be largely destroyed. Consequently, identifying wall partitions and the layout of contexts inside the fortress have not been possible. Therefore, no detailed architectural plan exists for the Lower Anzaf Fortress, and the characteristics of this construction project cannot be known. The term *É.GAL* in the Urartian inscriptions is of interest to this study's discussion and has also been attested to in the inscriptions found at Lower Anzaf, where Ishpuini had used it to refer to a structure he had had commissioned to be built in this incipient stage of the kingdom.[6] King Ishpuini's first use of the *É.GAL* concept in an architectural context is significant in that it had been built during the foundation phase of the kingdom. This usage marks a historical moment in which concepts and terms borrowed from the Assyrian language with the establishment of the official writing system were physically embodied in Urartian architecture. This inscription mentions no other structure apart from the *É.GAL* Ishpuini had had built. However, Ishpuini did speak of a building he'd had commissioned on the inscribed column bases found around architectural remains inside the Lower Anzaf Fortress.[7] The term *É.GAL* [literally, large house] had originally been used in Assyrian texts to designate palaces and other special buildings of royal character, and the Urartians adopted the same term to refer to the citadels and fortresses they built of

6 For the inscription, see CTU A 2-6AC in Salvini 2008.

7 For the inscription, see CTU A 2-7AB & CTU A 2-8 in Salvini (2008).

varying sizes. The modest structure of Lower Anzaf Fortress lacking buttresses should have it be categorized as a small fortress and shows how the construction of fortresses outside the capital city of Tushpa had already begun. Among the known Urartian settlements, the only case of two *É.GAL* structures being built in such close proximity within the same area is attested to at the Lower and Upper Anzaf Fortresses. In comparison to the *É.GAL* Minua had built at the Upper Anzaf Fortress, the *É.GAL* of Ishpuini can only be called a garrison. When considering the strategic location of this *É.GAL* at Lower Anzaf Fortress being on main military routes in particular, as well as overlooking the wide plain, the site appears to have been a defensive military structure. In this regard, the *É.GAL* at Lower Anzaf may have served the same purpose as the Assyrians' *ekal māšarti* [arsenal].

The modest dimensions of the Lower Anzaf settlement Ishpuini founded appear far from being able to meet the needs of the kingdom at that formative period, as outlined above. Therefore, Minua, who first co-reigned with his father and then reigned alone on the throne, marked this transition by experimenting with a new type of settlement at Upper Anzaf, which can be considered the archaeological imprint of King Minua's expansionist political agenda for the kingdom's future. In this regard, the Upper Anzaf Fortress served as a pioneering model and archetype for the Urartian royal building programs in the succeeding periods. This model was applied at the Aznavurtepe and Pértak Fortresses, as well, which had also been built during Minua's reign (chronological debates noted). More than anywhere else, however, the juxtaposition of the Lower and Upper Anzaf Fortresses as the two very close yet very different early settlements of the Urartu are where one can observe best the architectural concepts that had come to define the new idiom in Urartian royal architecture. In this regard, the Urartian defensive architecture can be characterized by the choice of a strategic and relatively inaccessible location on hilltops surrounded by steep cliffs and enclosed by a complex fortification system congruent with the topographic relief, as exemplified by the Upper Anzaf Fortress. In addition, the construction of a square-planned temples adorned with inscriptions and dedicated to the god Haldi (Susi temple) at the highest point of each citadel became a quintessential element of Urartian royal building programs. Additionally, the palace complex with a large colonnaded courtyard and storerooms containing rows of large pithoi, as witnessed at the Upper Anzaf Fortress, also became a standard architectural element of Urartian citadels. The storage system Minua planned had also possibly been adapted from the architectural model of Assyrian palaces (Genç, 2015, p. 66). This influence would have been an outcome of the intensive military campaigns Minua had launched into the Upper Tigris region that brought the Urartians into contact with the settlements of the Assyrian Kingdom in that region. In fact, many of the cultural traits that became traditional traits of the Urartians, first and foremost being the construction of citadels and planned cities, have been proposed as having likely been transmitted to the Urartian Kingdom through their interactions with the Nairi people who inhabited the Upper Tigris region (Köroğlu, 2011, p.

21; Köroğlu, 2015, p. 117). In this way, a standard architectural model had been created for the royal settlements of the Urartu, and this architectural idiom persisted until the end of the Urartian Kingdom.

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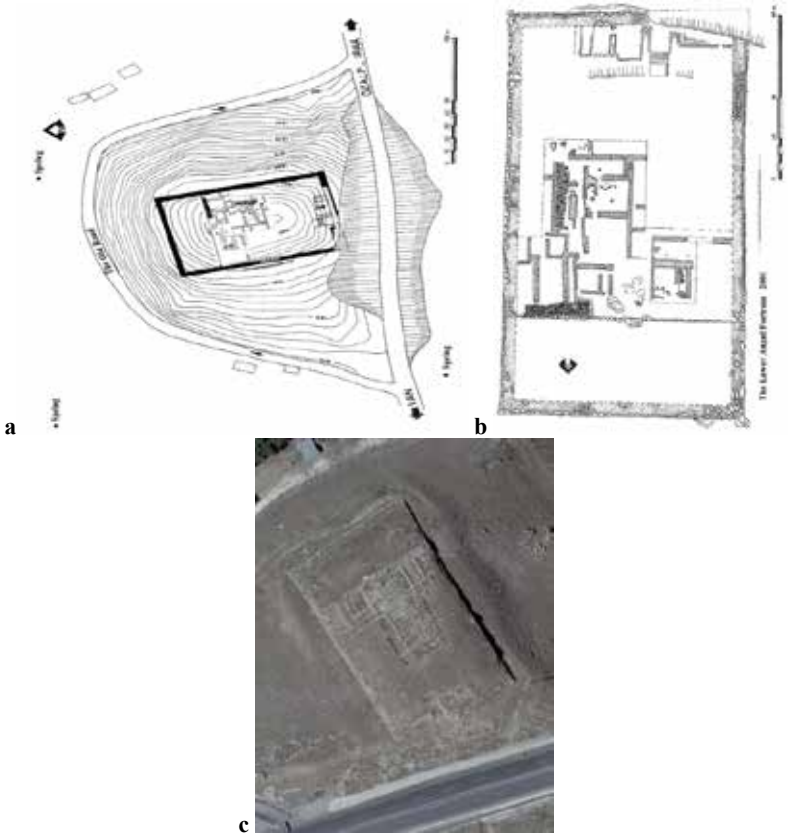


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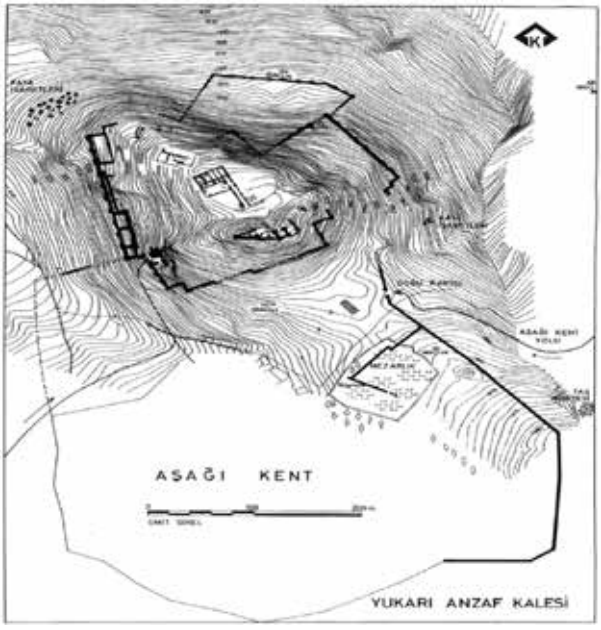


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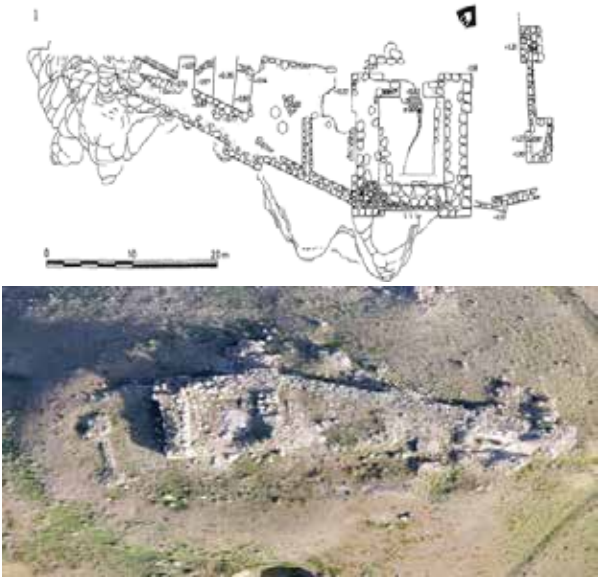


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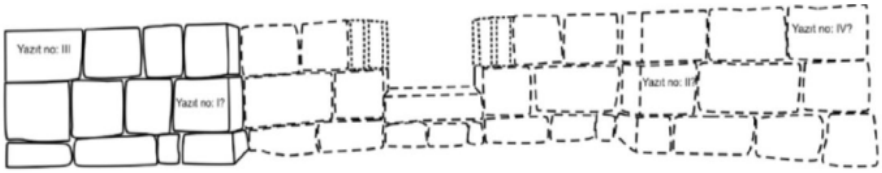


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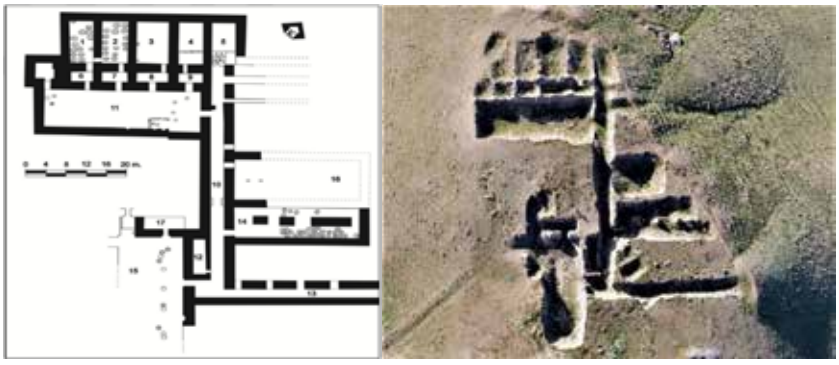


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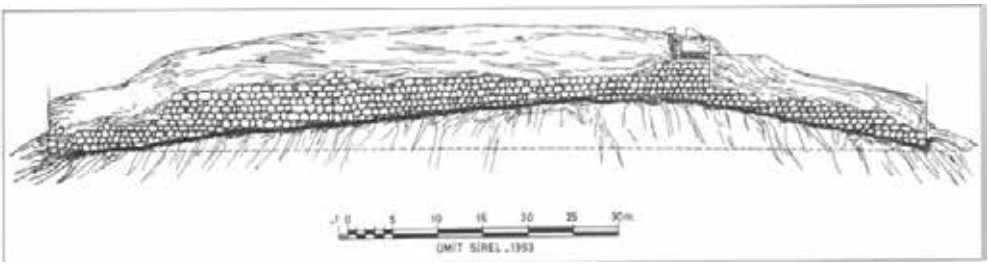


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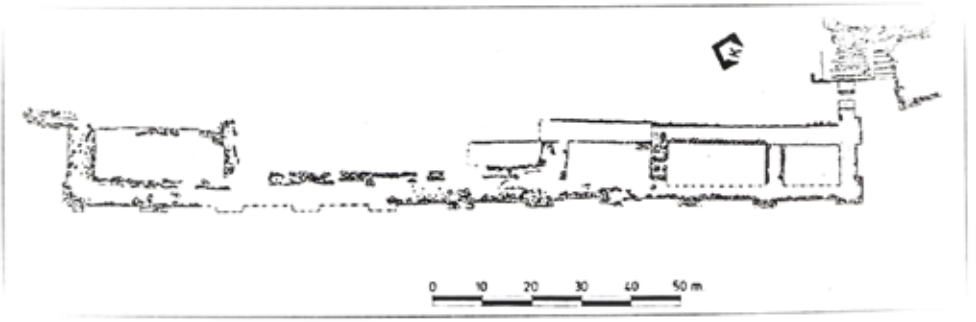


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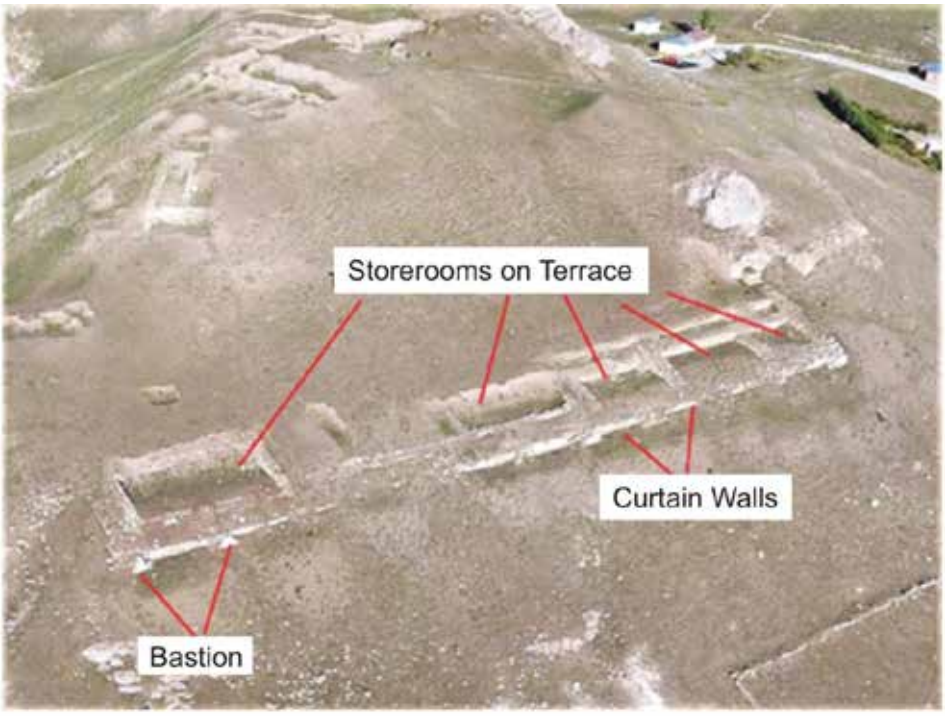


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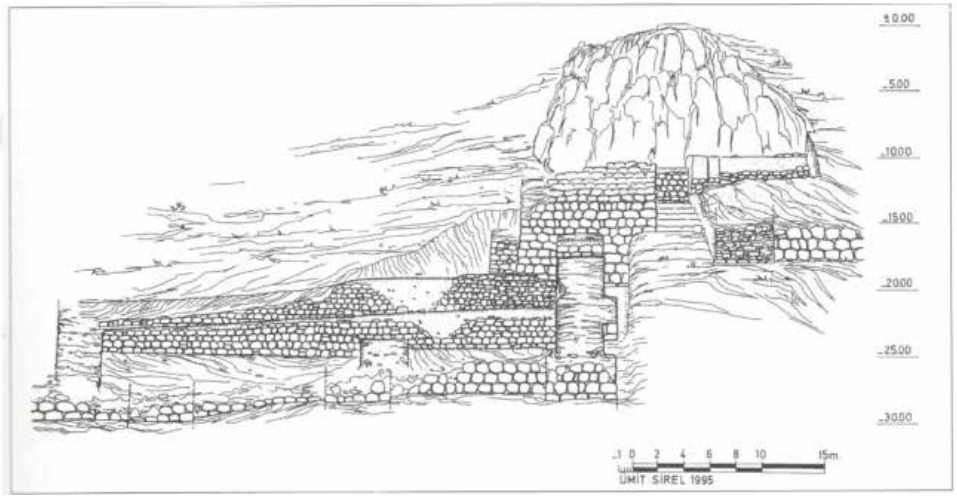


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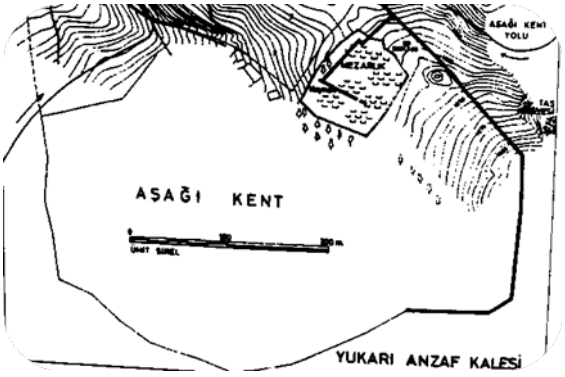


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