

THE ORIENTAL ORIGIN OF SIREN CAULDRON ATTACHMENTS

(PLATES 103-104)

DECORATIVE bronze handle-attachments for cauldrons, in the form of sirens, have been found on sites and in tombs from Armenia to Italy. These sirens are creatures with a human head and torso and the wings and tail of a bird. The arms are outstretched on the wings and the torso ends in the tail. There is at the back a ring for the insertion of a free-swinging loop handle. The clothes, wings, tail, and an arc below the rear ring are usually decorated with engraved lines; this is clearly shown in a water color of a siren from Gordion (Pl. 104, a). The term siren will here be employed regardless of the sex of the creatures. The attachments were placed on the rim of the cauldrons so that the sirens faced toward the inside.

These sirens have been studied and commented upon by various scholars.¹ The number known at present is about 76.² They have been found at Toprak Kale in Urartu, at Gordion in Phrygia; on Rhodes and Delos; at Athens, Delphi, Ptoon, Olympia, and Argos, all on the Greek Mainland; and at Palestrina and Vetulonia in Etruria.³ Approximately three-quarters of the total number have been found in

¹ Some of the most important articles are: A. Furtwängler, "Bronze aus Olympia," *Arch. Zeit.*, XXXVII, 1879, pp. 180-182; M. Holleaux, "Fouille au Temple d'Apollon Ptoon," *B.C.H.*, XII, 1888, pp. 380-395; E. Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs*, Stuttgart, 1931, pp. 267-280 (hereafter Kunze 1931); C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien Einst und Jetzt*, II, 2, Berlin, 1931, pp. 489-494, and p. 21 of the footnotes; E. Kunze, "Verkannter orientalischer Kesselschmuck aus dem argivischen Heraion," *Reinecke Festschrift*, Mainz, 1950, pp. 96-101; G. M. A. Hanfmann, *Altetruskische Plastik*, Würzburg, 1936, pp. 13-14; P. Amandry, "Objets orientaux en Grèce et Italie," *Syria*, XXXV, 1958, pp. 80-82; other articles that are concerned with the siren attachments will be mentioned in the course of this paper.

² Amandry, *op. cit.*, p. 80 lists 72 but Prof. Kunze has informed me (1959) that four more were found at Olympia.

³ Toprak Kale: Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien zur älteren Geschichte Armeniens und Mesopotamiens*, Berlin, 1907, pp. 86-89, no. 15, figs. 57, 58. Gordion: R. S. Young, "The Gordion Campaign of 1957: Preliminary Report," *A.J.A.*, LXII, 2, 1958, p. 151, pl. 25, fig. 15, pl. 26, figs. 16, 17; also *I.L.N.*, May 17, 1958, pp. 830-831, figs. 15-21. Rhodes: C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos, Les Petits Objets*, Berlin, 1931, p. 218, no. 705, pl. 29. Delos: W. Deonna, *Le Mobilier Délien*, Paris, 1938, p. 69, pl. 29, no. 212-213. Athens: M. Holleaux, *op. cit.*, pp. 380 ff.; De Ridder, *Catalogue des Bronzes trouvés sur l'Acropole d'Athènes*, Paris, 1905, pp. 287-288, nos. 764-766; De Ridder, *Bronzes du Louvre*, II, Paris, 1913, no. 2605, pl. 94. Delphi: P. Perdrizet, *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, Paris, 1908, p. 80, no. 360, p. 81, nos. 361-370, p. 82, no. 371; Kunze 1931, Beil. 6; *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 115, no. 64. Ptoon: Holleaux, *op. cit.*, pp. 380 ff., pl. 12. Olympia: Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*; Furtwängler, *Die Bronzen von Olympia*, IV, Berlin, 1890, pp. 115-116, nos.

Greece and Italy. About one-quarter of those found in Greece are clearly Greek in style, whereas the remainder found in Greece, those from Italy, and the ones from Gordion and Urartu form another group. These two groups are clearly differentiated from each other but the members within each group are similar enough for one to posit two centers of manufacture, Greece and the Orient. The character of the oriental group is well known for they have been adequately described elsewhere and need not be discussed in detail here.⁴ Suffice it to say that the oriental sirens have fleshy faces, thick noses, almond-shaped eyes, and hair falling in a mass on the shoulders in the style of a Florentine youth. Some of the pieces from this group are unique and differ from the majority of examples in some features. Thus two examples from Vetulonia are Janus-headed, bearded, and wear helmets (Pl. 103, c); an example from Delphi and another from Olympia are also Janus-headed; one example in a private collection has two heads on one torso; two of the eight pieces from Gordion (Pl. 103, a, b), five of the pieces from Olympia (one shown here, Pl. 103, d), and an example from Delphi are bearded; the latter attachment is also unique because the siren clutches the rim of the cauldron in front of it rather than having its arms stretch over the wings (Pl. 104, b).⁵ This variety does not exist among the sirens found in Greece and recognized as having been manufactured there. These are easily identified as they are of archaic Greek style; one is never in doubt about their provenance. Their hair usually ends at mid-neck⁶ and sometimes there is a "bun" on top of the head; the face is thin with a long projecting nose; and the shoulders at the rear are noticeably swollen (an example from Olympia is shown here, Pl. 103, e; cf. this with Pl. 104, a).

The number of siren attachments placed on a cauldron varied. On the cauldron excavated at Ptoon were two sirens; at Gordion two cauldrons each had four sirens; and at Palestrina, Vetulonia (Pl. 103, c), and Olympia, siren attachments were placed with griffins on the same cauldron.⁷ This lack of uniformity in number may be

783-786, pl. 44; *Ath. Mitt.*, L, 1930, p. 158, pl. 47; *Olympia-Bericht*, I, *Jahrb.* LII, 1937, pp. 72-73, figs. 33-36, 38, pl. 21; H. V. Hermann, *Olympia-Bericht*, V, Berlin, 1956, pp. 81-82, note 11; E. Buschor, *Musen der Jenseits*, Munich, 1944, p. 16, fig. 5; E. Kunze, *Neue Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst aus Olympia*, Munich, 1948, fig. 20. Argos: C. Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, II, Cambridge, 1905, p. 206, pl. 77, no. 49. Palestrina: C. D. Curtis, "The Bernardini Tomb," *M.A.A.R.*, III, 1919, pp. 72 ff., pls. 52, 54, 1. Vetulonia: I. Falci, L. Pernier, *N.Sc.*, 1913, pp. 429-437; R. McIver, *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, Oxford, 1924, p. 132, fig. 45.

⁴ Furtwängler, *Arch Zeit.*, *loc. cit.*; Holleaux, *loc. cit.*; Kunze 1931, pp. 271 f., 275.

⁵ Janus heads: Delphi: Perdrizet, *op. cit.*, p. 81, no. 367, fig. 281, pl. 12, 4; Olympia: Kunze, *Reinecke Festschrift*, p. 101. Double head: *Iraq*, XVIII, 2, 1956, pl. 26, 1, 2. Bearded head from Olympia: Kunze, *Reinecke Festschrift*, *ibid.* Prof. Kunze told me (1959) that two of the four sirens found that year were bearded.

⁶ Note that an oriental example from Gordion has its hair falling only to mid-neck: R. S. Young, *I.L.N.*, May 17, 1958, figs. 16, 20.

⁷ Ptoon: Holleaux, *op. cit.*, p. 380. Gordion: Young, *A.J.A.*, LXII, 2, 1958, p. 151. Palestrina:

innocent of any significance, but the juxtaposition of the griffin protome and the siren might be important in an investigation of the area where the siren attachment originated. Thus a brief discussion on the origin of the griffin protome will be pertinent here.

Two schools of thought concerning the origin of the griffin protome are at present very active. One school believes that the griffin protome was imported into Greece from the Orient while the other school claims it was invented by Greek workers and is a product of Greece.⁸ Jantzen⁹ has presented the thesis that the cauldrons, with or without sirens, were imported into Greece from the Orient and that it was at the Greek sanctuaries that the griffin protomes were added. Amandry,¹⁰ on the other hand, would have the cauldrons together with the sirens and griffin protomes arrive from the Orient as one unit, since he believes all were manufactured there. Certainly both theories are reasonable. However, the archaeological picture at present is that griffin protomes are found in western Europe and off the west coast of Asia Minor on Samos but only two are known further east: the griffin found at Susa¹¹ and the one from Ziwiye;¹² neither is earlier than the earliest Greek examples.¹³ The griffin motif certainly appears in the art repertory of the Orient, but it seems to me that at only two places—Ankara and Sakcegozu—can one locate exact parallels for the Greek griffin protome. At Ankara was found a dado-slab relief with a representation of a griffin-headed beast¹⁴ and at Sakcegozu there were excavated two reliefs of griffin-men (Pl. 103, f). These three reliefs have all the essential features of a griffin protome: open mouth, knob on head, quadruped's ears, and spiral-curl on the neck. Their relationship to the Greek griffin protome is self-evident. R. D. Barnett¹⁵ has maintained that the slab from Ankara was the prototype for the Greek griffin and claimed

Curtis, *op. cit.*, pl. 52. Olympia: Kunze, "Die Ausgrabungen in Olympia in Fruehjahr 1956," *Gnomon*, XXVIII, 1956, p. 319.

⁸ Those who believe that the griffin protomes were made in Greece: U. Jantzen, *Griechische Greifenkessel*, Berlin, 1955, pp. 49-51; G. M. A. Hanfmann, review of Jantzen, *Gnomon*, XXIX, 1957, p. 245; J. L. Benson, review of Jantzen, *A.J.A.*, LXI, 4, 1957, pp. 400-402. Those who believe that the griffin protomes were imported into Greece: H. Payne, *Perachora*, I, Oxford, 1940, p. 130; R. D. Barnett, "Ancient Oriental Influences on Archaic Greece," *The Aegean and the Near East*, New York, 1956, p. 232; T. J. Dunbabin, *The Greeks and Their Eastern Neighbours*, London, 1957, p. 42; P. Amandry, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 50 f.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 84 f.; see also Dunbabin, *loc. cit.*

¹¹ Jantzen, *op. cit.*, pp. 73, 75, 77, 114, pl. 49, 4.

¹² A. Godard, *Le Trésor de Ziwiye*, Paris, 1950, p. 40, fig. 30, pl. 7c. But note Benson, *op. cit.*, p. 400 for an example bought in Istanbul.

¹³ Amandry, *op. cit.*, p. 92 and note 1 dates the Ziwiye griffin to the 7th century B.C.; cf. Benson, *op. cit.*, p. 401.

¹⁴ E. Akurgal, *Späthethitische Bildkunst*, Ankara, 1949, pl. 49, a, b.

¹⁵ "Early Greek and Oriental Ivories," *J.H.S.*, LXVIII, 1948, pp. 9 f.

Phrygia as its original home. He says “. . . this example from Ankara is the first time that the horse-eared, knobbed, and open-mouthed variety of griffin is met in Oriental art.” This cannot be accepted as an *ante quem non* because one does not know the date of the slab. In fact Barnett made reference to a piece of sculpture at Sakcegozu in order to arrive at a date for the Ankara slab.¹⁶ But while citing this piece from Sakcegozu he ignores the griffin men which can be dated to the last half of the 8th century B.C.¹⁷ All the basic elements of the Greek griffin protomes are found on these Sakcegozu reliefs and since they are probably earlier than the protomes (whose early periods are not too clearly defined chronologically), I propose that it is here in North Syria that one must go to trace the relationship of the Greek and the Oriental griffin. As a further indication of the North Syrian relationship to the Greek griffin it is important to remember that the spiral-curl on the neck of the griffin protomes is found not only on the Sakcegozu griffin-men but also appears as a common motif in the iconography of North Syria where it is employed to represent the hair of both beasts and men (Pl. 104, c, d, e).¹⁸

It has already been mentioned that there is a paucity of griffin protomes in the Orient, including North Syria, and it is not an easy step from a relief to a cauldron attachment. How then may one claim North Syria as the home of the protome? I think the answer might possibly be as follows. Greeks (perhaps Samians, since many griffins are found on Samos) learned of the griffin motif from North Syrian art. This motif, and perhaps what it represented, appealed to the Greeks and was transformed by them into an object to be placed on the rims of cauldrons for use, perhaps, as a votive offering. The idea of placing a griffin on a cauldron would then be a Greek invention, and hence foreign to the Orient, but the griffin motif itself would have come to Greece from a North Syrian source. Those who claim that the techniques used in the manufacture of the protomes are oriental¹⁹ or that Urartu exported the griffin

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, the reference he offers is from Garstang, *The Hittite Empire*, London, 1929, pl. 50. This is also illustrated by Akurgal, *op. cit.*, pls. 38, 39. I do not see the similarity that he suggests.

¹⁷ Amandry, *op. cit.*, p. 89; he recognizes the importance of the Sakcegozu griffin-men. See also Akurgal, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-86; H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, Penguin Books, 1954, p. 259, note 106. The Ankara slabs, in any event, are certainly under North Syrian influence even though they may be Phrygian.

¹⁸ For other references see: D. G. Hogarth, *Carchemish*, I, London, 1914, pls. B.11, B.12, B.14, B.16, B.25; F. von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, pp. 111, 205, figs. 94, 95, pls. 34, a, b, 36, 40; also pp. 213-215, figs. 103, 105, 107; p. 218, fig. 114; p. 220, fig. 119; p. 222, figs. 121, 122; p. 223, fig. 123.

¹⁹ Amandry, *op. cit.*, pp. 85 f. attempts to demonstrate that “asphalt” employed as a filling core for the griffin protome from Olympia proves its Near Eastern origin. But the equation that Amandry desires to establish: asphalt/bitumen = Mesopotamian/Near Eastern manufacture, is by no means to be accepted by archaeologists as a scientific fact. Bitumen products occur not only in the Near East but in Europe as well. These places in Europe are Albania, Macedonia, Thrace, Illyria, and Sicily (R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, I, Leiden, 1955, p. 44). In Albania, for

protome to Greece²⁰ have not supported their statements with incontrovertible evidence.

The origin of the griffin protomes found on cauldrons together with sirens may well have some bearing on the problem of the origin of these sirens. Amandry²¹ has stated that the griffin protomes in the first period of their development were intimately linked to the siren attachments. He maintains also, as already mentioned, that the cauldrons, the sirens, and the griffin protome came to Greece together. This implies that all were made in one place, and although he concludes that the griffin protome may have come from Assyria, he does not arrive at the same conclusion for the siren attachments.²² Kunze²³ has argued that there need not be an inextricable relationship between the two types of attachments since examples exist where both occur separately.

example, there exist petroleum and rock asphalt deposits. Forbes (pp. 5, 6) has maintained that one cannot distinguish chemically between petroleum asphalts and natural asphalts. Hence one may conclude from this observation that it is chemically impossible to distinguish Mesopotamian native asphalts from the Albanian, and one might add parenthetically, from the Sicilian asphalts. Another reason why one must be wary of accepting Amandry's equation is the unfortunate fact that archaeologists and even many chemists (A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, London, 1948, pp. 349 f.) make errors in nomenclature regarding bitumen. Forbes (p. 4) claims ". . . very little scientific investigation has hitherto been applied to the products found, with the consequence that the inquirer has often to be satisfied with a vague description such as 'asphalt' or 'pitch' or 'bituminous earth.' Hence . . . the kind of bitumen and the form or composition in which bitumens were used, is by no means always made clear." This quotation is pertinent because when Amandry claims that the Olympia protome has "asphalt" and some mineral content he concludes somewhat ambiguously (*ibid.*, p. 86) "It seems that the core of the Olympia protome is constituted . . . of Mesopotamian clay and bitumen." Furthermore, after referring to a core from Delphi he says (*ibid.*, p. 87, note 3) ". . . the smallness of the fragment analyzed does not permit the formulation of precise conclusions on the nature of the material." But he concludes nevertheless "It is very probable that the material is a mixture of bitumen and limestone." Another problem that one is concerned with in the bitumen question is the confusion of wood-tar pitch with bitumen (Forbes, p. 7). Wood-tar pitches are produced as a by-product while making charcoal for certain metallurgical processes (Forbes, p. 6) and one cannot at this stage of our knowledge dismiss its use in Archaic Greece. The only solution to the whole problem concerning the uses of bitumen is to ask for more objective analyses of as many cores as possible. These analyses will give data on the presence or absence of nickel, vanadium, molybdenum, and the sulphur contents of the samples as well as the use of other materials such as reeds, straw, etc. Only then will the archaeologist be able to attempt to reach a solution about the provenance of the cores.

²⁰ The Urartian advocates cannot find a solitary parallel in Urartu for comparison with the griffin protome. One of the leading exponents of the Urartian school, K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop, writes ("Urartian Bronzes in Etruria," *Iraq*, XVIII, 2, 1956, p. 156) ". . . I would suggest that there is considerable evidence which points to Urartu and that part of North Syria which formed part of the Urartian Empire before it was destroyed by Tiglath-Pileser III in 742, as the home of the Barberini and Bernardini griffins and some of the earlier Greek examples." And R. D. Barnett comments on the griffin in *J.H.S.*, LXVIII, 1948, p. 10 ". . . there is some reason to believe that they were most popular in Urartu." Unfortunately it is not clear just what is the "considerable evidence" of Maxwell-Hyslop and the "reason to believe" of Barnett.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 83 f.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 81, note 3. For the Assyrian provenance reference see p. 86.

²³ Kunze 1931, p. 274.

This is a fact, but since they are found together in some cases I believe that some form of relationship may be assumed without distorting the evidence. The relationship is, in my opinion, that the origin of the siren attachment is also to be sought in North Syria. Before this matter is discussed, however, a summary of present opinion on the subject of origin is necessary.

The oriental provenance of the siren attachments has been placed in various localities with Phoenicia and Urartu getting the most support from archaeologists.²⁴ Recent writings, however, have tended to ignore Phoenicia and to concentrate on Urartu. The only one of these localities where siren attachments have indeed been found is Urartu. The exact number of pieces found there is not really known, but about eight or nine are credited to that area.²⁵ Actually, as far as I can discover, only one siren attachment was ever excavated by a bona fide excavation.²⁶

The fact that Urartu had a metal industry is evidenced by the archaeological finds as well as by the annals of Sargon II who recorded his spoils taken from Musasir, a city in Urartu.²⁷ This, coupled with the Urartian attribution of some siren attachments as well as a renewed interest at present in Urartian art, has led several archaeologists to claim Urartu as the home of the siren attachments. I believe, however, that this conclusion is highly improbable and that an examination of Urartian art and the reasons offered for an Urartian origin actually leads one to believe that any specimens found there were imports and not products of Urartian workmen.

Our knowledge of Urartian art has been excellently and painstakingly expanded by R. D. Barnett who has supplemented the publications of Lehmann-Haupt on Toprak Kale by publishing the finds of H. Rassam at that site, an important summary of the Russian excavations at Karmir Blur, and a summary of the finds at Altin Tepe.²⁸ These publications, along with those of the Russians at Karmir Blur, supply

²⁴ Phoenicia: Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.*, XXXVII, 1879, p. 182; he saw strong Assyrian influence on the sirens; F. Poulsen, *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst*, Berlin, 1912, pp. 64 f.; apparently he favored Phoenicians working on Rhodes; Holleaux, *op. cit.*, pp. 392 ff. Urartu: S. Smith, "The Greek Trade at Al Mina," *Antiquaries Journal*, XXII, 1942, p. 103; R. D. Barnett, "The Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale, near Van," *Iraq*, XII, 1950, p. 39; Maxwell-Hyslop, *op. cit.*, p. 151; G. M. A. Hanfmann, "Four Urartian Bulls' Heads," *Anat. Studies*, VI, 1956, p. 212; M. Pallottino, "Gli Scavi di Karmir Blur in Armenia e il problema delle concessioni tra l'Urartu, al Grecia, e l'Etruria," *Arch. Classica*, VII, 2, 1955, pp. 119 ff.

²⁵ Kunze 1931, p. 267 lists eight from Van; Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien Einst und Jetzt*, pp. 489 f. lists "eight or nine" with great "probability" from Van. See p. 21 of his footnotes for his catalogue; he includes Kunze's no. 1 "from Nimrud" in this group as supposedly coming from Van.

²⁶ Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien*, pp. 86-89, no. 15, figs. 57, 58; see also H. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, Berlin, 1942, figs. 1165-1166.

²⁷ D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, II, Chicago, 1927, pp. 94-99.

²⁸ *Iraq*, XII, 1950, pp. 1-43; "The Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale, near Van, Addenda," *Iraq*, XVI, 1954, pp. 3-22; with W. Watson, "Russian Excavations in Armenia," *Iraq*, XIV, 1952, pp. 132-147; with N. Gökce, "The Finds of Urartian Bronzes of Altin Tepe, near Erzincan," *Anat. Studies*, III, 1953, pp. 121-129.

most of the information we have concerning the material culture of Urartu. Most of the metal objects are shields, throne pieces of Assyrian type, helmets of Assyrian type, bowls and cauldrons including the fine example from Altin Tepe, bulls' head attachments, some fibulae and arrowheads, and a small number of human figures.²⁹ None of the excavations in Urartu except the one of Lehmann-Haupt have yielded a siren attachment. Thus, what we know of Urartian art is clear: it had a style clearly imitative of Assyrian motives. And, although all the oriental sirens are within the range of Assyrian influence, in no object from Urartu can one find a parallel in facial type, beard type, or art motif. What can be called native art is not exactly clear at present, and Frankfort has even claimed "The impression that Urartian metal-work has no character of its own is confirmed by the important discoveries at Karmir Blur, near Erivan."³⁰ Urartian art has not only been unduly emphasized in its own locale but its influence in other areas has also been distorted beyond measure. In Sidney Smith's article discussing the importance of al Mina for Greek-Orient trade relations, the statement was put forward that due to Urartian hegemony in North Syria in the early 8th century B.C. there was a "resurgence of non-Semitic elements in the North Syrian cities."³¹ The reason cited for this conclusion was that the language of the Hurrians who lived in North Syria several hundred years before 800 B.C. was related to the Urartian language.³² Hence, as soon as the Indo-Europeans assumed power, the "submerged element in the population," i. e. the supposed descendants of the Hurrians (who, we are told, "no longer spoke their own tongue")³³ immediately rebelled against the art of their Semitic neighbors (whose own language they apparently spoke) and adopted Urartian and Hurrian art. This theory assumes that there is such a thing as Indo-European culture that would withstand centuries of a new environment and language. It is clearly a racial memory theory and is not scientifically acceptable. Furthermore, Smith's arguments are shown to be wrong on other grounds as well, namely archaeological evidence. For in at least two places, Tell Halaf and Zincirli, one is able to document the fact that North Syrian art began to reach fruition before Urartian influence could be assumed to have begun.³⁴

²⁹ For references to the objects from Urartu see the publications cited in note 28 *supra*. Also see B. B. Piotrovsky, *Karmir Blur*, I-III, Erivan, 1950, 1952, 1955. For the human figure mentioned see Barnett, *Iraq*, XII, 1950, pl. 20, a eunuch or attendant, and pl. 18, 2, a bearded man or God.

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 244, note 55. See also Kunze 1931, p. 272 where he doubted whether there was a creative style in the Armenian highlands.

³¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 94.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 92.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

³⁴ A. Moortgat, *Tell Halaf*, III, Berlin, 1955, p. 4; the "altbauperiode" began about 900 B.C. This period was followed by an Aramaean and an Assyrian period reflecting the two cultures that influenced the city. Frankfort, *op. cit.*, pp. 180 f., 258 f., and note 105 said "One cannot ascribe the North Syrian revival of sculpture to Urartian influence, because at Tell Halaf and Zincirli it antedates the Urartian ascendancy in Syria."

Smith's theory has obviously been accepted by K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop in a recent article.⁸⁵ It is apparently her thesis that if any North Syrian parallel may be cited for an oriental object found in the west, that object is automatically to be interpreted as of Urartian manufacture. This is made quite clear when she discusses the origin of griffin protomes and also when she claims that the Barberini crater-support is of Urartian manufacture even though demonstrating that its lion-sphinx motif has North Syrian affinities. Thus she says that the knob on its head may be found at Tell Barsip, Carchemish, and Zincirli; that its face is similar to that of King Urpalla on the Ivriz frieze; and that its lion hind-quarters juxtaposed to a bird's breast "demands comparison with the winged bulls and lions of ninth century Assyrian reliefs."⁸⁶ Not one Urartian reference is brought forward. Maxwell-Hyslop comes to the same conclusion with the siren attachments. When discussing the Italian sirens she says: "In fact both the Vetulonia and Bernardini female sirens cannot be closely compared to the Greek sirens and must be regarded as the products of an Urartian bronze worker. The bearded male siren on the second Vetulonia cauldron [here Pl. 103, c] is also executed in an Urartian style; he can be compared to a bronze Urartian figure, and his curious helmet, a type sometimes worn by Assyrian soldiers, is found on the reliefs from Tell Halaf in North Syria."⁸⁷ The helmet is correctly placed in North Syria but the Urartian figure singled out for comparison bears no relationship to the bearded Vetulonia figures. The former may be seen in *Iraq*, XII, 1950, pl. 18, 2. The difference between the two figures is quite evident: the Urartian figure has a mustache and a narrow beard whereas the Vetulonia figure has no mustache and a tapering beard; the helmets on both are quite different, and the mouths and faces in general are executed in a different manner. Thus there is no kinship between the sole Urartian figure cited for comparison and the Vetulonia siren. Furthermore, to say that the "Armenoid type of face is to be found at home in Urartu and the area controlled by her in North Syria"⁸⁸ is only a half-truth. The "Armenoid" face is at home throughout the Near East, Assyria, and Anatolia, and one need only look at faces from Tell Halaf and Zincirli, among other places in North Syria, to realize that this facial type existed in North Syria before the Urartian hegemony.⁸⁹

R. D. Barnett has also overemphasized Urartian influence in other areas for he cites certain objects as Phrygian and then comes to conclusions about their Urartian

⁸⁵ *Loc. cit.*

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 153 f.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 151 f. On p. 152, note 1 she says of the example from *Olympia*, IV, pl. 45, no. 783, that it "is probably also of Urartian workmanship."

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

⁸⁹ Moortgat, *op. cit.*, pls. 10-42; von Luschan, *op. cit.*, pp. 206 f., figs. 96-99; p. 211, fig. 102; pp. 213-215, figs. 103-108; pp. 217 f., figs. 112-114. Note also Frankfort, *op. cit.*, p. 81 where he refers to two Assyrian sculptures and says they have "a typical Armenoid physiognomy."

origin.⁴⁰ He claims that the Ivriz frieze is an example of Phrygian art and compares Urpalla's face to the face on the lion-sphinx of the Barberini crater-support. He also compares the hindquarters and its flame-pattern to some dado-slab reliefs found at Ankara which he claims are Phrygian. He concludes from these comparisons as follows: "To sum up: though it is still perhaps hard to distinguish between the art of Urartu and that of neighboring Phrygia and North Syria, yet we may safely say that in the late eighth century B.C. Urartian influence is detectable advancing westwards on a broad front."⁴¹ I am afraid that this is a *non sequitur*.

It is quite clear, I propose, that after examining the evidence presented above one should conclude that Urartian art is being exploited much more than is merited. It has become a scrap basket into which stray objects are thrown. The siren attachments do not belong to Urartu on the basis of style nor merely because some were presumably found there. Recently Gordion has produced eight siren attachments on two cauldrons and thus has as many specimens as are credited to Urartu.⁴² Hence one could just as easily claim that Gordion (i. e. Phrygia) was the original home of the siren attachments because of the number found there and because Gordion also had an important bronze industry.⁴³

The use of a wing and tail ensemble on some of the bull's head protomes from Urartu⁴⁴ which is very similar to those employed for the sirens need not by any means be considered as evidence for the latter's Urartian provenance. This ensemble is also known on bull's head protomes attached to cauldrons found at Cumae and Gordion, both of which are not of Urartian manufacture, as Amandry and R. S. Young have pointed out.⁴⁵ Amandry has also discussed the interesting fact that the bull's head protomes found in Urartu do not generally have handles.⁴⁶ May this not be a characteristic of Urartian protomes in general? May not the very fact that siren attachments characteristically have handles be an indication that they were not manufactured at Urartu? It is a possibility worth considering.

If Urartu is to be rejected as the homeland of the siren attachments, where then was the center of manufacture? This question is not easily answered due to the complexity of oriental art, but I suggest that there is an area where parallels may be found

⁴⁰ *J.H.S.*, LXVIII, 1948, pp. 9 f.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁴² Young, *A.J.A.*, LXII, 2, 1958, p. 151.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 151 f. Also *A.J.A.*, LIX, 1, 1955, p. 3.

⁴⁴ P. Amandry, "Chaudrons à Protomes de Taureau en Orient et en Grèce," *The Aegean and the Near East*, New York, 1956, pp. 239-261, pls. XXIV-XXVII.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 243, pl. XXVIII; *A.J.A.*, LXII, 2, 1958, p. 151 and note 25, pl. 26, fig. 18. Note that the Cumae protome attachment is scalloped which is characteristic for the siren attachments. A further use of the wing and tail attachment at Gordion may be seen on the handles of the two situlæ found in the big tumulus (MMT), one of which is illustrated, *ibid.*, pl. opposite p. 139.

⁴⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 242; but see p. 246, note 18.

for some of the features of the sirens. This area is North Syria, the same place where I believe the Greeks learned of the griffin motif. North Syrian art, as Frankfort explained it, was strongly influenced by Assyrian culture although "its art cannot be called provincial Assyrian, since it has an un-Assyrian character notwithstanding the strong Assyrian influence which it underwent and which can be recognized in the surviving works."⁴⁷ The material culture of North Syria was formed to a large extent as a result of Aramaean, Syrian, and Hittite princes striving to imitate Assyrian royalty and the artistic paraphernalia that accompanied that royalty. This art varied to some degree from city to city but one can see many common features and motives and one is justified in using the term "North Syrian" to refer to the art of these cities.

It is in several of these cities that parallels to the sirens present themselves without difficulty. It has already been pointed out that the "Armenoid" facial type is not a monopoly of any one people in the Orient. Thus maintaining that the Armenoid faces of the sirens are very much at home in North Syria may not be considered to contribute much to the solution of the problem of origin, but it is not to be ignored and should be accepted as a starting point. In any event it is not detrimental to the argument. Thus almond-shaped eyes surrounded by a border, and fleshy noses may be seen in a great number of North Syrian faces (Pl. 104, c-h).⁴⁸ Every oriental siren conforms to these features even though each siren may differ in some small degree from another. These differences may be explained as due to the fact that each siren was cast in a different mould. This is clearly demonstrated at Gordion where each of the examples is slightly different from its associate on the same cauldron.⁴⁹ When one examines the bearded sirens and compares them to North Syrian faces, more similarities will become apparent. One of the characteristics of North Syrian beards is the appearance of artificiality. This beard passes under the lower lip and up past the ear in a sharp line; it is often divided into horizontal zones, and it generally tapers toward a squared-off end. Moreover, in all but a few cases, there is no accompanying mustache (Pl. 104, c-e).⁵⁰ The bearded figures from Vetulonia (Pl. 103, c), Gordion (Pl. 103, a, b), and Olympia (Pl. 103, d) have similar beards and all lack mustaches.⁵¹

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 165.

⁴⁸ For other references see note 39.

⁴⁹ *A.J.A.*, LXII, 2, p. 151; also *Expedition*, I, 1, 1958, p. 11.

⁵⁰ For other references for the type of beard referred to without accompanying mustache see Moortgat, *op. cit.*, pls. 10, b, 11, 12, 15-42; also see pls. 87-109 for scattered examples, and pls. 141, 144, 146, 149, 157, all from the 9th century B.C. von Luschan, *op. cit.*, p. 211, fig. 102; pp. 213-215, figs. 103-107; p. 218, fig. 114; p. 200, fig. 119; p. 223, fig. 124, pls. 40, 42. Hogarth, *op. cit.*, pls. B.11, B.14, B.16. Akurgal, *op. cit.*, pls. 40, 41, a, b from Marash. Poulsen, *op. cit.*, p. 64, called attention to the lack of a mustache as a Phoenician trait.

⁵¹ Note that the Gordion examples do not have the beard divided into horizontal zones. However, one of these two examples (Pl. 103, a) has a parallel on a beard from Zincirli; see note 52.

Furthermore, the helmet on the Vetulonia example can be seen on the heads of figures on reliefs from at least two North Syrian cities, the one referred to by Maxwell-Hyslop at Tell Halaf (Pl. 104, f), and a couple from Zincirli (Pl. 104, c, g). An additional relationship to North Syria can be documented by the curl effect on one of the Gordion bearded sirens (Pl. 103, a), for the same technique was used to represent the hair of men on reliefs at Tell Halaf and Zincirli.⁵²

The interesting bearded example from Delphi (Pl. 104, b), although different to some degree from the other bearded sirens, exhibits a very strong facial similarity to a figure from Sakcegozu (Pl. 104, h). The eyes, hair, beard (notice the curls on the sides running horizontally and the front area running vertically), and expression make good comparanda except for the mustache on the Sakcegozu figure which is lacking on the one from Delphi.⁵³ Finally, some of the decorative motives that occur on the sirens are not strangers to North Syria. Thus, for example, the zigzag pattern that often appears on the breast of the sirens may be noted in North Syrian art.⁵⁴

On the basis of these comparisons is it possible to suggest that the siren attachments were manufactured in North Syria and then exported to other lands? It is my opinion that a positive answer to this question would not be incorrect. At the very least one should maintain that North Syria was sufficiently involved to imprint its style on the form of the sirens. Kunze⁵⁵ once suggested a relationship between the sirens and North Syrian art but was strongly opposed by Barnett who insisted that "the winged figures and the open-mouthed griffins associated with them have nothing in common with the art of North Syria. To call them North Syrian is clearly flying in the face of facts."⁵⁶ Actually, one flies in the face of facts by ignoring North Syria. To be sure, most of the information brought forward to support a North Syrian provenance is derived from the bearded siren specimens. This is because their features are better isolated than the common Armenoid faces of the unbearded types. Certainly the juxtaposition of the bearded and unbearded sirens on the same cauldron strongly supports a common origin for both types. Indeed, no siren attachment is presently known from a North Syrian site, but I suggest that the lack of a specimen is not detrimental to my thesis for one cannot avoid the clear evidence of the North Syrian motifs. Perhaps when Gordion and other Phrygian cities have yielded more of their bronze and stone sculpture we will have more knowledge of the Phrygian contribution,

⁵² Tell Halaf: Moortgat, *op. cit.*, pls. 103, 104, 109, 132. Zincirli: von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sindschirli*, IV, Berlin, 1911, figs. 266-268.

⁵³ The hair on the Delphi example is very similar to the hair on the example from Toprak Kale; see note 26 for the Toprak Kale reference. Note also the position of the spirals on both pieces.

⁵⁴ Moortgat, *op. cit.*, pls. 105, 118, on the belly of a lion; pls. 130, 132, on the border of man's clothes.

⁵⁵ Kunze 1931, pp. 272 f.

⁵⁶ *Iraq*, XII, 1950, p. 39.

if any, to the origin of siren attachments. But at the present time North Syria stands as a very strong candidate. It is here that one finds the common origin both of the siren attachments and the griffin motif used for protomes which appear on the cauldrons.

It should be added as a final note that one can trace the penetration of North Syrian influence into Greece with other objects. Thus a few years ago an imported North Syrian statue was unearthed at Olympia,⁵⁷ and the fact that a Greek potter made use of his knowledge of North Syrian art was demonstrated by Dunbabin.⁵⁸ Hence the griffins and sirens need not be considered isolated examples of cultural contact.

ADDENDUM

The editor has kindly permitted this addendum as some time has passed since this article was first submitted for publication.

1. Some new articles have appeared which are concerned with the griffin problem. To this writer the most important one is Professor J. L. Benson's article in *Antike Kunst* which presents careful arguments for regarding the griffins as being of Greek manufacture.⁵⁹ Of special significance is his discussion of the distinctions between hammering and casting, the former being a Greek and the latter being an oriental characteristic.⁶⁰ Furthermore, Benson predicted that any griffin found in the orient in the future would be cast and would not be similar to those known in the west.⁶¹ This prediction was borne out by a small cast griffin found at Gordion in the 1961 campaign and not yet published. Finally, Benson commented on the use of bitumen in the griffin protomes and reached a conclusion that was refreshingly and coincidentally the same as that expressed in this paper.⁶²

2. Protomes with wing and tail attachments have been found in 9th century B.C. Hasanlu; they are apparently the earliest known at the present time. One represents a bird which is apparently in flight;⁶³ two others from a bronze bowl represent birds'

⁵⁷ H. V. Herman, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-84, figs. 37, 38.

⁵⁸ Dunbabin, *op. cit.*, p. 55, pl. 15, 1, 2.

⁵⁹ "Unpublished Griffin Protomes in American Collections," *Antike Kunst*, No. 2, 3, Jahrgang 1960, pp. 58-70. See also B. Goldman, "The Development of the Lion Griffin," *A.J.A.*, LXIV, 1960, pp. 319-328; and in the same issue, Clark Hopkins, "The Origin of the Etruscan-Samian Griffon Cauldron," pp. 368-370. The former scholar believes that Asiatic craftsmen working on Greek soil made the griffins; furthermore, he connects them with a solar deity. Goldman also points out that Urartu has no relation to the griffin. The other article also connects the griffin with a solar deity.

⁶⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 62 f. and note 29; also p. 69.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 68 f.; see note 19 *supra*.

⁶³ *Expedition*, I, 3, 1959, p. 13, upper left.

heads and are cast in one piece with the wings and tail.⁶⁴ The latter are remarkably similar to the siren attachments in hatching and border scalloping. Note that all three of these Hasanlu protomes face out. The wing and tail arrangement is also to be seen on two bucket handle attachments which have rivets on the wings but not on the tails. They are very similar in use and shape to the attachments used on the Gordion lion and ram situlae which also employ only two rivets on the wings.⁶⁵

Thus one has an additional source for the wing and tail attachments so common on the siren protomes. Furthermore, there is evidence for contact between Hasanlu and North Syria during the 9th century B.C. in a beautiful censor bowl found at Hasanlu but best paralleled in Palestine and North Syrian sites.⁶⁶

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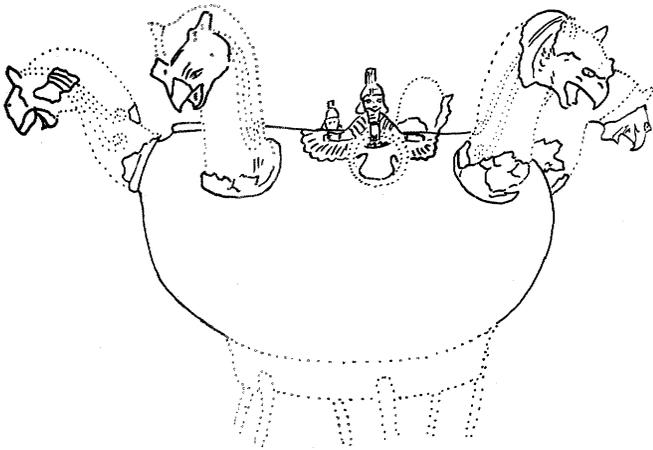
⁶⁴ *Met. Mus. Bull.*, Nov. 1961, p. 93, fig. 9.

⁶⁵ It is not yet published and is now in the Metropolitan Museum. See note 45 for a reference to the Gordion situlae.

⁶⁶ *I.L.N.*, Sept. 30, 1961, p. 537, figs. 17, 18. Some comparanda may be seen in *Syria*, XI, 1930, pp. 133-145, pls. XXIV, XXV; *Syria*, XV, 1934, pl. XXVII, 3. R. D. Barnett, *The Aegean and the Near East*, p. 236, pl. XXIII, 2; *Kunst und Kultur der Hethiter*, Kunsthau, Zurich, 1961, nos. 255-258, fig. for no. 255; W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine*, Pelican Book, 1960, p. 132, fig. 37.



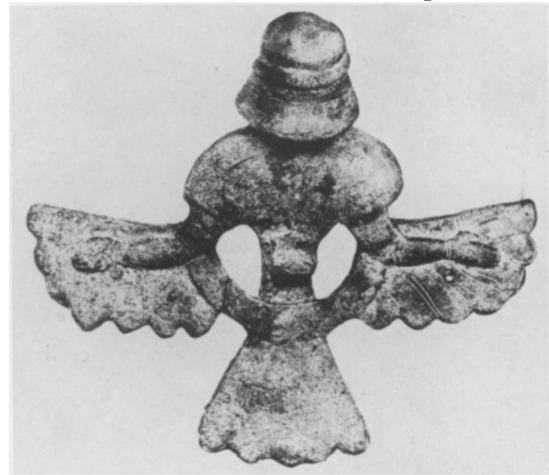
a. and b. Bearded Sirens from Gordion.



d. Bearded Siren from Olympia.



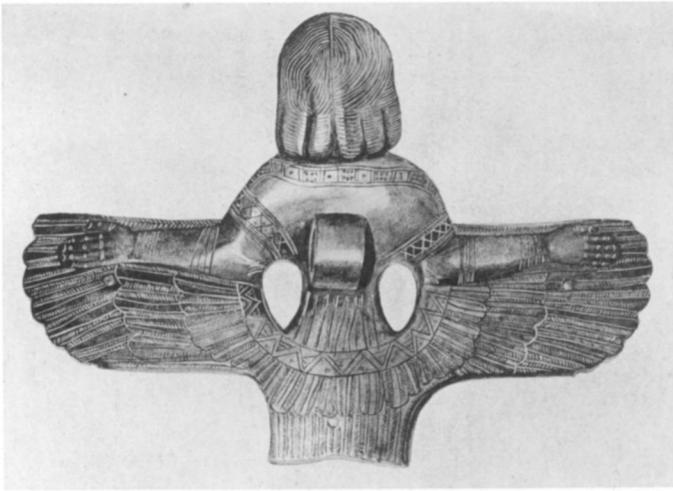
c. Bearded Siren from Vetulonia.



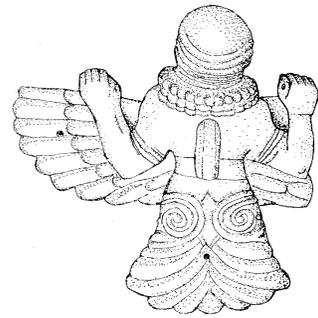
e. Rear of a Greek-type Siren from Olympia.



f. Griffin-men from Sakcegozu.



a. Rear of a Siren from Gordion.
(Water Color by Grace Freed Muscarella)



b. Bearded Siren from Delphi.
Copenhagen, National Museum.



c. Relief from Zincirli.



d. Relief from Zincirli.



e. Relief from Zincirli.



f. Relief from Tell Halaf.



g. Relief from Zincirli.



h. Relief from Sakcegozu.