

SOCIAL LOGICS UNDER EMPIRE:  
THE ARMENIAN 'HIGHLAND SATRAPY' AND ACHAEMENID RULE,  
CA. 600-300 BC

by

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To Adam

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ABSTRACT

SOCIAL LOGICS UNDER EMPIRE:  
THE ARMENIAN “HIGHLAND SATRAPY” AND ACHAEMENID RULE,  
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by

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This dissertation is a multi-scalar archaeological inquiry into the re-making of social order in a single province, or satrapy, of the Achaemenid Persian Empire (ca. 550-330 BC). The work forwards a perspective on the study of imperial provinces that focuses on social logics, the practical understandings that articulate structures, social roles, and temporal rhythms within historical contexts, as mediated by places and things. The geographic focus of this research is the mountainous region extending from the northern Euphrates eastward to the Lesser Caucasus, a “highland satrapy” which the Achaemenid kings appear to have called Armenia.

Through investigations in this little-explored province, the work advances a new direction in the archaeology of early empires generally, and the study of the Achaemenid empire in particular, that examines the workings of political and social life within incorporated territories. This research departs from approaches to imperial provinces framed around



macro-structural and centrifugal phenomena such as strategies of control and the influence of imperial institutions on provinces. I focus instead on how imperial formations are made through practices and relations of power in routine human associations that are significantly shaped by pre-conquest sociopolitical traditions.

During the late second and first millennia BC, across the rugged landscapes of the highlands, stone fortresses set atop craggy hilltops were the pivot around which society was ordered and transformed. This social archaeology examines the ways in which the changing position of the fortress was a part of changing social logics following the emergence of Achaemenid imperial power. Local leaders pursued new practices in new kinds of spaces that reproduced their authority and connected them to one other, to their antecedents, and to the wider empire.

The study explores three scales of analysis, beginning with a single site in modern central Armenia named Tsaghkahovit, where I conducted original fieldwork. From this intimate view on a single town, the work expands to a regional scale, comparing survey data from across the highlands to examine broad-scale change. The work then culminates in the examination of the highest echelons of satrapal authority in the revitalized former Urartian fortresses of Erebuni and Altintepe.

CHAPTER 1  
INTRODUCTION

In one of the more extraordinary images of empire from the ancient world, the Achaemenid kings (ca 550-330 BC), rulers of the largest empire the world had ever known (figure 1.1), created an original visual rendering of a model of imperial order. Variants of the scene are sculpted on numerous stone monuments and rock cliffs at the imperial center, Persepolis, such as the jamb of a doorway to the Hall of 100 Columns (figure 1.2).<sup>1</sup> In these scenes, the empire's subject territories or peoples are shown in two or three registers with their arms interlocked in an atlas posture (Root 1979: 147-61).<sup>2</sup> They appear to be holding up by their fingertips a throne or platform that supports the king. Above the king, a deity known as Ahuramazda hovers in a winged disk, the ultimate, cosmic guarantor by whose favor the order below is realized. One of the figures with upraised arms, we know from inscriptions, is a personification of the province, or satrapy, of Armenia.

This dissertation is a study of social order in this one satrapy of the Achaemenid empire. It is thus also a study of how communities of this empire participated (willfully or not) in the making of this imperial project. As a representation of principles of

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<sup>1</sup> For a detailed discussion of these images see Root (1979).

<sup>2</sup> This "atlas posture" belongs to a long tradition in Near Eastern art, which predates the Achaemenid empire. In earlier art the pose is adopted only by the gods and mythical beings and has cosmic and celestial associations. Here the pose is transformed as part of a metaphor of imperial power (Root 1979: 148, 1980: 12).

kingship and empire—one that was in fact remarkably innovative for its time—the “throne-bearing” scenes described above depict an ideology of a participatory and cooperative imperial venture (Root 1979, 2000). Armenia, along with the other provinces, is shown actively engaged in glorifying the king, and in so doing, in upholding the imperial order. Margaret Root has studied these monuments in great detail, and has noted the absence of violence vis-à-vis the subject lands. In these scenes, subjects are instead depicted in a dignified manner, in some cases even bearing arms. As an ideological strategy, and in striking departure from earlier precedents, these scenes emphasize a social order reciprocally constituted between king and subject (Root 2000: 21). Through their “participatory action” (Root 2000: 22) in holding up the king (quite literally), the subject provinces, Armenia among them, also hold up the imperial order.

Or so it is asserted by the Achaemenid kings. The so-called throne-bearing scenes lay forth an ideology of empire, thus inviting interrogation of the principles proposed therein. What role *did* subjects—whether understood as individuals, communities, or larger collectives—play in holding up this empire, or, as the case may be, in challenging it? The point here is not to test the historical accuracy of the monuments as statements on how empire actually *was* made. To do so would be to misunderstand their purpose as artistic proclamations of royal visions and principles, and not of historical “realities.” Rather, it is to recognize in these scenes certain propositions about how empire *should* be made, and to probe the intersection of, or the distance between, the “real” and the represented in one region of the empire. Are empires made by the participatory action of subjects and collectives who live under them, or are they made by singular individuals

like the king? The answer is of course both, but the more difficult question is, then, how is this done? And how was this done in the Achaemenid empire?

### **Organization of the Dissertation**

These are questions of social “logics” (Bourdieu 1989; Sewell 2005). That is, they are questions about the dynamic principles that articulate structures, positions, and communities within collective orders and the places and things that mediate ties. In the next chapter, I take up these concerns in a theoretical register, elaborating further what is meant by “social logics.” Chapter 2 forwards a perspective on the study of imperial provinces that focuses the analytical gaze on “the social” and draws together two discrete subfields of anthropology and ancient history: the archaeology of early empires, and the study of the Achaemenid empire. The aim of this chapter is to rethink how an archaeology of empire, and specifically anthropologists and historians who work with the material culture of the Achaemenid empire, might conceptualize and investigate the workings of politics and social life within incorporated territories. The chapter thus provides a discussion of the key concepts that underpin this research.

Much of what is at issue in Chapter 2 is the challenge of pairing historical with archaeological inquiry, without dissolving the distinctiveness of their unique epistemologies. In Chapter 3, I detail the historical context of this work (itself principally archaeological), focusing primarily on textual, but also visual, evidence for the place of Armenia within Achaemenid history. How “Great Man,” or political, history can illuminate the working of past social order is the question that lies at the heart of that

chapter. From there, in Chapter 4 historiography is once again the focus. In this chapter I chart an intellectual history of archaeology in the South Caucasus, and particularly the modern Republic of Armenia, focusing on the study of early historic periods of which the Achaemenid era is a part. A key theme of that chapter is how social principles of the Soviet period, particularly Marxist-Leninism, shaped archaeological inquiry into early historic periods.

Following these three ground-clearing chapters, where the stakes and concerns of the work are set out, Chapters 5 through 8 detail my archaeological investigations of social logics in the “highland satrapy” of Armenia. These chapters begin from the most local and intimate level and expand outward and upward from there, toward the imperial scale of analysis. In Chapters 5 and 6, the focus is on a remote, small town of the empire known by its modern name, Tsaghkahovit. Located on a high intermontane depression in modern north-central Armenia, the site of Tsaghkahovit was the principal field site of this research, and the results of these investigations are detailed in Chapter 5. This work was carried out under the auspices of the joint American-Armenian Project for the Archaeology and Geography of Ancient Transcaucasian Societies (Project ArAGATS). In Chapters 6, I examine how the emergence of Achaemenid rule in Armenia may explain the apparent transformation of certain principles that had previously ordered collective life in the region—principles that had centered particularly upon the fortress as an institution of power and authority.

In Chapter 7, I move beyond this single town to the regional level of the satrapy as a whole, in order to try and identify, through comparisons of regional surveys, the broad contours of social order during the period of Achaemenid rule and the endurance

and transformation of earlier traditions. Chapter 8 brings us closer still to an imperial plane, for here the focus is on the likely centers of satrapal authority, and the ways in which leaders of the region appear to have manipulated old and new rules in constituting a political community. In the concluding chapter, the Achaemenid kings themselves make an entrance into this exploration of social logics under empire.

### **Geographic Orientation**

The satrapy in question spans the highland region from the northern Euphrates river eastward to the lesser Caucasus (figure 1.3) (a detailed discussion of the administrative borders can be found in Chapter 3). This region, densely crisscrossed with a nearly unbroken web of formidable mountains, is the highest upland zone of southwest Asia, neighbored by the Iranian highlands to the south and the Anatolian highlands to the west. Our area of interest extends as far south as the western shores of Lake Urmia in modern Iran, one of the three major lakes of the region, along with Lake Van, in eastern Turkey, and Lake Sevan, in Armenia. Toward the north, the target region reaches as far as the Black Sea and the low-lying Kura river valley in modern Georgia. In short, discussion in several chapters of this dissertation straddles a number of politically and culturally sensitive frontiers of the modern era.

In the intellectual history of Chapter 4, inquiry is delimited less by physical geography than by the modern borders that have framed scholarly traditions in the modern era. Here my focus is the South Caucasus, a political designation embracing the modern republics of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia, and a geographic zone defined in

relation to the Great Caucasus chain, which transects the broad landmass between the Black and Caspian seas.

Geographically and environmentally, the South Caucasus is host to considerable variability. Broadly speaking, immediately south of the Great Caucasus mountains are three orographic and vegetative zones: in the west, the forested Colchian plain; in the center, the temperate low-lying grasslands of the Iberian plain; and in the east, the lowland semidesert of the Shirvan steppe. The Kura river provides a southern limit to these low-elevation regimes, running west to east, parallel to the Caucasus mountains, until it drains into the Caspian Sea. The Kura and its drainages water this central belt of the South Caucasus, except in the far west, near the Black Sea, where the Rioni (Phasis) River dominates. Proceeding further south, in all but the far east, elevations rise once again as the various mountain chains that make up the lesser Caucasus transition into the highland zone that stretches in a single orographic province as far west as the anti-Taurus range. This highland plateau is drained by several major river systems including the eastward-flowing Araks river (which demarcates the southern border of the South Caucasus) and the southward flowing Tigris and Euphrates.

At present, historical geography in this region “is such treacherous terrain” (to borrow an exceedingly apt characterization from a different scholarly context) “that one must take each step with obsessive deliberation, proceeding, as the Javanese simile has it, like a caterpillar creeping over water” (Geertz 1980: 7). At least since the nineteenth century, this rugged, high-altitude plateau has been called the “Armenian Highlands,” yet when applied to a region that embraces such cultural diversity, this geographic concept introduces, if not controversy, at least some discomfort. In this work, I refer to it as the

“highland satrapy” in order to avoid letting toponymic preoccupations overwhelm the substantive analytic concerns of the work. It is to a more in depth consideration of these analytic concerns that I now turn.



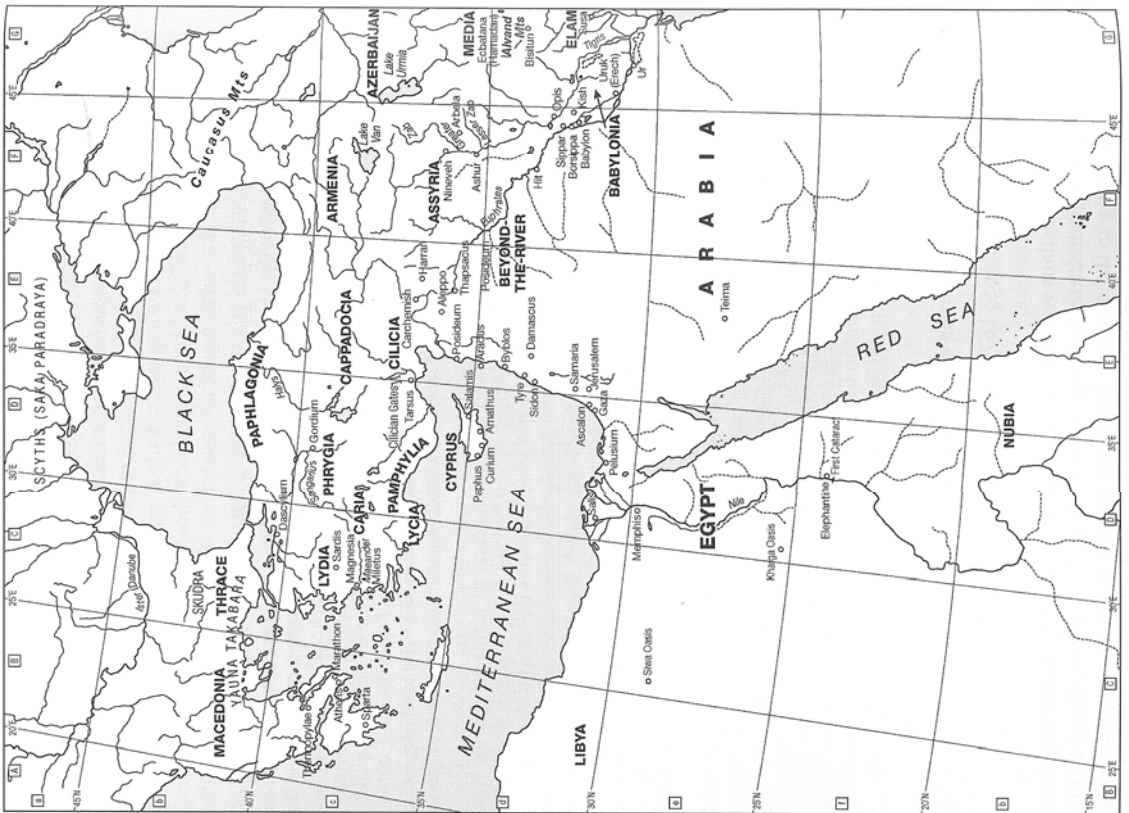
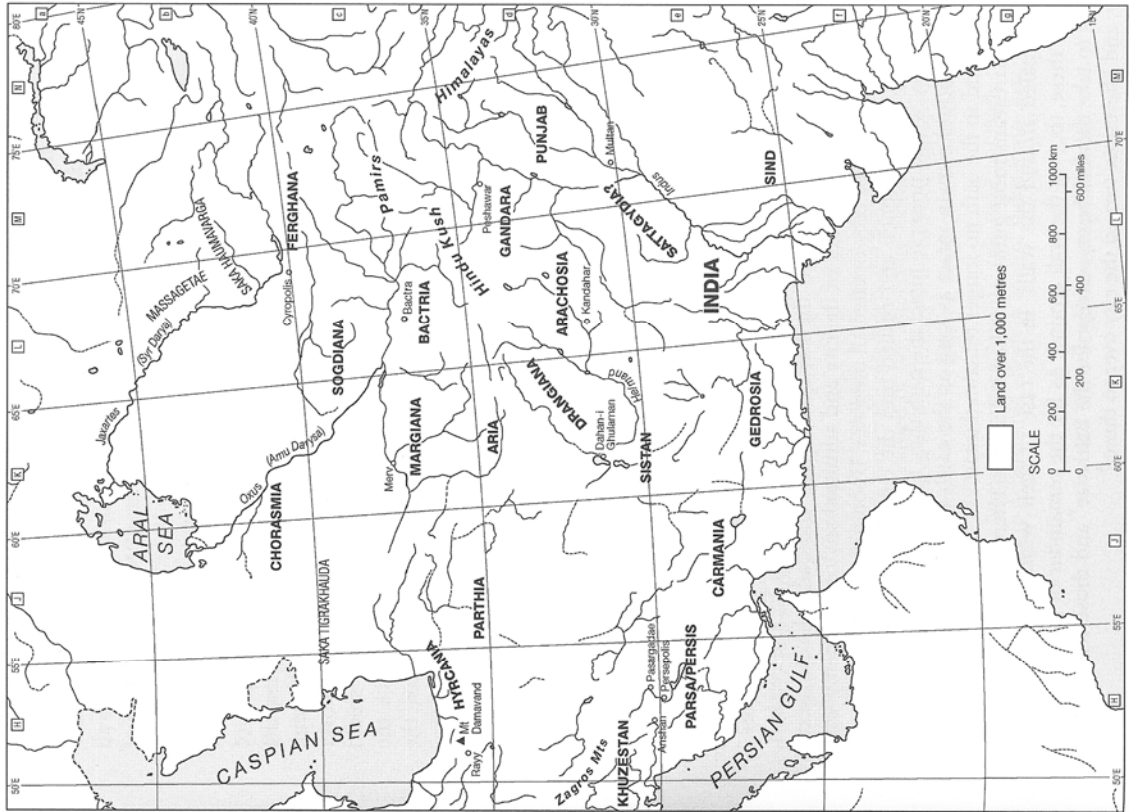


Figure 1.1 Map of the Achaemenid empire (Brosius 2006: Map 1).

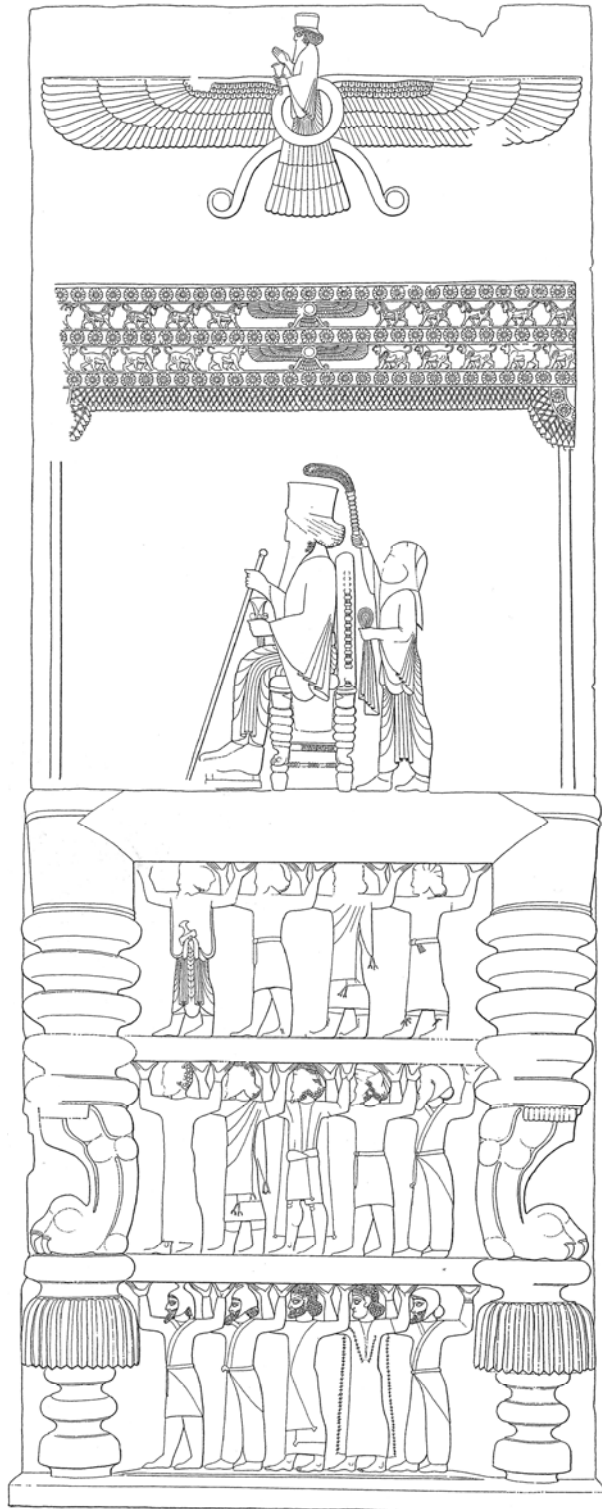


Figure 1.2 Drawing of the relief from the east jamb of the eastern doorway at the southern entrance into the Hall of 100 Columns at Persepolis (Curtis and Tallis 2005: Fig. 38). The personification of Armenia may be the second figure from the left in the top row.

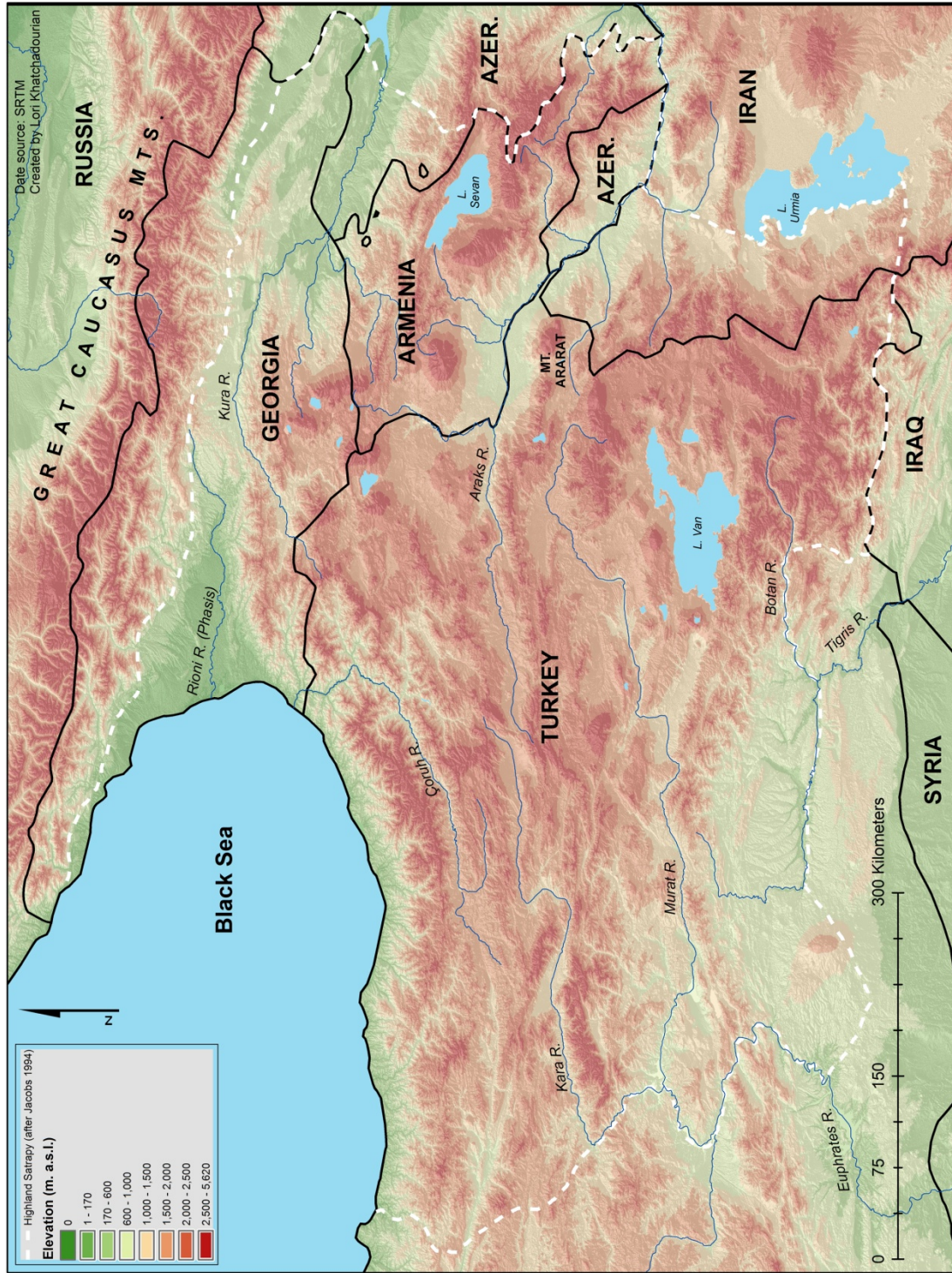


Figure 1.3 Map of the highland satrapy showing modern country borders.

## CHAPTER 2

### SOCIAL LOGICS

In this chapter, I advocate a perspective on the study of imperial provinces that focuses our analytical gaze on social logics, the practical understandings that articulate structures, social roles, and temporal rhythms within given historical contexts. In conversation with an ongoing theoretical discussion amongst social theorists, archaeologists, and historians (e.g., Beck 2007, Bourdieu 1977, Giddens 1984, Sewell 2005), I advance this concept by drawing together one anthropological subfield, the archaeology of early empires, and one subfield in ancient history, the study of the Achaemenid empire. The aim of this chapter is to rethink how an archaeology of empire, and specifically anthropologists and historians who work with the material culture of the Achaemenid empire, might frame and investigate the workings of politics and social life within incorporated territories.

In a recent appraisal of the state of empires research within archaeology, Carla Sinopoli (2001: 443) noted the gradual collapse of long-defended academic barriers that separated the study of early empires between classics and Americanist anthropological archaeology. It is in the context of these welcome disciplinary transformations that the present research emerges. A robust dialogue between anthropology and the study of the Achaemenid empire has yet to take root, however. Diligently particularist traditions of history, art history, and traditional archaeology prevail in Achaemenid studies. Thus,

engaging in an abstract discussion of such seemingly common-sense concepts as society and politics (as this chapter does) may appear to some in this historical field as a diversion from the crucial details embedded in sources that are traditionally the crux of historical inquiry. It is important to stress that this chapter does not wade into particular debates within Achaemenid history or attempt to provide a review of the nature of imperial control in its various provinces.<sup>3</sup> In fact, it strives precisely to step out from this dense thicket of scholarship in order to raise larger questions of relevance to a wider conversation on the intersection of history, archaeology, and social theory in the study of empires.

### **Structure and Strategy: The Place of Province in Empire**

A significant conceptual leap is entailed in attending to the social logics of provinces under empire—a leap which takes us from the register of empire-wide structural phenomena to that of lived experience and material practice. This will entail privileging the interactions among agents of and within empire, the practices that reproduce or transform social structures, and the material and spatial dimensions of collective life. Questions of imperial organization, strategies of control, mechanisms of administration, and core-periphery relations necessarily recede. There is a considerable distance between these two registers, predicated in part on their very different understandings of the nature of power. Traditional structural analyses of empire focus on “power over.” For instance, Michael Doyle (1986: 19) defines empire as the “relationships of political control imposed by some political societies *over* the effective

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<sup>3</sup> See Briant (1997, 2001) for reviews of literature.

sovereignty of other political societies” (emphasis added). Alternatively, an approach focused on social logics will emphasize actors’ powers *to* shape society through human action. From these differing dispositions toward power—power as domination versus power as capacity—flow rather different perspectives on the roles of provinces and their communities in the constitution of early empires.

Doyle’s classic definition of empire captures a widely shared opinion that political sovereignty over heterogeneous territories is an essential characteristic of early empires (Eisenstadt 1963, Mann 1986; Schreiber 1992; 2001, Sinopoli 1994; 2001, Smith 2001). Without lingering too long on the relatively low-stakes problem of defining empire, it is worth pointing out the unidirectional thrust inherent in this framing. By centering the analytic on their exertion of “power over” provinces, empires come to be understood as one-way processes that solely radiate outward from the center. Within the overall context of this approach, studies may recognize permutations in strategies of rule, yet none destabilizes the essentially unidirectional flow of power.

At the heart of the models of imperial organization is a bipolar framework, often recognized as a continuum, between, on the one hand, the direct control of the imperial province by the imperial establishment, and, on the other, the granting of autonomy and the reuse of preexisting institutions. Doyle (1986: 36-8), for instance, emphasized a contrast between two ideal types of imperial strategy: direct (formal) and indirect (formal) rule. Indirect (formal) rule describes when “native” elites are permitted to occupy the higher echelons of provincial government. Direct (formal) rule pertains in cases where provincial leaders are entrusted by authorities with only the lower bureaucratic ranks. Doyle admits some nuance in the details: “Peripheries exert return

influence on the metropole. Imperial rule over the periphery, moreover... requires a degree of peripheral collaboration” (Doyle 1986: 38). But such contingencies do not force a reconfiguration of the essentially centrifugal assumptions, in which imperialists devise and impose a plan of rule, to which provinces conform or react. These plans may entail more or less centralization. As Mann (1986) suggested, empires may lean toward looser, hegemonic forms of rule (“empires of domination”) or stronger territorial forms. Nevertheless, the essential dynamic between center and province, as a relationship dictated by the intentions and strategies of the center, is fundamentally to accounts of empires that privilege “power over” as the structuring principle of center-province relations. The fundamental model characterizes a *system* of rule—a political abstraction at the macroscale.

Until recently, anthropological archaeologists have theorized strategies of imperial consolidation in similar ways. Ekholm and Friedman (1979: 53) made explicit the perceived importance of structural-level analysis in the study of empires, stating “We have repeatedly stressed the larger system aspect in opposition to models that take society as the sufficient unit of analysis...” Terrence D’Altroy (1992), drawing on Luttwak (1976), developed a “hegemonic-territorial” model. According to this model, hegemonic strategies entail the use of indirect rule exercised through preexisting political institutions, while territorial strategies are control by imperial agents (à la Doyle’s notion of direct rule). The same model informed Hassig’s (1988) study of the Aztec empire. Katharina Schreiber (1992) followed on Doyle’s model, but made a point to elevate the idea of collaboration between provincial and central elites as essential to any theory of empire. Schreiber (1992: 16) highlighted the limitations that provinces place on the

design of imperial strategies, and thus in some measure pushed back against the one-way paradigm of domination from on high. Her focus nevertheless remained fixed on detailing strategies of control and, specifically, how they are shaped by degrees of social complexity in incorporated territories. As long as the focus of theories of empire has remained fixed on matters of power strategies and imperial organization, provinces remain the receptors of unidirectional, well-laid plans from the center. Incorporated territories are important in so far as they can inform aspects of empire-wide structure, the manifold workings of “power over,” and the outcomes of grand imperial designs.

Such strategic thinking has declined somewhat in recent years within the archaeology of empires, particularly as the debates over definitions of empire as a unique type of complex society have waned. In its place, the messy realities of imperial formations are coming to the fore.<sup>4</sup> As Kathleen Morrison (2001a) has cogently argued, empires, like those other once-favored analytic categories such as chiefdoms (Pauketat 2007; Yoffee 1993, 2005), should be thought of not as reified *things*, but as processes. “Imperial formations are not steady states, but states of becoming, macropolities in states of solution and constant formation” (Stoler and McGranahan 2007: 8). They are not, “as we once imagined them, based on fixed forms and secure relations of inequity” (Stoler and McGranahan 2007: 12). Recent analyses accommodate the practical constraints that provinces place on imperial centers and the vast distance between experience and statecraft. For instance, in emphasizing regional autonomy over centralized control, Carla Sinopoli (2001: 445) has noted that relatively small groups of imperial agents in early empires “interacted with and were *dependent* upon...local [provincial] elites” (emphasis added). Phrased another way, the collaboration of provincial elites is

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<sup>4</sup> I borrow the term imperial formation from Stoler and McGranahan (2007).



“essential to an empire’s survival” (Sinopoli 2001: 454). The recognition that provincial power is critical to the wider imperial project adds some nuance to the oft-cited model of provincial autonomy secured by strategies of indirect rule. Provincial autonomy cannot be explained solely as a skillful manipulation of local institutions by a “thinking, goal-directed center” (Morrison 2001b: 258), but must also be understood as *a solution to limitations on power*, which imperial agents recognize are insurmountable. As constraints on imperial plans and those who devise them come into focus, models of imperial organization based exclusively on the calculations of agents of the regime begin to lose their utility:

...although in hindsight we may be able to detect grand patterns and strategies in imperial expansion and consolidation, I suspect that in many cases imperial actions and decisions were reactionist, as rulers responded to conditions beyond their control (e.g., external threats, internal uprisings) (Sinopoli 2001: 447).

It is in this vein that more recent studies acknowledge the vulnerability and fragility of imperial formations, without in any way denying that they entail oppressive, extractive, often violent institutions and asymmetrical structures of power that have had (and still have [Borón 2005]) a real and devastating impact on the human condition. That fragility is only visible beyond the ideologies and institutions of the imperial stage, and some scholars have begun to incorporate just such local conditions into both theory and research design. Morrison (2001b: 253) has advocated a move away

from viewing imperial strategies solely as intentional or unintentional acts of powerful elites and toward incorporating those at the margins of Vijayanagara imperialism into perspectives on the empire itself. From this perspective, imperial expansion and incorporation are not fully explicable in terms of the intentions and actions of leaders and rulers.... Instead, they appear as recursive and ‘negotiated,’ both imposed from without and actively constructed, resisted, and manipulated by those who are brought into imperial systems.

Imperial incorporation is “actively constructed” in the “margins” (now hardly marginal), and through the actions of subalterns, who participate in the making of history. While accepting that imperialism is, at its root, the exercise of power, Morrison emphasizes that

...structures of power are themselves constructed under specific material, organization, and historical conditions at both ‘centers’ and ‘peripheries,’ by both rulers and ruled. This construction is not simply creative or free but labors under parameters of environment, social organization, and politics, as well as will (Morrison 2001b: 277).

Morrison’s perspective marks a clear departure from the long-prevailing centrifugal paradigm of imperial organization (see also Deagan 2001). Before turning away from the structural and toward “the social,” it is first necessary to consider how the theoretical propositions on empires and their provinces discussed above correspond with perspectives and approaches within studies of the Achaemenid empire more specifically.

### **Empire and Province in Achaemenid Studies**

Achaemenid studies, as a self-conscious, semi-autonomous field of inquiry, is a relatively new phenomenon. The coalescence of the field dates to the early 1980s, when a conference series was launched called the Achaemenid History Workshop.<sup>5</sup> This subfield of ancient history emerged in earnest through the initiative of a vanguard of historians working with both texts and visual culture who sought to understand the Achaemenid empire on its own terms, and not through the skewed, selective views of ancient Greek authors that had provided the foundation of certain modern classical paradigms. This effort to assert the independence of Achaemenid studies from the often

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<sup>5</sup> For a historiographic overview, beginning from the first wave of Achaemenid scholarship during the early twentieth century, see Briant (2005).

overwhelming dominance of Classics remains ongoing. Scholars have become sensitized to the challenge of writing history about an empire that is known to us largely (though, as will be shown in Chapter 3, not exclusively) through the narrative texts of Greek writers. Defiance of traditional “Hellenocentric” approaches to the Persians and their empire (and a clarion call for a corrective to this particular manifestation of Eurocentrism), has become a central element of the subfield’s “process of self-legimitation” (Giddens 1995: 5). The *raison d’être* of contemporary Achaemenid studies is precisely to shed light on a polity and its peoples long marginalized: to uncover the sophistication of the empire against ingrained portrayals of its barbarism, and to detail the mechanisms that made it endure in response to representations of its weakness and ineffectuality.

Despite the field’s struggle to separate its analytical object from the representations of the classical sources, it remains theoretically embedded in the humanistic traditions of classical studies, reluctant to draw from, let alone intervene in the theoretical debates that have transformed archaeological research in anthropology.<sup>6</sup> Historiographies of the empire largely stop short of probing underlying assumptions and theoretical positions aside from exorcising the remaining ghosts of Hellenocentrism.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> In a recent reflection on historiographic conventions of Achaemenid studies, the historian Pierre Briant noted that the domain of thought associated with Fernand Braudel, which was so instrumental in the rise of social history, is one “with which Iranology has no direct relationship” (Briant 2005: 265).

<sup>7</sup> There have been a few efforts to openly interrogate methods and theories in Achaemenid studies, such as Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1988, 1990) and Elayi and Sapin (1998). In a provocative way, the latter authors critique what they call “traditional approaches” to Achaemenid studies, particularly political history, and call for intensely interdisciplinary research that draws from both the humanities and social sciences. But generalization is often difficult in historical fields of study, whose strength and importance derives in part from meticulous attention to particulars. Notably, in a volume expressly dedicated to method and theory in Achaemenid history, the editors confronted this difficulty. Having organized a workshop in order to encourage greater consciousness in the field, in the resulting publication they conceded that “it seemed pointless... to attempt to elicit purely abstract theoretical contributions” since most scholars in ancient history “remain unaware of how and to what extent they may have been influenced by theoretical and methodological developments in other fields of learning” (Kuhrt and Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1988: xii). For a recent analysis of the role of theory and generalization in historical studies see Sewell (2005: 12 and *passim*). For another study that strives to cross-fertilize history and social theory see Burke (2005).

On the first page of his seminal history of the Achaemenid empire, Pierre Briant sets up the central problematic of Achaemenid historiography:

Marked by extraordinary ethnocultural diversity and by a thriving variety of forms of local organization, [the Achaemenid empire] evokes two interpretations: one that sees it as a sort of loose federation of autonomous countries under the distant aegis of a Great King, a federation that is evident solely from the perspective of tribute levies and military conscriptions; and another that without rejecting the evidence for diversity emphasizes the organizational dynamic of the many sorts of intervention by the central authority and the intense process of acculturation (Briant 2002: 1).

Briant's framing of the problem of Achaemenid organization as a dichotomy between provincial autonomy and imperial intervention (the latter being his preferred interpretation) echoes the bipolar structural models of Doyle and others discussed above. General models of imperial organization and accounts of Achaemenid structure are thus *not* as distant from one another as they might seem. Indeed, a persistent concern of the field has been to measure the degree of control exercised by the imperial center over its provinces on a continuum from the heavy-handed imposition of direct rule to the barely noticeable traces of imperial presence indicative of indirect rule through co-opted local leaders. Historians of the empire have been particularly sensitive to overstatements of indirect rule lest the very existence of the "forgotten empire" (Curtis and Tallis 2005) be called into question. For instance, in response to the case for indirect rule made by archaeologists working in Central Asia the historian Amelie Kuhrt noted that the argument for provincial autonomy

has major repercussions on scholarly interpretations of the Achaemenid state as a functioning imperial system which, given the powerful influence of the Greek narrative sources and their bias vis-à-vis the Persians, is in danger of becoming obscure to the point of invisibility (Kuhrt 1987: 236).

The stakes of the debate on Achaemenid organization are thus perceived to be extremely high. The concern in allowing for too much provincial autonomy is thus that the imperial core could disappear from view altogether. Among several historians (e.g., Briant 2005; Kuhrt 2001; Root 1994), a third way between imperial fiat and provincial self-determination has been found that attributes autonomy not to local strength but to imperial strategies of indirect rule.

The evidence for the existence of very disparate political structures inside the Persian provinces can leave the impression that the Persians operated a policy of *laissez-faire* in which local potentates ran matters to suit themselves with little reference to the Persian authorities, and central control grew steadily weaker. The reality is rather different, with the Persian kings *using* the local institutions to work in their interests, and keeping a very tight watch on their internal machinations (Kuhrt 2001: 119).

Within this effort to illuminate the workings of a cohesive and controlled imperial sphere—one not amenable to the interpretation of weakness or frail despotism (a legacy of Hellenocentrism)—a center-out, top-down analytic remains undisturbed.

This effort has entailed two programmatic lines of investigation: a reaffirmed commitment to studying the highest-ranking institutions and administrators of imperial governance and a program of regional research, focused primarily on the products of “high” culture, such as art, monumental architecture, and inscriptions. The goal of the latter is to trace the evidence for the “impact” of the empire, (often reified as a singular actor), on its provinces. In particular, regional research has focused on material culture and architecture as potential repositories of the influence of Persian high culture and its assimilation by conquered provincial elites within conquered groups.

Before expanding on these two dimensions of Achaemenid studies, they must be set in a wider context. The field today cannot be simply characterized as a study of king,

court, and the events of Great Man history. Political history, and the cultural productions of kings and their immediate subordinates, does command a substantial share of attention in the existing scholarship. But the diverse nature of the source evidence, as well as a broader movement toward social and economic history, has led many scholars to attend to alternative modes of history writing and to the routines of daily life practiced by non-royal segments of society.

Most relevant in this regard is the study of clay artifacts (tablets and sealings) bearing inscriptions and/or the impressions of seals. Philological studies of archives from the imperial capital of Persepolis and from various locations in Babylonia and Anatolia have provided important windows into the working of the imperial economy, the institutional connections linking family businesses to local governments and temples, the terms of agricultural contracts, land sales, and commodity exchange, to name just a few. In addition, the analysis of seal imagery has opened the door to new questions about individual and collective identity.<sup>8</sup> Because these studies attend to the often mundane transactions that brought a wide range of people in contact with official representatives of the Achaemenid ruling apparatus, they have pushed Achaemenid studies from a singular fascination with kings, battles, intrigues, and the most privileged agents of empire. Nevertheless, subjugated communities remain as sites of articulation with the regime and its dominant ethno-linguistic group, rather than emerging as complex communities in their own right. While the center has come into crisper detail, the locations of imperial

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<sup>8</sup> The largest of these archives on which such research has been based is the Persepolis Fortification Archive, a collection of about 20,000 (estimates vary) clay tablets. For a general introduction to the archive see Garrison and Root (2001: 1-16). The data are still being studied and catalogued. However, some works have already shown the potential of this tremendous dataset for the writing of social and economic history. See, for example Briant *et al.* (forthcoming), Brosius (1996), Garrison (1988, 2000), Gates (2002), Henkelman and Kleber (2007), Kawase (1983), Koch (1994), Root (forthcoming). Stolper's (1985) analysis of the Murašû archive is a seminal social history for the field. More recent works include Abraham (2004) and Kozuh (2006).

engagement—the provinces of this vast polity—in most cases continue to be occluded by centrifugal, top-down approaches.

This occlusion of provincial communities is most apparent, for instance, in the extensive and continuing attention devoted to the main institution of Achaemenid provincial administration, the satrapal system. Satrapies (meaning “protecting the kingdom” in Old Persian) were territorial units of regional government, each of which was headed by a satrap, or governor. The satrapal system was a mechanism for bringing some uniformity to the diverse and far-flung regions of the empire under a single apparatus of rule. It was typically grafted atop preexisting institutions of local government in the provinces, which were harnessed rather than disbanded. Historians have directed much analytical effort toward detailing the lives of a handful of privileged individuals who occupied the post of governor (see, for example, Briant 2002; Cameron 1973; Debord 1999; Frei and Jacobs 1996; Jacobs 1994; Klinkott 2005; Koch 1996; Petit 1990; Schmitt 1999; Shaked 2004). They have focused on such matters as the satraps’ ethnic identities (almost always Persian) and relations with the king, their involvement in intrigues and events of Achaemenid history, the coinage they minted, and the responsibilities they carried out from satrapal centers and palatial residences (namely, managing taxation and tribute for the king, dispensing justice, managing bureaucracy, and ensuring regional security).

By centering studies of provinces on satraps, these investigations lend substantial support to arguments for direct formal domination through strategic incorporation. Structural analysis of the satrapal system thus illuminates the mechanisms of effective control and wealth extraction directly by agents of the crown, promoting a perspective on

the making of empire that is premised on the actions of the elite few, in this case individual satraps, whose authority and legitimacy is handed down from the king above. Beneath these singularly high-status actors, satrapal communities are cast as passive and reactive participants in the maintenance of empire, relevant primarily for their supporting economic and military activities: paying taxes and serving in the Persian army. It is perhaps obvious to point out that the study of satrapies and individual satraps depends almost entirely on textual sources, especially Greek ones, an unfortunately over-privileged evidentiary base in the debates over the nature of Achaemenid dominion (on sources in Achaemenid history see Chapter 3).

A somewhat different perspective on provinces and their role in the process of imperial formation has emerged from art historical and archaeological research focused on individual satrapies. Rather than recuperating the empire through structural forms of the administrative apparatus, these investigations seek to bolster imperial potency through studies of the impact and influence of Persian high culture.

Authors have tended to downplay the importance of Achaemenid custom and culture by relegating it to a secondary position after mentioning the paucity of architectural remains that show Persian influence.... The Achaemenid Persians are thus by and large denied both artistic creativity and the ability to create an impact on local cultures in the empire. The very language used in describing that [sic] little impact authors have admitted often minimalizes its importance (Dusinberre 2003: 8).

Such language is an exercise in what Margaret Root has called “the politics of meagerness,” which serve to “add fuel to negatively weighted interpretations of the empire” (Root 1991: 1-2). Having thrown off the mantle of barbarian “other” to the classical Greek world, this anxiety to forge a distinctly Achaemenid cultural canon is



exacerbated by claims of imperial tolerance toward cultural difference. In other words, attention to policies that preserved provincial autonomy runs the risk of implying that

the Achaemenid Persians were so devoid of traditions, of culture, of art forms of their own, that they essentially had nothing to impose and therefore made virtue of necessity through an official policy of assimilation and appropriation in far-flung regions of the empire (Dusinberre 2003: 9).

The moral overtone of these concerns reinforces the considerable distance between Achaemenid studies and contemporary theorizations of empire in the social sciences. For the latter, autonomy, indirect rule, and cultural tolerance are not code words for imperial impotence and cultural deficiency; rather, partial sovereignties and tolerance of difference are strategies adopted by a great many (if not most) empires for dealing with the challenge of governing extraordinarily large or discontinuous territories (Stoler and McGranahan 2007).

“Finding the Achaemenid empire” in detectible Persian influences on provincial art and architecture thus becomes central to identifying Achaemenid Persian “culture” more generally. Briant (2003b:35) has summed up this major line of investigation as a series of interconnected questions: “What are the various markers of the Persian presence in the lands of the empire? How can they be identified? What relationship can one establish between the number of Achaemenid objects found in the provinces and the intensity of imperial power?” In the first edited volume dedicated to the archaeology of the Achaemenid empire (which appeared only in 2005) the editors clearly expressed their abiding commitment to this research priority, as well as their frustration with the perceived limits of archaeology essentially to corroborate the case for direct rule made by textual analyses:

It is easy to highlight the specific methodological problems posed by archaeological information, but also by the confrontation between archaeological information and textual information. To what extent and under what conditions can archaeological observations identify the fact of the Achaemenid empire, which is located, firstly, on the order of political and cultural analysis? What are the marks of the Achaemenid presence on the ground? Even in the case where an object or a series of artifacts brought to light are dated with enough precision, how can they be used to measure the impact of Persian power or influence? (Briant and Boucharlat 2005a: 20).

...all of the participants [in the volume] pointed to the limits of archaeology's contribution to the comprehension and the reconstruction of the history of the empire. Concerning political structures and organization, archaeology...hardly informs imperial institutions and the institutions that were in place or were adapted. It is also clear that archaeology can hardly testify to political history, and rarely to military history (Briant and Boucharlat 2005a: 22). (My translation)

It is this interest to pair the findings of structural analysis with what can be observed “on the ground,” which renders indispensable a latently or overtly centrifugal analytical framework, to trace the outward diffusion from the imperial heartland of Persian culture and Achaemenid power.<sup>9</sup> Empire is thus made, in part, in the outward movement of culture. Implicit, is the assumption that the work of the provincial communities in the process of imperial reproduction was to receive, choose from, and adapt to the styles and elite practices of the center.

It will come as no surprise, therefore, that the search for the impact of the empire and the influence of Persian culture has taken place primarily in the domains where it is most likely to be found: in major satrapal centers (e.g., Sardis, Ai Khanoum, Daskyleion), in monumental architecture, and, especially, in the products of “high culture,” such as

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<sup>9</sup> In this view, Achaemenid archaeology is “trapped by the agenda set by historians” (Austin 1990: 13). It is possible to say that, so far as they share the opinions expressed above, archaeologists of the Achaemenid empire are “so weighed down with the paraphernalia of...history” that they are hardly able “to interpret and analyze in the modes of contemporary archaeology” (Austin 1990: 13).

inscriptions, sculptural arts, and precious metals. The imperative to create a rightful place in the historical imagination for the arts of this empire's dominant ethno-linguistic group (whose portrayal as an underdog will surely seem perverse to any student of empires unfamiliar with its particular historiographic struggles with classical studies) can have an unfortunate consequence. It can render the description and analysis of evidence from elite life—whether such evidence indicates Persian “presence,” “absence,” or the murky in-betweens—as an adequate substitute for inquiry into broad scale social change and the local political constitution of imperial formation.

A few examples serve to exemplify current priorities in regional research, beginning with one closest to the geographic focus of this dissertation. In his work on the Caucasus, Florian Knauss (2001, 2005, 2006) has adopted a cataloging approach to the archaeology of empires, proceeding from site to site, and from one extraordinary artifact to the next (a silver bowl or rhyton, a gold pendant or bracelet, an elaborate stone column base or capital, etc.) in order to argue for the “presence” of imperial control and the “influence” of Persian culture. Knauss is unconcerned with the social and political practices through which communities of the Caucasus participated in the making of the empire, but focuses instead on how the long arm of the imperial apparatus and the beacon of Persian culture infused itself among a Caucasian elite. He concludes:

Whereas in many cases ‘Persian tolerance’ towards indigenous cultures and habits serves as an usual explanation for the extensive lack of discernable Achaemenid art and architecture, in Georgia we find almost the whole panoply of genuine Achaemenid art (Knauss 2006: 105).

The unstated implication is that the Persians were in fact *not* tolerant in the region of Georgia, and that the panoply of genuine Achaemenid art attests to the viability of center-out imperial diffusion. Other recent studies in the Caucasus have also sought out

the influence of Persian culture in the styles of local artifacts—column bases, jewels, precious metal vessels, glass, etc. (Ivantchik and Licheli 2007).

In many regions of the empire, from Central Asia to Asia Minor, research has been designed around this singular ambition to identify the “influence” and “impact” of the Persians and their political and cultural institutions, and, where necessary, to account for their absence (Briant 1984; Briant and Boucharlat 2005b; Lyonnet 1990; Petit 1991; Wu 2005; Zahle 1991). Anatolia, in particular, has been the subject of a recent flurry of publications (see, for example, Casabonne 1996, 2000, 2004; Deleman 2007) focused on elite cultural productions, such as monumental tomb art, sarcophagi, coins, seals, and metals. In commenting on elite acculturation and the variety of artistic styles—Greek, Persian, Anatolian—circulating in the region during the period of Achaemenid control, these studies are predicated on a theory of material culture as an index of the efficacy and flexibility of Persian imperialism. Objects are often rendered as “hapless bearers of symbolic projection” (Latour 2005: 10).

Dusinberre (2003), in one of the most comprehensive studies of a single Achaemenid center outside of the imperial heartland, adds much needed nuance to this picture. As with other studies, Dusinberre’s purpose is to analyze the nature of the Achaemenid impact in satrapal Sardis (in western Anatolia) and the local response to Achaemenid domination. In this way, the work retains a centrifugal theory of empire as a process imposed from the center and reacted to by the province. But Dusinberre’s work is innovative for Achaemenid studies. In addition to attending to objects of high culture, the study also examines domestic architecture, spatial organization, mortuary evidence, and everyday ceramic objects to consider how social life at Sardis was transformed.

While committed to the concepts of impact and influence, Dusinger argues that Sardians made their own choices in response to the new political realities imposed from above. In its focus on “the local,” and its attention to the non-elite within empire, Dusinger’s work shares aspects in common with the archaeology of the Persian period in the Levant (see, for example, Elayi and Sapin: 1998; Tal 2005). She is among the few to make explicit that change, even if “not recognizably ‘Iranian,’ may be due to the external control of the Achaemenid hegemony over an area” (Dusinger 2003:10).<sup>10</sup>

In focusing on the complexity of local responses to empire, Dusinger’s work marks an important new direction for Achaemenid research. But it stops short of highlighting the ways in which provincial communities not only *respond* to empire, but also *contribute to* the continual reproduction of empire through their daily practices. Regional research on the Achaemenid empire has yet to challenge the unidirectional paradigm, and to share in the perspective now held by some anthropologists of empire: “That local conditions powerfully structure the course of imperial expansion and consolidation...” (Morrison 2001b: 256).

### **Incorporating “the Social”**

The argument for attending to social logics of provinces under empire offered in the remainder of this chapter emerges from the archaeological case study at the center of this dissertation. The oft-cited sliding scales between direct and indirect rule, between

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<sup>10</sup> Dusinger is here following on Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg’s important insight: “If changes... can be found, even if they do not bear direct testimony of Iranian influence, they must still have taken place within the larger framework of the Persian empire and should therefore be regarded as part of the functioning of this empire and thus in some way as related to its practices” (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1990: 272-3). See also Magee *et al.* (2005).

cultural influence and tolerance, provide useful frameworks for describing imperial strategies, macro-level institutions of control, and processes of acculturation. But they fall short in accounting for how imperial formations are made through practices and relations of power in routine human associations. Synchronic structural analyses also tend to overlook the ways in which agents of empire (at all levels) must work within the constraints of pre-conquest social traditions in subjugated societies.

A research agenda that clings tightly to studying the macro-structural phenomena, institutions of imperial organization, or the influence of Persian culture on local cultures, without also broadening out to include an inquiry into the day-to-day social actions of people themselves, runs the risk of producing a very partial understanding of the Achaemenid era. The Achaemenid empire, as is often noted, was made up of a diverse array of countries and peoples, but it was made and continually re-made by a far greater diversity of interactions, groupings, and re-groupings. These latter phenomena have rarely been the focus in studies of the empire. This is not intended as a blanket dismissal of influence and impact as analytics for studying conquered communities within empire, but a call to recognize that such taken-for-granted terms belie a certain conception of how people and things participate in the making of empire—a conception that is open to questioning. To understand why collective order in the Achaemenid empire took the specific forms that it did in various places, it is necessary to account for the contingent temporality of each society, or the logics of history in any given place. What then does a social archaeology of province under empire entail? First it is necessary to define what I mean by the word social.

## Defining “The Social”

As at least two scholars have recently noted “the social” can at once be observed everywhere and nowhere, so polysemous is the concept (Latour 2005: 2; Sewell 2005: 318-28). In some usages, the word signals a bounded sphere of human interaction—one that can be scrutinized apart from the political, cultural, or economic fields. This narrow connotation of “the social” is at play most effectively in instances when the adjective is invoked, for in modifying any phenomenon (“social” relations, or “social” explanations) a distinction is being made from other dimensions of that phenomenon (e.g., “cultural” relations or “economic” explanations). This sense of the “social” connotes the relations between people and groups, particularly vis-à-vis various axes of difference and struggles over resulting inequalities. Importantly, it also signifies conditions “on the ground”—the lived experiences of the everyday (as opposed to, for instance, the symbolic and aesthetic dimensions of human experience more often embraced by “the cultural”). In so far as “the social” conveys this sense of the mundane, it has an ontological intimacy; that is, the nature of it is restricted and set apart from other arenas of human experience. The origins of this understanding of “the social” can be found in the etymology of the word (Latin *socius*), meaning companionship, and in Enlightenment political thought of the eighteenth century, which sought to carve out an autonomous domain of human relations apart from the state (Sewell 2005: 321-2).

In other usages, however, the term “social” has an expansive effect, enveloping rather than demarcating other spheres. This all-embracing understanding of “the social” is on view in such hyphenated forms as socio-cultural, socio-political, and socio-

economic. The social is here a larger force or process that in fact expands or diffuses the domain of what is being modified (Sewell 2005: 325). This expansive social still captures the “everydayness” of human relations and the “real” experience of the human condition; however, far from being intimate or cut off, this social is everywhere—in political process, in cultural production, and in the management of resources. By force of “the social,” those putatively more public, symbolic, or regulated domains are pulled down, as it were, into what Keith Baker (1994: 95) called “the really real,” the everyday, the face-to-face. Society and “the social” as a powerful and enveloping force has its roots in nineteenth-century social thought, particularly in the work of Emile Durkheim, who elevated “the social” as part of a moral reaction against both the individualism inherent in liberal thought (e.g., Hobbes and Smith) and the economic collectivism of Marx. Durkheim accorded the social both substance and a tremendous scope, as a structure that restrains and exerts itself upon the individual. He held that “social facts must be studied as things, that is, as realities external to the individual” (Durkheim 1951).<sup>11</sup> Perhaps most indicative of the social’s expansive nature is the term “social order,” which has a near cosmological force, referring ambitiously to the way things *are*, and *are done*, in general, in a given place at a given time. In critiquing the various meanings of “the social” introduced here, Latour argues that sociologists

use the adjective to designate two entirely different types of phenomena: one of them is the local, face-to-face, naked, unequipped, and dynamic interactions; and the other is a sort of specific force that is supposed to explain why those same temporary face-to-face interactions could become far-reaching and durable (Latour 2005: 65).

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<sup>11</sup> Generally speaking, “social” facts in Durkheim refer to the “links and bonds” of dependency and obligation into which individuals enter, and through which they become attached to society (Morrison 2006).



Whether understood narrowly or expansively, the notion of “the social” as a domain that exists—a reified entity—and one that therefore can be subject to study, is the predominant conception today (Sewell 2005: 322). Yet this sense of the social as a real entity has come into question recently, and is what one observer called “the old, solid, ontological social” (Joyce 2002: 1). It is this ontological social, however, that justifies the very existence of sociology as “the science of the social” (Latour 2005: 2), and that has given rise to “social archaeology” (Meskell and Preucel 2004). Within Achaemenid studies, it is safe to say that the more restrictive sense of “the social” prevails (i.e., one may purport to be studying “the social” when studying women, or an individual’s transactions involving seals or tablets, or “elites,” or “non-elites”), and “the cultural” is the more enveloping domain. The same was also true until relatively recently in anthropological archaeology. Hodder (2004b) has discussed the ways in which the expanse of “the social” in archaeology has changed from a narrowly defined realm (as in Hawkes’ “ladder of inference”),<sup>12</sup> to a subordinate sub-system within a larger cultural system (as in Binford’s [1962] “sociotechnic”), to a diffuse location at work everywhere. Hodder (2004b: 26) describes how, in the wake of the post-processualist critique, “everything, from the body and its daily practices in the home, to technology, economy, and landscape, came to be seen as social.”<sup>13</sup>

At least one body of thought has developed recently in opposition to both the restrictive and expansive conceptions of “the social.” Known as “actor-network-theory”

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<sup>12</sup> Hawkes’ “ladder of inference” holds that there are certain domains which are less directly accessible to archaeology, including social relations, religion, politics, and ideology, while others are more open to archaeological inference, such as technology and economy (Hawkes 1954). For a discussion and critique of Hawkes in relation to historical archaeology see Moreland (2001: 13).

<sup>13</sup> See also Shanks and Tilley (1987) for an earlier assessment of “the social” in archaeology.

or ANT,<sup>14</sup> proponents of this approach argue that the debates concerning the ontology of “the social” have missed the mark entirely. ANT holds that “the social” does not exist at all, as a domain or a sphere of reality, restricted or expansive (Latour 2005). The social is neither a leviathan that pervades nor a discrete arena of conviviality or tension. There are no “social” relations, “social” practices, or “social” orders. Instead, there are only associations and trails of association that leave *traces* when new associations are produced. To quote Bruno Latour (2005: 5), one of ANT’s main advocates, “In this meaning of the adjective, social does not designate a thing among other things... but a *type of connection* between things that are not themselves social.” Since, upon first encounter, this is a counterintuitive perspective, it is worth quoting Latour again in the hope of clarity: “social, for ANT, is the name of a type of momentary association which is characterized by the way it gathers together into new shapes” (Latour 2005: 65). There are no “social” groups, big or small, but only a constant process of group formation through associations. Rather than entirely undoing “the social,” Latour aims to re-assemble it in relationships between people and things. If we are to introduce “the social” into Achaemenid studies, he might say, it must be with an eye to studying associations and not fixed positions.

In this study, “the social” is understood expansively, though not as a metaphysical force; the term is unwieldy precisely because it is not a distinct domain that is autonomous from others. The social here is not a material thing, but rather it is the interactions, associations (Latour 2005), or, what Sewell (2005: 329) calls “mediations”

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<sup>14</sup> The very label is described by the man who coined it as “so awkward, so confusing, so meaningless that it deserves to be kept” (Latour 2005: 9).

that make people “interdependent members of each others’ worlds.”<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, such interactions and mediations are possible only through the intervention of material things: that is, the experience of such interactions cannot be reduced merely to discourse (on this, see also Chartier [1997]). Moreover, following Sewell and Latour, I am uncomfortable with the seemingly intuitive understanding of “the social” that begins with groupings formed *by* mediations and associations (e.g., women, classes, professions, ethnicities), rather than with the mediations and associations themselves (which, as Latour [2005] argues, leave *traces*). According to Sewell, such a “building-block model of the social,” while still predominant,

privileges stasis over process, implying that historical change, when it occurs, must be a consequence of strains, conflicts, or contradictions between already constituted groups, rather than an ever-present process out of which groups are themselves precipitated, re-shaped, or dissolved (Sewell 2005: 329-30).

For studies of the ancient past, this “building-block model” has yet other limitations, for it often entails transporting contemporary groupings into the past. Adam T. Smith has cautioned against dividing past societies along the putatively stable, contemporary vectors of social difference.

Rather than articulating the reproduction of identity categories within immediate constellations of social and political interests, this form of archaeology presumes *a priori* the stability of a certain apparatus of difference which segments social worlds along a stable set of social fault lines (most popularly gender, class and ethnicity). Instead of appropriating the power of archaeological representation for a simple oppositional politics [i.e., men vs. women, elite vs. non-elite, Greek vs. Persian], archaeology should investigate the production of social fault

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<sup>15</sup> The concept of “mediation” might fruitfully be taken up in Achaemenid studies because it has tremendous potential to bring into conversation approaches focused on visual media with the kind of practice-centered archaeology proposed here. For the purposes of this project, I see mediation as a process that makes collective life intelligible through things—among people living near or far apart from one another. This meaning can take in both things as representations and things as agents. On mediation see especially Mozzarella (2004).

lines themselves, rather than providing them with the aura of naturalness that comes from deep historicity (Smith 2004: 3).

When I suggest that “the social” is largely absent from Achaemenid studies, then, I do not mean that women, or “non-elites,” or small villages, or even “people without history” (Wolf 1982) have been neglected (although this happens also to be the case relative to the study of men, “elites,” capitals, and the literate). Nor do I mean that social *positions* have not been discussed. Instead, I mean that insufficient attention has been given to the *material constitution* of the interactions in everyday human association, which produce (or prevent) fault lines within variously configured collectivities. Why are such interactions important to the study of complex polities in general, and the Achaemenid empire in particular?

### The Making of Social Order

Much social thought, particularly the deep traditions arising from Durkheim, Weber, and Radcliffe-Brown, has been preoccupied with identifying the components that make up the social, a pre-occupation most canonically expressed in the long-standing debate between the determinative capacities of structures versus the agentive efficacy of individuals. I focus here on a handful of perspectives that have tried to resolve (or at least set aside) this seemingly irreconcilable dichotomy by emphasizing the practical materiality of social life.

These perspectives are important to this study, however far removed they may appear to be from ancient history, because they provide the theoretical grounds for cleaving analysis of the past away from monstrously powerful “structures” (e.g.,

ideological principles, patterns of imperialism, symbolic traditions, rules of literacy), to the things people did in their daily lives. “Structures” (defined below) are hardly unimportant, but they are not historical inevitabilities that, once set in motion, sustain their momentum regardless of how humans interact materially with one another. By the same token, the power of individuals is not unbridled. However, in so far as sociality lies in sequences of interactions and associations, human actors and the *things* around them are instrumental to the making of social orders. The ability of actors to make, reproduce, and change the rules that at the same time constrain them has been a topic of considerable interest in archaeology (Dobres and Robb 2000; Gardner 2004a; Hodder 1986; Johnson 1989, 2006; Saitta 1994; Shanks and Tilley 1987).<sup>16</sup> “Practice theories,” and principally the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1989) and Anthony Giddens (1979, 1984), have gained much traction and thus are by now quite familiar in archaeology;<sup>17</sup> however, the main arguments merit very brief review here since, to my knowledge, they have not been taken up in Achaemenid studies.

Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus* and Giddens’ concept of *structuration* both purport to free social theory from the dualism that gives rise to the evaluations of whether the human condition is more immediately determined by the intelligent and intentional behavior of individuals, or by norms, rules, and the underlying mechanisms of society. To illustrate this dualism through a concrete example, we might ask: Was Achaemenid society (or any part of it) the outcome of the countless conscious decisions and actions of pastoralists, farmers, craftspeople, local leaders, mothers, traders, soldiers, nobles etc., or was it the outcome of the principles of tribute, taxation, conscription, patriarchy,

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<sup>16</sup> See also contributions to the *Journal of Social Archaeology*, volume 1.2 (2001).

<sup>17</sup> Nor are they the only contributors to practice theories, but as two of the influential theorists, their positions suffice for this summary. See also Ortner (1984).

Mazdean religion, tradition, or kingship, which determined how individuals acted? A very great deal is at stake in how we answer this kind of question.

Bourdieu and Giddens propose broadly similar solutions to this dilemma (Parker 2000). Both seek to resolve the dichotomy by attending more closely to the everyday, practical things that people do. To Bourdieu (1977, 1989), people act purposefully without wholly consciously, or wholly unconsciously, following rules. His notion of *habitus* refers to the taken-for-granted routines of life and the accumulation of learnt lessons that allow for those routines. *Habitus* is the totality of dispositions manifested practically through the human body that account for humans' basic ways of being and doing. It is the set of "schemes enabling agents to generate an infinity of practices adapted to endlessly changing situations" (Bourdieu 1977: 16). Through these taken-for-granted routines—the mundane day-to-day—people create, and are constrained by, institutions or beliefs of which they are not always aware. Closely related is Bourdieu's concept of *doxa*, which describes the deep and unquestioned forms of cultural knowledge that are re-established through *orthodoxy*, and called into question by *heterodoxy*. People can contest what once seemed natural and thus reveal the politics behind what was once taken-for-granted. Bourdieu placed great emphasis on practice, and wanted to "rescue 'the active' side from idealism, meaning that humans do not simply interpret their experience of the world, but actively produce it" (Parker 2000: 41). However, in their practices agents are constrained by relative advantage and disadvantage vis-à-vis power.

For Giddens, the bridge between structure and the individual resides in what he calls *structuration*.<sup>18</sup> Structuration is the process of society's continuous and recursive

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<sup>18</sup> See Parker (2000: 6-10) for a discussion of this word. Structuration has meaning in sociology apart from Giddens's specific definition.

creation by actors who are constrained and enabled by structures (or the principles that pattern action [Sewell 2005: 129]). Giddens (1979, 1984) argues that society cannot be understood by stressing either structures or acting individuals, since knowledgeable individuals enact or change structures (even if through the unintentional consequences of their actions) and structures at the same time constrain the possibilities for individual action. Structures are both the means to, and the result of, the actions of enabled actors (that is, structures are *dual*). Giddens stressed that the relationship between agents and structures is mediated through *practice*. Practice refers to the day-to-day routines or regularized actions that people undertake (either with practical or discursive consciousness, or unconsciously), and through which they choose to reproduce or change the structures (or “rules and resources”) that enable and constrain them. Giddens defines power as “the capacity of actors to secure outcomes where the realization of these outcomes depends upon the agency of others (Giddens 1979: 93). Power resides in all social action. Linking power to an agent’s capacity to act does not mean that all agents are equally powerful. There are rules or schemas that constrain some actors more than others, and enable some actors more than others.

Although necessarily oversimplified here, these remain compelling perspectives decades after they were first forwarded. But these practice-centered theories have also met with criticism, provoking considerable conceptual refinement since the late 1970s and 1980s.<sup>19</sup> It is easy nevertheless to see the immediate relevance of such theories for

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<sup>19</sup> For instance, some critics see a commitment to structuralism—a framework from which both thinkers aimed to depart—lurking in the tenacious binary inherent in practice theories and, at least in the case of Giddens, in his very conceptualization of “structures” (Margolis 1999; Sewell 2005). In numerous works, Archer (2000: 6) has expressed the opposite concern, that these binary constructs of structure and agent should not be conflated. From a position of overall agreement with Giddens, Sewell (1992, 2005: 124-51) has penetrated deeper into a conceptualization of “structure,” grappling with its virtual versus material aspects, and its “deeper” and more surficial varieties (Thomson [1989] has also critiqued Giddens’

archaeology.<sup>20</sup> By focusing on the ways in which mundane practices and routines in the everyday create the human condition, practice theories speak directly to the kinds of phenomena that archaeologists study. Most notably, Bourdieu and Giddens open room for a consideration of space—Bourdieu through the physicality of bodily movement, Giddens through the regulatory power of (built) environments “in which social conduct is enacted” (Giddens 1979: 201).<sup>21</sup> Influenced by practice theories, Sewell has similarly argued that

The built environment, like language, constrains and enables.... The built environment powerfully mediates our social existence.... The world we inhabit is constantly reworked by human activity, but in ways that are shaped by the built environment’s already existing constraints and possibilities (Sewell 2005: 363).

I will return to the intersection of archaeology and practice theory below (p. 45).

My purpose here is simply to underline that Bourdieu and Giddens’ ideas have been part of a movement that has brought new reflections on materiality into social theory, and thus created opportunities for re-conceptualizing archaeology’s contribution to fields typically consumed by historical reconstruction. In this regard, it is worth highlighting a recent

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understanding of structure). The notion of an actors’ efficacy in reproducing or changing society has also been pressed further. Some have noted that Bourdieu’s *habitus* is so steeply rule-bound that there is little account of change and innovation (Sewell 2005: 138). Giddens’ concept of agency has come under critique for assuming too much self-reflexivity and a misplaced universality to agency (possibly influenced by Western concepts of individualism) regardless of individuals’ positions vis-à-vis historically contingent social structures (Thompson 1989). The peculiar historicity in Bourdieu’s concepts of *doxa* has also been challenged (Smith 2001). For discussion of other points of disagreement and bibliography of critical works see, for instance, Gardner (2004b), Kaspersen (2000: 157-187), Held and Thompson (1989), and Sewell (2005: 127).

<sup>20</sup> One note of caution that should be raised, however, is the fact that Bourdieu and Giddens developed their ideas specifically in relation to modern, specifically capitalist societies. Like other social theorists including Marx, Weber, and Durkheim, pre-modern societies are understood only through the lens of ancient history.

<sup>21</sup> Giddens emphasized that space was not just the parameter for social action. Not everyone would agree that Giddens gives ample or proper attention to space, however. Saunders (1989) has argued that Giddens adds space into his formulations as a gratuitous afterthought to his theory, and Gregory (1989) has compared Giddens’ understanding of space to those of geographers like Harvey and Lefebvre, critiquing the sociologist for failing to address the “production of space” (see p. 46 below).



approach to the social that focuses on the actions, interactions, and mediations of humans *and non-human things* in the day-to-day. Latour, for instance, has gone further than both Bourdieu and Giddens in arguing for the materiality of human (and non-human) association. However, ANT challenges the very notion that social order is “made” (of agents and structures, for instance, because this metaphor gives social order a kind of reality).<sup>22</sup> While we are warned to: “Be prepared to cast off agency, structure, psyche, time, and space along with every other philosophical and anthropological category...” (Latour 2005: 24), Latour himself appears not entirely prepared to do this, since he arguably sneaks agents back into the picture. But Latour’s agents are not only human actors, but *things*. He sees social theory as having woefully neglected the agency of things, or their roles as *participants* in directing the course of action (Latour 2005: 71).

The notion of a material and social world is, for Latour, an artificial distinction:

...any *human* course of action might weave together in a matter of minutes, for instance, a shouted order to lay a brick, the chemical connection of cement with water, the force of a pulley unto a rope with a movement of the hand, the strike of a match to light a cigarette offered by a co-worker, etc. Here, the apparently reasonable division between material and social becomes just what is obfuscating any enquiry on how a *collective* action is possible... (Latour 2005: 74).

It is impossible to understand the human course of collective action, in the present or the past, without attending to even the most seemingly mundane elements of the material world. But how do they bring about change? Where does historical transformation enter into this discussion? This is Sewell’s concern in *Logics of History*, a work which aims to integrate the complexities of temporality into our understanding of social worlds.

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<sup>22</sup> Giddens also has stressed that society is not an entity, but “exists only as social practices reproduced in an infinite diversity of milieux” (Giddens 1995: 12).

## Social Logics

Sewell brings new perspectives to existing theorizations of structure. He is unsatisfied with what appears to be an overemphasis on stability at the expense of an account of change over time:

It is characteristic that many structural accounts of social transformation tend to introduce change from outside the system and then trace out the ensuing structurally shaped changes, rather than showing how change is generated by the operation of structures internal to a society (Sewell 2005: 139).

Structures are dynamic, Sewell argues. They are “the continually evolving outcome and matrix of a process of social interaction” (Sewell 2005: 151).

Transformations in social structures are brought about through social interaction within particular historical circumstances, and it is these particular circumstances that account for why social changes take the specific forms that they do. Structural change is not located in a “telos of history” (Sewell 2005: 125) external to societies.

Adapting Sewell’s critique to the specific problem at hand, studies of province within early empires such as the Achaemenid empire introduce change from outside the conquered society, primarily in the actions of Great Men. Although not quite a “telos of history” in the way that Sewell meant, change in such contexts is nevertheless the result of a kind of manifest destiny of imperialism and its agents. Changes are brought about by the well-laid plans of distant agents of empire not by the social interactions internal to specific provincial societies. The forms that changes take are explained in reference to that external impetus rather than the dynamic associations between agents and structures

that are specific to particular societies. Neglected is the internal social “logic” to the making of change within provinces of empire.

The word logic most commonly refers simply to principles that articulate premises and conclusions. Logic also refers to the relationships amongst elements in a set of objects, principles, or events. Social logics, then, are the principles that explain relationships amongst different elements of the social world—structures, agents or positions, collectivities. More specifically, social logics are the dynamic principles that articulate structures and positions as these associations are mediated by spaces and things.

Investigating the social logics within provinces of empire entails accounting for social transformations within local historical sequences. It requires not an account of how external factors gave shape to a particular social order within provinces, but how social order changes over time due to reconfigurations of the structures specific to a given human collective, as these are spatially and materially constituted. Thus in this project, I am not only concerned to identify the contours of Achaemenid-era social order on the highlands, but to account for transformations within local historical sequences. This requires attending to the materially mediated relations between positions and structures prior to Achaemenid conquest of the region, and to how actors altered or maintained those relations under subsequent imperial circumstances.

## Social Logics and Political Authority

There is a political dimension to the study of social logics within provinces of empire. As Ortner has pointed out

A theory of practice is not an abstract methodological debate about the relative weight of free will versus determinism, or structure versus agency, however much it may have originated in such debates, but rather a theory of how people's actions reproduce or change a world that is never free of, and often centrally organized around, inequalities and power differentials (Ortner 2001: 272).

In other words, attention to social logics under empire demands an account of not only how everyday lives are impinged upon by intrusive regimes but also how provincial communities and local traditions create the conditions of possibility for imperial rule. The understanding of power circumscribed by investigations of social logics within province of empire is necessarily a hegemonic one, rooted less in the dramatic contingencies of "power over" and more in the capacity to manufacture *authority* within the practical regimes of everyday life. In Gramsci's account, hegemony is "the process of gaining legitimate consent within the functional universe of civil society, as opposed to simply holding it together through a monopoly on the means of violence" (Adamson 980: 10). It is a continuous process that operates primarily outside of the restricted domain of governmental institutions, within communities and the civil sphere.<sup>23</sup>

Derived largely from Weber's enduring definition, authority is power that is recognized as legitimate, or power that is accepted by others. Power and legitimacy are the two necessary conditions of authority. However, authority (unlike power) is not a

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<sup>23</sup> Gramsci contrasted hegemony with domination, which he regarded as the rarer process of acquiring consent, used mostly by weak states. It is important to note that Gramsci was specific in confining his concept of hegemony to modern, capitalist states.

capacity that is exercised, but a fragile quality that is possessed. In so far as authority is defined as legitimate power, then once power is seen to exist beyond the narrow confines of imperial government, so too does authority seep out of this container.

Although power, authority, hegemony, and politics are tightly interlinked concepts, they are ontologically quite distinct for my purposes: power is a *capacity*, authority is a *quality*, and politics, like hegemony, is a *process*. In this work, politics is the process of manifesting power and garnering authority within supra-household collectivities. It is also the process of decision-making within such collectivities over the use of limited resources, human or non-human. By supra-household collectivities I mean the public or civil sphere, realizing that this raises a separate set of challenges (set aside here) in determining what is meant in pre-modern societies by “public” and “civil.” This project locates politics both within and beyond the formal institutions of government, but stops short of admitting it into the intimate confines of households and families, which do not come into view in this work. It is possible to exercise power outside the realm of politics, but it is not possible for politics to occur without the exercise of power and the production, reproduction, or diminution of authority.

Finally, given all that has been said thus far, it is reasonable to ask whether “sociopolitics,” a conflation of two terms, each of which already encompasses so many meanings on its own, yields a yet more unwieldy concept, or somehow reins in the conceptual anarchy that surrounds each. Sociopolitics is used here interchangeably with “micropolitics.”<sup>24</sup> It captures the sense of “political life as it is lived and experienced” in the everyday (Dietler 2001: 66). Perhaps it even suffices to say that the word

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<sup>24</sup> Silliman (2001: 194) uses the term “practical politics” to capture a similar meaning: “the negotiations of politics of social position and identity in daily practice.”

sociopolitics attaches an exclamation point to the social, underscoring that it cannot be divorced from the production of inequalities and the making of choices that benefit some, often at the expense of others.

### **An Archaeology of Social Logics Under Empire**

Social archaeology has meant many different things since the late 1930s, when V. Gordon Childe first elevated society (albeit as a component within culture) as an object of archaeological inquiry, and no attempt is made here to encapsulate the plethora of approaches that have fallen under this rubric (for overviews and references see Meskell and Preucel 2004; Patterson and Orser 2004; Shanks and Tilley 1987). Perhaps the most salient contributions of contemporary social archaeologies has been their attention to a range of units of analysis—from bodies and individuals to identities, factions, and classes—that were previously obscured from view by normative evolutionary categories such as chiefdoms and states. One of the most productive analytical contributions in recent years has been the focus on communities.

Marcello Canuto and Jason Yeager, departing from structural-functionalist and functionalist perspectives that defined community as a co-residential unit within a larger social structure, see it instead as “an ever-emergent social institution that generates and is generated by supra-household interactions that are structured and synchronized by a set of places within a particular span of time” (Canuto and Yaeger 2000: 5). These authors stress that while periodic co-presence is essential to the making of community, this social entity is more than just a spatial unit. The recognition that community is defined by more

than co-residency (i.e., not necessarily confined to the “site”) opens fruitful avenues for interpretation in Chapter 8, where I focus on select locations for decision-making among privileged actors on the highlands. The complex process of community-making is also one way to interpret the patterns discussed in Chapter 6. There I identify certain traditions and structures that bound together residents of a single town, and certain practices that may have created differences within the community. Appropriately for this study, from the definition of community offered above, we are afforded a construct that is greater in scale than that of the individual household, but—in so far as it assumes periodic co-presence—more intimate than the scale of the polity, in this case empire. Nevertheless, although spatiality does not exhaust senses of community, landscapes and built environments are clearly critical to social logics in imperial provinces and thus warrant some discussion.

### Space

Throughout the chapters that follow there is one constant: an interest in how spaces—natural landscapes, fortresses, monumental buildings and subterranean structures—mediated social logics on the highlands in the Achaemenid period. However, because social logics are so embedded in historically enduring traditions, the spatiality of community during the Achaemenid era must be understood in relation to the pre-existing social and political landscapes of the region. The very framing of a problematic about space in these terms emerges in large measure out of archaeology’s attention to practice theories. Whether directly or indirectly, the notion that space is socially constituted—that

the spaces in which practices take place both acquire meaning from, and give shape to, those practices (thus rendering them *places* [Casey 1996])—finds inspiration in Giddens’ and Bourdieu’s insistence on the spatiality of human experience. This is a perspective that contrasts rather sharply with alternative approaches, such as those that have traditionally treated spaces as backdrops to human action.<sup>25</sup>

What does it mean to treat space like a backdrop? It is worth pausing to unpack this, since it is this sense that in large measure guides thinking on the spaces of imperial practices in Achaemenid archaeology. The analytical focus of the field traditionally has been fixed on architectural form and embellishment, and not on the practical experience of space.<sup>26</sup> Rémy Boucharlat’s studies of the imperial capitals of Susa and Pasargadae mark an important effort to explicitly introduce a focus on spatial organization into the study of Achaemenid sites (Boucharlat 1997, 2001). He has given attention not only to architectural forms, but to the arrangement of structures and, most importantly, to how the density of these structures informs an understanding of the landscape of the capitals as a whole. Although this approach is important and informative, it differs from the one taken here. Boucharlat seems to regard the spaces at the capitals as containers, or even sets, for the theater of kingship, as evinced by his description of Susa as “the empty royal

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<sup>25</sup> A practice-centered approach to space also diverges from phenomenological perspectives, which are not detailed here. Briefly, phenomenological formulations focus on the sensual experience of spaces as meaningfully and symbolically loaded representations of beliefs. Phenomenological landscapes studies have come under some critique for assuming a certain enduring or innate meaning to spaces regardless of historical and social contingency, and for focusing on affect over social process and power (Smith 2003: 62-6).

<sup>26</sup> Smith calls such an intent focus on form at the expense of space as a kind of “romantic subjectivism,” in which form is overly aestheticized. “By attending only to those details considered culturally expressive,” Smith writes, “buildings and monuments are no longer understood as settings for activities and actions. Romantic subjectivism thus privileges perception—the affective qualities of sublimity—over experience.... One consequence of this position is that analysis is restricted entirely to monumental architecture and urban organization; domestic architecture and settlement patterns apparently lack the grand expressivity of temples, palaces, and cities” (Smith 2003: 59).



city” and by his focus on kingly movement (Boucharlat 1997, 2001).<sup>27</sup> Boucharlat’s approach has been to take stock of the existing permanent structures at these sites and from this to assess how active and populated the cities might have been (acknowledging the possibility of non-permanent structures). In the case of Susa, for instance, he concludes on the basis of the paucity of permanent structures that it was a “magnificent empty showcase” (for whom, it is not clear), since the itinerant king himself was there only periodically (Boucharlat 1997: 67).

It is certainly important to determine the functions of imperial centers and my purpose here is not to weigh in on the question of how populated these cities were.<sup>28</sup> The implication of Boucharlat’s conclusion—that a few gigantic and elaborate palatial structures were erected at Susa either in isolation, or amidst a panoply of nomads’ tents—introduces a provocative instance of political monumentality disassociated from traditional conceptions of urbanism. But Boucharlat stops short of exploring the social content of such spatial arrangements and instead explicitly casts the buildings as containers—passive backdrops—for the king and royal entourage. The very formulation of the problem around emptiness and fullness conveys a particular theory of space as a receptacle of history, rather than a participant in social relations. I suggest instead that the spaces at Susa and Pasargadae were part of the ongoing process of what made kings *kings*. As such, sites become places—mediations in historical processes and social transformations.

Numerous archaeologists have focused on spaces as implicated in social production (Ashmore and Knapp 1999; Bradley 1998, 2000; Evans 2003; Hutson 2002;

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<sup>27</sup> Classical sources suggest that Achaemenid kings were itinerant.

<sup>28</sup> In the case of Persepolis, however, it is clear from survey and the Persepolis Fortification tablets that the areas surrounding the core of Persepolis were active and populated (Boucharlat 2003; Sumner 1986).

Parker Pearson and Richards 1994; Smith 2003), an approach that has come to the field via related disciplines in the social sciences and humanities (Harvey 1989; Lefebvre 1976, 1991; Schama 1995; Soja 1989). Smith (and others: see Gregory and Urry [1985: 3]), has explicitly drawn a connection between the sociopolitics of space and Giddens' concept of structuration:

landscapes are not simply built out of a collection of practices but simultaneously constrain the possibilities for practice. By remaining within a given set of spatial parameters, practices reproduce not only the spaces themselves but also the social structures and political regimes that these spaces support. Space thus cannot be described as simply expressive or reflective... (Smith 2003: 72).

Drawing from Lefebvre, Smith regards politics and power differentials as inherently spatially constituted. Because this perspective will be taken up through a case study in Chapter 6 it merits further elaboration:

...not all individuals have the same capacity to engage in the production of spaces on the level of experience or of perception. There are constraints on the construction of landscapes, both in physical spaces and the meanings associated with them. If not everyone can produce landscapes, there is by definition a disparity in power. What makes the power to produce landscapes socially significant is that landscapes reflexively place limits on practices. Thus an ability to produce landscapes confers significant ability to influence, regulate, delimit, and control daily life (Smith 2003: 70).

The emphasis on practices that constitute and are constituted by space should not forestall an approach that recognizes the ways in which spaces, landscapes, and built environments also are consciously perceived as repositories of symbols and meaning. Spaces evoke associations as well as provoke interactions.

The methods for attaining an understanding of the social logics of space in a given archaeological setting vary. In Chapter 6, 7, and 8, I focus considerably on topography, the hill-top fortress institution, and the changing ways in which the siting of community

appears to have played a role in the production and transformation of social relations in this mountainous zone, from earlier periods of social complexity on the highland to the Achaemenid period. In Chapters 6 and 8, I turn to built structures, considering how points of access, internal differentiation, and the symbolic content of forms combine to inform the kinds of social interactions such structures could support.

### Material Assemblages

If the relationship between space and social order is a constant or unifying theme throughout the subsequent chapters of this dissertation, there are other elements of a practice-centered approach to archaeology that are taken up separately in specific chapters.<sup>29</sup> One potential hazard of investing so much in social logics of landscapes, spaces, and places, is that it can overshadow or obscure the ways in which material assemblages are also constitutive of practice. It is at the level of a single town discussed in Chapter 6, where the excavations conducted for this project have afforded access to both material assemblages and built spaces, that it is possible, in a preliminary fashion, to pair the analysis of these two dimensions into an account of mediation and past practices. I put a stress here on assemblages, rather than singular artifacts, to express the contextual basis of the analysis: artifacts are rendered intelligible and meaningful by their associations with one another, with the spaces where they associate, and with people who use them. This is not to say that individual isolated artifacts are virtually unintelligible

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<sup>29</sup> There is scarcely a domain of archaeological research that has not by now been influenced by practice theory, and I shall not review this vast terrain here. For a small sampling of studies that explicitly draw from or directly engage with this body of theory, see (Arnold 2001; Dietler 2001; Dobres 2000; Dobres and Robb 2000; Gardner 2002, 2004a; Hodder 2004a; Johnson 2006; Saitta 1994; Smith 2001).

and meaningless; they can have potent symbolic content on their own, as I explore through the art historical analysis of several critical objects in Chapter 6.

## **Conclusion**

The theoretical perspectives offered in this chapter emerge out of an interest to add new dimensions to the study of the Achaemenid empire, not to replace existing historical approaches. I have argued that there are critical lacunae in the current approaches to provinces of empire generally, and the Achaemenid empire in particular, that can only be addressed at a conceptual level. In the Achaemenid case, these lacunae are not merely byproducts of the different priorities that have set the distinct agendas for different ways of knowing the past (through texts, through images, through things and spaces). Rather, they are a consequence of a disinclination to interrogate certain underlying assumptions and taken-for-granted concepts. Social logics shaping provinces under empire provide, I suggest, analytically suitable terrain on which to integrate, rather than compartmentalize, diverse ways of reasoning and knowing in the study of historic periods of the past. To that end, in the next chapter I turn precisely to charting a political history of a single province of the Achaemenid empire before pursuing the archaeological priorities discussed in this chapter.

## CHAPTER 3

### HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF RESEARCH

The ‘Great Man Theory of History’ was a nineteenth-century problem, it is said. Yet it is still with us in the twenty-first century. Nor does it look to be resolved so long as its generic form, the opposition of the individual and the society, continues to be irreconcilable in the human sciences (Sahlins 2004: 138-9).

Sahlins suggests that traditional political history prevails in contemporary writing because the dilemma discussed in the previous chapter, concerning how history and societies are made, remains undecided. Such a position may in one sense recuperate the chroniclers of Great Men, long beleaguered by historiography (Ankersmit 2001: 265). But in another sense it emphasizes the importance of situating powerful individuals within social histories, not in opposition to them. Or, put the other way, it stresses the importance of punctuating considerations of the constitution of society with considerations of singular historical agents.

In the case of the Armenian highlands during the mid-first millennium BC, the extant written sources place considerable limitations on even the most traditional of political histories. While it is possible to construct a useful outline of some key actors, there is little information as to what they did as agents of empire, framers of government, or even as forces behind sequences of events. As will become clear, the role of historically known agents of the Achaemenid empire in the constitution of society on the

Armenian highlands must remain at present an open question. In this way, the region is similar to many others where historicity is marginal—that is, where inquiry is situated as if at a cusp between pre-history and history as these rubrics are traditionally construed in terms of textual production. What can be understood about politics and society on the highlands from the political history that follows? Should “Great Man History” even be included in social archaeologies, such as the one presented in this dissertation, where privileged actors are known but deeds and their consequences are so opaque as to vanish from any historical horizon? At the same time, not to explore the historical sources, however equivocal, is to impoverish any archaeology that strives to examine the mutual constitution of individuals and social worlds.

This chapter is not only an experiment in inserting the historical within the social, but in a more prosaic sense, I also aim to provide historical context for the archaeological investigations presented in Chapter 5-8. In the next section the reader unfamiliar with the Achaemenid empire will find a highly condensed political history. From there, I present a brief overview of the history of the highlands just preceding the period of Achaemenid rule, in order to introduce the Kingdom of Urartu. Urartu’s political traditions and legacy are critical for any study of social logics on the highlands in the subsequent centuries. However, the bulk of this chapter is devoted to charting a narrative history of the highlands after it is incorporated into the Achaemenid realm. In so doing, I am less concerned to smuggle “Great Men” back into archaeological explanation than to open a space for understanding individuals and social orders as mutually constitutive.

## Synopsis of Achaemenid History

At the time of its ascendancy, the Achaemenid Persian empire (ca. 550 BC – ca. 330 BC) was, by all accounts, the largest polity the ancient world had ever known.<sup>30</sup> The imperial heartland was located in modern southwestern Iran (Old Persian, Parsa), a region previously belonging to an earlier kingdom of Elam. From this base, the Achaemenid dynasty maintained ever-shifting degrees of sovereignty over an enormous domain, stretching from the Aegean sea to the Indus river, and from Egypt and Arabia to the Caucasus mountains and Central Asia (figure 1.1).<sup>31</sup> Some of this realm was conquered during the reign of the founder king, Cyrus II (“the Great”), who took control of Media (in 550 BC), conquered Babylonia (in 539 BC), possibly reduced areas along the Aegean coastline, as well as Lydia or Armenia (in 547 BC [see p. 71]), and campaigned in Central Asia. Cyrus also built the empire’s first royal center in Parsa, Pasargadae, with gardens, colonnaded palaces, and his own tomb (Boucharlat 2001; Nylander 1970; Stronach 1978).<sup>32</sup> His immediate successor, Cambyses II continued this expansionary phase of the empire’s development with his conquest of Egypt. By 522 BC, the year of Cambyses’ death, in a span of less than 30 years a vast area had been brought under the empire’s control. Until its demise at the hands of Alexander “the Great” and his

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<sup>30</sup> This historical summary draws on several modern histories of the empire. For a brief overview of Achaemenid history, see Kuhrt (2001). For a comprehensive historical treatment see Briant (2002). The latter work provides a useful bibliography of Achaemenid scholarship. For later bibliographic essays see Briant (1997, 2001). For another, more recent comprehensive source see Kuhrt (2007a, 2007b). For introductions to Achaemenid historiography see Briant (2003b, 2005).

<sup>31</sup> The name of the dynasty is derived from its possibly legendary eponymous founder, Achemenes, but it is important to stress that the early king Cyrus never documented this Achemenes among his ancestors. This may be a fictive progenitor, created by a later king, Darius I as part of an effort to create dynastic legitimacy.

<sup>32</sup> There has been much discussion surrounding the identity of this “founder” king Cyrus II. Daniel Potts (2005) has argued that Cyrus was in fact an Elamite. See also Waters (2005).

Macedonian forces over two hundred years later, the frontiers of the Achaemenid empire changed little, and only temporarily. Judging by the cumulative weight of the written and archaeological evidence, the kings of this empire attained a geographic scale of political integration never before achieved.

Following the initial expansionary phase under Cyrus and Cambyses, the empire's fortunes appear to have been precarious. A period of severe dynastic and provincial unrest ensued, whose resolution is recounted and depicted on one of the empire's most famous rock-cut monuments: the inscription and relief at Bisitun (discussed below, p. 73).<sup>33</sup> The dynastic intrigues and rebellions of provinces were brought to an end by the charismatic king Darius I (522-486 BC), who, in addition to adding more territory to the empire (Indus valley, Thrace, Aegean islands), inaugurated a period of consolidation in the late sixth century BC. Darius' reign is marked by large-scale building projects at capital centers like Persepolis, replete with palatial residences, administrative quarters, and imposing meeting halls about which more will be said in Chapter 8 (see figs. 8.9-8.11). Several such structures are decorated with courtly relief scenes that convey a model of kingship and imperial ideology (Root 1979, 1980, 1990, 2000).

Both before and after Darius, much of what was written about the Achaemenid empire by ancient classical writers is a story of revolts and military campaigns as various

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<sup>33</sup> To summarize the circumstances surrounding this period of unrest, Cambyses' younger brother Bardiya may have revolted while Cambyses was in Egypt. A group of Persian noble families interceded and did away with Bardiya. Since Cambyses died en route back from Egypt and had no heir, the throne was taken by a member of one of the noble families that had been involved in the elimination of Bardiya, namely, Darius I, who claimed relation to Cyrus (Kuhrt 2007a: 135). If such a relation existed, however, it would have been quite remote. The dynastic unrest prompted the rebellions. On the Bisitun inscription, Darius then sought to cast his quashing of these rebellions, possibly borne of the chaos linked to his own ascension, as his divinely sanctioned restoration of order and monarchical legitimacy after a period of corruption and deceit that had threatened the empire. His version of events (generally thought to be false) is that Cambyses (unbeknownst to others) killed Bardiya, and then kingship was seized by a magus named Gaumata, who pretended to be Bardiya. But it is possible that Darius in fact killed the legitimate son of Cyrus. This is one of the most complex and analyzed aspects of Achaemenid history, but this summary will have to suffice for the present. See citations in footnote 30 above.



kings faced uprisings from recalcitrant subalterns, for instance in Ionia (Asia Minor), Egypt, and Babylonia. However, in ancient and modern historiography (although probably *not* to the Achaemenids themselves), the most iconic events in Achaemenid history were the Graeco-Persian Wars, which pitted the “oriental” and “despotic” Goliath of the East (so the Western civilizational narrative goes) against the “democratic” Greece of the West. In 490 BC, Darius attempted to conquer parts of Greece that had, until then, remained beyond Achaemenid control, but his forces were defeated at the battle of Marathon. Ten years later, Darius’ son Xerxes tried once again to extend the borders of the empire westward, and while his army was ultimately victorious against Greek forces (especially Spartans) at the battle of Thermopylae, fortunes turned soon after with the Greek defeat of the Persians at the naval battle of Salamis (480 BC). Although these Graeco-Persian wars were (and continue to be) pivotal to emerging Greek, and later Western, historical imaginations, they are not mentioned in any Persian written document.<sup>34</sup>

The events of the reigns of Darius’ successors—first Xerxes, and especially a number of later kings named either Artaxerxes or Darius—are less well known due to the paucity of written sources. Traditionally, this has led to a negative impression of these reigns as marked by decline and stagnation compared to the innovative and active earlier phases. In fact, attention to these long-dismissed periods suggests that the later kings of the Achaemenid empire focused primarily on internal administrative concerns, and Achaemenid scholars have been working to change this negative picture, constructed mostly from antiquated classical perspectives. In 333 and 331 BC, the last king of the

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<sup>34</sup> While notable, the silence of the Persian sources on the wars with Greece is not entirely surprising given the nature of Achaemenid written documents, which rarely take the form of narrative history.

dynasty, Darius III, faced defeat against Alexander the Great and the Macedonians in two battles (Issos and Gaugamela, respectively). Alexander occupied the imperial centers and assumed control over most Achaemenid territories through further campaigns that reached as far as India (modern Pakistan). Although Alexander's conquest of the empire is traditionally seen to mark a titanic rupture in world history, in many respects he became the last king of the Achaemenid empire, so little had things changed in the brief period of his rule prior to his death in 323 BC (Briant 2002, 2003a).

Beneath this neat synopsis of Achaemenid history is a fascinating wealth of historical and historiographic complexity. Alongside the diachronic narrative, certain topics in Achaemenid history have received sustained attention, such as the nature of Achaemenid kingship, religion, and ideology. Here I cover only two themes that pervade the study of the empire and that must be set out clearly in any historical treatment of it. These and other key themes are either elaborated upon or touched upon throughout the history on the Armenian highlands that follows.

The first is the nature of the sources for the writing of Achaemenid history. The study of the empire is constituted by an incredibly diverse array of source materials—discursive (narrative and documentary) and visual (monumental and non-monumental). These are spatially distributed across the extent of the empire's lands and also bear upon different periods in the empire's history. All of these sources also introduce unique interpretive challenges and opportunities. This is not the place for an extended commentary on all of the intricacies of historical representation pertaining to the Achaemenid source material, and so this summary of the issues will be brief.<sup>35</sup> Much of

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<sup>35</sup> See Kuhrt (2007a: 6-11) and Briant (2002: 5-9) for a review of the textual sources and Root (1994) for discussion on historical periodization.

the narrative of *events* in Achaemenid history calls upon ancient Greek writers, who approached the task of narrating them with their own priorities and worldviews. Historians of the Achaemenid empire who deal with these texts are faced with the unenviable challenge of grappling with narrative histories informed largely by one of the empire's peripheral adversaries. Classical sources, most especially Herodotus, Xenophon, and later writers (which are discussed at greater length below, beginning p. 63), not only offer particular representations of the past (just as any source), but they focus on certain periods in Persian history that intersect with concerns or events in the history of Greece.

An alternative perspective on the empire (although one no less biased), is offered by a number of documentary sources produced by the imperial establishment itself, including royal inscriptions and administrative texts from archives (particularly inscribed tablets concentrated in places such as Babylonia and Persepolis). In the case of the royal inscriptions, as already apparent from the Bisitun text, they too promote certain representations of Achaemenid history that must be given due consideration in any interpretation. The situation is no less complicated with visual imagery—monumental reliefs, seals, and other art media—which are, like texts, cultural products of belief, ideology, and particular visions of the world. The corpus of texts and seal impressions from the main archive in the imperial capital, the Persepolis Fortification archives mentioned in Chapter 2 (p. 21), constitutes another primary historical source. In short, Achaemenid history is written through a complex threading of sources that occur in a number of media and a considerable diversity of written languages, including Greek, Babylonian, Egyptian, Aramaic, and Elamite. It is easy to understand why much of

Achaemenid scholarship is concerned with careful source criticism, description, translation, and the pursuit of particular problems or openings offered by individual images and texts.

A second theme predominant in Achaemenid studies and introduced in Chapter 2 is the question of the intensity, efficacy, and organization of imperial control over the provinces. As already discussed, the empire was divided into a system of administrative units known as satrapies, each headed by a governor, or satrap, most of whom were drawn from Persian aristocratic families. By and large, these satraps were based in the central locations of the provinces' earlier political entities (e.g., Babylon in Babylonia, Sardis in Lydia, Memphis in Egypt) (Kuhrt 2001: 114), from which they conducted administrative duties such as raising taxes and carrying out royal decrees. Beneath the level of the satrapy, the imperial establishment appears to have relied heavily on pre-existing institutions and local ruling families, inevitably creating conditions of tremendous diversity across the empire. This raises one of the prevailing questions in Achaemenid studies: to what extent can we speak of local autonomy as a function of ineffective governance, or to what extent was a policy of benign governance and the use of pre-existing institutions a deliberate strategy of hegemonic control? Recent trends favor the later interpretation,<sup>36</sup> but the question of the continuity of pre-Achaemenid cultures, internal political structures, laws, religions, and economic systems, and the nature of Achaemenid institutions of rule, remain very much at the forefront of studies of the empire. With this question in mind it is now fitting to turn to one of the empire's

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<sup>36</sup> That said, degrees of local autonomy certainly varied from region to region, as would be expected in any empire (Sinopoli and Morrison 1995: 83). See, for instance, Fried (2004), who argues that Persian-period Judah was in no way self-governing.

satrapies, where the institutions of a preceding polity were clearly harnessed in the emergence and maintenance of power during the period of Achaemenid rule.

### **The Kingdom of Urartu and the “Succession of Empires”**

The representation of a “succession of empires” is perhaps the most enduring historical convention for broad characterizations of the Near East in the first millennium BC. Although its precise origins are debated, such a neat parceling of history—in a way that equally invokes continuity and change—has deep roots in both Near Eastern and classical historiographic traditions (Wiesehöfer 2003). On the Armenian highlands, the image of successive empires has its own unique trajectory. It is a trajectory that neither rigidly conforms to nor entirely departs from the dominant ancient and modern accounts that order history along an imperial continuum, beginning with Assyria and ending with Rome. The first empire to gain suzerainty in the region was Assyria’s contemporary and adversary, the Kingdom of Urartu. Although this polity was never explicitly cast in antiquity within the trope of the imperial sequence, it conditioned the region’s first experience with a form of imperial politics and had a profound impact on both the subsequent history of the highland and the contours of future imperial projects in the region (Khatchadourian 2007).

The Kingdom of Urartu (or Biainili, as the Urartians called their polity) is thought to have emerged in eastern Anatolia during the late second and early first millennia BC from a conglomeration of smaller polities (Barnett 1982; Diakonoff and Medvedskaya 1987; Piotrovskii 1959, 1967; Zimansky 1985, 1995a). Between the mid-ninth and late

eight centuries BC, Urartu rapidly expanded from its heartland east of Lake Van to encompass areas west of the lake, the South Caucasus and northern Iran, despite the pressures imposed by formidable foes, most especially Assyria. Urartian inscriptions have made it possible to reconstruct a dynastic sequence of kings (from Sarduri I to the successors of Rusa II). These texts as well as a number of archaeological sites evince a persistently militaristic imperial program (Arutyunian 2001). The Urartian kings' approach to governance, we know from documentary sources, was predicated in part on forcibly cutting peoples' attachments to place through forced relocations: "Urartian regimes ripped people out of place, severing the ties between subjects and embedded political traditions through forced deportations from one area of the polity to another" (Smith 2003: 168).

Some of Urartu's kings, particularly Argishti I, Sarduri II, and Rusa II, were aggressive builders of imposing hilltop fortresses across the highlands (see also p. 278 and Chapter 8). Urartian political, economic, religious, and military affairs were organized primarily within the walls of these fortresses that dotted the highland landscape, constituting what Smith has called an "imperial archipelago" (Smith 1996). However, Zimansky (1995a) has emphasized that cultural diversity persisted beyond the contained walls of the state's fortress enclaves. Urartu, Zimansky has argued, represents less a unified culture than a governmental apparatus and state assemblage (consisting of metals, seals, art, etc.), which developed within the heterogeneous cultural landscape of the highlands during the Iron Age.<sup>37</sup>

Opinions concerning the timing of and agents behind Urartu's decline are numerous and unresolved. Some scholars have read literally a section of Herodotus'

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<sup>37</sup> For a comprehensive (as of its date of publication) bibliography of Urartian studies see Zimansky (1998).

*Histories* known as the *Medikos logos*, or the account of Media (discussed below, p. 70), which effectively (although not explicitly) places the demise of Urartu at the hands of the Medes at some point between 605 and 585 BC (Bournoutian 2002: 13; Diakonoff and Medvedskaya 1987; Diakonov 1956: 318; Lehmann-Haupt 1910; Vogelsang 1992). Caution is necessary when approaching the *Medikos logos*, however, as will become clear. Based on archaeological data and royal Urartian genealogical evidence, Zimansky (1995b) and Kroll (1984) favor an earlier date of collapse, at some time around 640 BC, after the reign of Rusa II (see also Steele 2008). Zimansky sees the Scythians as the prime aggressors, another version of Urartian demise favored by some archaeologists. This version has been argued on the basis of “Scythian-type” bronze trilobed arrowheads that were found in the destruction levels of at least three Urartian citadels built in the reign of Rusa II—Ayanis, Teishebaini, and Bastam (Philips 1972; Piotrovskii 1959; Sulimirski 1954; van Loon 1966). This line of argument has also come under scrutiny, however (Derin and Muscarella 2001). Finally, looking beyond the factor of foreign aggression, Smith (2003: 253-4) and Çilingiroğlu (2002: 483-4) have stressed the internal political conditions that may have left the polity susceptible to collapse. Confusion emerges from trying to pin down what was surely an extended process of decline to a singular historical moment. In any event, what is important for present purposes is the fact that when the Achaemenids took control of the highlands, they acquired a region with a history of imperial rule and attendant institutions and symbols of political power.

## **The Armenian Highlands in Achaemenid History**

### *Sources for the History of the Highland Satrapy*

As already indicated in the introduction to this chapter, the history of the Armenian highlands during the period of Achaemenid rule is somewhat disjointed. A historical narrative for the highland satrapy must cobble together and sometimes interlace a range of disparate sources. There is a smattering of relevant references distributed across a wide array of ancient texts, from Babylonian chronicles and Persian royal inscriptions to Greek and Roman narrative histories. In addition to these textual representations, there are visual representations, particularly at the imperial center, Persepolis, that provide unique perspectives on imperial perceptions and ideological strategies vis-à-vis Armenia. When these sources are brought together, the net result is nevertheless a choppy and (perhaps oxymoronically) “uneventful” history that is more intricate—with its elaborate cross-stitching of disparate attestations with respect to Armenia’s place in this or that imperial institution or event—than it is textured.

As with any history, the situation is further complicated by the challenges of source criticism. All of the primary sources used in this chapter are the focus of an extensive body of secondary literature that scrutinizes their “reliability” for historical reconstruction, brings forward the devices and conventions of the various documentary and visual genres, and peers behind the images and the texts to grasp the intentions and worldviews of their creators. Spread across texts and images that have been subject to such source criticism, even this smattering of textual and visual references therefore



cannot be casually strung together without acknowledging the complexities behind their production. There is neither pretense nor desire to devise here an “accurate” history of events related to the Armenian highlands. What make the various sources in this history interesting are precisely the layers of meaning behind each that gave rise to the particular representations on view. Ideally, it would be possible to write a history of Armenia that focuses not only on the passing references themselves, but on the perceptions of this region by the various sources that bear upon it. In many cases, as will become clear, the piecemeal nature of the evidence prohibits such engagement.

In this brief introduction to the sources, I begin with the Greek texts not because they are privileged, but because they happen to contain a large share of the snippets of information that bear upon Armenia in Achaemenid history. Studies of Herodotus’ *Histories* alone are voluminous (see for instance Bakker *et al.* 2002; Boedeker 1987; Dewald and Marincola 2006; Lateiner 1989; Luraghi 2001; Munson 2001; Pritchett 1993). The issues surrounding the two most relevant sections of this text, namely the *Medikos logos* (*Hdt.* I.95-130) and the *nomoi* lists (*Hdt.* III.90-94) will be taken up below (see p. 70 and 85).

Unlike Herodotus, the fourth century BC Greek writer, Xenophon, whose two works, *Cyropaedia* and *Anabasis* are particularly critical for a text-based history of the highland satrapy, has long been regarded as an unimaginative ancient source. The scholarship on Xenophon has proliferated recently, however, and his position within the canon has begun to improve (Tuplin 2004c). To briefly introduce Xenophon’s two texts, which are cited extensively below, the *Cyropaedia* is a biography of the early life of Cyrus “the Great.” Several scholars have taken this biography to be a fictional or

“pseudo-historical work” (Due 1989; Gera 1993; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1985; Tatum 1989), although there is also a general consensus among these and other scholars (especially Hirsch 1985) that the *Cyropaedia* is not entirely untrustworthy for the writing of narrative history. I am reluctant to join in this consensus. The question of whether the text is trustworthy is less interesting than the questions that emerge from the exploration of the *Cyropaedia* as a literary work of the fourth century BC.

The *Anabasis*, perhaps the most essential source for Armenian narrative political history in the period under study here, has been described by one scholar as both a “mine and a minefield” (Fales 1995: 289; also quoted in Fox 2004). This work is Xenophon’s account of his long upland march through parts of the Persian empire between 401 and 399 BC with ten thousand Greek mercenary soldiers. Xenophon and his men were working in the pay of the Persian prince Cyrus (“the Younger,” son of Darius II). Their charge was to assist Cyrus in his claim on his brother’s throne, but since the renegade prince died at the battle of Cunaxa (near Babylon) in 401 BC, the mission was a flop and the Greek mercenaries were stranded in inhospitable Persian territory. Most of the *Anabasis*, which Xenophon probably wrote in the 360s, is the story of their difficult homeward journey northward through Armenia and to the Black Sea.<sup>38</sup> Since the nineteenth century, there has been much scholarship devoted to tracing Xenophon’s enigmatic route within the highlands and associating the modern landscape with ancient toponyms of the region (see for instance Fox 2004: 23-8; Hewsen 2001; Hübschmann 1904; Kinneir 1818; Manfredi 1986; C. Sagona 2004b). This task is made all the more

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<sup>38</sup> Critiques of the *Anabasis* often focus on the Xenophon’s disinterest in the world around him, suggested by his failure to provide thick descriptions of the places he encountered (Tuplin 2004b). Xenophon may not have kept a diary during his journey—a disputed issue in the scholarship (see Tuplin 1991)—and he has a tendency to provide bald observations that raise more questions than they answer.

difficult by the fact that, according to Tuplin (1991: 45) “topographical facts are strictly incidental” in the *Anabasis*. Neither Xenophon nor historical geography is my primary concern here, however. I consider Xenophon’s topographic references only in relation to the problem of administrative borders. Even still, this text is an unreliable source for historical geography (Tuplin 1991), for naturally, we are dealing with information that is formulated through Xenophon’s own remembrances.

In addition to Herodotus and Xenophon, among classical sources this history of the highlands draws from a number of writers whose works were composed after the collapse of the Achaemenid empire (in most cases these are histories of Alexander the Great) (Cartledge 2004: 267-294). In recent years, several scholars have rightly drawn attention to the methodological pitfall of mining or ransacking the texts of such writers, such as Diodorus Siculus, Pompeius Trogus (as epitomized by Justin), Quintus Curtius Rufus, Plutarch, and Arrian, as quarries for historical “facts.” Among other reasons pertinent to all textual representation, these authors wrote several centuries after the events they describe, and drew upon common sources now lost (e.g., Cleitarchus, Ptolemy, Aristobulus) (Bosworth 1988). At the very least, use of these later texts in historical inquiry should be accompanied by attempts to ascertain the sources used by their authors, to distinguish the authors’ accomplishments in both preserving and creating a historical tradition, and to recognize the workings of both their literary and historical imaginations (Baynham 1998; Bosworth 1988; Sacks 1990; Yardley 1984). In this chapter, scattered references are made to authors of this so-called “vulgate tradition,” but the factors surrounding the production of these texts add another element of conjecture to the narrative.

The challenges surrounding “reality” and “representation” in Achaemenid visual and textual sources are equally complex. In the pages that follow, I will draw upon the Bisitun inscription, the historiographic complexities of which have already been discussed. In addition to this text are a series of inscriptions known as the Achaemenid lists of countries, provinces, or peoples, which have engendered much debate over how they should be incorporated into historical interpretation. The lists are inscribed on several Achaemenid monuments, including Bisitun, the so-called Foundation Charter from Susa, the south retaining wall of the Persepolis platform, a collection of fragments from Susa, the tomb of Darius at Naqsh-e Rostâm, the Darius statue from Susa, and the stone tablets bearing the so-called Daiva inscription. Only the last in this list dates not to the reign of Darius, but that of Xerxes. These lists were long regarded as an enumeration of the constituent peoples of the empire (Cameron 1973; Lecoq 1990; Tuplin 1987; Young 1982), an interpretation driven in part by the effort to bring the texts in closer conformity with the lists provided by Herodotus (3.90-94). Some scholars have emphasized that the Achaemenid provincial lists enumerate not peoples, but territories or countries (Jacobs 2006; Schmitt 1977, 1999; Vogelsang 1992). Debate has also surrounded the extent to which these lists can be regarded as historical documents. At times this direction in the discussion can lead one to lose sight of the fact that all of the written and visual sources on the empire—classical as well as royal—are, in their own way, forms of historical representation. The country lists are critical sources for understanding monarchic representations of the imperial realm. So, too, are the visual sources from Persepolis that have some bearing on Armenia, including the throne-bearing

scenes introduced in Chapter 1, and the reliefs carved on a structure at Persepolis known as the Apadana, about which more will be said below (p. 75) and in Chapter 8.

In turning from classical and Achaemenid to other sources, the near total absence of “native” texts and monuments—inscriptions, narratives, or images produced in the highlands—perforce renders the history highly imbalanced, plagued by the twin biases of foreigners (Greeks) and conquerors (Persians). After the collapse of the kingdom of Urartu, whose kings kept written records (occasionally in the form of annals, more often as dedicatory inscriptions), the practice of writing disappeared on the highlands. It did not resume until the second century BC.<sup>39</sup> We know of only one document from the region that incontrovertibly dates to the period of Achaemenid rule, and it is a royal inscription of the Achaemenid kings carved on a rock in eastern Turkey (Van).<sup>40</sup> Perhaps as much as a millennium after the collapse of the Achaemenid empire, the medieval Armenian historian Movses Khorenats’i wrote the first narrative work in Armenian, the *History of the Armenians*, a genealogy of kings which has some incidental information concerning the Armenian dynastic line of the mid-first millennium BC. But Khorenats’i, often regarded as the father of Armenian history, is fraught with controversy within Armenian studies.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Even then, writing is uncommon until after the invention of the Armenian script at the beginning of the fifth century AD.

<sup>40</sup> This inscription is discussed at length in Chapter 9. The inscription is written in Old Persian, Babylonian, and Elamite, and is perfectly preserved. There is also a second, less-securely dated document. This is an Elamite inscription found in modern Armenia, at the site of Armavir. Scholars have debated the dating of this inscription. The first publication associated it with the Epic of Gilgamesh (Diakonov and Jankowska 1990). Another scholar dated it to the period of Achaemenid rule and proposed a Persepolitan origin (Koch 1993). Both readings were disputed (Vallat 1995). Vallat (1997) has most recently suggested a date in the second half or third quarter of the sixth century BC, and rejects the idea that the inscription came from Persepolis. According to Vallat’s translation, the inscription concerns a letter demanding an investigation into the disappearance of a family.

<sup>41</sup> The crux of the controversy stems from the dating of the text. Khorenats’i describes himself as a writer of the fifth century AD; however, Thomson (1978) and others (Toumanoff 1961, 1963: 330-4) have identified several convincing reasons, relating to Khorenats’i’s probable sources, that cast doubts on the

Nevertheless, his attempt at writing the early history of Armenia was also frustrated by the absence of local sources. Khorenats'i (1.3) lamented the apparently blithe illiteracy of Armenia's earliest kings, whom he chastised for failing to follow in the tradition of contemporary, literate civilizations of Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Greece:

I do not wish to leave the unscholarly habits of our first ancestors without a word of censure but to insert here at the very beginning of our work the reason for reprehending them.... it is clear to us all that our [Armenian] kings and other forefathers were negligent toward scholarship and unconcerned with the life of reason. For although we are a small country and very restricted in numbers, weak in power, and often subject to another's rule, yet many manly deeds have been performed in our land worthy of being recorded in writing; nonetheless, not one of these undertook to have them written down (Thomson 1978: 68-9).

The manliness of deeds aside, a good deal more is known about these earliest periods in Armenia's history than Khorenats'i would have his readers believe.

### *Conquest*

The circumstances and timing of Armenia's initial capitulation to Achaemenid rule is uncertain; however, the combined weight of Greek and Babylonian sources offer grounds for suspecting that the region was one of the many lands vanquished by Cyrus II in his sweep across parts of southwest Asia in the mid-sixth century BC. According to Herodotus, early in his ambitious project of empire-building the founder-king conquered a little-known empire called Media, whose dominion included the mountains of the lesser

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author's claim. According to Thomson, Khorenats'i's text should instead be dated to the eighth century AD. Thomson has argued that Khorenats'i was, "an audacious, and mendacious, faker.... completely unscrupulous in his distortions" (1978: 58). For a more favorable reading of Khorenats'i, see Sarkissian (1991). Although Khorenats'i clearly consulted certain secondary ancient works for his history of the earliest periods, he does not appear to have consulted Xenophon, Strabo, Tacitus, Plutarch or some of the other major Greek and Roman writers.

Caucasus and eastern Anatolia.<sup>42</sup> But there is reason to approach very carefully this indirect account of the region's initial takeover. Several scholars regard Herodotus' so-called *Medikos logos* to be one of the apocryphal passages of his *Histories* (Brown 1988; Helm 1981; Kienast 1999; Lanfranchi *et al.* 2003; Liverani 2003; Rollinger forthcoming; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1988, 1994; cf. Tuplin 2004a; Waters 2005), designed largely to foreshadow the emergence of the Persian empire. Although the Medes are known to have existed from a number of sources other than Herodotus, such as Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian texts and Assyrian visual representations (Curtis 2005; Kuhrt 2007a: 19-46; Root 2003), the imperial realm that Herodotus accords them is not confirmed by these other sources. Setting aside the arguably misplaced question of the accuracy of the account, Herodotus' representation of events in the *Medikos logos* embeds the Armenian highlands within the trope of the succession from the Median to the Persian empires.

The only other Greek writer to bear on the question of Armenia's initial incorporation into the Achaemenid realm is Xenophon, who provides a casual reference. In the *Cyropaedia*, while on his deathbed in Persia Cyrus is quoted as passing on to his son "the satrapy of Media, Armenia, and thirdly, Cadusia" (*Cyr.* 8.7.11).<sup>43</sup> Bearing in mind the romanticized fiction that is this biography, it is possible that Xenophon's account of Cyrus' putative bequest is an anachronism based on conditions in his own age, when the highland region that Xenophon knew firsthand was an established part of the empire. It is important to note that Xenophon presents only one of several versions, known from other sources, of Cyrus' dying days.

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<sup>42</sup> Herodotus sets the western limit of the Median empire at the Halys river, which is west of the Armenian highlands.

<sup>43</sup> All translations of ancient Greek in this dissertation are my own.

There is yet another fragment of evidence for Cyrus' conquest of the region, this one from a Near Eastern documentary source. Here the speculation emerges, in the first instance, from issues of philological reconstruction and only secondly, historical representation. This is the Nabonidus Chronicle, a cuneiform clay tablet (written in Akkadian) which details the events during the reign of the Babylonian king Nabonidus, the last to rule before the Persian capture of Babylon (Kuhrt 2007a: 50-3). Recounted in the Chronicle are the successful campaigns of Cyrus in 547 BC against an entity whose name in the text is damaged (II.16). Only the first sign of the critical word is legible. The defeated entity has long been identified as Lydia, a region of western Asia Minor. This reading of the text continues to be reproduced despite the fact that for decades it has been recognized as a "very doubtful reconstruction" (Cargill 1977: 97). In 1997, however, Oelsner re-examined the text and concluded that the damaged word can only be Urartu (Oelsner 1999/2000, cited and followed in Rollinger [forthcoming]).<sup>44</sup> In favoring a toponym beginning with *Ú* (and thus mostly likely Urartu), Oelsner was reviving a reconstruction of the word in question that G. Hüsing had proposed as early as 1915 (Cargill 1977: 100).

Accepting Oelsner's (and Hüsing's) reconstruction, it is unlikely that the inscription literally refers to the conquest of the Urartian regime, as Rollinger would like to interpret the revised reading (Rollinger forthcoming), for Urartu as a political entity

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<sup>44</sup> According to Rollinger, whose forthcoming article is cited here from an earlier, unpublished online version (<http://www.achemenet.com/ressources/souspresse/annonces/Rollinger-Iran.pdf>), the reconstructed passage reads: "In the month Nisan Cyrus (II), king of Parsu, mustered his army and / crossed the Tigris below Arbail. In the month Iyyar [he march]ed to Ú[rartu]. / He defeated its king, took its possessions, and stationed his own garrison there."



probably collapsed at least half a century earlier.<sup>45</sup> But toponyms can endure longer than empires, and elsewhere there is evidence that by the mid-first millennium BC, Urartu and Armenia were roughly homologous geographic referents.<sup>46</sup> It is likely that Urartu's appearance in the Nabonidus Chronicle refers to the topographically distinct highland region and not to a political entity. In any event, if Oelsner's reconstruction of the text is correct, then the Nabonidus Chronicle provides a mid-sixth century BC date for the conquest of the Armenian highlands.

### *Rebellion*

By 525 BC the region must have been folded into the Achaemenid sphere of control, for in the years following Darius' rise to power, Armenia joined other regions of the empire in mounting the rebellions that Darius reported to have quashed in the Bisitun texts. Whether the highlands were incorporated during the reign of Cyrus or Cambyses is not certain (nor is it terribly important for present purposes). While there is some convergence of details that may point to Cyrus' reign, and there is no evidence for campaigns specifically in Armenia by Cambyses, the question of who conquered Armenia and when is something of a red herring. It is absolutely certain that the region

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<sup>45</sup> Rollinger makes a point to argue that the word in question in the Chronicle must refer to a polity and is not merely a geographic toponym, since the existence of a king of the defeated country is highlighted in the next line of the chronicle. I find this argument unconvincing.

<sup>46</sup> On the trilingual Bisitun inscription, discussed at greater length below (p. 73), the word Urartu appears in the Babylonian version in the same position as Armenia in the Old Persian and Elamite versions (DB.I.26-30) (Lecoq 1997: 55). Urartu also appears in the Babylonian inscription on a stone slab from Susa (DSaa) (Lecoq 1997: 133). That the word Urartu contained strong geographical and not only political associations is further demonstrated by its position on the Late Babylonian tablet BM 92687, also known as "The Babylonian Map of the World" or the "Mappa Mundi." This tablet of possible late seventh century BC date depicts a schematic of the earth's surface. Urartu is clearly labeled east of the Euphrates (Horowitz 1988; Millard 1987: 112).

was not defeated in a single moment by a single “Great Man,” but subdued and consolidated over time in the third quarter of the sixth century BC through protracted events, negotiations, and personnel and institutional re-organizations. Armenia’s involvement in the revolts recounted on Bisitun provide a solid enough basis to assert that leaders from the region were cognizant of, affected by, and participants in major events of early Achaemenid history in the second half of the sixth century BC. It is to these revolts that I now turn.

Armenia (Old Persian *Armina*) appears several times in the Bisitun inscription (Kent 1953; Lecoq 1997).<sup>47</sup> Near the beginning of the Old Persian version of the text (DB.I.6), Darius lists Armenia (immediately after Media) among the 23 peoples/countries that obeyed him and brought him tribute at the beginning of his reign. As will become clear, it is notable that Armenia and Media are listed separately at the beginning of the inscription, thus establishing that Darius wished to represent them initially as two distinct entities, whether geographic, administrative, or cultural entities.

When Armenia appears next in the lengthy inscription, it is in rebellion. The texts recount that between December 522 and June 521 BC Darius’ army, led by an Armenian named Dadarshi and a Persian named Vaumisa, fought five battles in Armenia on two fronts, in which rebel forces continuously reassembled after each defeat (DB.I.26-30). Several elements of the passages dealing with Armenia are unusual in the context of the monument as a whole. First, unlike other regions, there is no mention at the start of section devoted to Armenia of a specific revolt by the Armenians that prompted the ensuing campaigns. Darius mentions a “rebellious army” in the region, but does not

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<sup>47</sup> The origin of the word *Armina/Arminiya* is uncertain (Lecoq 1997: 139). This word does not occur in Armenian, in which the name of the people is *hay*, and the name of the country is *Hayastan*.

specify a particular uprising that precipitated his assaults. Nor, for that matter, is an individual rebel leader mentioned by name, in notable contrast to other regions. Lecoq (1997: 197) has resolved this ambiguity by suggesting that passages pertaining to Armenia cannot be read as an self-contained revolt, but must be linked to the uprising of a Median rebel, who is named several lines earlier (DB.I.24).

In the scheme of the rest of the Bisitun inscription as a whole, the sections pertaining to these rebellions in Armenia are unusual for another reason. Although each battle is punctuated with the formulaic refrain of the text (“by the grace of Ahuramazda did my army utterly overthrow the rebel host”), the Bisitun account of the subduing of Armenia appears to fall short as an expression of royal triumph: unlike other rebellions, the sections of the text that deal explicitly with Armenia end inconclusively. There is no mention of a final victory over the rebels or some action or boast that definitively concludes the episode, as there is in the passages about the rebellions in Babylon, Media, and Persia. In addition, Armenia is not included in the summary of successes against nine rebel kings (DB.IV.52-4). Moreover, given that there is no named rebel from the region, there is no figure representing Armenia among the nine captives depicted on the relief above the inscription.

Thus, although Armenia clearly was embroiled in the rebellions that Darius claims to have quelled through battle, when the text is read at face value it is not immediately clear what was the end result or consequence of Armenia’s entanglement in these events. Much of the Bisitun inscription represents Armenia with apparent ambiguity, which contrasts with its distinct status as a part of Darius’ lands near the start of the inscription. If this inscription were our only source for Achaemenid history, it

would seem as though Armenia was never definitively incorporated into the empire; however, this is absolutely not the case, as the discussion of the throne-bearing scenes in Chapter 1 already made clear. Further along I introduce a possible resolution to this apparent ambiguity in the Bisitun inscription. At this point, the narrative thread of events must be suspended to turn attention to visual and textual representations of Armenia as a participant in the imperial ideological program and as an administrative unit within the imperial structure.

### *Armenians and the Apadana*

In Chapter 1, I discussed the throne-bearing scenes, highlighting the personifications of Armenia standing among the other lands of the empire in upholding the king and co-constituting the imperial order. From that discussion it was clear that the Achaemenid kings regarded Armenia as an essential part of their ideological undertaking. There is yet another monument at Persepolis in which personifications of Armenia play a role in the overall artistic program of the Achaemenid kings, and that is the Apadana at Persepolis (figure 8.9). Foundation inscriptions at all corners of this imposing monument (measuring 250 square feet) indicate that construction of the edifice began in the reign of Darius. One of the Apadana's distinctive architectural features is the array of 36 columns in the main hall, which is itself surrounded on three sides with porticoes. In Chapter 8, I return to a consideration of the Apadana, there focusing on its architectural and spatial form. Here, however, my attention turns briefly to the relief scenes that are elaborated on the exterior of the north and east sides of the building.

The relief scenes on the Apadana monument portray a gathering of peoples processing toward the enthroned king, who occupies the central panel along with other court officials.<sup>48</sup> On one side of this central panel is a court entourage in three registers (Wing A), while on the other, there is a procession of 23 groups of figures, once again arranged in three registers, bearing tribute or gifts for the king, each led by an usher (Wing B) (Root 1979: 88). One of these groups has been identified as the Armenian delegation based upon sartorial markers, as these are compared with representations of figures on other monuments in which the figures are labeled. I shall not describe the Apadana reliefs in any detail here (see Root 1979, 1985, 2000), but instead focus briefly on only two aspects of the sculptural complex: first, its overall meaning and significance for Achaemenid history, and second, the portrayal of the Armenian delegation within the tribute or gift-giving motif.

Root has discussed these scenes in great detail, proposing that the designers of the monument used the vocabulary of a gift-giving procession, a collective event focused ultimately on the figure of the king, in order to convey “an idealized vision of the conceptual structure of the Achaemenid Empire” (Root 1979: 282). She has made the case that these scenes are not merely decorative, but part of a deliberate program of projecting a vision of a harmonious, solemn, and participatory imperial order (Root 1990: 11). Root has emphasized that the subject lands bearing gifts to the king are *depicted* as dignified delegates and voluntary participants in the elaborate royal ceremony. The overall tenor of the sculptural program on the Apadana, conveyed through various details that will not be explored here (e.g., hand-holding gestures, subjects bearing arms), is not

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<sup>48</sup> These central panels depicting the king in audience were removed some time after the building was completed and transferred to an important court in another part of Persepolis known as the Treasury. See Root (1979: 91-5) for a discussion of this secondary installation of the panels.

simply one of subjugated lands bringing tribute, but more a complex ideology that emphasizes a reciprocal relationship between king and subject (Root 1979, 1995). The Apadana is thus but one important element of a much larger program of imperial iconography, introduced in Chapter 1. It was a program that aspired to *portray a vision* of the empire as a harmonious and hierarchical order, centered by the king and celebrated by all (see also Root 1980, 2000).

Armenia figures in this iconographic celebration of imperial order. An Armenian delegation appears on both the northern Wing B and the eastern Wing B, and while the overall programmatic of these two sides of the building are nearly identical, the Armenian delegation is portrayed differently on each (Schmidt 1953: Pl. 29) (figure 3.1). In terms of their dress, scholars have classified the Armenian delegate within the a so-called “Medic” group, which is marked by long sleeved, knee-length, tight-fitting tunics worn over tight trousers (Roaf 1974: 124-5; Schmidt 1957: 85; Walser 1966: 74-5). Of particular relevance for this discussion (as will become clear in Chapter 6) are the gifts which the Armenian delegates bring to the king. In the procession on the east side, a delegation of three figures (constituting, along with the Arabian group, the smallest delegation) bring a horse and a vessel. The vessel is probably supposed to represent precious metal, given the intricacy of the two lion-headed handles (Amandry 1959). Horses are brought by four other delegations on the east wing, and by one delegation—the Medes—on the north wing. Possible metallic vessels with zoomorphic handles are brought by one other group (Lydians). On the north wing of the building, where the Armenian delegation is larger (5 figures), there is neither a horse nor a vessel; instead,

three of the delegates bear as gifts the Iranian riding costume and another, a pair of straight-sided vessels.<sup>49</sup>

The designers of the Apadana sculptural program chose to establish and reinforce a particular visual and conceptual association between Armenia and equestrian matters—horses and riding. Of the 23 delegations, Armenia is not alone in this regard, but as will become clear below (p. 92), the affiliation between Armenia and horses reappears in classical textual representations as well. The extent to which this association would have resonated among different visitors to Persepolis, who may have come to the imperial center from distant corners of the highlands, is impossible to know.<sup>50</sup> But the images might have recurrently reinforced a correlation (or a stereotype) in the minds of the many who worked and passed through Persepolis, that Armenia was one land of the empire well-endowed with horses, precious metals, and (like Urartu) skilled metalworkers.

### *Imperial Organization, Imperial Representation, and the Armenian Highlands*

The Apadana was not completed during Darius' reign. There can be little doubt, however, that by the late sixth century BC, by which time the Bisitun monument was realized and the work on the Apadana well underway, Armenia was a constituent element of the empire and an essential part of the program of imperial ideology. To the extent possible, it remains to consider the place of Armenia within the administrative

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<sup>49</sup> The relief is too damaged to discern the precise form of these vessels.

<sup>50</sup> On the matter of audience and reception see Root (1990, 2007). At present, there is rather little textual evidence of Armenians engaged in activities at Persepolis. There is a group of workers mentioned in the unpublished Persepolis Fortification text NN 1344 who appear to be "Armenian workers." These workers received standard rations during a three month period; however, the text does not specify the nature of their labor (Henkelman pers. comm. 2008).

organization of the empire. The apparent ambiguity of the Bisitun text in the sections dealing with Armenia in fact may provide a critical insight into the position of the highland satrapy within the Achaemenid imperial administration. By and large, however, the problem of imperial administration in the region is exceedingly complicated. This is due to discrepancies among the main sources that bear upon the question of the empire's organization: Achaemenid royal inscriptions, Herodotus, and the lists presented by the later Alexandrian historians. The discussions on Achaemenid imperial organization and the appropriate approach to its study are rich and ongoing, and comprehensive overviews of the key debates have already been produced (e.g., Jacobs 1994). Here I focus specifically on the contours of Achaemenid administration on the Armenian highlands. I draw selectively upon the relevant scholarship, and, along the way, only touch upon the broader debates therein.<sup>51</sup>

Apart from the Bisitun inscription, most of the official documentary evidence for Armenia's integral role within the administrative and ideological programs of the empire dates to the reign of Darius I and comes from the empire's imperial capitals of Susa and Persepolis. The Achaemenid lists of provinces are paramount in this regard. Given that the lists do not neatly correspond to the list in Herodotus' *Histories*, and that the variations among the lists appear to undermine established notions of a largely stable imperial polity, many scholars have regarded the provincial lists as historical documents only in so far as they inform imperial ideology, rather than administrative realities (Briant

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<sup>51</sup> One extensive debate that will not be discussed here concerns the appropriate term for the empire's administrative units. The words satrap and satrapy appear only in Greek sources, though a comparable term for satrap does exist in Old Persian. In the Old Persian inscriptions, the word *dahyu* is most common, and designates an administrative unit. At the crux of the debate is whether the units of the empire were defined in terms of peoples or territories, as discussed below. For further discussion see Jacobs (1994, 2006) and Vogelsang (1992).



2002; Lecoq 1990; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2001). Others have argued simply that the lists enumerate only those provinces which the Achaemenid kings deemed particularly noteworthy (Burn 1962; Cameron 1973). On a certain level, the question is important, of course, but it is also possible to settle into the idea that, as representations, the lists can convey a number of meanings at once, both ideological and administrative. Armenia appears on every one of these country lists.

Jacobs (1990, 1994, 2006) has offered an alternative explanation for the discrepancies between the Greek and Persian sources, one which adopts a more literal reading of the provincial lists as administrative documents. He envisions a complex organizational hierarchy, with nested administrative units. Drawing on the work of Schmitt (1976, 1977, 1999), he discusses the terminological complexities contained in words such as satrap, satrapies, and Old Persian *dahyu* (pl. *dahyāva*), and their usage in Greek versus Persian contexts, and he views this complexity of titles and units as a sign of the multi-layered nature of the system. According to Jacobs's scheme, the largest administrative units are what he calls the "Great Satrapies." These include the "significant" entities that possessed complex political structures in the period before Achaemenid rule (e.g., Babylon, Egypt, Lydia, Media), which were reused after the Persian conquest. Below this macro-administrative level are what Jacobs calls the "Main Satrapies," which consist of the centers of those larger entities as well as their main provinces. Thus, for example, within the Great Satrapy Media are the Main Satrapies Media, Armenia, Parthia, and Chorasmia (Jacobs 1994: 176).

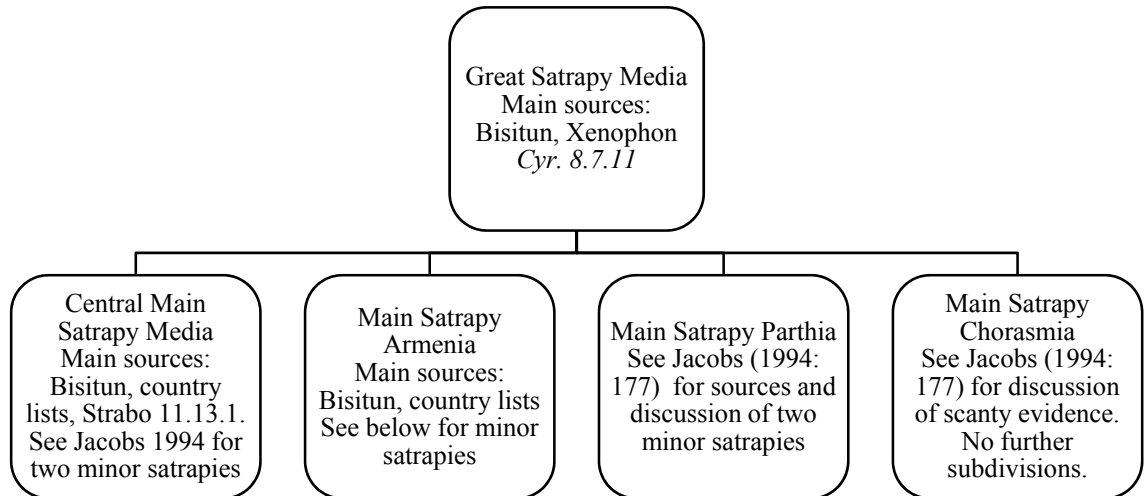


Chart 1: Great Satrapy Media (after Jacobs 1994).

The Great and Main Satrapies, Jacobs posits, were already constituted as administrative units by the time of the Bisitun inscription, where they first appear. He assumes that the Bisitun text operates precisely on this administrative plane. According to Jacobs (2006: 7), “[t]he central Minor Satrapy always gave its name to the Main Satrapy, and likewise the central Main Satrapy gave its name to the Great Satrapy.” Finally, the third level of administration consists of what Jacobs calls the “Minor Satrapies,” which, at least in the case of Armenia, are tentatively reconstructed into a western and eastern entity on the basis of Persian and mostly Greek and Roman sources, as well as a short-lived—and considerably less convincing—Minor Satrapy Colchis.

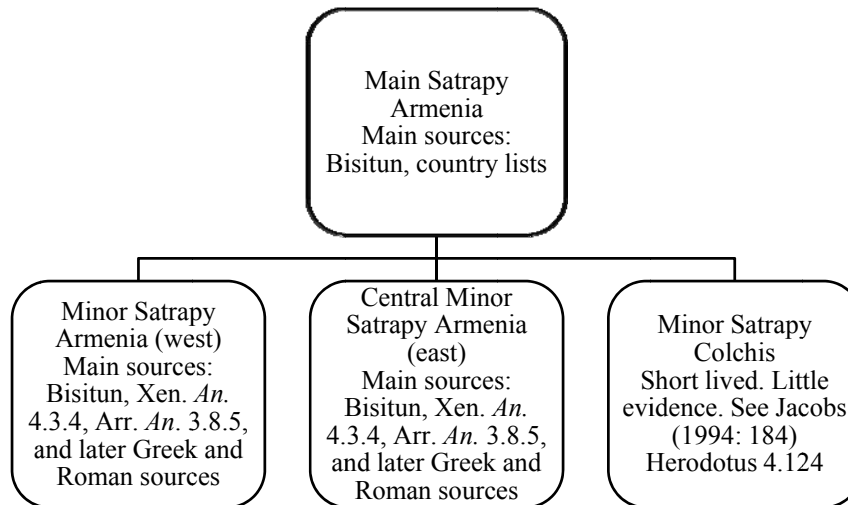


Chart 2: Main Satrapy Armenia and its subdivisions (after Jacobs 1994).

In examining Jacobs's scheme a little more closely with respect to Armenia, one of its strengths is that this administrative hierarchy neatly resolves the apparent inconclusiveness of the segment pertaining to Armenia in the Bisitun inscription. In that text, as Lecoq also noted (see p. 74 above), the revolt of Media is first introduced in sections 24 and 25 (DB.I), only to be interrupted by five sections (DB.I.26-30) that detail the revolt of Armenia. It is only thereafter, in sections 31-33 (DB.I), that the decisive pacification of Media is recounted (Darius claims to have cut off the nose and ears of the Median rebel, put out his eye, bound him in public, and then crucified him), thereby in effect concluding all of the preceding ten sections in which the discussion on Armenia is embedded (Jacobs 1994: 176-7; see also Tuplin 2004a: 231, 236). Jacobs's assumption (1994: 183) that Armenia was a province of Media prior to the Achaemenid conquest is based on the *Medikos logos* and therefore depends upon the unresolved question of the extent and organization of Median control. But it in no way precludes the possibility that Armenia and Media were constituent elements of a larger Great Satrapal unit called

Media. In sum, Jacobs, like Lecoq, offers a compelling explanation for what seems like an exceedingly awkward silence in the Bisitun narrative—an otherwise forceful proclamation of triumph and god-given glory.

Moving beyond the Bisitun inscription, as Jacobs does, for corroborating evidence concerning a Main Satrapy Armenia within a Great Satrapy Media, the case, however, is not significantly strengthened. I have already mentioned the citation in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, in which Cyrus gives to his son Tanaoxares "the satrapy of Media, Armenia, and thirdly, Cadusia" (*Cyr.* 8.7.11), but, as mentioned, this source is a fictive biography that tells us more about Xenophon perhaps than it does about Cyrus. As further evidence, Jacobs cites the fact that the Greek geographer Strabo, writing in the late Augustan period (i.e., several hundred years after the collapse of the Achaemenid empire), described Media as divided into two parts (11.13.1); however, this same passage of Strabo seems to imply that the division of Media arose after the conquest of Alexander the Great in the late fourth century BC. Moreover, the very next section of Strabo's text distinguishes Armenia as a separate entity, lying to the west of Media's two constituent realms (11.13.2). In short, if Jacobs's argument for a Great Satrapy Media is to be accepted, for now it must be on the basis of the Bisitun inscription alone—a primary source of Achaemenid history. The evidence for a Main Satrapy Armenia is considerably more abundant; in addition to the Bisitun inscription, as stated above, Armenia appears on every one of the Achaemenid country lists. It is never particularly proximate to Media, incidentally, which is usually listed second, after Persia.

Turning to the level of the Minor Satrapies, and setting aside the supposed, short-lived Minor Satrapy Colchis for which there is very little evidence (Braund 1994: 122;

Jacobs 2000), the division of Armenia into two parts recurs in geographic descriptions of the region by ancient authors. The distinction is implied by three sources, which serendipitously refer to the beginning, middle, and end of Achaemenid supremacy. The earliest hint of a dual division of Armenia stems from the Bisitun inscription, in which Darius describes, as I have already mentioned, that the battles against the Armenian revolt were fought on two fronts (Jacobs 1994: 183). Over one century later, the division re-appears in the *Anabasis*. When Xenophon's men seek directions northward after the battle of Cunaxa in 401 BC, they are informed that if they cross the mountains, they would come "to Armenia, the large and prosperous province where Orontes was ruling" (*An.* 3.5.17). Once in Armenia, after crossing the Centrites river, the Greeks reached the region of the Teleboas river, where they learn that they were in "western Armenia," where Tiribazus is governor (*huparchos*) (*An.* 4.4.4). The fact that Orontes is presented as the ruler of Armenia, and that Tiribazus' realm is qualified as "western," suggests to Jacobs that the latter administrative unit is subordinate to the former (Jacobs 1994: 184).<sup>52</sup> Jacobs goes further in his interpretation of Xenophon to argue that Orontes was the satrap of the Main Satrapy Armenia (and therefore the Central Minor Satrapy Armenia [east]), and that Tiribazus was subordinate to him, as the satrap of the Minor Satrapy Armenia (west). Finally, Jacobs draws attention to a much later source of the second century AD, Arrian of Nicomedia, who writes in his *Anabasis of Alexander* (3.8.5), that Armenian forces were organized into two military contingents in the decisive

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<sup>52</sup> Although scholars who have reconstructed the administrative status of the highlands on the basis of Herodotus have cited this same passage as evidence for two separate Armenian satrapies (Hewsen 1983; C. Sagona 2004c; Tiratsyan 1960), Briant (2002: 741) shares Jacobs's perspective that the duality reflect internal administrative divisions instead of the presence of two satrapies. Briant posits a change in Armenia's administrative status that would have taken place some time between the carving of the Bisitun inscription and Xenophon's *Anabasis*.

battle of Gaugamela, at which Alexander of Macedon defeated the last Achaemenid king, Darius III in 331 BC.<sup>53</sup> Recognizing the many orders of remove, in time, space, and culture, between the writers who bear on this question and the conditions in the Armenian highlands itself, there are nevertheless grounds for acknowledging the enduring perception of some sort of dual division of Armenia.

Against Jacobs's strictly administrative understanding of the division of the Achaemenid realms is the tribal approach to Achaemenid organization, generated by the catalogue of satrapies in Herodotus 3.90-94. The problems surrounding the so-called *nomoi* list of Herodotus are abundant, and have been noted for some time (Armayor 1978), yet this list forms the basis for very many synthetic discussions on the organization of the Achaemenid empire (Briant 2002; Herzfeld 1968), and more specifically, the Armenian highlands (Hewsen 1983, 2001; C. Sagona 2004c). Setting aside the broader debates concerning the nature of Herodotus' *Histories* as an ethnographic and historical source, the narrower problems relating particularly to the *nomoi* list apply also in the case of the Armenian highlands.

For one, a great many peoples and provinces—42 out of 67 entities—mentioned by Herodotus are entirely absent from the Achaemenid country lists, and those that do overlap are often presented in rather different configurations from the official Persian texts (Armayor 1978: 2-3).<sup>54</sup> Following Herzfeld, Hewsen has argued that many satrapies are sheer inventions concocted by Herodotus or his possible source, Hecataeus, and that Herodotus “faced with more names of peoples than satrapies, simply distributed

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<sup>53</sup> Arrian refers to *Armenii quos Minores appellant* and *natio Maioris Armeniae*. Armenia was the only contingent with two commanders (Anson 1990: 127).

<sup>54</sup> For one thing, Herodotus arranges the provinces from west to east rather than from the center of the empire outwards.

the various additional eastern peoples pell-mell...” (Hewsen 1983: 126). Thus, for instance, Herodotus defines the thirteenth satrapy as “the people of Pactyic country and the Armenians and the lands bordering it as far as the Euxine [Black] Sea” (*Hdt.* 3.93.1). The next relevant satrapy he mentions is the eighteenth, which is made up of the Matiëni, the Saspëri, and Alarodii (*Hdt.* 3.94). Finally, the nineteenth satrapy, made up of the Moschians, Tibarenians, Macrones, Mosynoecians and Mares, is also deemed relevant to some discussions of Achaemenid rule on the highlands.

Several scholars committed to making sense of Herodotus’ list have struggled admirably to bring order to what is truly a staggeringly confused ethno-cartography (Herzfeld 1968; Hewsen 1983; C. Sagona 2004c).<sup>55</sup> Ultimately, however, I concur with Jacobs (2006: 4) that the reconciliation of the Herodotean and Achaemenid lists is impossible, without, I might add, exceedingly cumbersome and contorted allowances and assumptions. In any event, it is on the basis of the thirteenth and eighteenth Herodotean satrapies that some scholars see further confirmation of a two-part Armenian entity, with the thirteenth as the western satrapy and the eighteenth as the eastern satrapy (Tiratsyan 1960).

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<sup>55</sup> For example, there is the fact that the Pactyians, we are told elsewhere (*Hdt.* 4.44), lived in the far east, near the Indus river. In addition, setting aside the fact that the Matiëni and Saspëri are not mentioned in any Persian sources, the Alarodii (a Greek ethnonym often identified with Urartu) are designated to the eighteenth satrapy, which contradicts the Bisitun inscription, in which Armenia and Urartu hold parallel positions. Hewsen, following Herzfeld, has suggested that Herodotus had some of his tribes and satrapies confused, and that “the Saspëres and Alarodians actually belong in the Armenian satrapy while the Matiënians belong in the Median” (Hewsen 1983: 130). These points only scratch the surface of an extremely convoluted picture of an administrative system rather implausibly constructed on the basis of small tribes. For a lengthy discussion see Hewsen (1983).

## Cartographic Speculations

Whether relying primarily upon the royal sources or Herodotus for an understanding of Achaemenid organization, the frontiers of these administrative entities on the Armenian highlands are exceedingly difficult to delimit with any confidence. Boundaries of and within empires are always shifting and imagined rather more than they are policed, and ambiguities are sometimes an imperial advantage. The Achaemenids may have camouflaged a cartography of the empire in their representations of the imperial ideology. Vogelsang (1992: 96) has suggested, for instance, that the Achaemenid provincial lists are geographically clustered along four axes radiating from the center of the empire, while Tourovets (2001: 252) has reconstructed a cartography of the empire based on the arrangements of delegates on the Apadana reliefs.<sup>56</sup> Such schematic map projections of the Achaemenid world's surface are the extent of the geographic allusions provided by primary Achaemenid sources and they place the Main Satrapy Armenia just beyond Media (Vogelsang 1992: 111). Without more detailed geographic information from the Persian sources, various Greek sources provide scattered geographic references that have formed the basis of tentative cartographies. We must allow for the possibility, however, that Achaemenid conceptions of cartography and administration did not necessarily rely upon fixed notions of borders and jurisdictions in the way that Western historians, modern and ancient, might be inclined to assume.

In Jacobs's scheme, the borders of the Minor Armenia Satrapies are sketchily reconstructed largely on the basis of citations in Xenophon (figure 3.2). Thus he looks to

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<sup>56</sup> In neither case do such cartographic allusions necessarily signal degrees of direct versus indirect rule (Tuplin 2004a: 227-8).



Xenophon's *Anabasis* for the southern border of the eastern satrapy (Central Minor Satrapy Armenia). Here Xenophon mentions the Centrites river as the limit of Armenia (*An.* 4.3.1), where the Main Satrap Orontes (*An.* 3.5.17) attempted to block the entrance of Greeks into Armenia (*An.* 4.3.4). The modern equivalent of the Centrites river is not clear. C. Sagona (2004c: 51-2) has summarized the evidence, pointing out that while many scholars identify the Centrites as the Botan river, a tributary of the Tigris that runs through the modern Turkish province of Siirt (Cawkwell and Warner 1972: 187; Hewsen 1983: 128), she reconstructs it as the Araks (Aras) river and its tributaries, in Turkey's western Pasinler plain. In distance, the disparity is considerable: the Botan river is in southern Turkey and the Araks river is in northern Turkey. Jacobs (1994: 186) favors the Botan river identification. This southern border may have coincided with the course of the Persian Royal Road, which, by many reconstructions of Herodotus' (*Hdt.* 5.52) description, passed through the Minor Satrapy Armenia (west) (Chaumont 1986-1987). For its western border, Jacobs looks to Herodotus, who supplies the Euphrates river as the boundary between Cilicia and Armenia (*Hdt.* 5.52). Turning once again to Xenophon, Jacobs places the northern border along the Murat and Kara rivers, which are the headwaters of the Euphrates, in northeastern Turkey, for at the Kara (Teleboas) river, Xenophon's men cross into western Armenia, ruled by the minor satrap Tiribazus (*An.* 4.4.3-4). Ancient sources are silent on the matter of an eastern border to the Minor Satrapy Armenia (east), but Jacobs assumes that the eastern limits of the Urartian kingdom, including the regions around Lake Sevan and the western shore of Lake Urmia, provide a reasonable estimate.

As for the borders of the Minor Satrapy of Armenia (west), its eastern and southern borders are defined by the northern and western borders of the eastern satrapy. The western border extends north from the confluence of the eastern and western Euphrates to Cotyora (which is modern Ordu, located approximately halfway between Sinop and Trabzond), forming an approximate border with Paphlagonia (Jacobs 1994: 143). The northern border is given as the entire Black Sea coast from Cotyora to the mouth of the Phasis (modern Rioni) river. According to Herodotus (*Hdt.* 3.97), Persian rule extended as far as the Caucasus mountains, and Jacobs places the northeastern border of the Minor Satrapy right along this mountain range.<sup>57</sup>

There is certainly a good deal of extrapolation entailed in any enterprise in Achaemenid cartography, and for the Armenian highlands, Herodotus' chaotic geography does not clarify matters. His geographical knowledge of the eastern Persian realms is sorely deficient, and it is possible that older geographic traditions concerning the encircling World Ocean creep into his cartography when he lacks concrete information (Vogelsang 1992: 181). Herodotus reports that the northern border of the thirteenth satrapy is the Euxine [Black] Sea (*Hdt.* 3.93), and, ironically, this one geographic point offered by Herodotus and accepted by Jacobs, who is generally dismissive of the *nomoi* lists, is rejected by Hewsen (1983: 128), who otherwise relies rather heavily on the Greek historian! C. Sagona (2004c: 50) suggests that Mt. Abos, or today's Deve Boyun Ridge located east of Erzurum, from where the Euphrates and Araks rivers flow, formed the eastern boundary of Herodotus' thirteenth satrapy until the reign of Xerxes, but the basis

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<sup>57</sup> For further discussion of Achaemenid administrative borders in the South Caucasus see Ter-Martirosov (2000) and Hewsen (1984).

for this demarcation is tenuous.<sup>58</sup> Herodotus also informs his readers that the Matieni (of the eighteenth satrapy) inhabit the area next to (and, as it appears in the text, east of) the Armenians (*Hdt.* 5.49; 5.52), and the Saspieri the region between the Medes and the Colchians (*Hdt.* 4.37). Finally, Herodotus is silent on the homeland of the Alarodians, but given the phonetic link to Urartu (and Ararat), many scholars place this group east of Lake Van, in the former Urartian heartland (Hewsen 1983; C. Sagona 2004c: 28). In order to reconcile Herodotus' geography, as she reconstructs it, with Xenophon's, Sagona posits a change in Achaemenid administration in the fifth century, whereby the territories of the Matieni and Alarodians, i.e., the eighteenth satrapy, become an eastern Armenian satrapy.

As others have done (Tiratsyan 1980, 1981), Sagona (2004c) and Hewsen (1983; 2001) travail through the morass of often oblique and contradictory references in Herodotus and Xenophon, in order to produce a map of the "tribal" divisions in eastern Anatolia and in order to "remove the anonymity" from archaeological data (C. Sagona 2004c: 26) (figure 3.3). It is striking how divergent are the reconstructions of highland administration by authors actually reliant on the same sources (compare C. Sagona [2004b: Map 6] with Hewsen [2001: Map 17]), to say nothing of those working with different sources. Affixing tribal names to territories within neatly contained geographical zones does not, as Sagona claims, illuminate the "cultural landscape" with any greater anthropological depth than "prosaic statements about sites" (C. Sagona 2004c: 26). My discussion here freely surrenders to the administrative and ethnogeographic uncertainties detailed above, in the conviction that the stakes of these

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<sup>58</sup> Sagona projects back from later sources, Strabo and Ptolemy, who use different toponyms to refer to the region of today's Deve Boyun Ridge. However, these sources provide no hint that this vicinity marked the boundary of any administrative unit, Armenian or otherwise.

various permutations are remarkably low for a study of the production, reproduction, and experience of political and social life among communities of the highlands. As explained in Chapter 1, I use the terms “Armenian highlands” and “highland satrapy” to refer to the central northern zones of the Achaemenid domain—a region that surely contained numerous and shifting cultural boundaries and administrative units.

*From Kômarch to King: Local Government and Imperial Tribute*

The preceding section detailed what is known about the satrapy of Armenia within the context of the Achaemenid administrative system. From this macroscopic scale of analysis, I turn in this brief section to the smallest administrative unit on the Armenian highlands, the village or country town (Greek *kômê*), governed by a village or town chief (*kômarch*).<sup>59</sup> A tantalizing passage of Xenophon’s *Anabasis* provides a mere glimpse into this scale of social life and local government, as he perceived it. In the midst of his march across eastern Anatolia, Xenophon describes in detail a brief respite taken by him and his men in a few Armenian villages (*An.* 4.5.34). The passage is unusual within the Greek historical sources on the Achaemenid empire for its focus on the work of local authorities, particularly vis-à-vis tribute conscription. Perhaps for this reason is often invoked in synthetic treatments of imperial administration (Tuplin 1987).

Xenophon recounts how, as his hunger-stricken and frost-bitten men marched over snow-covered plains, one of his generals (Cheirisophus) separated from the group

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<sup>59</sup> Briant (1975: 171) has pointed out that there is reason to be cautious in reading literally the administrative terms used in the Greek sources to describe institutions of local government. Parker (1999: 134) has drawn parallels between the *komarch* described by Xenophon and the *kaymakan* (appointed district official) or *mukhtar* (locally elected village leader) in modern Turkey.

and entered a nearby village in order to meet with the *kômarsh* (*An.* 4.5.10). Xenophon and his party eventually joined Cheirisophus and his men, and the whole lot take up quarters for the night in all of “the villages within sight” (*An.* 4.5.23). Xenophon writes that he had dinner with the chief of the village in which he made camp (*An.* 4.5.28), a man whose authority Xenophon portrays as possibly having extended beyond this single village.<sup>60</sup> That evening, some of the Greeks observed “seventeen colts which were being reared for tribute to the King” (*An.* 4.5.24). According to Xenophon, he and Cheirisophus

together asked the *komarch*, through a Persian-speaking interpreter, what this land was. He said that it was Armenia. Again, they asked him for whom the horses were being reared. And he said, as tribute for the King. (*An.* 4.5.34)

The association between Armenia and the provision of horses as tribute for the kings thus extends beyond the Apadana relief discussed above. Writing over three hundred years later than Xenophon, Strabo notes that the satrapy supplied the king with 20,000 foals each year (11.14.9). What makes Xenophon’s passages significant, however, is that they depict the actual process of meeting the satrapal tribute obligations, through something approximating a village-based quota system (Briant 2002: 404).<sup>61</sup>

Apart from this important insight, the existence of village authorities is hardly surprising, and, as Tuplin has pointed out, such local institutions could have been postulated even without Xenophon’s account, but it is nevertheless a phenomenon “captivating to have so circumstantially attested” (Tuplin 2004b: 164). Xenophon’s

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<sup>60</sup> This is supposed by the fact that, upon visiting the cluster of villages with Xenophon the next day, where the Greeks are partaking of the villages’ stores of food and drink, the *kômarsh* appears to command the attention of his relatives (Tuplin 1987: 127 n. 69). It is interesting to note that kin relations appear to extend across village lines (Briant 1975: 182).

<sup>61</sup> And see Appendix 2 for a discussion of equids in the faunal assemblage from Tsaghkahovit.

description of his experiences in the villages of Armenia holds many other observations of ethnographic and archaeological interest, including descriptions of walled settlements, subterranean houses, Persian-speaking inhabitants, and feasting practices. As is typical for the *Anabasis*, however, these observations emerge only in the description of Xenophon's direct experiences rather than as the result of sustained inquiry or curiosity about the social and material worlds of the communities he encountered. In the absence of more systematic description, comparison, and interpretation, the significance of these observations for broader anthropological understanding is restricted.

*From Satrap to Dynast: Imperial Politics and the "Orontid/Yervandid" Dynasty*

That Xenophon's *kômarchoi* of Armenia spoke Persian raises broader questions about the identity of local authorities on the Armenian highlands. According to Tuplin's understanding of these village chiefs: "One naturally assumes that these are native, and that they represent long established structures" (Tuplin 1987: 127). Jacobs has advanced a similar interpretation of the structure of local government in the Achaemenid empire, in contrast to higher, satrapal positions:

While offices in inferior units were hereditary within families and could even be held by local rulers—the latter arrangement being a feature of regulated autonomy—the administrators of Great Satrapies were in each case newly appointed by the royal court; and such offices were probably without exception held by the Achaemenid princes who did not reach the throne and by members of privileged families (Jacobs 2006: 7).

Precise relationships among authorities of different rank in the highlands cannot be detailed from the available evidence. There is a general scholarly consensus, as discussed above, that satraps belonged to prominent Iranian and non-Iranian families, and

enjoyed considerable discretion over their satrapies (provided that they maintained order and collected tribute). Moreover, it is thought that below the level of the satrap, whose rule was sometimes, though not always dynastic, there were lesser authorities constituted from local noble families or tribal leaders (Weiskopf 1989: 15).

An exceedingly elaborate genealogical reconstruction, built on an array of written sources disparate in time, space, medium, and language, suggests (convincingly, though not conclusively) the enduring rule of one such “privileged family” on the Armenian highlands (table 3.1). I have already mentioned Xenophon’s encounter with a person named Orontes—the satrap of Minor Satrapy Armenia (east) and the Main Satrapy Armenia. This figure gives his name to the eponymous “Orontid/Yervandid” dynasty, a term coined by Armenian historian Manandyan (1946 [1965]).<sup>62</sup> The Orontids are thought to have governed Armenia, with hiatuses, from at least the late fifth century until the late third century BC (Tiratsyan 1958; Toumanoff 1959, 1963: 279-354). The linchpin of this dynastic reconstruction is the remarkable series of inscriptions found in the socles of the West Terrace at the temple tomb of Nemrud Dağı, built for the late Hellenistic king Antiochus I of Commagene (ca. 69-34 BC) (Goell *et al.* 1996). These inscriptions provide strong evidence that the various figures named Orontes, who appear periodically but repeatedly in the classical sources, very likely did constitute a single prominent, and at times ruling, family.<sup>63</sup> In these inscriptions, Antiochus I proclaimed his genealogical descent on his paternal side from the Achaemenid king Darius I, and

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<sup>62</sup> The word Orontes (and the various other Greek forms in which it appears, e.g., Orontas) is derived from the Old Persian form *Arvanta-*, which is related to the Avestan *auruuanát-*, meaning “swift, vigorous, brave” (Schmitt 2002a, 66-8; 2002b). The Armenian forms of the word are *Eruand*, *Arawan*, and possibly *Hrant* (Toumanoff 1959: 3).

<sup>63</sup> The earliest interpretation of the inscriptions from Nemrud Dağı and the reconstruction of Orontid genealogy on the basis of this monument were offered by Dittenberger (1903-1905) and Jalabert and Mouterde (1929), among others. Here I refer to the most recent and revised publication of Dörner (1996).

ancestors named Orontes/Aroandes are the critical link in this putative genealogy. Although the details are admittedly tedious, understanding this genealogical reconstruction and its weaker and stronger footings is important given the entrenched position of the Orontid/Yervandid dynasty within historical and archaeological scholarship concerning Armenia in these centuries (table 3.1). Perhaps more importantly, these dynastic satraps, and particularly the Orontes of Xenophon, are thought to have played a transformative role in several key events of Achaemenid and post-Achaemenid history. And although the field of action was usually far from his own satrapal domain, through Orontes' involvement these events indirectly became watersheds in the political history of the Armenian highlands.

#### Defending the Crown: Orontes I, the Loyal Satrap and Royal Son-in-law

The last 'events' of Achaemenid history in which we saw Armenia play a decisive role were the revolts of the late sixth century BC, whose suppression led to the consolidation of the Achaemenid empire. Over one century later, a satrap of Armenia, Orontes, appears in the sources in a very different guise, this time as a defender of the Persian King Artaxerxes II in his battles with the King's renegade brother, Cyrus the Younger, whose fratricidal plot in the closing years of the fifth century BC is detailed in Xenophon's *Anabasis*. Orontes led his forces alongside the Persian satrap and commander Tissaphernes in the battles against Cyrus (*An.* 2.4.8), and then later, as discussed above, attempted to block the passage of Xenophon's retreating "Ten Thousand" over the Centrites river and into Armenia (*An.* 3.5.17).



It is this Orontes whose life and times have received the most scholarly attention; his reign was long and his position prominent, and thus he appears in the thick of several critical events in Achaemenid history (Osborne 1973; Wilkinson 1970). Perhaps in return for Orontes' loyalty against Cyrus' rebellion, both Xenophon (*An.* 3.4.13) and Plutarch (*Artax.* 27.7) recount that Artaxerxes gave his daughter Rhodogune to Orontes in marriage (Dörner 1996: 364; Weiskopf 1989: 22). This marriage is significant not only as an indication of the importance of the Armenian satrap and satrapy in the Achaemenid system; it is also the anchor in the genealogy recorded at Nemrud Dağı that binds Antiochus I to the Achaemenid kings. In Antiochus' putative genealogy he is descended from this royal union. It is this marriage that allows him to detail the genealogy of the Orontid line and thus solidifies what would otherwise be mere speculation concerning the existence of the dynasty. Orontes/Aroandes is the ancestor of Antiochus' "who gave him the right, by his [Orontes'] relationship to the Achaemenid dynasty through marriage, to begin the row of his [Antiochus'] Persian ancestors with the Persian Great Kings from Darius I" (Dörner 1996: 364). Given his prominence in Antiochus I's claimed paternal genealogy, at least one, and probably two, statues of this Aroandes/Orontes were erected at Nemrud Dağı, one of which is partially preserved (figure 3.4).<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> The sculptures correspond with the respective inscriptions on the socles. Antiochus I's genealogy is very possibly fictitious. As Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993: 193) have written, "Iranian dynasts in the Hellenistic period found that descent from the Achaemenids or one of the six great Persian families, whether fictitious or not, helped to validate their claims to legitimate rule as rightful heirs to the Achaemenids."

## The Revolt of Euagoras of Cyprus: Orontes I, Subterfuge and Sanctions

Despite Orontes' status as royal-son-in-law, Diodorus Siculus (writing his *Bibliotheca* in the third quarter of the first century BC) reports that he fell out of favor with Artaxerxes II in the 380s BC in connection with a military operation in Cyprus. Diodorus recounts how Orontes and his co-satrap Tiribazus, both of whom had demonstrated their loyalty in Artaxerxes' conflict twenty years earlier with Cyrus, were sent by the king to quell the rebellion of Euagoras on Cyprus (Osborne 1973; Weiskopf 1989: 19-22). Orontes grew envious of Tiribazus' leading role in the operation (Diod. Sic. 15.8.3).<sup>65</sup> He deceived the king by slandering Tiribazus in a secretly sent letter (Diod. Sic. 15.8.4),<sup>66</sup> arrested his former co-satrap with the king's approval (through a stratagem recorded much later by Polyaeus in his *Stratagems in War* [7.14.1]), and assumed overall command. When events in Cyprus took a turn for the worse, the king eventually learned of Orontes' false accusations, at which point Tiribazus was acquitted and Orontes was condemned by the king and subjected "to the utmost dishonor" (Diod. Sic. 15.11.2).

Orontes' precise fate after the events on Cyprus is murky. Several scholars have suggested that Artaxerxes showed leniency toward his son-in-law by merely demoting him to a less significant satrapy (Osborne 1973; Weiskopf 1989: 22), for Orontes makes his next appearance, once again in the writings of Diodorus Siculus, not in connection

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<sup>65</sup> A possible inversion of their former relations, with Tiribazus previously the minor satrapy and Orontes the central main satrap and husband of the king's daughter (Jacobs 1994; Osborne 1973: 526; Weiskopf 1989: 19).

<sup>66</sup> Though see Osborne (1973), who examines Theopompus' *Philippica*, summarized by Photius, to suggest an alternative chain of events, which places the blame in maligning Tiribazus before the king on Euagoras and not Orontes.

with Armenia, but as a satrap (or lesser officer) in a place called Mysia (near Dascylium and Sardis).

### The 'Great Satraps' Revolt: Orontes I, Treachery and Confusion

It is from his position in Mysia that Orontes engaged once again in intrigue as the leader of a so-called "Great Satraps' Revolt" on the western fringes of the Achaemenid empire. According to the traditional narrative, which is based entirely on Diodorus' account (Diod. Sic 15.90.1), Orontes organized a rebellion in the 360s (perhaps out of bitterness for his diminished status [Weiskopf 1989: 87]); however, he and his subordinates subsequently changed their allegiances and he denounced the plot to his father-in-law, Artaxerxes.

After this episode, our knowledge of Orontes' activities in the 350s and 340s is exceedingly muddled due to fragmentary references in a range of sources. Pompeius Trogus (according to Justin's Epitome) refers to a satraps' revolt that extended into Asia, where Orontes was ruling Armenia (*preaffectum Armeniae Oronton*). Since Justin's comment conflicts with Diodorus' account, which puts Orontes in Mysia and the revolt in the west, scholars have proposed various solutions, ranging from error on the part of one author or another, to the possibility that Orontes conspired in multiple revolts during these decades, moving back and forth between different theaters of conflict and authority. The situation is further complicated by an inscription from Pergamum, another from

Athens, and a reference in an oration by Demosthenes, all of which link Orontes with unrest in the west during the reigns of Artaxerxes II and perhaps Artaxerxes III.<sup>67</sup>

The details, which have been described and variously interpreted by Osborne (1973), Wilkinson (1970), and Weiskopf (1989), among others, need not be reviewed here. It should suffice to note that at least two key debates surround the final decades of Orontes' remarkable political life. Broadly speaking, the first pertains to the so-called 'Great Satraps Revolt' itself, and whether such a revolt actually occurred or whether Diodorus Siculus magnified a series of relatively insignificant and unconnected local instabilities in western Asia Minor into a concise and singular historical event (Weiskopf 1989). While Weiskopf has marshaled strong arguments for the latter interpretation, which effectively diminishes Orontes' status and importance, traditionally historians have taken Diodorus' account at face value, according Orontes a critical role in a well-organized event that "represented a very serious challenge to the central authority of the Persian Empire" (Osborne 1973: 515). The second debate concerns Orontes' movements following this revolt, his relationship to Armenia and Mysia in the final decades, and his involvement in further unrest that brought him into the peripheral vision of Athenian politicians. For the purposes of this study it is sufficient to recognize that Orontes enjoyed an unusually long, complicated, and prominent reign, from before 401 BC to after 349 BC, and he may, in the end, have returned to his "hereditary satrapy of Armenia" (Osborne 1973: 550).

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<sup>67</sup> This *Pergamene Chronicle* provides further evidence of Orontes' activity in Mysia and his revolt against Artaxerxes, but his purported death noted in this same inscription is problematic since Orontes reappears in a speech of Demosthenes given at least six years later, for his role in a revolt. In this speech *On the Symmories*, it is not clear whether Demosthenes is referring to a revolt against Artaxerxes II or III, nor is a clear date provided by the *Pergamene Chronicle*. Another difficulty raised by the *Pergamene Chronicle* is that it assigns Orontes a Bactrian origin, but indicates that his father was Artasyras, the same man mentioned at Nemrud Dağı. The Greek inscription (*IG II.207*), places Orontes in the west in about 349 BC.

## The Battle of Gaugamela: Orontes II (or IIIrd?) and the End of the Achaemenid Empire

Orontes' return to Armenia would certainly accommodate the evidence for the succeeding generations of the Orontid line, which appear to regain control of the Armenian satrapy. It is unclear who ruled the satrapy of Armenia immediately after the reign of Orontes I. The most important source here is, once again, the Nemrud Dağı inscription, where, in socket 7 at the West Terrace, another Aroandas is listed after the Orontes/Aroandas discussed above (Dörner 1996). It is likely that this is the same Orontes who (alongside a certain Mithraustes) appears in command of a cavalry force of 7,000 and 40,000 foot soldiers at the battle of Gaugamela in 331 BC, the battle fought by Darius III against Alexander the Great, which signaled the end of the Achaemenid empire. Arrian (3.8.5) mentions one Orontes as the commander of the Armenians in this battle—a notable reference, for it positions a member of the dynasty and the forces of the Armenian satrapy once again in the throes of a critical event of Achaemenid history.

The Orontes who is said to have participated in that final defense of the empire may well be the same mentioned by Diodorus Siculus (19.23.3) as satrap of Armenia in about 317/6 BC. Once again, the genealogy is uncertain. On the one hand, it is quite clear that the Aroandes II of the Nemrud Dağı inscription succeeds Orontes/Aroandes I; however, if this is the same Orontes who was active in 316 BC, he would by then have been extremely old (Osborne 1973). If we accept Osborne's notion that the Orontes of Arrian and Diodorus Siculus is the grandson of Orontes I, and not the son, then a generation is omitted from the Nemrud Dağı genealogy. To add to the confusion, Justin (10.3) reports that Artaxerxes III gave to his son, the future Achaemenid King Darius III,

the satrapy of Armenia before the latter ascended to the throne (i.e., 340s/early 330s), suggesting a hiatus in Orontid dynastic rule, and leaving vague the status of Aroandes (II) at Nemrud Dağı through whom Antiochus I traces his royal lineage.

### Alexander the Great and the Dynastic Interlude

The complications continue into the late fourth and third centuries (Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 190-7), with the appearance of other rulers' names unrelated to the Orontids/Yervandids. We could just as well end the discussion of this dynasty with the Orontes of the Battle of Gaugamela, if not for one more Orontes of Armenia, ruling in about 212 BC and mentioned by Strabo as "the last" (11.14.15). This citation is of particular interest, for it suggests that the Orontid/Yervandid family (like other previously satrapal dynasties) may have endured the transition from Persian to Macedonian ascendancy in southwest Asia: a historical rupture ushered in by Alexander the Great whose substantive impact on the institutions and cultures of the region many scholars have rightly scrutinized (Alcock 1994; Briant 1982; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993).

I shall not review here the many considerations, summarized by Hammond (1996) and Messerschmidt (1990) that surround the history of Armenia during the reign of Alexander the Great. Briefly stated, there is considerable disagreement on whether the region was under Alexander's control, with some scholars accepting fully the statements of Arrian (3.16.5), Diodorus Siculus (17.64.6), and Curtius (5.1.44) that Alexander at Babylon in 331 BC appointed one Mithrines to be satrap of Armenia (Bosworth 1980:

316; Hammond 1996).<sup>68</sup> Some accept these accounts only reluctantly (Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 191), while others contend that Mithrines never took up his post since there is no mention of this Mithrines again after the events at Babylon (Anson 1990; Berve 1926).<sup>69</sup> Alexander's rulership of Armenia is further suggested by Strabo's comment that the area was under Macedonian control (11.14.15), and there are references to Macedonian military activity in the region in the late 320s (Plut. *Eum.* 4). In short, the evidence is sparse and the sources disparate, each layered in the literary and historic conventions of its day. Hammond posits that Mithrines remained satrap of Armenia until at least 323 BC (i.e., the year of Alexander's death), since Diodorus Siculus mentions Armenia in his list of Alexander's satrapies under that year (18.6.4). It is possible, however, that Orontids regained suzerainty over Armenia later in the fourth century, for as mentioned above, Diodorus Siculus notes an Orontes as satrap of Armenia in 317/6 BC (19.23.3).<sup>70</sup> It is for this reason, among others, that some scholars have questioned the intensity of Alexandrian control (Berve 1926; Hornblower 1981). Others have suggested that Orontes submitted to Alexander (Anson 1990).

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<sup>68</sup> There is another version, based on Ausfeld's (1901) emendation of Photius' epitome of Dexippus, that at Babylon Armenia was assigned to a certain Neoptolemus (Anson 1990). This person, possible a military commander (*strategos*) rather than a satrap (Briant 1973: 152-3), appears a few times in other sources in reference to Armenia (Plut. *Eum.* 4; Diod. Sic. 18.29.2; 53.3).

<sup>69</sup> Anson (1990: 125) suggests, somewhat fancifully, that Mithrines "died in his attempt to acquire the satrapy."

<sup>70</sup> This Orontes appears in Diodorus Siculus in the context of a forged letter written in Aramaic by Eumenes, and directed to, supposedly, the Armenian satrap's friend Peucestes, satrap of Persis (Anson 1990: 126; Hammond 1996: 132; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 193).

## Seleucid Statecraft: Orontes ‘the last’ and Antiochus III

Armenia’s position is equally ambiguous in relation to the Seleucid domain, a dynastic polity founded by a successor to Alexander, which controlled much of southwest Asia in the third and second centuries BC. Strabo (11.15.1) and Appian (*Syr.* 55) provide general references to Armenia’s incorporation under Seleucid control; however, the three specific references concerning Armenia in the third century signal its involvement in assisting the enemies and rebels of the Seleucid kings. These references thus suggest the independent rule of a local dynasty (Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 192). Diodorus Siculus (31.19.5) describes the involvement of one Ardoates (whom Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, following Marquart [1928: 231] reasonably suggest should perhaps be corrected to Aroantes, another variant of the name Aroandas), in the Seleucid loss of Cappadocia ca. 260 BC, and according to Memnon (*FGrH* 434 F14), an unnamed Armenian “king” (a word suggestive of autonomy) provided refuge to Ziaelas of Bithynia in the mid-third century.<sup>71</sup> Finally, Polyaeus (4.17) mentions an Armenian king named Arsames, who shows similar “freedom of action” (Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 192) in ca. 229/8 BC by providing refuge to Antiochus Hierax after he tried to seize the throne from Seleucus II.

Whether as vassals of the Seleucids or as independent rulers, it does appear that a family plausibly tied to an Orontid dynasty retained authority in Armenia, in some measure, until the last decades of the third century BC. Strabo would have us believe that

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<sup>71</sup> Memnon is a little known ancient source who may have lived in either the first or second century AD. He wrote a history of a city on the south coast of the Black Sea known as Heracleia Pontica. Though the original history is lost, excerpts of it were preserved by the Byzantine scholar, Photius. The citation above is to Felix Jacoby’s *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*, a seminal collection of fragments of Greek historians.



the last Orontes to rule Armenia (11.14.15) was removed from power in ca. 212 BC, upon the Seleucid king Antiochus III's reorganization of the region.<sup>72</sup> The existence of this last Orontes is corroborated by a Greek inscription found in 1927 near the site of Armavir, which has been dated to about 200 BC on the basis of the lettering on the inscription (Robert and Robert 1952: 184-5). The inscription consists of the beginning of a letter from a king named Mithras to "Orontes king," in which Mithras wishes good health to the king and his offspring (signaling hereditary rule) and perhaps prosperity in the rule of his kingdom (Burney and Lang 1971: 191-2; Manandyan 1946 [1965]; Robert and Robert 1952: 181-7; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 194-5; Trever 1953).

The offspring mentioned by Mithras in his letter to Orontes do not, it appears, ascend to the throne. Strabo goes on to write that Antiochus III's generals, Artaxias and Zariadris, were placed in charge of Armenia, only to become independent kings (*basileus*) upon Antiochus' defeat by Rome in 191/0 BC at the battles of Thermopylae and Magnesia.<sup>73</sup> It is thus somewhere between 212 BC and 190 BC, when sovereign authority in Armenia transitioned from Orontes to Zariadris and Artaxias, that the end of the tenacious Orontid/Yervandid dynasty is traditionally marked.

### The Murky "Befores and Afters"

The ambiguities surrounding the history of the Orontid dynasty are not confined to the genealogy presented thus far, but are in fact considerably compounded by the problem of the dynasty's origins prior to Orontes I and its legacy after Orontes "the last."

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<sup>72</sup> In references to this Orontes, Strabo uses the word *hyparchein*, meaning to govern or rule as a subordinate, and not the word *basilein*, meaning to rule as king (Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 192).

<sup>73</sup> This is, of course, a different battle of Thermopylae than the one mentioned earlier.

On the basis of both classical references and Movses Khorenats'i, some scholars have projected the dynasty as far back in time as the sixth century BC (for example, Manandyan 1946 [1965]; Zardaryan 1997:10 and personal communication); however, the basis for this reconstruction is exceedingly tenuous and entails all manner of unlikely inter-textual correlations among various classical and Armenian sources. Among the former sources, in the very same passage concerning the last Orontes (ca. 212 BC) cited above, Strabo adds that this Orontes is a descendant of Hydarnes, one of the "Seven Persians" (11.14.15).<sup>74</sup> This Hydarnes appears much earlier in the historical tradition, first on the Bisitun inscription and then again in Herodotus (*Hdt.* III.70). Hydarnes' genealogy can be traced for a few generations, and Schmitt (2004) has hypothesized that his great-great-grandson may have been satrap of Armenia. But the problems with this are that a) Hydarnes' status as satrap of Armenia is not attested in any ancient source; b) there is no other connection between Hydarnes and Orontes besides that mentioned in Strabo, and no connection between Hydarnes and Artasyras, the father of Orontes/Aroandes given at Nemrud Dađı; and c) other ancient references link the descendants of Hydarnes with other satrapies (Schmitt 2004). Strabo's assertion that Orontes was a descendent of Hydarnes

should not, probably, be taken as casual genealogical information of merely antiquarian interest, but rather be set in a political context. It was the practice in the hellenistic period for Iranian kings of territories that were formerly Achaemenid satrapies to trace their descent from old leading Persian families linked by ties of marriage to the Achaemenid dynasty, or to the Seven who had helped establish Darius' usurpation (Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 193).

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<sup>74</sup> The Seven refers to the seven Persians (including Darius) of aristocratic families who were, according to Herodotus, involved in a conspiracy to remove an impostor (Bardiya) from the throne in the sixth century BC. These events led to Darius' rise to power (see footnote 33).

If genealogical myth-making was motivated in the post-Alexander period by a desire to derive legitimacy from the royal Achaemenid dynasty, by Khorenats'i's day the need for a deeply-rooted *indigenous* royal genealogy—albeit one worthy of relations with the Achaemenids—took precedence. Khorenats'i lists a king named “Eruand the Short-lived” (I.22), the father of one Tigran, who “assisted Cyrus in overthrowing the dominion of the Medes” (I.24). His chronology thus places this first Eruand (Orontes), unattested by any other source, as early as the first half of the sixth century BC. This genealogy can be dismissed as entirely fanciful, and remains so despite a few references in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* (also fanciful) to an unnamed king of Armenia (*Cyr.* 2.4.12; 3.1.3,4) with whom Cyrus came into conflict before his Median conquest, as well as to this Armenian king's son Tigranes, with whom Cyrus had hunted, as Xenophon fashions it (*Cyr.* 3.1.7). At first glance, the names and dates seem roughly to correspond (i.e., Tigran and the sixth century BC). But the details are exceptionally muddled; Khorenats'i says of the very same Tigran who assisted Cyrus that he “extended the borders of our territory and established them at their extreme limits in antiquity” (I.24), and in this comment he can only be referring to the much later King Tigranes “the Great” of the first century BC, who amassed a short-lived Armenian empire. Indeed, it is the later, Artaxiad dynasty to which this ambitious king belonged that exhibits a strong proclivity for the name Tigran/Tigranes (Toumanoff 1963: 285). Ultimately, to find support for Khorenats'i's early Orontid genealogy it is necessary to turn from one pseudo-history to find corroboration in another, and even then the case is unsupportable.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> The case can also be refuted without taking recourse to an argument for the historical unreliability of the sources. As Ter-Martirosov (1995: 62) has pointed out, the epithet of the Eruand mentioned by Movses is “Short-Lived,” while the unnamed king mentioned has a married son and grandchildren.

If these are the murky “befores,” the final breaths of the dynastic line are no less shadowy. There is an important footnote to the seemingly neat conclusion of Orontid/Yervandid rule on the Armenian highlands. Several later sources indicate that the Artaxias mentioned by Strabo goes on to be the eponymous founder of the succeeding Artaxiad dynasty. This king, Artaxias I, erects a number of stelae, twelve of which have been found across modern Armenia, which, though in form recalling certain stelae of Urartu (i.e., the Urartian stelae from Zangezur), in content signal strong associations with Achaemenid and Orontid rule. Although their sizes vary, all of the stelae are roughly similar in shape—a rectangular stone, sometimes having a lug for a base, that widens towards the top and is crowned with three blunt crenellations (figure 3.5). The stelae are inscribed in Aramaic, one of the languages of the Achaemenid Persian court, and the letter forms follow the tradition of the Achaemenid imperial office, although they point to a roughly second-century BC date, consistent with Artaxias I’s regnal years, 189-160 BC (Tiratsyan 1977: 255). The inscriptions on these stelae are nearly identical in content. Each contains two elements: the title of the king and a practical statement addressing the occasion of the inscriptions.

Having discussed these monuments at length elsewhere (Khatchadourian 2007), I wish here only to focus on the former of these two elements. In the inscriptions of all of the Artaxiad stele, including the abbreviated versions in which certain phrases of Artaxias I’s titulary are eliminated, Artaxias asserts his putative affiliation with the Orontid/Yervandid dynasty. Thus, for instance, the inscription from Teghut reads, “In year ten of Artaxerxes [Artaxias], king, Yervandid ...” (Perikhanian 1971: 172). At first glance, by describing Artaxias a member of the Yervandid dynasty, these stelae seems to

cast doubt on Strabo's claim that his Orontes was the last to rule, and suggest that perhaps the general Artaxias, whom Antiochus III places in Armenia, was a descendant of this or another Orontid (Hewsen 1984: 347). However, Strabo is not the only source of evidence for dynastic rupture between the Orontids and Artaxiads. Khorenats'i records animosity between Artaxias and the last Yervandid king (2.37-46).<sup>76</sup> Whether Khorenats'i is accurate or not, his testimony indicates that in the second half of the first millennium AD, the historical memory of this earlier period is one of discord, not continuity, between the Yervandids and Artaxiads. An equally minor factor that supports Strabo's claim is the fact that, after three hundred years of leaders named Orontes appearing on the Armenian highlands, there is no known king by this name among any of Artaxias' descendants. Rather than accepting literally Artaxias' genealogical claims asserted on these stelae, I suggest that, much like Orontes' putative descent from Hydarnes, and Antiochus I's of Commagene putative descent from Darius I (via Orontes), we see here another instance, of late first millennium kings looking to a (fictive) genealogical connection with the Achaemenid past to legitimize their claim to power.

### **Conclusion: Taking Stock of "Great Man" History**

The close engagement with primarily written sources undertaken in this chapter provides as detailed an understanding as is currently possible of the contingency of

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<sup>76</sup> The chronology of Khorenats'i's account is highly confusing. He dates this Eruand simultaneously to "the eighth year of the last Darius" (2.37); however, Darius III ruled only from 336 to 330 BC. At the same time, Khorenats'i casts Eruand as an Arsacid, ruling in the early second century AD. Neither is possible. See Toumanoff (1963: 284).

political history on the Armenian highlands during much of the first millennium BC. As should be clear, such accounts shed little light on social transformations in the highlands during this period. The extant historical sources allow us to describe and categorize governmental structures (e.g., satrapies, dynasty) and contextualize the Armenian highlands within broad-scale historical processes through a methodology that is centered upon ordering sequences of events and their outcomes. Very often, this entails roaming well beyond the highlands in order to follow key historical agents. But even when the narrative is centered within the highlands, it hovers above it, in a conceptual sphere that casts Armenia as a space on which political institutions were grafted rather than a densely peopled place in which such institutions were routinely made and remade.

This does not mean, however, that this sort of historiography is, in itself, invalid. In comparing the utility of political history to anthropological inquiry, Geertz has pointed out the ways in which the two approaches can be complementary, except in cases where the historical evidence is so fragmentary.

The flow of particular events, chronicled in its full detail, gives substance to the schematic outline of structural change; and the constructed phases of developmental history ... give intelligible form to the recorded flux of actual occurrences. But when ... the bulk of the occurrences are simply not recoverable, no matter how industriously one reads between the lines of myths and inscriptions ... an attempt to reconstruct particular deeds leads at best to endless (because undecidable) controversies about hypothetical matters of fact and at worst to the fabrication of a connected 'story' ... which, though it looks like history, is really retrospective crystal gazing (Geertz 1980: 6).

The historical account of politics can provide only the most rudimentary understanding of political practice on the Armenian highlands during these centuries, and offers no understanding at all of the routines and transformations of social life. Through the dense web of details we can make out little concerning the bases for the production and

reproduction of political legitimacy, the experience of political change among the communities of the region, or their social histories.

In Chapters 5-8, I outline a social archaeology of the highlands during the period of Achaemenid rule. The goal of this project, however, is not to elevate one research practice as an end in itself, but to try and make way for the integration of a political anthropology with a social history of the highlands. What will be forsaken, in terms of eventful temporality, will be gained in an appreciation of the rhythms of social time. Particularism and narrative will be replaced by an inquiry focused on spaces, things, and the social logics that navigate changes in social orders. And while these subsequent chapters shall take leave of colorful personalities like the Orontids who lend historical narrative its seductive appeal, in their place will emerge a dense network of actors whose anonymity is less an impediment to an understanding of socio-political practice than are the revolutionary events and individual 'Great Men' of historical representation. The archaeological chapters of this dissertation cover much the same physical and temporal domain as this chapter. They continue to deal with the two primary spatio-political units of analysis introduced here, namely the satrapy and the village, through a focus on practices, social structures, and interactions. To paraphrase Geertz (1980: 5), subsequent chapters turn from writing the sort of history for which we do not have the necessary material, to writing precisely that sort of history for which we do have, or at least might obtain, the material.

But first, the next chapter charts a history of a very different sort, in order to establish the intellectual context in which I conducted the field research for this project.



Figure 3.1 Delegation of Armenians on the east wing of the Apadana at Persepolis (Walser 1966: Pl. 10 and 38).



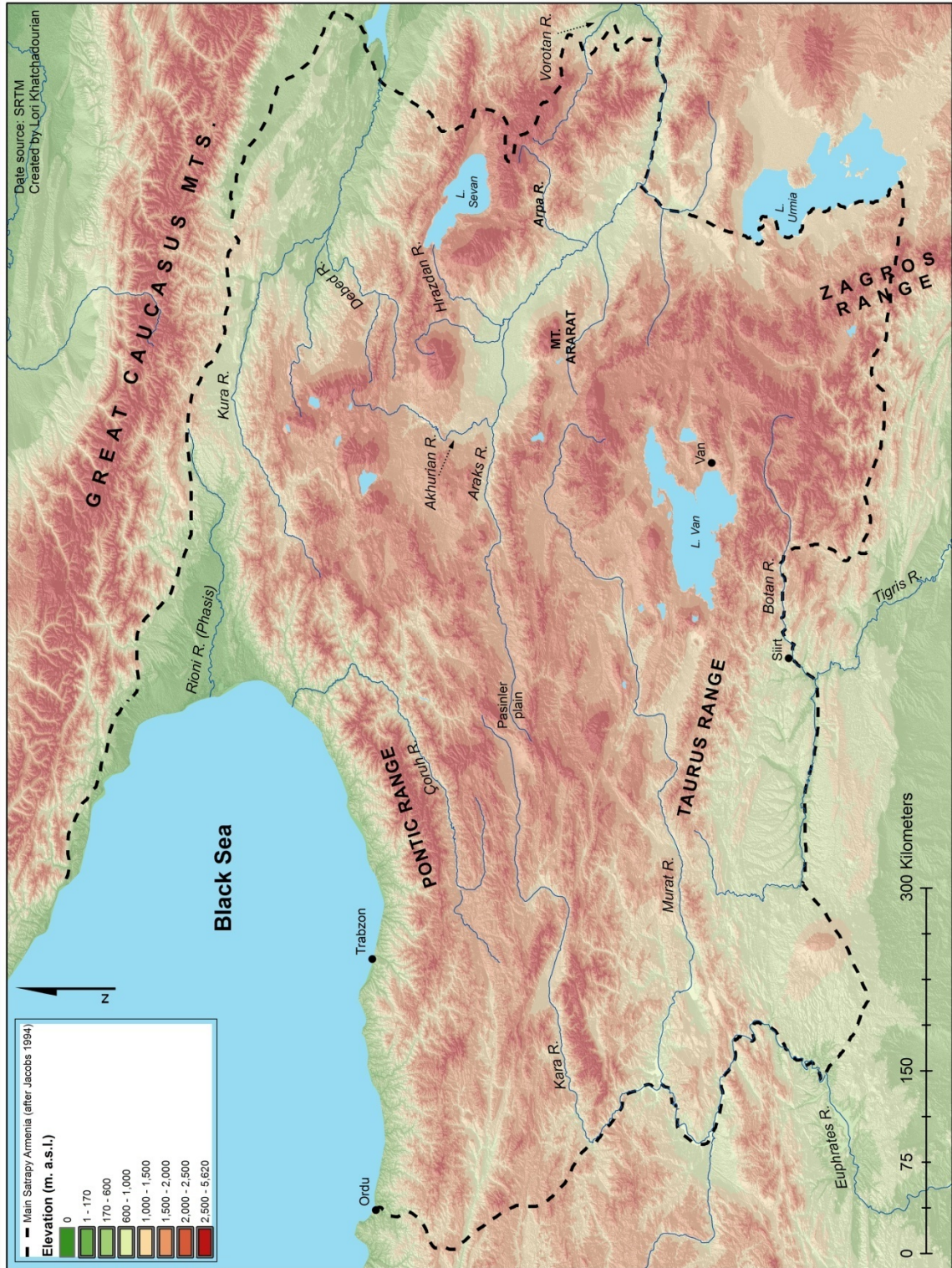


Figure 3.2 Map of the highlands showing the borders of the “Main Satrapy Armenia” (based on Jacobs 1994).

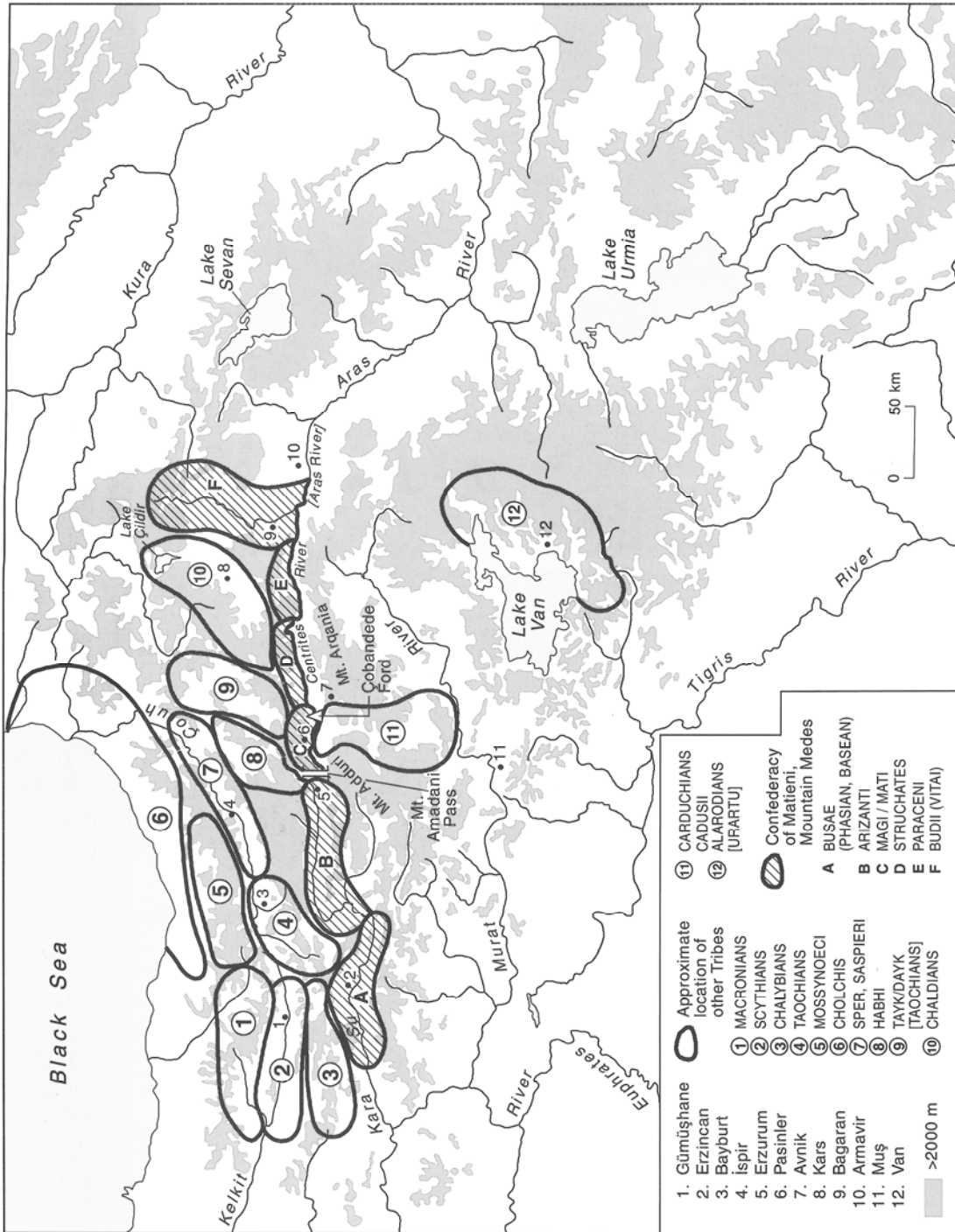


Figure 3.3 Sagona's reconstruction of highland tribal boundaries based on Herodotus and Xenophon (C. Sagona 2004b: Map 6).



Figure 3.4 Relief fragment of lower head and upper chest of Orontes/Aroandes I from Nemrud Dağı, West Terrace, South Socle 6 (Goel, *et al.* 1996: Fig. 401).



Figure 3.5 Artaxiad stele from Spitak (after Tiratsyan 1977: 255).

Ancient Source and Date	Citation	Name	Date of Activity	Main Points
Xenophon, <i>Anabasis</i> , ca. 360 BC	2.4.8; 2.5.40; 3.4.13; 3.5.17; 4.3.4	Orontes	ca. 400 BC	Satrap of Armenia; married to daughter of King Artaxerxes II Mnemon; tries to fend off the Ten Thousand at the Centrites river. Joins Tissaphernes against Cyrus the Younger.
Demosthenes 14 ( <i>On the Navy-boards</i> ), ca. 354 BC	14.31	Orontes	354 BC or 360s BC	Involved in satraps' revolt (against Artaxerxes II or III. Not clear.)
Pergamene Chronicle = Dittenberger, OGIS 264		Orontes	Either ca. 360 BC or ca. 355 BC	Confirms that one Orontes, son of Artasyras, conquers Pergamum (i.e., Mysia) in a revolt, then gives the city back to Artaxerxes, then dies. Bactrian decent (?).
Armavir inscription, ca. 200 BC		Eruand/Orontes	ca. 200 BC	Letter to "Orontes king" from Mithras, king of the Armadoeiroi (?)
Artaxiad stela, ca. 189-160 BC		Artaxias/Artashes, the Yervandid	189-160 BC	Artaxias/Artashes, the Yervandid.
Diodorus Siculus, ca. 50-25 BC	15.2-4, 15.8-11, 15. 90-91;	Orontes (1)	ca. 385 BC and again in ca. 362-361 BC, or about five years later	Co-commands assault against Euagoras of Cyprus. Falls out with co-satrap Tiribazus, and falls out of favor with King Artaxerxes II. Becomes satrap of Mysia (cf. Trogus); involved in satraps' revolt.
Diodorus Siculus, ca. 50-25 BC	19.23.3	Orontes (2)	ca. 316 BC	Satrap of Armenia.
Diodorus Siculus, ca. 50-25 BC	31.19.5-6	Ardoates or Aroantes (3 <sup>rd</sup> ?)	ca. 260 BC	King of Armenia, involved in Seleucid loss of Cappadocia.
Nemrud Dağı, ca. 69-34 BC	W. Terrace, socket 6	Aroandes (1)	ca. 400 BC	Aroandes, son of Artasyras, married Rhodogune, daughter of Artaxerxes.

Table 3.1 Textual evidence for the Orontid/Yervandid dynasty.

Nemrud Dagi, ca. 69-34 BC	W. Terrace, socket 7	Aroandes (2)	Mid-4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC	Descendant of Aroandes in socket 6.
Strabo, <i>Geography</i> , late Augustan	11.14.15	Orontes (the last)	ca. 212 BC	Orontes as a descendant of Hydarnes, one of the “Seven Persians”.
Plutarch, <i>Life of Artaxerxes</i> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. AD	12.1; 27.7	Artasyras (father of Orontes) and Orontes	ca. 400 BC	Artasyras, as “the king’s eye”, informs Artaxerxes II of the death of his brother and rival, Cyrus the Younger. Orontes Married to Rhodogune, daughter of Artaxerxes.
Arrian, <i>Anabasis of Alexander</i> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. AD	3.8.5	Orontes	331 BC	Leader of the Armenians (with Mithraustes) in the battle of Gaugamela.
Polyaenus, <i>Stratagems in War</i> , ca. AD 150	7.14.1	Orontes (1)	ca. 385 BC	Orontes’ stratagem for the capture of Tīribazus.
Polyaenus, <i>Stratagems in War</i> , ca. AD 150	4.8.3	Orontes (2)	ca. 316 BC	Eumenes assumes the identity of “Orontes, the satrap of Armenia” in letter meant to diminish support for Peucestes.
Pompeius Trogus, <i>Historiae Philippicae</i> (as preserved by Justin, 3 <sup>rd</sup> c AD)	<i>Prologue</i> , 10	Orontes	ca. 362-361 BC	Involved in satraps’ revolt as “prefect of Armenia” (cf. Diod. Sic).
Movses Khorenats’i, <i>History of the Armenians</i> , ca. AD 500 or ca. AD 800 (disputed)	1.22	Eruand the Short-lived	ca. early sixth century BC	Eruand the Short-lived, father of Tigran, listed among early kings of Armenia.
Movses Khorenats’i	2.37-46	Eruand	“8 <sup>th</sup> year of the last Darius” (?), and successor of an Arsacid king, i.e., post AD 110	Eruand struggles with and is overthrown by Artashes (Artaxias).

Table 3.1 Cont.

## CHAPTER 4

### MAKING NATIONS FROM THE GROUND UP: TRADITIONS OF “ANCIENT” ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE SOUTH CAUCASUS

In the narrative history of Chapter 3, there was a single detail of particularly weighty significance. In the rock-cut Bisitun inscription, in which Darius recounted the suppression of the rebellions that had sprung up across the empire, we find the earliest ever recorded mention of Armenia, both as a place (Old Persian *Armina*) and as an ethnonym (*Arminiya*). There is a sense in which this act on the part of Darius of inserting Armenia and Armenians into recorded history is deeply ironic. After all, the Bisitun inscription marks an effort on Darius’ part to, as Bruce Lincoln phrased it, “control the historical record” (Lincoln 2007: 9) by categorically spurning the rebels for exhibiting “nationalist sentiments” (Lincoln 2007: 8). Whether or not “nationalist” is an appropriate term to describe the movements that threatened the empire in the sixth century BC, by denouncing the rebels as liars, the severest judgment in Achaemenid ideology, Darius sought to delegitimize separatist aspirations. Thus an inscription meant to quell sectional rebellion also introduced to history the very terms for collectivity that would shape politics and archaeology in the region over two and a half millennia later. While the politics of the term Armenia are well beyond the scope of this dissertation, the impact of the Bisitun monument on archaeology is very much central to the intellectual context within which this research was conducted.

Because of this inscription, the start of the Achaemenid period has come to mark an important pivot point in modern Armenia’s history—a moment that separates a nation’s murky “prehistory” (Diakonoff 1968) from its putatively certain existence. As a result, when history was formalized in Armenia during the Soviet period, the start of the Achaemenid period served to demarcate a distinct phase in the republic’s historiographic tradition (one that extends until the adoption of Christianity in the fourth century AD). This phase came to be known in Russian as *antichnost’* or antiquity, and the archaeology of this period came to be called *antichnaia arkheologiia*. This chapter presents an intellectual history of *antichnaia arkheologiia* in Armenia and the neighboring countries of Georgia and Azerbaijan, which together make up the South Caucasus (figure 4.1).<sup>77</sup> For these neighboring countries as well, the Achaemenid period represents a historiographic watershed—a moment where local materials and sites suddenly articulate with a vast world beyond the South Caucasus and highlands. As will become clear, however, the chapter is especially concerned with the intersection of the three themes introduced above: historiography, national identity, and Armenia.

This chapter has two main purposes. First, it is intended to situate the field research undertaken in this dissertation within the broader context of the archaeology of historical periods in the South Caucasus and Armenia. Building on the incipient institutions of the Russian empire, the Soviet Union produced the largest school of “classical” archaeology beyond the Euro-American academy.<sup>78</sup> Institutes, universities,

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<sup>77</sup> *Antichnaia arkheologiia* is roughly translatable as “classical” archaeology; however, the latter term is not salient in the South Caucasus.

<sup>78</sup> The literature on the history of archaeology in the Russian empire and Soviet Union is large. For a history of classical scholarship and a vast bibliography, see Tsetskhladze (2001); Tunkina (2002, 2003); Frolov (2006). Important works on the history of archaeological practice and theory include Miller (1956); Mongait (1961); Klejn (1977, 1993); Formozov (1995, 2004). For collections of seminal articles, see Guliaev *et al.* (1995a, 1995b, 1996).



journals, conferences, dissertations, excavations, and vibrant debates across Eurasia, particularly in the Soviet period, shaped a field as diverse as the country was vast. Thus, as this dissertation makes clear, the practices of archaeology in the region today emerge in conversation with robust and enduring regional traditions.

Second, by probing the workings of an “exotic” archaeological tradition, alternative to the one in which Western scholars have been enculturated, I aim to denormalize our own disciplinary culture and consider what—if any—lessons might be learned for “classical” archaeology and for the archaeology of the Achaemenid empire. Although sharing a common historical framework with the discipline as practiced in the West, “ancient” archaeology in the South Caucasus was founded and developed on rather different grounds. A historical anthropology of a foreign archaeological tradition holds the promise to “displace the dulling sense of familiarity” (Geertz 1973: 14) that obscures the underlying workings of our own tradition.

Despite its pivotal role in shaping the conceptual and temporal parameters of *antichnaia arkheologiia*, the Achaemenid period was not a sustained object of focus throughout much of the history of the field. As a result, this chapter perforce steps back from the primary historical focus of this dissertation in order to detail the broader context of historical archaeology in the region—the context out of which studies of Achaemenid phases have been emerging with increasing interest in recent decades. Later in this chapter, I venture to explain this somewhat surprising lacuna in the early development of the field in Armenia.

The chapter is divided into three sections. First, I cover the period from the 19th century to the Russian Revolution, when the early foundations of a scientific inquiry into

the classical ruins of the region were laid by a small handful of European travelers, Russian aristocrats, and local intelligentsia. Discussion in this section touches upon four sites—Mtskheta, Garni, Artashat, and Armavir—all of which eventually became four of the “big digs” in the Soviet South Caucasus.<sup>79</sup> Although a distinct discipline was not yet formed in the 19th and early 20th centuries, it is appropriate to describe these early endeavors as a kind of antiquarian classical archaeology—similar in its methods to its counterpart in the West—insofar as ruins were interpreted principally in relation to the written words and built forms of the classical, Hellenistic, and Roman worlds. The scale of archaeological practice in the 19th and early 20th centuries was quite small, yet it is in this period that we see the emergence of the three stakeholders—scholars from the “far abroad” (the West), the “near abroad” (Russia), and the “local” (South Caucasus)—with their differing intellectual priorities, whose influences in the archaeology of the region ebbed and flowed from the 19th century until the present.

Next, this chapter addresses the period from the Soviet takeover of the region in 1922 to World War II. I examine the transformations that were brought about by the establishment of Soviet power in the South Caucasus and the increasing familiarity with Marxist thought among scholars of antiquity. While Mtskheta continued to be an important focus of research, other sites of the classical period, such as Ialolitepe in Azerbaijan, Vagharshapat in Armenia, and several sites near Georgia’s Black Sea coast, captured the attention of archaeologists in these decades.<sup>80</sup> Despite common institutional developments in the newly formed republics of Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan, it is

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<sup>79</sup> It is important to stress that prior to 1918, Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan did not exist as discrete polities. Under the rule of the tsars, the South Caucasus had been organized into provinces or *guberniia*.

<sup>80</sup> Except in passing, this chapter does not include the history of the archaeology of Colchis, a large and somewhat self-contained topic in its own right, which cannot be considered properly without knowledge of Georgian.

difficult to generalize the interpretive priorities in the region during this early Soviet period, when old and new paradigms coexisted. Yet this diversity, which only becomes apparent through a country-by-country approach, is worth probing, since it soon disappeared under the homogenizing effect of Stalinist ideology beginning in the years leading up to the Great Patriotic War.

Such is the focus of the third section of the chapter, which attends to the period extending from World War II through the disintegration of the Soviet Union and presents a close look at a single country, the Republic of Armenia. Stalin's death ushered in a period of remarkable intellectual growth in the Soviet Union, and some sciences, including archaeology, benefited. In these decades, the practitioners of *antichnaia arkheologiia* coalesced around a common ethnonational paradigm. I use the term *antichnaia arkheologiia*, rather than classical archaeology, in reference to this era after World War II, for it is in this period that the field departs from its Western counterpart. It is also in this period that we find the beginnings of an interest in the Achaemenid period among archaeologists of Armenia.

### **Scholar-Travelers, Savants, and the Beginnings of Classical Archaeology, 1800–1921**

*Through Europe's Eyes: Travelers from the "Far Abroad"*

The closing decades of the 18th century and the early 19th century represent the last chapter in a long-standing contest between the Ottoman, Persian, and Russian empires over control of the South Caucasus, with its precariously autonomous

principalities. Russia ultimately gained the upper hand in this rivalry through its victories in the Russo-Persian Wars. By 1828, the territories of Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia were transferred to the tsar, and the Araks river was set as the border between Russia and Persia. With this shift in the region's balance of power, the fate of the South Caucasus became closely tied to a Russian sphere of influence.

It is in the precarious years between (and just after) the Russo-Persian Wars that we can trace the earliest scholarly encounters with the classical ruins of the region. These encounters were made not, as one might expect, by Russians exploring the empire's recent acquisitions but by European travelers who passed through the South Caucasus in the service of some distant court or ambitious personal venture. Such travelers included a Swiss geographer (Frédéric Dubois de Montpéroux [1839]), a British diplomat-turned-novelist (James Morier [1818]), and a British artist (Robert Ker Porter [1821, 1822]), the historical painter to the Russian tsar, Alexander I.<sup>81</sup> Despite its victories, Russian involvement in the region was hindered by ongoing conflicts in the North Caucasus, which postponed scholarly engagement with the new southern territories of the empire until the last quarter of the 19th century.

The accounts of the European travelers, particularly those of Ker Porter and Dubois de Montpéroux, provided the rudimentary foundation for the study of classical archaeology in the South Caucasus. Their writings served at once to romanticize the region's past through thick descriptions of its dramatic landscapes and foreign customs and to render it comprehensible to themselves and their audiences by deploying the

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<sup>81</sup> Ker Porter passed through the Caucasus in 1817 and 1820 to and from Persia, where he drew the ruins of Persepolis, upon the encouragement of the president of the Russian Academy of Fine Arts, Alexei Olenin, a prominent Russian classicist (Barnett 1972; Frolov 2006: 129-40).

historical and archaeological vocabulary of classicism in which both were reared. In the words of one 19th-century admirer:

No one had so threaded these mountains, and examined their escarpments and defiles, *and had so compared them with the accounts of ancient historians, as to make us really familiar with them*, until M. Dubois presented to the public the results of his arduous labours (Murchison 1845: xciii). (emphasis added)

It was with the aim to deliver the mountains of the South Caucasus from obscurity and into the domain of the known that these European travelers sought and delighted in the ruins of places mentioned in classical texts. Their purpose, in Ker Porter's words, was "to explore the celebrated scenes of antiquity amongst the mountains" (Ker Porter 1822: 623). They were interested not in constructing a science of classical antiquities in the South Caucasus but in the revelation of a South Caucasian past interpretable through ancient history (Schnapp 1997). Three sites in particular, located in what later became Georgia and Armenia, satisfied this sensibility.<sup>82</sup>

Both travelers visited the ruins of Mtskheta, the capital of ancient Iberia, a region of eastern Georgia discussed by several ancient authors, including Strabo, Pliny, Tacitus, and Plutarch.<sup>83</sup> Iberia excited the imaginations of Ker Porter and Dubois de Montpéroux because of Pompey's expedition there in 65 BC, during the Mithridatic War. "It is to such [historical] evidence alone," Ker Porter wrote, "that we can refer as guides through the vestiges of past ages, scattered over these now half-barbarian wastes" (Ker Porter 1821: 107). The site of Mtskheta is spread strategically across hills overlooking the intersection of the Kura and Aragvi rivers. When they reached the site, which we now know to host remains of enclosure walls, a fortress, a palace, and surrounding burial

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<sup>82</sup> Dubois de Montpéroux did travel to the territory of modern Azerbaijan; however, he did not comment on major Classical sites.

<sup>83</sup> For a historical overview of Iberia, see Braund (1994).

grounds—all built of local stones and mudbrick—the travelers noted seeing “little more than bare and mouldering walls” (Ker Porter 1821: 104) and “only ruins and misery” (Dubois de Montpéroux 1839: IV, 230). However, both also saw the hand of Pompey and his men in these dilapidated stone constructions. Ker Porter, having “little doubt” that he had reached Pompey’s winter quarters, wrote of this naturally defended spot, moated by the two rivers:

The former sovereigns of Iberia had been aware of these [strategic] advantages; and, when they seized the station for themselves, [they] added those bulwarks of stone, which, now in ruins, cover the heights, but which, we also find to have been subsequently strengthened by the conquerors of Asia from Europe. *Similar vestiges of occupation by Greeks and Romans, mingling with the old eastern fortifications erected by native people, may be traced, not only in these parts, but in every pass of the mountains, to the inmost recesses of the Caucasus* (Ker Porter 1821: 109). (emphasis added)

Ker Porter did not see fit to sketch these remains, which were “in every part the admirable workmanship . . . of the Roman soldier” (Ker Porter 1821: 107). Alongside such grandiloquent description, any drawing of the nondescript, roughly hewn stones surely would have disappointed his audience, for whom the vestiges of Greeks and Romans were understood principally through the arts and architecture of Italy. It is uncanny that 45 years after Ker Porter’s travels, during the construction of the Georgian Military Highway in 1867, a Greek inscription was unearthed 7 km from Mtskheta, which documents the work of Roman engineers in “strengthening walls” for the Iberian king (Braund 1994: 227). Had he seen and translated the inscription, Ker Porter certainly would have noted it, for the British artist missed no opportunity to affirm the classical past of “the inmost recesses of the Caucasus.”

Nowhere was this task easier than at Garni, a site located in modern Armenia, perched atop a promontory overlooking a steep gorge carved by the Azat river (figure 4.2). Garni captivated travelers to the South Caucasus as early as the 17th century (Chardin 1686), before the Ionic hexastyle building there—either a temple or tomb of the first or second century AD—was destroyed in a severe earthquake.<sup>84</sup> The site itself is mentioned in Tacitus (*Ann.* 12.44–8) as the “castellum Gorneas,” and it is also associated with Tiridates I, the first king of the Armenian line of the Arsacid dynasty, who was coronated by Nero in 66 AD. In Ker Porter’s day, the locals referred to Garni as the “Takht-i Tiridates,” or the “Throne of Tiridates.”

Ker Porter and Dubois de Montpéreux were the first European travelers to visit and document the ruins of Garni, whose fortress walls were “beautifully hewn, and put together with all the nicety of Roman workmen” (Ker Porter 1822: 626). In their descriptions, both labored with considerable pathos to do justice to the dramatic setting and to survey, measure, and draw what they saw: “a confused pile of beautiful fragments; columns, architraves, capitals, friezes, all mingled together in broken disorder” (Ker Porter 1822: 626) (figure 4.3). Dubois de Montpéreux, marveling at how untouched the ruins appeared, mused prophetically that the structure could be reconstructed in its entirety, and he set about “au milieu de mes ruines” (Dubois de Montpéreux 1839: III, 402) to draft a plan for Garni’s anastylosis that would later prove critical in the early stages of a scientific classical archaeology in the region (figure 4.4).

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<sup>84</sup> On the earthquake, see Guidoboni *et al.* (2003). This basalt structure is most commonly regarded as a temple to the god Mihr or Mithras, built in the late first century AD. However, Wilkinson (1982) has argued on the basis of surrounding graves, sarcophagus fragments in the area, the proportions of the ground plan, and comparison with other colonnaded tombs (e.g., the Nereid monument from Xanthos, the Belevi tomb near Ephesos, the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, later tombs from Termessus, Palmyra) that the building is more likely a tomb. In addition, on the basis of stylistic analysis, Wilkinson dates the Ionic building to the second half of the second century AD. See Wilkinson (1982) for detailed discussion and bibliography.

The ruins at Garni were enough to arrest the attention of any traveler in search of Greek and Roman vestiges, but when such iconic forms were absent from “the wilds of the mountains” (Ker Porter 1822: 624), Ker Porter and Dubois de Montpéroux resorted more readily to their historical imaginations, transposing the events of recorded history onto the physical landscape. Equipped with the geographic description by Strabo (11.14.6),<sup>85</sup> both travelers sought the Armenian capital of Artashat (Artaxata)—the “Armenian Carthage,” as Plutarch (*Luc.* 32.3) called it—which, according to Strabo, was planned with Hannibal’s assistance when he took refuge in the Ararat plain.<sup>86</sup> Both Ker Porter and Dubois de Montpéroux arrived at the same spot, and while the general arrangement of the site roughly echoed Strabo’s description (located on the Ararat plain and near the Araks river, the placement of the river did not quite conform—a discrepancy that Dubois de Montpéroux corrected on his plan of the site (figure 4.5), by assuming a change in the course of the Araks, and which Ker Porter largely ignored (figure 4.6). Ker Porter surveyed the site, searching “in vain for any large hewn stones, or more manifest vestiges of building,” but finding only the swells and depressions of buried room blocks littered with “fragments of blue and green tiles” (Ker Porter 1821: 205). He pictured Hannibal consulting an Armenian king: “Riding together, we may suppose, along the banks of the Araxes, he there pointed out to his protector a particularly eligible spot for the erection of a new city” (Ker Porter 1822: 620).

Ker Porter and Dubois de Montpéroux were humanist antiquaries, much like other adventurers of their age, for whom historical texts still determined the way a landscape

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<sup>85</sup> “Artaxata is near the Araxene plain, being a beautiful settlement and the royal residence of the country. It is situated on a peninsula-like elbow of land and its walls have the river as protection all round them, except at the isthmus, which is enclosed by a trench and a palisade.”

<sup>86</sup> As it turns out, both travelers were not at Artashat but at the medieval site of Dvin (Arakelyan 1975).



and its monuments should be imagined, despite the movement toward archaeology as a science in the first half of the 19th century (Schnapp 1997: 275). Their efforts were characterized, above all, by an attempt to identify and describe material evidence that confirmed the historical record. Nevertheless, these European savants provided a basic foundation for an archaeological approach to the region's classical past. In their descriptions, interpretations, and drawings, Ker Porter and Dubois de Montpéroux resorted neither to lore (as did Movses Khorenats'i) nor to anachronistic artistic embellishments (as did Chardin) (Ker Porter 1821: 5-6) but instead presented what they saw in the context of the history that they knew. Their site plans and sketches constitute the earliest known renderings of the classical art and archaeology of the South Caucasus.

*Classical Archaeology and the "Near Abroad": Empire- and Institution-Building*

Scholars from the "far abroad" continued to play an important role in the archaeology of the South Caucasus during the second half of the 19th century.<sup>87</sup> Particularly influential are the Austrian naturalist Friedrich Bayern and the French polymath Jacques de Morgan who, in the 1870s and the 1880s, respectively, conducted some of the earliest excavations in the region.<sup>88</sup> Both devoted their energies to the investigation of burials, with Bayern working at the Samtavro cemetery (a site not far from Mtskheta), and de Morgan in the area of the Debed gorge. While these efforts were

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<sup>87</sup> In 1883, Heinrich Schliemann approached the Russian Archaeological Commission for permission to work in the region. He was denied (Bich 1947).

<sup>88</sup> In fact, the first "scientific" excavations were carried out in 1871 by Alexander Yeritsov (or Yeritsyan) at an Iron Age cemetery in Vornak, and the resulting report in the newspaper *Kavkaz* represents the first publication of archaeological fieldwork in the region (Piotrovskii 1949).

instrumental in ordering the study of the region's preclassical past, they contributed little to the archaeology of later periods.<sup>89</sup>

In contrast, in these decades, developments in classical archaeology were undertaken by scholars and enthusiasts from the “near abroad”—the cultural and scientific rearguard to the Russian empire’s military and political forces. By the mid 1860s, Russia had subdued the North Caucasus and consolidated its gains in the region. Efforts to build and improve the region’s infrastructure began apace—most notably, the expansion of the Georgian Military Highway, which was (and is) the main route linking Russia proper to the South Caucasus. As construction projects broke ground, archaeological remains began to surface and scholarly interest soon followed. Several archaeological institutions soon appeared in Tbilisi, the hub of Russian administration in the region. In 1867, the Caucasian Museum opened its doors. In 1871, Russia established a Caucasian division of the Imperial Archaeological Commission. In 1873, the Society of the Friends of Caucasian Archaeology was formed, and in 1901, the Moscow Archaeological Society opened a branch in Tbilisi as well (Piotrovskii 1949: 7). A new community of foreign scholars from the imperial metropole took an interest in the southern periphery of the empire and began to formalize the archaeology of the South Caucasus.

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<sup>89</sup> See Smith (2005) and Lindsay and Smith (2006) for discussion of the importance of these efforts in the study of prehistory. While Bayern (1882) excavated burials dating to classical periods, he did not treat these materials in his interpretations. De Morgan (1889) provides only a historical overview of the classical periods. Of these periods he later wrote: “As for archaeological material, it is practically non-existent. In Russian Armenia, the excavations which I began in 1887–88 were subsequently forbidden by the Imperial Government . . . whilst in Turkish Armenia due to the innumerable difficulties raised by the Ottoman government no searches have been attempted beyond a few excavations of small extent at Van. We are consequently obliged to fall back . . . on the statements of classical Greek and Latin authors, minus any archaeological support” (de Morgan 1965).

Much of their energies were focused on the classical past. By the second half of the 19th century, classics was a highly developed field in Russia, strongly influenced by German classicism, with specialists in all relevant subdisciplines, including history, philology, epigraphy, archaeology, and history of art (Frolov 2006). It was one such Russian classicist, Count Alexei Uvarov, who spearheaded classical archaeology in the South Caucasus. Uvarov, son of a prominent classicist (who was also the Minister of Education), was an important figure in archaeological circles in Russia and founded the Moscow Archaeological Society. Uvarov studied classics and classical archaeology for 30 years before broadening his interests to prehistory. Although often criticized for the quality of his excavations in Russia, Uvarov is credited with building bridges among scholars of prehistoric, classical, and medieval archaeology (Formozov 1986: 67), principally through the All-Russian Archaeological Congresses, which he founded. The fifth of these congresses, held in 1881 quite notably in Tbilisi, transformed the practice of archaeology in the South Caucasus into a more active and professionalized field, “highlighted by a developing self-consciousness regarding field methods and an expanding interest in understanding artifacts in relation to complete assemblages rather than as isolated objets d’art” (Smith 2005: 240).

It was in preparation for this congress that, in 1880, the first scientific excavations of a classical period site were conducted in the region by Uvarov himself. Working alongside Alexander Yeritsov,<sup>90</sup> Uvarov excavated on a hilly site in the western Ararat plain known as Armavir, which Dubois de Montpéreux had documented almost 50 years earlier (Dubois de Montpéreux 1839: III, 418). Ever since an Armenian monk had discovered an (Urartian) cuneiform inscription at this volcanic outcrop in 1862, the hills

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<sup>90</sup> See footnote 88.

of Armavir had been of particular interest to local antiquaries; more than 10 other cuneiform inscriptions were found in the area during the next three decades (Nikol'skii 1896). Yet it was a reference in Ptolemy's *Geography*, coupled with the accounts of the medieval Armenian historians Sebeos and Khorenats'i, that ultimately tagged the site as the possible ancient capital Armavir (Ter-Avetisyan 1941). Uvarov and Yeritsov, in a departure from the tradition of Ker Porter and Dubois de Montpéroux, went to Armavir not "to explore the celebrated scenes of antiquity" (Ker Porter 1822: 623) but to test, through excavation, the relationship between textual and archaeological information. For the first time in the region, archaeological evidence held an epistemological privilege parallel with the textual record. Uvarov and Yeritsov's discoveries led them to believe that Armavir was neither Urartian in date nor the seat of a Hellenistic Armenian capital. Primarily, their analysis of the masonry of the fortress wall suggested that it was contemporary with Garni's defensive wall, which was thought at the time to date to the third century AD. Moreover, their excavations revealed a roughly carved cross and a medieval coin. While these may have been obvious symbols of a later occupation, Uvarov ultimately set aside the written word and relied on the evidence of technology and iconography in interpreting the site (Uvarov 1882).<sup>91</sup>

This was not Uvarov's only unconventional proposition before the fifth All-Russian Archaeological Congress. At a session of the preparatory committee in 1880, Uvarov suggested the complete transfer of the ruins of Garni to Tbilisi, where he wanted to see the building restored according to the plan of Dubois de Montpéroux. Only two years earlier, work had begun in the relocation of the Great Altar of Pergamon from

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<sup>91</sup> Uvarov was actually wrong. Argishtihinili/Armavir is an Urartian and "classical" site, as well as a medieval site, as would become clear through subsequent excavations.

Ottoman lands to Wilhelmian Germany (Gossman 2006: 555), and it is quite probable that Uvarov had this ambitious gesture of imperial appropriation in mind when he advocated for the transport and reconstruction of Garni. Although he was not proposing to move the building to St. Petersburg, in cultural and political terms the distance between the remote Garni gorge and the bustling imperial hub of Tbilisi was great, and Uvarov's plan, in its own way, could be read as an attempt at co-opting Armenia's Roman past to the glory of Russia through the relocation of its most iconic monument to the nearest administrative center. Curiously, the project, though approved by the preparatory committee, was ultimately aborted (Trever 1953: 30).<sup>92</sup>

Despite this ambitious but failed imperial initiative, it is difficult to characterize Russia's involvement in the classical archaeology of the South Caucasus during the late 19th century. This is because activity was simply quite limited, especially compared with the north coast of the Black Sea (Tunkina 2002, 2003). The modest scale of Russian involvement makes it difficult to gain some purchase on the driving forces behind it and to compare this involvement with more familiar cases of imperial archaeology in Europe. Given Russia's later start in the archaeology of the South Caucasus, it is possible to suppose that Uvarov pioneered into the now-secured southern borderlands in order to search for and promote a second zone of antiquities—this one of the classical East—in “Russia's own Orient” (Tolz 2005: 128). In this regard, it is notable that at the same congress, Ivan Pomialovskii, one of Russia's most prominent epigraphers, presented a paper entitled “Greek and Latin Inscriptions of the Caucasus,” which was the first scientific study of Greek and Latin inscriptions found in the territory of the Russian

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<sup>92</sup> The governor of Yerevan apparently deemed that the available mode of transport, an ordinary Caucasian cart, would not be able to bear the weight of the largest fragments.

empire. In the three decades before the Russian Revolution, Greek and Latin inscriptions were discovered across the South Caucasus, and many Russian scholars—including the one perhaps best known to the West, Mikhail Rostovtseff—became involved in their study (Trever 1953).

It is thus clear that by the late 19th century, the South Caucasus had become a region of burgeoning interest and importance for classical archaeology in the Russian empire. The numerous international contacts between the Russian Academy of Sciences and its Western counterparts during this century influenced the development of classical archaeology in Russia along European lines (Khartanovich 1999), but the motivations behind Russian involvement in the classical archaeology of the South Caucasus cannot be reduced to an attempt to appropriate its classical past to the service of imperial propaganda. If Uvarov felt strongly about moving Garni to Tbilisi, or even to St. Petersburg, he could have pursued it further. And if the intention was truly to co-opt the region's past, we would expect to see interest and excavations at the capital cities of ancient Caucasia, of which Uvarov, who was not only well versed in ancient history but familiar with the work of Dubois de Montpéroux, was well aware. Instead, sites such as Mtskheta and Artashat (the base from where Tigranes "the Great," a rival of Rome, built his short-lived Armenian empire) remained largely untouched by scientific research until the next century.

Although the Russian aristocrats who were active in the region may have regarded the spread of Russia's intellectual institutions as part of the empire's "civilizing mission" (Suny 1994: 69), as several scholars have noted, Russia's archaeological involvement in

its territories did not bring with it claims to racial or national superiorities over the conquered peoples (Smith 2005: 236; Trigger 1989: 210). On the contrary,

the goals pursued by [Russian] academics in their public activities were . . . determined by their self-perception as nation-builders, as they proposed measures aimed at overcoming the divide between the dominant nationality of the empire—the Russians—and the indigenous, non-Russian population of the eastern and southern borderlands (Tolz 2005: 132).

This comes across particularly clearly in the work of Nikolai Marr, a German-born philologist and archaeologist who would play an important, if controversial, role in archaeological thought in the early Soviet period (Miller 1956; Slezkine 1996). Marr encouraged Armenian and Georgian studies as part of a broader aim of Russian nation-building, arguing that such studies were “an excellent educational tool. . . . Who can deny the fact . . . that one who is indifferent to the plight of one’s own region cannot deeply embrace a more abstract and complex feeling for the [Russian] fatherland” (Tolz 2005: 140). In keeping with this belief, Marr was instrumental in the development of a local archaeological community in the South Caucasus in the early 20th century.

Although briefly involved in some unpublished activities at Garni from 1909 to 1911 under the auspices of the Russian Archaeological Society (Trever 1953: 34), Marr’s most significant archaeological contribution was in the excavations of Ani, a medieval capital located along the Akhurian River, which today forms the border between Armenia and the Kars province of eastern Turkey (Marr 1934). The significance of Marr’s work and the Ani excavations (1892, 1904–1917) has been detailed by others (Areshian 1987; Lindsay and Smith 2006; Smith *et al.* 2005). Of relevance here is that some of the Armenian participants in these excavations would come to define the (limited) efforts in

classical archaeology in Armenia during the early Soviet period. Marr helped train a generation in the genealogy of a local scientific archaeology in the South Caucasus.

This does not mean that local scholars of antiquities did not already exist.

Although notable contributions in the classical archaeology of the South Caucasus were made by Europeans or Russians, intellectuals from the region also carried out excavations, and many of these individuals (e.g., Yeritsov) are now counted among the founding fathers of their countries' scientific establishments. Also important in these early years was Yervand Lalayan (1919), who, among his other projects, excavated a series of burials in the village of Nidzh (in modern Azerbaijan) in 1915. Lalayan's work at Nidzh would come to be significant for *antichnaia arkheologiia* in Azerbaijan.<sup>93</sup>

Perhaps most notable, however, was the leading Georgian historian and archaeologist, Ekvtime Takaishvili. Born in Georgia and trained in St. Petersburg, Takaishvili became one of the founders of Tbilisi State University, and he was keenly interested in Georgia's classical past. He worked briefly at Mtskheta and in various areas of western Georgia, including Sachkhere and Vani, and was one of the first to correctly date the ruins of Vani based on archaeological discoveries (Lordkipanidze 1978, 1995). Like Yeritsov, Takaishvili also excavated at Vornak. When considered alongside Lalayan's work at Nidzh, the overlapping interests of Yeritsov and Takaishvili are notable; these efforts demonstrate that in this pre-Soviet period, archaeological practice was very much a regional endeavor, and not one parsed along national lines.

But that would soon change. After the Russian Revolution of 1917 brought an end to the empire, three republics—Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan—experienced a

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<sup>93</sup> As far as I am aware, this is the only published excavation of a classical-period site in Azerbaijan before the formation of the Soviet Union.



brief period of independence before the Red Army took the region. Takaishvili served in the parliament of the short-lived Georgian Republic. He was not only a scholar but also a public benefactor, and his efforts are particularly significant from a curatorial perspective; he expanded the holdings of the Caucasian Museum by gathering antiquities that had been collected by villagers.<sup>94</sup> It is perhaps for this reason that Takaishvili was asked to be the custodian of the Georgian National Treasury when he, along with the rest of the Georgian government, went into exile in France after the Bolsheviks assumed control. The 39 containers were stored in banks in Marseille and Paris. Despite personal economic difficulties and the many appeals by various museums to purchase portions of the treasury, Takaishvili refused to sell. By his initiative, the collection was eventually repatriated to Georgia, along with Takaishvili himself, who, like so many archaeologists of the Russian empire, was unjustifiably arrested by Stalin (Amiranashvili 1978).

### **Cultures, Slave Owners, and Capitals: The Early Soviet Decades, 1922–1939**

By 1922, after years of war, revolution, and tenuous independence, Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan had all joined the Soviet Union. To the founding fathers of this Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the path toward a vanguard socialist state required, in the South Caucasus as elsewhere in Eurasia, the wholesale modernization of an agrarian society by means of collectivization in agriculture, intensive industrialization, and state control over all sectors of social, political, and economic life. The hardships

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<sup>94</sup> Teachers, military officers, landowners, and engineers from across the South Caucasus encountered and collected antiquities. In 1876, a Georgian newspaper reported that villagers in Vani, the “Colchidean Pompeii” as it came to be called (Lordkipanidze 1978: 5, 1995) noticed that after rainstorms, gold objects appeared in their courtyards. Some agreed to assist officials in excavations in exchange for a certain share of the treasures.

inflicted by this systematic, often violent overhaul of South Caucasian societies were numerous, yet among the salutary consequences was the effective transformation in education and the institutionalization of scientific inquiry. Archaeology benefited from this transformation. In the 1920s and 1930s, many of the leading archaeologists who had become prominent during the late Imperial period worked with Communist Party authorities to formulate an institutional framework for the study, preservation, teaching, and display of each country's antiquities.

In all three republics, these objectives were met through four types of institutions: state universities,<sup>95</sup> state museums,<sup>96</sup> governmental commissions for the preservation of antiquities, and state-run research institutes.<sup>97</sup> These institutions endured throughout the Soviet period and, for the most part, continue as the primary centers of archaeological research, teaching, funding, conservation, and heritage management today. It would be some time, however, before the pace of archaeological research could respond to the opportunities created by these institutional transformations.

In addition to institutional changes, these decades also saw radical transformations in classical, historical, and archaeological method and theory, as the new ideological paradigm of the Soviet state gradually impinged on every facet of intellectual

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<sup>95</sup> These were transformed from preexisting universities that had been founded during the brief periods of independence: Tbilisi State University (1918), Azerbaijan State University (1919), Yerevan State University (1920).

<sup>96</sup> The Caucasian Museum was reorganized as the State Museum of Georgia in the Soviet period. The Azerbaijan State Museum was founded in Baku in 1920 and the State Museum of Armenia was founded in Yerevan in 1921. A number of regional museums also appeared in these republics.

<sup>97</sup> These research institutes underwent regular reorganization in the 1920s and 1930s. They ultimately varied somewhat in each republic, but in their final incarnations, they became the Armenian Institute for Archaeology and Ethnography, the Society for the Exploration and Study of Azerbaijan (later represented by a department in the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan), and the Georgian Institute of History, Archaeology, and Ethnography. All three of these institutions were initially subsumed through filial branches under the Soviet Academy of Sciences but subsequently came under the jurisdiction of the titular academies of science, which formed in 1941 in Georgia, 1943 in Armenia, and 1945 in Azerbaijan.

activity. At first, scholars across the Soviet Union worked much as they had before the revolution (Bulkin *et al.* 1982: 274; Formozov 1995: 44), although an entire generation was greatly affected by the terrors of the civil war and the pressures of the new political and ideological order, so that, as early as the 1920s, several luminaries either emigrated (e.g., Rostovtseff) or died prematurely (Frolov 2006: 443). By the early 1930s, a new generation of archaeologists and classicists trained in Marxist thought dictated the terms of the disciplines and denounced many of the earlier generation. Several studies have examined how the official ideology affected classical studies (Frolov 2006) and archaeology (Bulkin *et al.* 1982; Formozov 1995, 2004; Klejn 1977, 1993; Miller 1956).

According to Frolov (2006: 441), the new communist ideology “quickly led to the collapse of the study of classical antiquity.” In addition to the devastation or annihilation of an entire social sphere of urban intellectuals who had fostered traditions of classicism, the object of study itself changed. In place of political and cultural history, under the influence of Marxist ideology, classical study was to focus on socioeconomic relations, modes of production, the working masses, and class conflict. “As a consequence, the science of classical antiquity lost its historical quality and turned into a branch of Marxist political-economy” (Frolov 2006: 441). In effect, this meant an overwhelming emphasis on the study of slaves and slavery in antiquity:

In place of historical-philosophical pluralism . . . there arrived a single, Marxist doctrine, obligatory for all, of social-economic formation, in whose framework, in the beginning of the 30s, there developed the concept of the ancient slave-owning society as the first class formation, which changed to the primitive system and anticipated the feudal formation (Frolov 2006: 442).

Before World War II, nearly all classical scholarship was forced within this framework of the “theory of stages.” But there were sincere adherents, including, among others,

ancient historians Aleksandr Tyumenev, Sergei Kovalev, and Vassili Struve. Classics, due to its disciplinary remove from the contemporary revolutionary process, was (according to Frolov) cast to the margins of academia. Study in Greece and Italy was prohibited. In short, the situation was “catastrophic” for what had been one of Imperial Russia’s most developed disciplines (Frolov 2006: 443).

The 1930s brought similar changes to archaeology.<sup>98</sup> Here, too, a new generation—including Vladislav Ravdonikas and Sergei Bykovskii—began to experiment with the archaeological interpretation of Marxist and Leninist theories (Klejn 1977: 12). In the process, this new generation criticized the ways of prerevolutionary archaeology for alienating objects from ideas by focusing excessively on formal studies of artifacts as reflections of cultures (what came to be called “naked artifactology”) rather than on the social relations of production within the cultures that produced them (Bulkin *et al.* 1982: 274). In addition, new ideas developed concerning social change. Rather than the result of conquest or migration, all sociocultural transformations were to be understood as the result of economic relations. Instrumental in developing these concepts was Marr, who, despite his prerevolutionary bourgeois background, advanced a social theory of linguistics (called the Japhetic theory) that linked linguistic change to economic change and envisioned the development of languages through stages, in correspondence with stages in social formation. The consequence of the various theoretical developments of the early 1930s was that all national groups were thought to experience a universal trajectory of sociocultural change, and thus, studies that assumed unique ethnic histories were discredited as expressions of “bourgeois nationalism” (Shnirelman 1995).

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<sup>98</sup> For a fuller account of Marxist archaeology in the Soviet Union, see references in footnote 78. For comparison with contemporary European archaeological thought, see especially Klejn (1977); Bulkin *et al.* (1982); Trigger (1989).

By the mid 1930s, the brief period of intense, if simplistic, Marxist theorization gave way to more empirical and descriptive archaeology (Bulkin *et al.* 1982: 276). Nevertheless, concepts such as “ethnicity” and “archaeological culture,” which implied unique lines of sociocultural development rather than common class principles, were off limits.

There is little doubt that the debates within classics and archaeology that were underway in Russia in the 1930s would have been heard in the South Caucasus, not least because scholars from the “near abroad” continued to play an active role in the region. In this regard, it is important to highlight the Russian linguist and archaeologist Ivan Meshchaninov, who was not only involved in several archaeological initiatives in all three republics in the late 1920s and 1930s but also was an avid supporter of Marr’s linguistic and social theory (at least until the mid 1940s) (Ellis and Davies 1951). It remains to examine the impact of the Soviet takeover on classical scholarship in the southern periphery of the Soviet Union in the years before World War II.

#### *Azerbaijan: Classical Archaeology as Prehistory*

Azerbaijan’s incorporation into the Soviet Union brought about sweeping changes for the study of ancient history and archaeology in this republic, about which little has been said thus far. The apparent neglect of Azerbaijan is because during the Russian Imperial period very few early travelers or researchers focused on the ruins of antiquity

(Aliev and Alibekova 1977),<sup>99</sup> or of Albania.<sup>100</sup> According to two leading Soviet Azerbaijani scholars, in the 1920s, historians and archaeologists of Azerbaijan were starting almost from scratch (Aliev and Alibekova 1977).

It is therefore not surprising that Russians came to play a particularly active role in the new historical and archaeological sciences. When the first general history of Azerbaijan was published by an Azeri scholar in 1923, Soviet authorities criticized it, accusing the author, Rashidbek Izmailov, of failing to consider class struggle and of promoting pan-Turkism instead (Ibragimov and Tokarzhevsky 1964: 9). In the years that followed, Russian historians (e.g., Vasilii Bartold, Erik Pakhomov, Vasilii Sysoev) were sent to Baku to “teach” Azerbaijani historians how to tell Azerbaijan’s history. The brief course materials written by these Russian historians framed both ancient Albania and contemporary Azerbaijan as political and not ethnic constructs; a unified sense of ethnic Azeri identity had not yet formed in the early years of Soviet power (Shnirelman 2001).

Prior to World War II, the study of antiquity in Azerbaijan was based largely on archaeological fieldwork rather than text-based historical inquiry (Aliev and Alibekova 1977: 109). Archaeological institutions in this republic sponsored an active program of research, assisted by Meshchaninov, along with other Russian archaeologists such as Aleksandr Iessen, Tatiana Passek, and Boris Latynin. Azerbaijani archaeologists such as D.M. Sharifov assimilated concepts from their northern counterparts (Aliev and Alibekova 1977: 109; Vaidov and Narimanov 1967: 48).

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<sup>99</sup> The few historical works dating to the 19th century were written by Russians from the metropole and scholars from the “far abroad.” One important exception is the history of Azerbaijan, written in Persian, by Abas-Kuli Bakikhanov, which appeared in Russian in 1926 (Trever 1959: 24-8).

<sup>100</sup> Albania is an ancient state mentioned by Strabo, Ptolemy, and medieval writers, whose geography corresponds to the region of Azerbaijan. It is often called “Caucasian Albania” so as not to be confused with Albania in the Balkans.

Much attention was directed toward the Nukha district on the Avtaran plain, where Lalayan had excavated in 1915. In 1926, Sharifov, under the sponsorship of the newly founded Azerbaijan State Museum, directed the excavation of a number of burials at a site called Ialoilutepe (Sharifov 1927). These unassuming pit burials contained inventories rich in ceramic vessels and bronze and iron jewelry. Sharifov's publication of the excavations at Ialoilutepe offers the first classification of ceramics from a classical-period site in Azerbaijan. In the following years, close parallels to these materials were found at nearby sites. Further burial excavations in the 1930s, particularly on the Mil steppe of the Kura-Araks lowland and at the well-known site of Mingechaur, produced a similar assemblage of materials to those found in the Nukha district.

These discoveries gave rise to the coining of two closely related and probably contemporary archaeological cultures, the Ialoilutepe culture and the Jar Burial culture (Aleksperov 1960; Dzhafarzade 1939; Pakhomov 1939, 1944), which were mapped onto various regions of Azerbaijan. Debate on the dating of the cultures placed their florescence somewhere between the sixth century BC and the first century AD (Iessen 1929; Passek and Latynin 1927). The question was largely settled after the discovery in some of the burials of Roman and Parthian coins dating to first century BC (Vaidov and Narimanov 1967: 52).

Thus, in the 1920s and early 1930s, the methods of archaeologists working on the Ialoilutepe and Jar Burial cultures were the same as those of their counterparts in prehistory. Culture was defined not through recourse to historical phenomena but by the spatial distribution of formally homogeneous archaeological assemblages. The results of research suggest that scholars in Azerbaijan were still influenced principally by the

Russian archaeologist Vasily Gorodtsov (1927), who had developed the predominant prehistoric culture sequence for the steppe on the basis of grave types. Most of this fieldwork was done before the theoretical transformations described above; thus, unlike in the field of ancient history, there is no apparent influence of contemporary political ideology in the early study of archaeology in Azerbaijan. That changed only after World War II.

*Georgia: Marxist History and the Burgeoning of Classical Archaeology*

Developments in Georgia differed considerably from those in Azerbaijan. Not only was there already a legacy of historical scholarship on ancient Georgia, as well as a (more limited) history of engagement with the study of antiquities prior to the Soviet period, it is also in this republic that we can tease out transformations in ancient history and archaeology that corresponded with the imperatives of the new academic order. In some of their Soviet-era publications, prerevolutionary Georgian historians such as Ivane Javakhishvili (1928, 1929) and Khristefore Rachvelishvili (1929), departing from the political histories of their earlier work, considered the presence in antiquity of slave-owning societies and the emergence of feudalism in the South Caucasus. These scholars were clearly engaged with contemporary trends in Russia toward a Marxist-Leninist ancient history. Because Javakhishvili and Rachvelishvili were ultimately products of prerevolutionary historical training, they were regarded by the new generation as still steeped in bourgeois liberal historiography (Novosel'tsev 1980).<sup>101</sup> The students of these

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<sup>101</sup> Javakhishvili faced problems with Communist Party authorities and barely escaped arrest in 1936 (G. Tsestkhladze, pers. comm.2007).



prerevolutionary historians completed the historiographic transformation. Beginning in the late 1930s, Simon Janashia (1937, 1949), for instance, was among the first to focus on a class-based interpretation of ancient society in the South Caucasus and, through a rigorous reading of primary classical and native sources, to argue for the existence of slave-owning followed by feudal social relations in the region (Novosel'tsev 1980: 60-9).

Unlike both Azerbaijan and Armenia, the 1930s were quite active years for the archaeology of antiquity in Georgia. Here, as in Azerbaijan, archaeologists from the new “near abroad”—Meshchaninov and Iessen but others as well, most importantly Boris Kuftin—were involved in many of these efforts, with their attention focused principally on the areas of Greek activity along Georgia’s Black Sea coast.<sup>102</sup> During the 1930s, several Georgian scholars were also quite active in Black Sea archaeology, most notably Georgi Nioradze and Nino Khoshtaria. Nevertheless, the largest investment of resources for the investigation of a classical site in the 1930s was directed not toward Colchis but toward the Mtskheta, whose importance Ker Porter and Dubois de Montpéreux had recognized more than a century earlier.

Like the American excavations of the Athenian Agora launched in these same years, the Mtskheta excavations became a training ground for many Georgian archaeologists. Begun in 1937, after construction work turned up a host of antiquities, the Mtskheta project represented the first of several long-term large-scale initiatives dedicated to the study of classical-period capital cities in the South Caucasus, and, as

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<sup>102</sup> In addition to working in Colchis, Kuftin made a tremendous contribution to the study of prehistory through his excavations of burials at Trialeti from 1937 to 1939. A victim of the political repression of the late 1920s, Kuftin had been exiled from St. Petersburg to Georgia. His work at Trialeti is also significant for the study of later periods; he excavated several graves that he dated to the Achaemenid, Hellenistic, Roman, and Sassanian eras. His classification and periodization of the assemblages through the use of stratigraphic and art historical analysis, and his comparison with the long-neglected materials from Bayern’s excavations at Samtavro, produced the region’s first comparative and diachronic analysis of the material culture of classical periods.

with many of those projects, has continued to the present with periodic interruptions.<sup>103</sup> Several factors explain this site's privileged position. Georgia's Marr Institute of Languages, History, and Material Culture was created in 1936, with Janashia as its director. The Mtskheta excavations were conducted under the auspices of this institute, and Janashia himself directed the project, along with Javakhishvili, who was a consultant to the institute (G. Tsetskhladze, pers. comm. 2007). As historians, Janashia and Javakhishvili were naturally attracted to Mtskheta because of its potential to corroborate information in ancient sources, but they were also presented with a new prospect (Lomtadze 1955: 22). The year the expedition began, Janashia (1937) published his book on a Marxist-Leninist approach to state formation in Georgia, and Javakhishvili had pursued similar themes in the late 1920s. Janashia's book examined how "primitive" tribal forms of social relations develop into state-level societies defined by class relationships, namely between slave-owners and slaves. Mtskheta presented an opportunity to trace, materially, the social transitions—from the consolidation of tribes to the emergence of class differentiation—which Janashia and Javakhishvili had been working to reconstruct from the texts of Herodotus, Xenophon, Strabo, and others.<sup>104</sup> This was the only case in the South Caucasus before World War II where ancient historians of the region who were engaged in Marxist ancient history also undertook archaeological research.

Neither Janashia nor Javakhishvili lived to publish fully their work at Mtskheta. Janashia's ideas were later developed by others such as Anna Boltunova (1956), who wove together historical and archaeological data from Mtskheta and Trialeti in her study

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<sup>103</sup> See Tsetskhladze (2006-2007) for a comprehensive bibliography of scholarship on Mtskheta.

<sup>104</sup> The relevant ancient references are numerous (Boltunova 1956).

of state formation and the emergence of class society in Georgia. The Mtskheta excavations, as the first intensive and enduring study of an urban setting in Georgia generated a tremendous quantity of data, including information about domestic and palatial architecture, fortifications, ceramics, inscriptions, coins, and art objects. The project gave birth to the first generation of archaeologists of *antichnost'* in Georgia, trained to recognize material culture as a valid historical source.

*Armenia: A False Start for a Systematic Classical Archaeology*

The first systematic research-driven archaeological initiative to take place in Armenia occurred in 1931 and was focused on a classical site called Vagharshapat, an ancient capital of the second to fourth centuries AD.<sup>105</sup> The archaeological importance of Vagharshapat had been known for some time because of the occasional discovery of Greek and Latin inscriptions in the area.<sup>106</sup> Whereas, beginning in the 1920s, other fieldwork in Armenia followed in the footsteps of construction projects, the research in the area of Vagharshapat was more targeted and designed to address a series of questions concerning the impact of Roman activity in the East, particularly with respect to the “development of trade relations and social structures” (Kalantar 1994: 53).

The work at Vagharshapat is fascinating for three reasons. First, the many individuals involved in the project—their positions vis-à-vis the new Soviet order and their ultimate fates—capture the kaleidoscope of trends circulating in the Soviet Union and South Caucasus in the 1920s and 1930s. Marr and Meshchaninov were both

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<sup>105</sup> Vagharshapat is mentioned by Khorenats'i, and Dubois de Montpéroux had visited the site.

<sup>106</sup> Two Latin and one Greek inscription were discovered in 1863, 1909, and 1914 (Kalantar 1935: 251-70, 1994; Trever 1953). Rostovtseff was involved in their publication.

involved in Vagharshapat at a time when Marr's Japhetic theory was already developed.<sup>107</sup> So, too, was the young ancient historian Suren Eremyan, who, much like Janashia, would write about the emergence of slave-owning and then feudal states in the South Caucasus (Eremyan 1950, 1951, 1968, 1970).<sup>108</sup> Another younger participant was Evgenii Bayburtyan, who was trained by Gorodtsov in Moscow in the formalist tradition and would go on to develop the concept of an Early Bronze Age archaeological culture (before being arrested and sent to Siberia). Finally, there was Askharbek Kalantar (1935) and Toros Toramanyan (1942, 1948), who both participated in Marr's excavations at Ani, and improved upon his approach to regional and diachronic investigations. In short, the gamut of new and old perspectives and methods were represented by those involved in the Vagharshapat project.

Kalantar and Toramanyan's methodological approach is a second factor that lends the Vagharshapat project its importance. Under Kalantar's direction, the project consisted of systematic multicomponent investigations that included a geodesic survey producing a 100 m<sup>2</sup> grid of the entire "Zvartnots Archaeological Region" (Kalantar 1935). Kalantar surveyed the region and noted features such as walls and burials, some of which he excavated and classified by type. Different specialists, including an architect and geographer, took responsibility for various components of the project, which, though principally targeting the second through fourth centuries AD, nevertheless investigated Bronze Age and medieval materials within the archaeological region as well. Kalantar's

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<sup>107</sup> Marr was supposed to be the director of the Vagharshapat project, but plans changed at the last minute, and Kalantar assumed oversight of the fieldwork and publication.

<sup>108</sup> Ancient history in Armenia in the 1930s was undergoing very similar dynamics as in Georgia. Here, too, the older, prerevolutionary historians such as Manandyan (1934) and Samvelyan (1938) attempted to accommodate the new historical paradigm and the "theory of stages." However, these efforts were regarded as representing an incomplete embrace of Marxist-Leninist thought (Novosel'tsev 1980: 60-9).

work is characterized by meticulous recording and a cautious use of historical information in relation to archaeological data, particularly in matters of chronology. The Vagharshapat investigations were quite innovative for their day.

Ironically, the significance of the project also rests on its failure to generate continued research into classical sites. The work at Vagharshapat lasted only one season, despite an agenda for future research mentioned in the report. One wonders whether the diversity of theoretical perspectives represented by those involved may have created insurmountable obstacles. In the publication of the excavations, Kalantar considered and then ultimately rejected class and social segregation as a way to explain the diversity among the burials he had excavated, stating instead that the cumulative historical and archaeological evidence suggests a multiethnic community, which included Greeks, Romans, Assyrians, Parthians, Jews, and Armenians (Kalantar 1935: 57). Reference to stages of socioeconomic formation and questions of trade and economy are nowhere to be found in Kalantar's interpretations. Yet he was clearly contemplating the place of archaeology in the contemporary Marxist-Leninist climate of the early 1930s; in a somewhat vague formulation, Kalantar wrote that aside from its scholarly importance, the work at Vagharshapat had a practical significance:

now at such a time when history has begun a new age, exceptional in its substance, when the proletariat with its entire might is bringing about the building of socialism . . . in this period of construction, unprecedented in scale and substance, no single trial of man's past life is superfluous, and in revealing that trial, every fragment of material culture can present a source and a reason in the further creations of the socialist project (Kalantar 1935: 67).

Rendering homage to the new contemporary order proved insufficient. Soon after writing this, Kalantar fell victim to Stalin's reign of terror. He was arrested and died in prison.<sup>109</sup> Research in the Vagharshapat region was aborted and the study of classical sites in Armenia did not resume for nearly two decades.

Three very different pictures emerge in the early Soviet years in the South Caucasus. In Azerbaijan in the late 1920s and early 1930s, where there had been little research into ancient history before the formation of the Soviet Union, the methods of culture history formed the basis of the study of antiquity. The Ialolitepe and Jar Burial cultures dominated discussions of this region's ancient past, while historical studies of Caucasian Albania only emerged in earnest somewhat later. Georgia, by contrast, pioneered the first large-scale long-term excavation of a classical-period city, and some of the republic's archaeologists pursued a research agenda guided, at least in part, by a Marxist-Leninist interpretation of ancient historical sources. Finally, in Armenia, classical archaeology got a false start, with an innovative and short-lived project that brought together individuals who were viewing the past through new and old paradigms. This diversity of approaches would be stifled around the time of World War II, when Stalinist ideology demanded a uniform agenda for *antichnaia arkheologiya*.

### **Making Great Nations and Poor Marxists, 1939–1991**

[Soviet archaeology] appears to be able to reverse its interpretations and to hold old ideas and their opposites at the same time. This too causes amazement (Bulkin *et al.* 1982: 2).

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<sup>109</sup> Kalantar was hardly alone. The archaeological community of the Soviet Union was devastated by the Stalinist purges of the 1930s. For a full discussion, see Miller (1956); Formozov (2004).

In 1956, the Azerbaijani archaeologist Omar Ismizade, in his book *The Ialoilutepe Culture*, advanced the premise that the region that hosted the most typical Ialoilutepe burials must be the core zone, or “heart,” of the people (*narod*) who were the “carriers” of this culture. Given the size and density of the Ialoilutepe burial field, he posited, there must have been a settlement that would have held such a population. He reasoned that the nearby site of Kabala, capital of Caucasian Albania attested in the ancient sources, might be just that settlement (Ismizade 1956: 72, 85). Ismizade went further. He did not present the contemporary jar burials as representative of a separate neighboring culture group, as had previously been argued. Nor, as one might expect, did he distinguish the Ialoilutepe and Jar Burial groups on the basis of class. Instead, the different burial constructions reflected the different cultic rituals “of the numerous Albanian tribes” (Ismizade 1956: 85). In case there was any ambiguity, Ismizade concluded that the evidence allows one to point to “the autochthonous development of the culture under study, its local distinctive character, the settled way of life of its carriers, and the affiliation of this culture with the native population of this territory, the ancient Albanians—the forefathers of the Azerbaijanis” (Ismizade 1956: 90).

In the 1950s, Ialoilutepe had thus been converted from an archaeological culture group into a historical nation. Over the next few decades, the notion of distinct archaeological cultures, or even numerous Albanian tribes, was discredited entirely. Instead, the differences in burial practices between the Ialoilutepe and Jar Burial cultures were regarded as local variations of an ethnically homogenous culture (*odnorodnaia kul'tura*) (Khalilov 1985b: 105).<sup>110</sup> Such attempts to establish a direct link between

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<sup>110</sup> It must be noted that at least one Azeri scholar has been resistant to equating archaeological cultures with modern ethnic groups. Babaev (1990) emphasized that the Jar Burial culture was a long-lived

modern nations and ancient archaeological cultures became widespread throughout the region. Beginning in the late 1930s, and especially in the 1940s, ethnogenesis had become a focus of research across the Soviet Union, and one that was encouraged by Communist authorities. Historical accounts of the particular paths of emergence of the Georgians, Armenians, and Azerbaijanis proliferated in the years following World War II, in both academic and popular literature.<sup>111</sup> This support and tolerance for inquiries into the origins of nations completely contradicted early Marxist-Leninist archaeological theory, as advocated by Ravdonikas, Bykovskii, and others who had rejected “any attempt to reveal any particular lines of development of particular peoples” (Shnirelman 1995: 125). Before World War II, nationalism had been regarded by Soviet leaders as “a uniquely dangerous mobilizing ideology because it had the potential to forge an above-class alliance in pursuit of national goals. Lenin called nationalism a ‘bourgeois trick’ but recognized that, like the hedgehog’s, it was a good one” (Martin 2001: 4). During Stalin’s purges of the 1930s, hundreds of people were arrested or killed for exhibiting “bourgeois nationalism.” By 1950, however, the theory of stages had been rejected, Marr’s followers arrested, and Bykovskii shot (Shnirelman 1995: 129).

The reason for the radical change of position on nationalities is multifaceted. According to one scholar, the threat of Nazi Germany just before the Soviet Union entered World War II had prompted Stalin to reconsider the role that Russia and other nations would need to play in defending the U.S.S.R., yet the internationalist propaganda of the previous decade had diminished the sense of national consciousness that would

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phenomenon that was widespread across the South Caucasus, and therefore it could not be identified with any particular nation.

<sup>111</sup> For the most thorough treatment of the debates on ethnogenesis in historical literature of the South Caucasus, see Shnirelman (2001).



need to be mobilized for the defense of the fatherland (Shnirelman 1995).

Archaeologically, as Germans expanded the geographic limits of their ethnogenic field, Russian scholars responded by investigating the previously forbidden question of Slavic origins (Klejn 1977; Miller 1956). Similar shifts in historical agendas soon followed in the South Caucasus. In Armenia, for instance, historians turned their attention to constructing an autochthonous account of Armenian ethnic origins, partially in response to German Nazi propaganda, which asserted that the Armenians, although “Indo-Germans,” had migrated to the Caucasus (Piotrovskii 1995). According to Shnirelman:

the concept of the Indo-European descent of the Armenians, as well as that of migration, were tossed out of the agenda; it became unsafe to talk about them, and Armenian authors began a hectic search for alternative approaches that would deliver them of accusations of political disloyalty (Shnirelman 2001: 35).

Other motives behind the new emphasis placed on an autochthonous ethnogenesis have been offered. Shnirelman suggests that after World War II some Armenians expected their calls for the restoration of the lands in eastern Turkey to be realized by the Soviet Union, and that this case could be strengthened if Armenian occupation of these lands could be extended into the deep past (Shnirelman 2001: 75). Political pressures and the constant Soviet discomfort with expressions of pan-Turkism also partially explain the efforts of Azerbaijani historians to establish an autochthonous account of Azeri origins.<sup>112</sup>

As Bulkin *et al.* (1982: 273) point out however, geopolitics were not the only reason why Moscow sanctioned the study of ethnogenesis, and it is generally simplistic to

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<sup>112</sup> Debate over Azerbaijani ethnogenesis became particularly sharp in the 1960s, when historians fell broadly into two camps. Those advancing an autochthonous, pan-Albanian account of Azeri ethnogenesis were led by Ziya Bunyatov, the long-term director of the Institute of History. Those advocating a pan-Turanist approach were led by Igrar Aliev. Although the former group gained supremacy in historical narrative in the Soviet period, the tides soon changed; during the collapse of the Soviet Union, Bunyatov was assassinated by pan-Turanists (G. Areshian, pers. comm. 2007).

reduce all changes in Soviet archaeology to broader political issues. During the 1930s, as archaeological data in the Soviet borderlands grew, “[i]t became increasingly difficult to ignore this diversity and to force all archaeological data into a rigidly-ordered universal scheme” (Bulkin *et al.* 1982: 276). Tracing ethnic roots and finding the ancestors of modern nations became acceptable—even if always uncomfortable—intellectual terrain. Official policies struggled against expressions of nationalism, even as such policies were undermined by inconsistencies at various levels of state and society. If the nationalization of the Ialolitepe culture in Azerbaijan presents a particularly striking example of the transformation toward a national archaeology, a similar intellectual shift can be detected in Georgia and Armenia. The latter is the case study for the remainder of this chapter.

#### *Antichnaia Arkheologiia in Armenia*

In 1949, nearly 20 years after the Vagharshapat investigations had been prematurely aborted, excavations began at Garni, thus launching a large-scale, long-term project that, like Mtskheta, would become the main training ground for archaeologists in Armenia in the postwar decades. On the first page of the first report of the Garni excavations, prominent Armenian archaeologist and project director Babken Arakelyan set forth an agenda for *antichnaia arkheologiia* in Armenia. He wrote that archaeology in Armenia had long neglected the millennium between the collapse of Urartu and the end of the Armenian Arsacid dynasty (i.e., the sixth century BC to the fifth century

AD),<sup>113</sup> despite the significance of this period for the formation of the Armenian state: “After the prolonged struggles against the Median, Persian and Seleucid conquerors, the building of the Armenian state was successfully completed” (Arakelyan 1951: 5). Arakelyan went on to argue that although historians—on the basis of written sources—had focused only on a political history of Armenia, many important problems had been left unaddressed, most importantly “the formation of the Armenian people, the social-economic nature of the Armenian state, the problem of so-called Hellenistic society and the Hellenistic culture of Armenia” (Arakelyan 1951: 5). It could be argued that the order of the program that Arakelyan sets forth in this quotation is not accidental. He suggests that priority should be given first to the study of the nation on its own terms, second to the study of the nation in Marxist terms, and third to the study of the nation in the terms of wider, bourgeois historiography. To some extent, Arakelyan’s introduction served as a manifesto for *antichnaia arkheologiia* in Armenia.<sup>114</sup>

### The Field Projects

These problems could not be properly addressed without data. In view of the scarce and biased written sources, Arakelyan stated, archaeological materials must be given greater consideration, particularly through the excavation of monumental sites such as Armavir, Artashat, and Garni. In the years after the start of the Garni project, the quantity of artifacts from sites dating from classical periods rapidly had gone from a few occasional finds (alongside the Vagharshapat materials) to a tremendous collection of

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<sup>113</sup> Urartu had become an intense focus of archaeological research in the late 1930s, thanks to Piotrovskii’s work at Karmir Blur. Research at Dvin had also gotten underway in the late 1930s.

<sup>114</sup> Arakelyan was a student of philologist Iosef Orbelli, who was himself a product of the Marr school.

artifacts stored in dig houses, the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, the State Museum, and regional museums. At Garni, aside from the ruins of the hexastyle building, which was restored in the 1960s (figure 4.7), excavations exposed an enclosure wall, a palace complex, an associated bath with hypocausts and a mosaic, burials, and a vast store of ceramic, glass, and other artifacts. The excavations were comprehensively published in a series of monographs organized by artifact categories, replete with photographs, illustrations, plans, and topographic maps (Arakelyan 1951, 1957; Khachatryan 1976). In 1959, Arakelyan was appointed director of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography in Armenia, a clear indication of the significance of his work at Garni. He held this post for nearly three decades, and his directorship no doubt partially explains why *antichnaia arkheologiia* received the lion's share of archaeological resources in Armenia throughout the Soviet period.

Pursuant to his initial agenda, in 1962, while still directing the Garni project, Arakelyan began investigations at Armavir, thought to be a capital of Armenia in the fourth through third centuries BC. Since Uvarov reconnoitered the site in 1880, a second survey mission in 1927 had revealed a Greek inscription, reviving earlier ideas about the classical occupation of Armavir (Robert and Robert 1952). Although stratigraphically complicated by the site's long use from the Urartian through Medieval periods,<sup>115</sup> investigations at Armavir revealed the reuse and rebuilding of the Urartian constructions in the succeeding centuries into a monumental elite center (figure 4.8). Excavations at Armavir were copiously published in a series of nearly annual articles appearing in the primary archaeological journals in Armenia.<sup>116</sup> In 1970, the directorship of the Armavir

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<sup>115</sup> Ter-Martirosov (1974); Zardaryan and Akopian (1994: 171).

<sup>116</sup> For a bibliography, see Vardanyan (2003: xv-xxv).

excavations was passed to Gevork Tiratsyan, a student of Boris Piotrovskii and arguably the most important figure in the development of *antichnaia arkheologiia* in Armenia.<sup>117</sup>

In that same year, Arakelyan launched a third project, this one at Artashat, just as he had planned 20 years before. Unlike in Ker Porter and Dubois de Montpéroux's day, the correct location of the site was known. The site of Artashat is spread over several hills on the center of the Ararat plain (figure 4.9). Some of these hills and the surrounding areas have been intensively excavated, exposing baths, pathways, living quarters, archives, burials, military barracks, and other structures (Arakelyan 1975, 1982; Khachatryan 1981, 1996; Khachatryan and Kanetsyan 1974; Tonikian 1996). By 1970, Arakelyan had fulfilled his own call to expand the corpus of data through excavations at these three monumental sites. Work at Garni, Artashat, and Armavir became large-scale long-term expeditions, and all continue, with varying degrees of intensity, into the present day.

As excavations and data sets grew, attention to problems of chronology and ceramic typology soon followed. Several seminal articles on the classical pottery of Armenia were published in the 1960s and especially in the 1970s (Karapetyan 1971; Khachatryan 1966, 1970, 1977; Tiratsyan 1965, 1971a, 1971b; Zardaryan 1977). The absolute dates underlying the archaeological sequences were derived from historical considerations, numismatic evidence, art historical analysis, and comparative ceramic analysis with assemblages beyond Armenia, especially the eastern Mediterranean and the Near East. Tiratsyan developed an enduring periodization of *antichnaia arkheologiia* in which he divided the period between the collapse of Urartu and the Medieval era (marked

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<sup>117</sup> After Arakelyan's tenure, Tiratsyan went on to direct the Institute of Archaeology from 1988 until his death in 1993. Throughout the Soviet period and into the early years of independence, Armenia's main archaeological research center was directed by archaeologists of *antichnost.*

in Armenia by the adoption of Christianity in the early fourth century AD) into three phases: the sixth through fourth centuries BC, the third through first centuries BC, and the first through third centuries AD (Tiratsyan 1957). This series of three-century absolute date ranges, common for Soviet archaeology (Bulkin *et al.* 1982: 289), has remained quite fixed.

The ancient capitals and centers of central Armenia had become archaeological institutions with towering personalities. They promised data for dissertations and hectares of unexcavated lands within their limits. Beginning in the 1970s, however, the community of *antichnaia arkheologiia*, and particularly the second generation of Soviet Armenian archaeologists, began to add nuance to Arakelyan's agenda, such that the organization of fieldwork in the last two decades of the Soviet period became more dynamic. In the 1970s, in addition to city and settlement investigations, excavations of burials at Garni, Artashat, Oshakan, and Karmir Blur produced evidence of mortuary practices, as well as complete ceramic forms critical to the emerging typological research (Esayan and Kalantaryan 1976; Khachatryan 1975, 1976, 1981; Tiratsyan and Vayman 1974). By the 1980s, another elite center of the Ararat plain came into view, with Felix Ter-Martirosov's (ongoing) excavations at Yervandashat, a site located at the confluence of the Araks and Akhurian rivers, described by Movses Khorenats'i as a capital of Armenia during the third century BC. In this same decade, some archaeologists shifted their attention from royal residences to smaller-scale sites of central Armenia. Hovhanes Ohanyan's dissertation research at the small fortress settlement of Shamiram perhaps best exemplifies this shift (Ohanyan 1990).

By the 1970s, scholars recognized that any attempt to understand social and economic dynamics in the putative early Armenian states would require an understanding of regional settlements beyond the heartland of the Ararat plain and its surroundings. Archaeologists began prospecting and excavating outside the central regions of the country. Surveys in northeastern Armenia were undertaken during the 1960s and 1970s by Stepan Esayan (1976) and in southern Armenia by Onnik Xnkikyan (2002) beginning in the 1970s (see Chapter 7 for analysis of these and other surveys). These regional investigations provided ample evidence of occupation in the first millennium BC, and particularly during the understudied sixth through fourth centuries BC. In the 1970s, two excavation projects resulted from the increased reconnaissance beyond the central zones of the country: Inesa Karapetyan's (1979) work at Karchakhpyur (an Achaemenid and Hellenistic settlement located on the south shore of Lake Sevan) and Felix Ter-Martirosov's excavations at Shirakavan, a salvage initiative for a Hellenistic site now covered by a modern reservoir (Karakhanyan and Ter-Martirosov 1978; Ter-Martirosov and Karakhanyan 1998). Investigations of classical sites beyond the Ararat plain continued into the 1980s, for instance, on the Shirak plain and in the Talin region (Hakobyan 2001, 2003; Hakobyan *et al.* 1992).

### Making the Nation

As data multiplied, it became possible to address Arakelyan's themes of nation and state formation, socioeconomic structures, and his "so-called Hellenistic society." The first of these themes had been the subject of extensive historical discussion,

especially in the 1950s and 1960s. In these years, a consensus developed around the ideas of Suren Eremyan, the highly regarded Armenian historian who devoted much of his career to the study of Armenian ethnogenesis. In contrast to the theories proposed by Igor Diakonoff (1968) and others concerning the migration of Armenian speakers to the Armenian highland, Eremyan (1951) argued that the Armenians were indigenous to the region and that, as the successors to the kingdom of Urartu, they organized an independent state at the turn of the sixth century BC. Eremyan's formulation rested on the existence of the Orontid/Yervandid dynasty, which peacefully acquired the power of Urartu, just as the Armenian tribes assimilated Urartu's population (Eremyan 1968, 1970). By this reconstruction, the formation of the Armenian nation and state predated the Persian empire, thus rendering the Achaemenids invaders who, as Shnirelman wrote in summarizing Eremyan, "violated the natural development of the Armenian ethnopolitical process" (Shnirelman 2001: 51). A period of statelessness ensued. The process of nation and state formation could only resume in the second century BC, so Eremyan's narrative goes, after the collapse of Achaemenid power. At that point, Armenians continued to assimilate other local tribes, and thus the process of "Armenization" could come to its full realization in the first centuries BC, when Greater Armenia, with its Armenian-speaking population, emerged under the leadership of Tigranes "the Great." Many of the details and historical evidence that hold up this reconstruction were presented in Chapter 3, where I raised serious doubts about such an early date for the Orontid/Yervandid dynasty. Important for our purposes here is simply that historical discourse placed Armenian ethnic and state formation precisely in the centuries demarcated by *antichnaia arkhologia*.



Many archaeologists, including Arakelyan (1951) and Tiratsyan (1966, 1985), participated in these historical discussions, but archaeology's involvement in the debates over nation and state formation was far from straightforward. Archaeologists across the Soviet Union shared a great deal of interest in ethnogenetic problems in the 1950s and 1960s, but the research in this area was largely untheoretical (Klejn 1977: 15). This was also true in Armenia. Despite the absence of an explicit theory or method for identifying the emergence and coalescence of ethnicity in the archaeological record, Armenian archaeologists of *antichnaia arkheologiia* readily assumed the nation as the foundational unit of analysis in their research, adopting it from historical discourse. However, they did not harness archaeology to prove the nation's emergence. One reason for this, perhaps, was the nature of the archaeological record itself, particularly for the crucially relevant sixth and fifth centuries BC. Excavations at Garni, Armavir, and Artashat simply had not produced clear evidence for occupation in these "formative" centuries (i.e., the Achaemenid period). The archaeological record did not correspond to historical assertions of developed statehood. Evidence for bureaucracy and administration were (and still are) lacking for these centuries, and instead, reconnaissance beyond the Ararat plain has suggested a period of fragmented authority. Although the Urartian fortress of Erebuni has long been regarded as one of Armenia's satrapal centers in the Achaemenid period (a topic discussed at great length in Chapter 8), until very recently, investigations there have focused on the Urartian period, and not on later occupations (Ter-Martirosov 2001, 2005a, 2005b). In a scholarly climate in which emphasizing the earliest achievements of the nation was a priority, the problem of the archaeology of the sixth and fifth centuries BC was best set aside in favor of the more unequivocally centralized

phases of Armenia's antiquity, beginning in the second century BC. The archaeology of this earliest phase of the Armenian nation and its putative first state, often called the Early Armenian period (Manandyan 1946 [1965]), was thus largely ignored.

Archaeologists focused instead on monuments that illuminated the pinnacle of a given phase of the historical past and the elites whose artistic production supposedly represented the achievements of the nation at a time when its earliest days of initial formation were in the past. Thus the Garni building, mosaic baths, and palace were taken as illustrations of the cosmopolitanism of Armenia and its kings in the first centuries AD. The capital at Artashat, with its ramparts, rooms, baths, imported objects, military quarters, archives, coins, and objects of art provides a fitting base from which King Tigranes could forge a short-lived empire. And at Armavir, the late Yervandid kings, inheritors of the Urartian temple site, created an impressive and appropriate spiritual center for the early Armenians of the Ararat plain.

The archaeological making of the Armenian nation, however, did not hinge solely upon evidence from the sixth through fourth centuries BC. Tiratsyan devoted numerous studies to establishing the "genealogical connection," in archaeological terms, between Urartian and Armenian culture (Tiratsyan 1968, 1969a, 1978). He was one of the few archaeologists to advance an analytical program based on an archaeological approach to the formation of the Armenian people. In a seminal article, Tiratsyan (1978) enumerated several areas of similarity between Urartian material phenomena and those of later periods. He argued, for instance, that the layout of Artashat ought not to be explained in terms of the influence of Hippodamean planning but rather as an inheritance of Urartian town planning. While Tiratsyan acknowledged that many Urartian centers were

destroyed upon the collapse of this polity, and that urban life all but ceased on the Armenian highland, he reasoned that since occupation continued at a few Urartian sites, Urartian principles of town planning endured into the second century BC. Tiratsyan advanced similar arguments about other archaeological categories (e.g., burial practices, ceramics, toreutics), which served to cast doubt on common explanations for the forms of such phenomena based on external influences. Ultimately, he suggested that the connection between Urartu and Armenia “is not merely an expression of influences, but an outcome of a far more important and weighty phenomenon. The Urartian-Armenian coincidences . . . leave no doubt that we are dealing with the assimilation and organic conjunction of cultural phenomena,” namely of the “Urartian ethnic mass into the Armenian nation” (Tiratsyan 2003 [reprint]: 10). In establishing a direct “genealogical” link between Urartu and Armenia, several elements of the historical account advanced by Eremyan and others found support.<sup>118</sup>

#### Looking West: The Problem of Arakelyan’s So-Called Hellenistic Society

Tiratsyan’s effort to explain certain archaeological phenomena of the period of *antichnost’* in reference to local Urartian precedents rather than external cultural forces accorded not only with historical aspirations toward national autochthony but also Soviet critiques of Western historiography and “so-called Hellenistic society” (Arakelyan 1951: 5). The qualification of Hellenistic society in Arakelyan’s manifesto was an important

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<sup>118</sup> This is not the place to examine Tiratsyan’s arguments concerning the connections between Urartian and later material culture. It is important to point out, however, that in a subsequent study, Tiratsyan and Areshian (1990) place great emphasis on the differences between Urartian and Armenian cultures as well. The complexities of the matter were always recognized.

signal. He was acknowledging a discourse in Soviet ancient history that critiqued the “bourgeois historical science” practiced by the likes of Johann Droysen, William Tarn, and especially Rostovtseff. “Hellenism” was regarded by Soviet historians as a profoundly inappropriate term to describe the interconnections between Mediterranean cultures and the East. In an illustration of the coexistence of Marxist-Leninist and ethnonational reasoning, some Soviet historians argued that the concept of Hellenism was flawed for at least two reasons. First, it failed to recognize the achievements of the local cultures with which Western conquerors came into contact. Second, those who employed the concept of Hellenism tended to reduce all conflict between East and West to ethnic difference (e.g., between Greeks and non-Greeks), without recognizing that antagonisms actually emerged from class struggles and the conflicts between slaveholders and slaves (Ranovich 1950; Trever 1953). Bourgeois historians, Kamilla Trever argued, failed to see the dialectic inherent in cultural contact—that the Armenians and Iberians, for instance, as much remade Western civilization as they were made by it. In addition, slave-owning relations in each ancient society developed not according to some universal Hellenistic stage but out of internal processes of that society. Given that the everyday lives of the ancient Armenians were unchanged by Hellenism but remained local and distinctive, the term “Hellenistic” can only be applied to elites, and even then, it is “tolerable” only “conditionally and temporarily” until a better term is found (Trever 1953: 15-19). With this train of thought, the Marxist theory of stages and the importance of national emergence were harmoniously merged. Room was given to acknowledge and study the undeniable evidence for the impact of the Mediterranean world on the South

Caucasus while also demonstrating how local cultures did not cede to external cultural hegemony.

Under this paradigm emerged a number of studies that situated the discoveries of fine arts from Armenia within the wider art historical milieu of the eastern Mediterranean and Iran yet framed their occurrence in Armenia as national attainments emerging out of local historical conditions. Numerous studies on sculpture (Arakelyan 1969), portraiture (Tiratsyan 1973b), glass (Arakelyan *et al.* 1969), glyptic arts (Khachatryan 1974), mosaic (Tiratsyan 1959), and metal artifacts (Tiratsyan 1969b) were published throughout the 1960s and 1970s, culminating in Arakelyan's comprehensive compendium, *Essays on the History of the Art of Ancient Armenia (6th c B.C.–3rd c AD) (1976)*. For an illustration of the general interpretive approach to ancient art, consider the following analysis of Armenian architecture by that country's preeminent architectural historian and the architect of Garni's reconstruction:

The architectural culture of Armenia during antiquity had definite contacts with the architectural art of Greece, Rome and, in particular, neighboring Hellenistic countries (Asia Minor, Syria, Iran, etc.). . . . However, by relying upon rich local traditions . . . it followed a distinctive path of development. In inheriting, developing and enriching building traditions of the local ethnic groups of the Armenian highland . . . Armenian architecture, in the course of its formation, boldly borrowed, reworked, localized and absorbed those elements of the architectural culture of the external world that corresponded to the internal patterns of its development (i.e., to the climatic conditions of the country, to its building materials, to its natural environment, to the times, to the spiritual nature of the people, to their conceptions, customs, etc.) and, traversing a centuries-old path, gradually crystallized, acquiring its distinctive national face. The study of the Garni fortress complex and of the architectural art of the pre-Christian period in general, and particularly the study of the significant quantity of monuments that existed in Armenia as early as the first years of the proclamation of Christianity . . . unequivocally demonstrate that the process of the formation of an Armenian national architecture . . . began as early as the pre-Christian period, encompassing nine centuries, which

represent the first stage in the formation of classic Armenian architecture (Sahinyan 1988: 184).

Sahinyan's interpretation conforms to a Marxist-Leninist understanding of so-called Hellenistic society. First, he acknowledges that Armenia's contact with the Hellenistic world accounts for the appearance of a building such as Garni in Armenia. Second, however, he emphasizes the local traditions that produced some of the distinctive features of Hellenistic architecture in Armenia—features that are unique to the work of the “local ethnic groups of the Armenian highland.” The dialectic is thus complete: out of Armenia's contact with the Hellenistic world, a new Armenian version of Hellenism was produced. Finally, on account of the innovations imposed by the “local ethnic groups,” the entire architectural endeavor became Armenian and was a natural and integral step in Armenia's architectural history. This interpretation stands in stark contrast to earlier analyses of Garni from before World War II. In the 1930s, for instance, the architectural historian Toros Toramanyan (who had worked at Vagharshapat with Kalantar) stressed the singularity of the peripteral structure at Garni as a Roman-style building on the Armenian highland and remarked that the Garni construction essentially had no influence on contemporary or subsequent Armenian architecture (Toramanyan 1942: 283). The effort to localize and integrate all cultural production emerged from the contemporary ideological and political climate. Similar reasoning is encountered in studies of other artistic media.

Although studies of the so-called Hellenistic society and the culture of Hellenistic Armenia found expression in the analysis of fine art and architecture, Arakelyan's second concern, the study of the socioeconomic nature of the Armenian state, received less attention. By the 1940s, there was general consensus among historians that the feudal stage of development evolved in Armenia in the Medieval period. It was also agreed that tribal relations prevailed in prehistoric periods, prior to the coalescence of the Armenian nation. Marx's slave society must therefore have existed in ancient or classical Armenia, as historians such as Eremyan had argued since the 1930s. However, attempts to tease out the antagonisms inherent in a slave society, which Trever had suggested were ignored by bourgeois historians, were equally unaddressed by Soviet Armenian archaeology.<sup>119</sup> Class difference was very rarely pursued in the material record even if generic reference was often made to the existence of social classes. Tiratsyan was deeply interested in the emergence of cities in the Hellenistic period, and especially their absence in the two centuries after the collapse of Urartu (Tiratsyan 1973a, 1979). The transition from villages to urban forms of settlement, in a Marxist reading, is a socioeconomic phenomenon related to the transition from a tribal to slave or feudal society; however, such theoretical assumptions remained latent, and considerations of the emergence of urbanism are decidedly descriptive.

There are several possible explanations for why *antichnaia arkheologiia* in Armenia during the Soviet era was, if not un-Marxist, then uninterested in overtly

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<sup>119</sup> Some archaeologists, especially Arakelyan, were committed to studying class relations, particularly feudal relations in medieval Armenian society; however, this was pursued through recourse to historical rather than archaeological evidence (Sargsyan *et al.* 1984).

exploring an archaeology along Marxist lines. Bruce Trigger has argued that neither the Communist Party of the Soviet Union nor Marx himself provided explicit guidelines on what might constitute a Marxist archaeology. Marx gave little attention to prefeudal societies (Trigger 1989: 219). Although the theory of stages dominated historical discourse,<sup>120</sup> by the 1950s, this paradigm lost ground in archaeology, and as Leo Klejn has suggested, “no major new conception emerged to compete with it or take its place” (Klejn 1977: 13). Instead, particularly by the 1960s, empirical research with only “partial interpretation” (Klejn 1977: 14) predominated.

An explanation often voiced by some scholars in Armenia is that no one truly believed the Marxist-Leninist rhetoric emanating from the party, so there was no reason to incorporate it into scholarship, aside from the requisite homage. It is certainly true that placing too much weight on these obligatory references to Marxism-Leninism results in a “crude oversimplification” of Soviet archaeology (Klejn 1977: 12), but it is also notable that this opinion is voiced in Armenia by a generation trained after World War II. Other Armenian scholars have suggested that simply working with material culture constituted a materialist approach to history. This may have been sufficient for a field such as archaeology, which was already far from the party’s concern (Derlugian 2005: 110; cf. Miller 1956). In the final analysis, the national archaeologies that resulted from the Marxist critique of imperialist Western historiography were simply not designed to seek in the material record the sorts of class struggles that might taint otherwise lofty representations of stable and enduring cultures.

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<sup>120</sup> After World War II, it did, however, become more complex and nuanced than the initial formulations, particularly the study of slavery (Frolov 2006: 450).



## Conclusion

During the final days of the Soviet Union, and in the turbulent decade that followed its collapse, all three of the South Caucasian republics descended into a morass of ethnic conflict, either with neighbors or constituent minorities. The reasons for these wars cannot be reduced to any single variable, but there is scarcely an account that does not acknowledge the failures of the Soviet Union's nationalities policy, which ultimately institutionalized ethnic identity, encouraged in part by the construction of timeless and autochthonous nations. Victor Shnirelman has detailed the role of the region's historians in crafting and disseminating (well beyond academic circles) narratives on identity that extended deep into the ancient past and often conflicted with those of neighboring populations.

Considering the case of Armenia in the decades after World War II, the role of *antichnaia arkheologiia*, in contrast to ancient history, in shaping contemporary ethnic politics is somewhat more difficult to capture.<sup>121</sup> To be sure, studies of *antichnaia arkheologiia* were almost always framed in relation to the Armenian nation and often in ways that romanticized its material achievements through inferences that accorded past communities a rather narrow range of identity choices. There is a difference, however, between national and nationalist archaeologies (Kohl and Fawcett 1995: 8), and archaeological scholarship in the region, while often glorifying a national past, rarely confronted directly the question of the comparative antiquity of any one nation in relation to its neighbors.

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<sup>121</sup> For a review of politics and classical archaeology in Georgia, see Kohl and Tsetskhladze (1995).

Although bound to a wider classical epistemology through a shared historical framework, what distinguishes *antichnaia arkheologiia* most obviously from Western classical archaeology is the discipline's *raison d'être*. *Antichnaia arkheologiia* in the South Caucasus was not developed to celebrate the sources of Western civilization. Instead, the field is staked upon a search for the achievements of peoples whom Greeks and Romans met along the way, who were putatively tied to the soil of today's nations in the mountains and steppes of Eurasia. *Antichnaia arkheologiia* in the South Caucasus focuses on peoples who are cast by Western traditions to the margins of history.

At first glance, the underlying principles that give coherence and meaning to each tradition make them appear quite distinct. Read another way, however, *antichnaia arkheologiia* and classical archaeology share a certain similarity in their internal logics. Western classical archaeology may not be a form of “national” archaeology, but as a “civilizational” archaeology, it is also staked upon understanding and inherently privileging what makes a particular “collective” unique (in this case, Western civilization rather than an Armenian or Georgian or Azerbaijani nation). As Robin Osborne and Susan Alcock have written, “[i]t is simply not possible to revisit the material world of Greeks and the Romans as a disinterested observer: whether we as Westerners like it or not, this material has been privileged in our own formation, and it has been privileged as *our* past” (Osborne and Alcock 2007: 2). Whether civilizational or national, the reflexive relationship between the body politic and the ruins of antiquity is taken for granted and is now perhaps an unavoidable quality of both *antichnaia arkheologiia* and classical archaeology.

There is one other point of contrast that is perhaps most relevant to this study. One of the major differences between these two schools of historical archaeology stems from the fact that the Russo-Soviet academic tradition does not strictly distinguish between the social sciences and the humanities. Marxist historical materialism in the Soviet Union blurred this boundary. Thus, prehistoric and classical archaeology, for instance in Armenia, are regarded not as two different disciplines but as chronologically distinct inquiries into materiality along a single historical continuum (Bulkin *et al.* 1982). *Antichnaia arkheologiia* is not a subdiscipline or concentration within departments of classics or history but instead is positioned within the research institutions of archaeology and the science of material culture. And while in universities, the study of *antichnaia arkheologiia* is often housed within history departments, so too is the study of prehistory. “In contrast to Western archaeology,” Bulkin *et al.* (1982: 286) write, “Soviet archaeology is not divided into self-contained branches such as prehistoric, classical and Near Eastern archaeology.” The Soviet system brought together into single departments and institutes all those who worked with material culture as a way of knowing the past. This is not to suggest, by any means, that archaeologists of *antichnost’* were exempt from the study of ancient languages, history, and other ancillary domains but simply that engagements with materiality were not institutionally or intellectually subsumed under them.

In the remainder of this dissertation, I explore how such a model of historical archaeology—one that looks as much to the social sciences as to the humanities—can push the study of the Achaemenid empire in interesting and productive directions. I

begin with a description of the field research at the site of Tsaghkahovit. These investigations are adding a new chapter to *antichnaia arkheologiia* in Armenia.

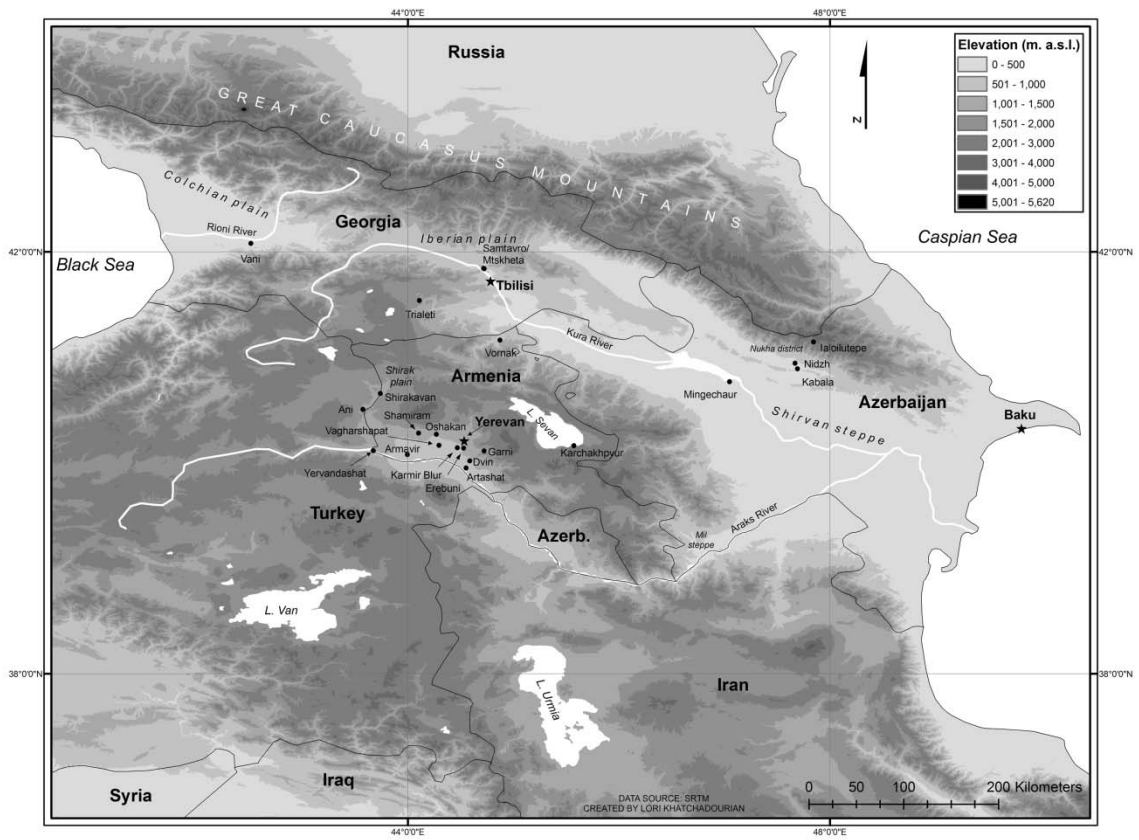


Figure 4.1 Map of the South Caucasus with sites mentioned in Chapter 4.

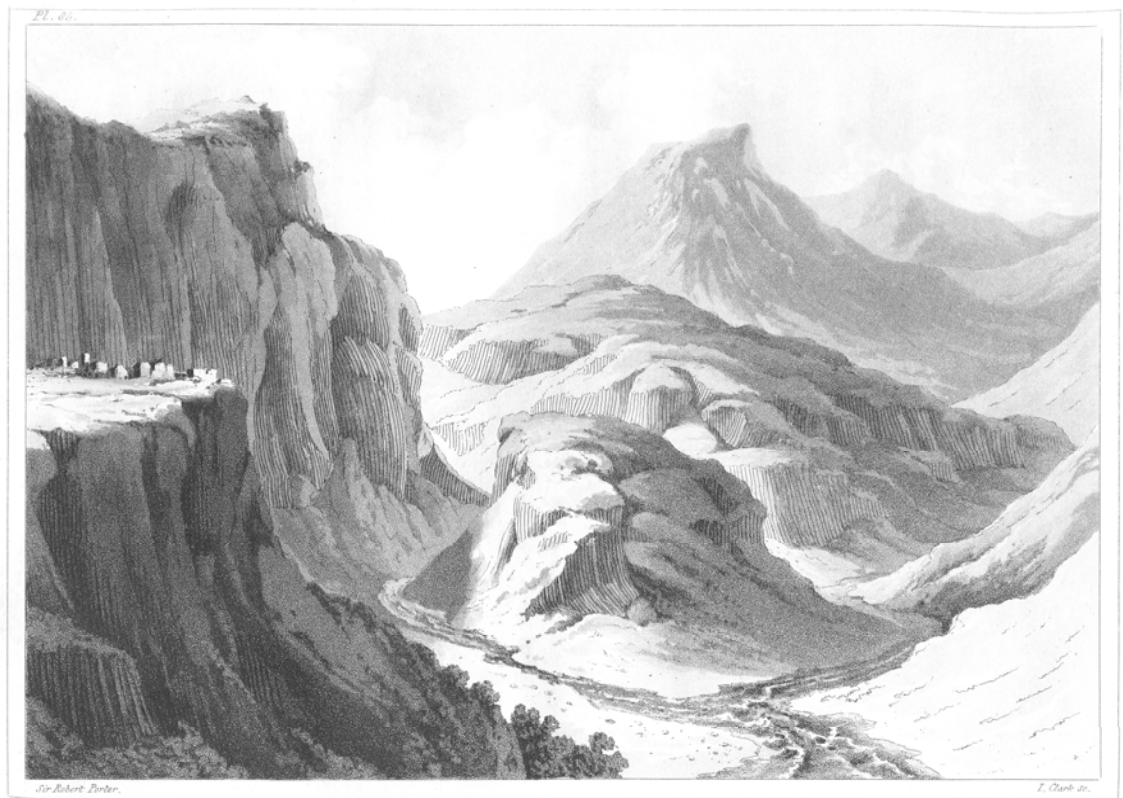


Figure 4.2 Ker Porter's drawing of the Garni gorge. Ruins can be seen on the promontory on the left (after Ker Porter 1822: pl. 85).

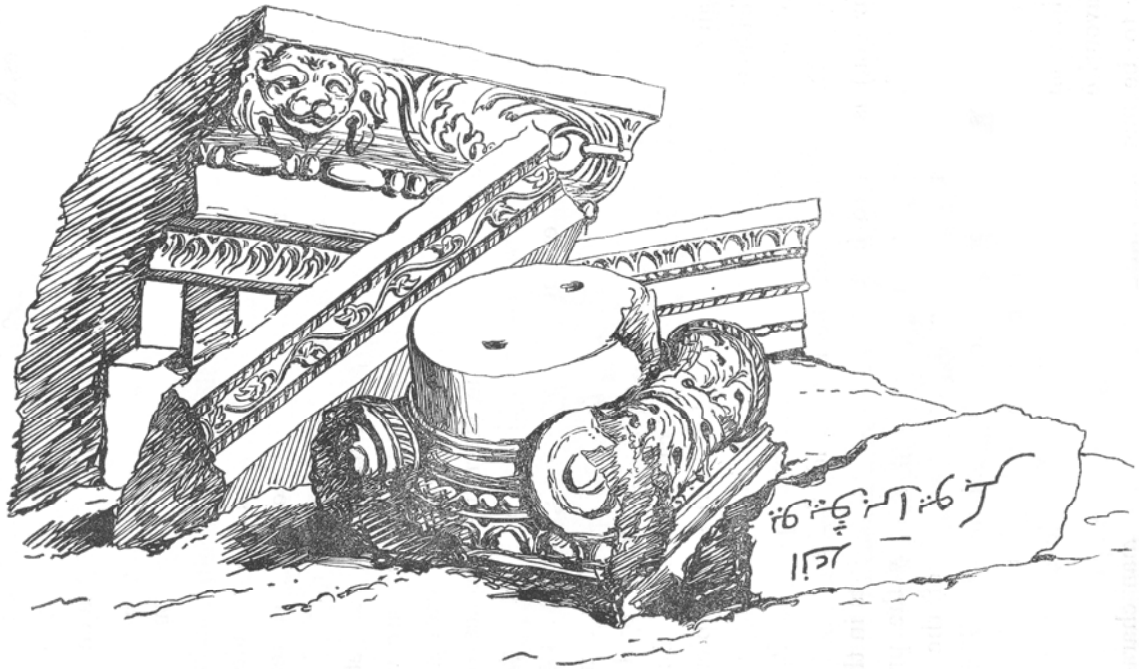


Figure 4.3 Ker Porter's drawing of the ruins at Garni (after Ker Porter 1822: 627).



Figure 4.4 Dubois de Montpéroux's reconstruction of Garni (after Dubois de Montpéroux 1839: pl. 19).



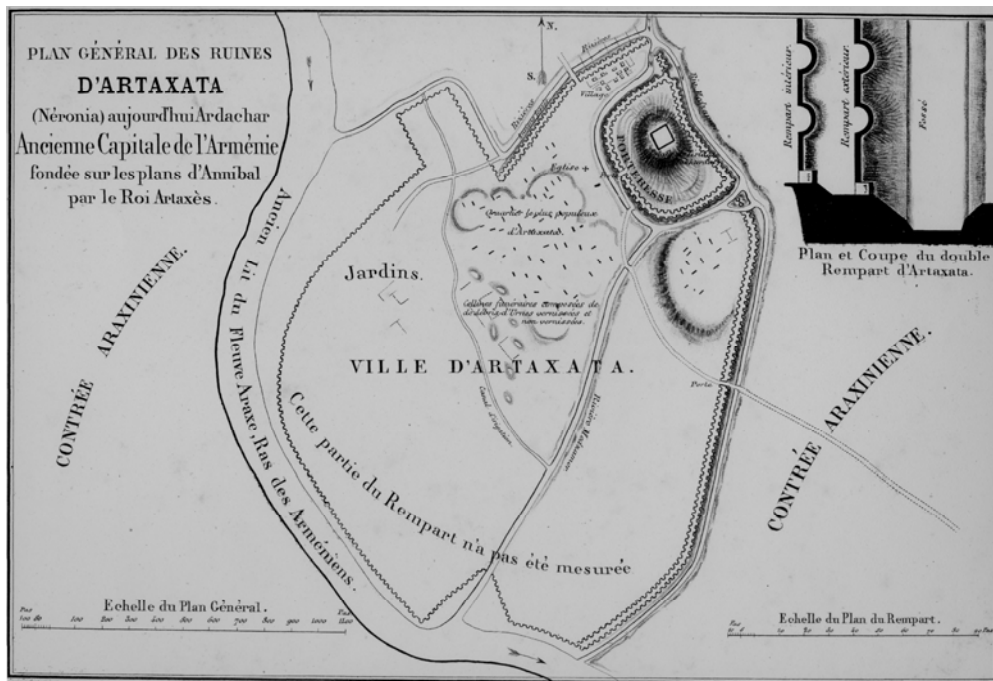


Figure 4.5 Dubois de Montpéreau's plan of Artashat (actually Dvin) (after Dubois de Montpéreau 1839: pl. 19).

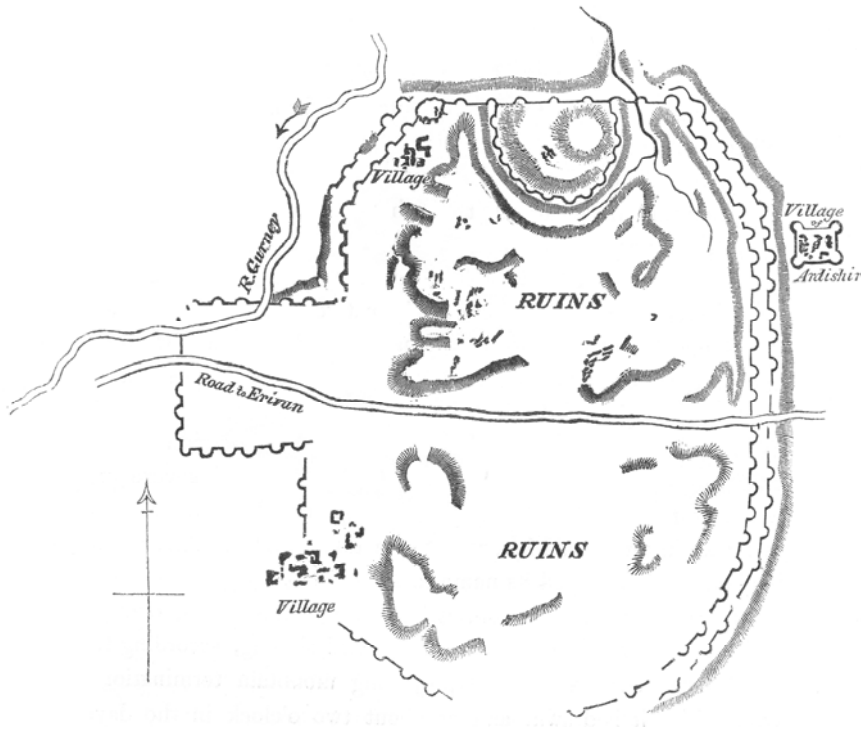


Figure 4.6 Ker Porter's plan of Artashat (acually Dvin) (after Ker Porter 1822: 62).



Figure 4.7 Garni after restoration (photograph courtesy of A.T. Smith).

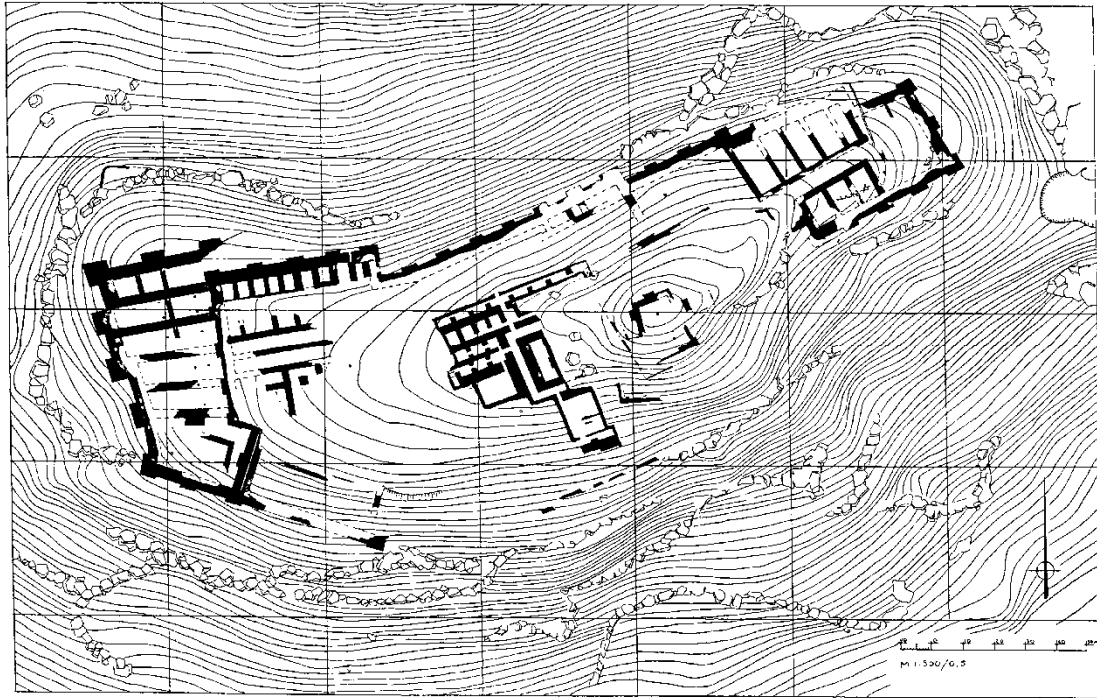


Figure 4.8 Plan of Armavir (drawing by A. Kanetsyan).



Figure 4.9 Plan of Artashat (drawing by A. Tonikyan).

## CHAPTER 5

### THE INVESTIGATIONS AT TSAGHKAHOVIT: OBJECTIVES, METHODS, AND SITE DESCRIPTION

The present chapter details the objectives, methods, and findings of field research carried out in north central Armenia at the mountain town of Tsaghkahovit in 2005 and 2006 (figures 5.1 and 5.2). These investigations were undertaken in order to advance the study of the social logics that constituted a single community of the highlands and of the Achaemenid empire. The research aimed to probe the sorts of mediations that might have linked members of the community with the larger world in which they lived. In this and the next chapter the focus of analysis remains squarely on the intimate confines of this single remote town, far distant from both the busy hubs of imperial activity in Parsa and the regional centers of the highlands. From there, in Chapters 7 and 8, I “build up,” as it were, in both geographic and social scale, by turning to patterns of settlement across the vast extent of the highlands and the monumental built spaces of satrapal authority, particularly at the sites of Erebuni and Altintepe.

I first recap the research objectives and questions that motivated and shaped the fieldwork at Tsaghkahovit. From there I provide an orientation to the site and a summary of previous research. In the following section, I detail the fieldwork methodology. Next, a section on site description lays out the architectural features at the site. In this section, I also report on key artifacts recovered by the excavations and attempt to situate them within wider fields of cultural production. The final segments of this chapter deal,

respectively, with chronology and periodization, as well as site formation processes and archaeological patterning.

### **Research Objectives and Questions**

The principal objective of the research at Tsaghkahovit was to examine the contours of social order within a single town that was constituted during the period of Achaemenid rule and located beyond the restricted confines of capital centers and major cities. More specifically, my purpose was to trace the material practices that reproduced structures that conditioned inequalities within Tsaghkahovit, as well as those that preserved the solidarity of the community. What sorts of routines and interactions re-currently distinguished individuals or groups within this town? What practices forged a common sense of belonging at Tsaghkahovit during the period of Achaemenid dominion? How might the rules and schemas laid down by preexisting material traditions in the Tsaghkahovit plain region have structured community during the mid-first millennium BC, and how might such rules and traditions have been transformed? How constrained were actors at Tsaghkahovit by structures forged by actors elsewhere in the Achaemenid empire, particularly in the heartland, and to what extent did actors at Tsaghkahovit reproduce or alter such structures through their associations? How did material practices at Tsaghkahovit serve as mediations, linking the inhabitants of this town to communities far beyond? In order to address these questions, close attention was given to spatial patterning, artifact assemblages, ceramic patterning, and the evidence for changes in site

use from the Late Bronze Age, when sustained occupation at Tsaghkahovit first made its mark in the form of permanent constructions.

### **Orientation and Previous Research**

The site of Tsaghkahovit is situated at the southeastern perimeter of the Tsaghkahovit plain, nestled amidst undulating terrain at the edge of a spur of Mt. Aragats (figure 5.1). As the highest mountain in modern Armenia (4,090 m) and the third highest mountain on the Armenian highlands after Mt. Ararat (5,165 m) and Süphan Dağı (4,434 m), the craterous four-peaked Aragats massif serves as a lodestar of the Tsaghkahovit plain. Mt. Aragats is an evocative landmark and symbol that today grounds local identities steadfastly in place. A southeastern route in and out of the plain skirts the mountain's east flank, where the Kasakh river drainage leads eventually to the Ararat plain (figure 5.2). Passage out of the plain northward is more arduous, but possible through a series of passes across the Pambak range. To the west, from the Tsaghkahovit plain it is an easy journey onto the neighboring Shirak plain (the second largest plain in Armenia after the Ararat plain) via the bottleneck created by the southern slope of Mt. Kolgat and the northwestern spurs of Mt. Aragats.

The site of Tsaghkahovit itself is dominated by an imposing fortress which sits atop a conical volcanic outcrop (2,183 m) that rises 80 meters above the surrounding plain (figure 5.3). The outcrop is carpeted with large boulders that once belonged to terrace walls, fortifications, gateways, and other constructions on the summit of the citadel (figure 5.4). The discovery of these conspicuous ruins dates to the earliest years

of archaeological research in Armenia. Nikolai Marr first recorded the site in 1893 (it was then called Hadji-Khalil) as part of his regional reconnaissance around the slopes and foothills of Mt. Aragats (T. Khachatryan 1974: 91). Soon after, Toros Toramanyan revisited the site and provided the first detailed description. In addition to the fortress, Toramanyan also noted traces of a settlement at the base of the outcrop, which he dated, along with the citadel, to the earliest phases of prehistory (Toramanyan 1942: 14-17). Another team of scholars returned to Hadji-Khalil in 1930 and concluded that both the fortress and the lower settlement in fact belonged to the first half of the first millennium BC (Adzhan *et al.* 1932). Tsaghkahovit became a renewed object of interest in the mid-1990s (Adelyan and Ghafadaryan 1996: 82; Smith and Kafadarian 1996: 33, 36).

In 1998, Adam T. Smith of the University of Chicago and Ruben Badalyan of Armenia's Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography launched a long-term program of intensive investigations on the Tsaghkahovit plain. This collaborative initiative came to be known as Project ArAGATS—the Project for the Archaeology and Geography of Ancient Transcaucasian Societies. In its first season of research, Project ArAGATS mapped the extensive surface architecture of the citadel and the depressions on either side of the ridge to the southeast (figure 5.5), much of which is visible in a 1989 Soviet aerial photograph (figure 5.6). The team also systematically surveyed a 39.6 hectare area (in addition to the wider Tsaghkahovit plain region, as reported in greater detail in Chapter 7). On-site survey methods consisted of the parceling of the site into separate collection loci defined according to architectural and/or topographic features that accounted, as best as possible, for potentially distinct formation processes (Smith *in press*). Teams of walkers surveyed collection loci at one meter intervals. Ceramic surface materials from



the survey (n = 1137) included a small (5 percent) mid-first millennium component (termed Iron 3 in ArAGATS's archaeological chronology [see p. 224 below]), overshadowed by a much larger representation of Late Bronze/Iron 1 pottery (80 percent) (Avetisyan *et al.* 2000: 37).

In that same year, Badalyan and Smith placed a series of test trenches in four areas of the settlement—the fortress, a western terrace, Precinct A, and Precinct B—in the hopes of defining chronological relationships among the different zones (figure 5.5). The results testified to a much more substantial Iron 3 occupation than had been suggested by the surface finds, especially beyond the walled confines of the citadel (Avetisyan *et al.* 2000: 47-51; Smith *et al.* 2005: 183). Sondages excavated in Precinct A (WSA) and Precinct B (SS34) produced little evidence of activity during the Late Bronze/Iron 1 periods. Iron 3 levels were particularly well-preserved in operation WSA, but were more ephemeral on the citadel and terrace, where the sedimentary levels that were densest in Iron 3 pottery were not clearly associated with any of the extant architecture. Late Bronze/Iron 1 levels appeared intact on the citadel and terrace, beneath an ashy destruction deposit.

In subsequent excavation seasons, Project ArAGATS concentrated on the fortress outcrop—its slopes, terraces, and immediate base—setting aside further investigations in the lower settlement in light of the principal researchers' focus on the emergence of sociopolitical complexity during the Late Bronze Age. It became clear, however, that Late Bronze Age levels on the citadel were greatly disturbed by the later occupants of the site. Excavations in 2002 and 2003 exposed evidence for rebuilding during the mid-first millennium BC, which entailed the re-use and re-configuration of the earlier Late Bronze

Age constructions (Smith *et al.* 2004: 7). The Iron 3 occupation proved the most intact of all phases in the history of the citadel. There are also fleeting traces of reoccupation during much later eras: A single silver Epthalit coin found on the citadel dates to the fifth to sixth centuries AD. The ceramics from this later phase proved to be limited and difficult to date with any precision (Badalyan, Smith *et al.* in press). Although little could be said about the function of the mid-first millennium constructions, researchers noted the apparent preponderance of preparation and storage vessels relative to fine or table wares (Smith *et al.* 2004: 27).

In 2003 and 2005, as part of his dissertation research on sociopolitical organization during the Late Bronze Age, Ian Lindsay excavated an area immediately to the southeast, at the base of the citadel, and uncovered a cluster of rooms originally dating to the Late Bronze Age (operations labeled SLT in figure 5.5). Here again, however, as on the citadel, Late Bronze Age structures were reused and altered in the Iron 3 period (Badalyan, Smith *et al.* in press). Lindsay placed two additional probes further to the southeast (SLT6 and SLT7) in order to assess the extent of this unexpected Late Bronze Age extramural settlement. Both trenches exposed walls and living surfaces dating exclusively to the Iron 3 period (Lindsay 2006: 176). Lindsay's discoveries strengthened the tentative conclusion reached in 1998 that much of the visible surface architecture at Tsaghkahovit likely belongs to a sizeable settlement of the mid-first millennium BC. However, further sub-surface sampling across the site is necessary to confirm this preliminary conclusion. In light of Lindsay's findings, it is quite possible that Late Bronze Age levels are preserved elsewhere at Tsaghakhovit, especially beneath the occupation levels represented by the surface architecture.

## **Methodology**

### *Excavation Strategies*

Under the auspices of Project ArAGATS, I carried out fieldwork focused on the Iron 3 occupation of Tsaghkahovit over two summer field seasons in 2005 and 2006, totaling 17 weeks of excavation. The strategy for determining where to devote limited resources was based entirely on prior knowledge and targeted interest, and not on random sampling. Thus, the sample is biased in so far as it is purposive (Drennan 1996: 88). In light of the project's research questions and resource constraints, Precinct A distinguished itself for several reasons as an appropriate area for sustained attention. First, judging by the visible surface architecture, this nucleated room block is spatially set apart from the rest of the settlement. While such segregation is also true of Precinct B, the 1998 test investigations in that area suggested that this cluster of rectangular units probably did not serve a public or domestic purpose, but functioned as a series of open-air enclosures, perhaps for livestock; the individual units in Precinct B are disproportionately large relative to the rest of the site (making roofing unlikely) and the masonry consists of single lines of un-worked blocks compared to the well-carpentered double-face stone masonry visible on the surface elsewhere at Tsaghkahovit. Moreover, the 1998 test pit demonstrated that the overall quality of preservation in Precinct B, in architecture, floor surfaces, and material assemblages, was poor.

Apart from its spatial segregation, Precinct A is conspicuously compact and condensed compared to the other units and clusters to its north (figure 5.7). Those

structures that hug to the base of the citadel consist of either individual units or groups of two or three units, rarely more. In contrast, Precinct A is made up of what appear to be 22 adjacent structures. Moreover, the visible masonry in this area is notably more robust than elsewhere; thick, double-faced stone walls composed of large, roughly-hewn blocks contrast with the narrower and smaller-stoned walls of the disarticulated units located closer to the citadel. In sum, initial spatial inspection of the built environment in different precincts of the site suggested that the southernmost agglomeration of structures was an important space—perhaps a site of contestation and sociopolitical practice for local leaders within the settlement as a whole.

To these analytical reasons for focusing on Precinct A can be added two important archaeological considerations. The trench that had been excavated in unit A in 1998 exposed a four-course stone wall and an intact clay floor, suggesting that preservation in this area was very good. In addition, there did not appear to be an earlier Late Bronze Age occupation below the Iron 3 levels, and therefore the stratigraphic difficulties encountered on the citadel could be avoided. Three seasons of excavation on the citadel provided a sufficient comparative dataset for broad, intra-site comparison, thus obviating the need to continue excavations at the summit within the parameters of this project.

### Phase 1: 2005 Season

The primary goals of the 2005 season were twofold: first, to verify that the units of Precinct A were contemporary with one another and datable to the mid-first

millennium BC; and second, to establish that quality of preservation in the Precinct as a whole matched that encountered in the 1998 excavations of unit A. The specific locations of excavation trenches was determined once again through judgment sampling, based on a deliberate effort to observe specific dimensions of variability (Sinopoli 1991: 48). The factors that determined the placement of test pits included room size, quality of surface masonry, and architectural variability (i.e., corners, double-faced and single-faced wall, etc.). Seven test trenches, also called “operations” within the terminology of Project ArAGATS, captured this range of considerations (figure 5.8): WSC (4 x 2 m), WSC2 (5.3 x 4 m), WSE (4 x 3 m), WSJ (6 x 2 m), WSK (7 x 2 m), WSL (8 x 3 m), and WSM (3 x 3 m).<sup>122</sup> The results of the 2005 investigations justified the continuation and expansion of the investigations.

### Phase 2: 2006 Season

The sampling strategy in 2006 was devised to address different goals from those of the previous season. These were: 1) to expose as many units as possible in their entirety or near entirety in order to gain some understanding of differential functions and activities among built spaces; 2) to clarify the relationship between units and ascertain whether this zone constituted a single complex or a tight conglomeration of self-contained structures; and 3), to focus on possible variability in meaning and function

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<sup>122</sup> One additional trench, WSAR (2 x 2 m), was placed outside of this area and closer to the citadel in order to gauge variation between these two areas. The names of these operations stand for “West Settlement” and the associated room letter. “West Settlement” is a term that remains from the earliest phases of investigation at Tsaghkahovit; however, it is now clear that the area is not really to the west within the settlement as a whole. For this reason I have re-termed the area Precinct A.

between unit K and the rest of the cluster, given its notably large size.<sup>123</sup> The first goal required that units be small enough to allow for full exposure of as many units as possible in the time available, but not equally small, for risk of strongly biasing the sample along the dimension of size. The second goal required that at least some of the units be contiguous. The third goal required a method for sampling unit K, given that full coverage would not be feasible.

Excavations targeted five units that balanced these considerations, namely unit C (WSC3, 13 x 9 m), unit G (WSG, 10 x 13 m), unit H (WSH, 10m x 13m), unit I (WSI, 13 x 13 m), and unit K (figure 5.8). The first three were contiguous, located in the general center of the cluster, and totaled a surface area that could reasonably be excavated in the time available. Unit C was closer to the perimeter of the cluster, and, since two trenches had already been excavated in this unit in 2005, I deemed it an efficient use of limited resources to continue in a room where much work had already been done. Lastly, in unit K, twenty 0.5 x 0.5 m probes were placed at five meter intervals along cardinal axes (WSKa – t).

### *Excavation Methods*

Work was carried out under my supervision according to Project ArAGATS's excavation protocols. Excavations were staked out following the visible surface architecture rather than an abstract grid. A single sequence of locus designations was used in each operation to mark distinct natural stratigraphic and cultural deposits, as well as discrete features such as walls, pits, floors, etc. Workers screened all floor deposits (as

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<sup>123</sup> On the southwest, this unit is bounded by a natural bedrock outcrop.

well as, in many cases, deposits that were deep in the stratigraphic column and thus near to floors) through a ¼ inch mesh in order to maximize recovery of small artifacts.

Trenches were excavated to bedrock or to the level of a thick sterile paleolacustrine deposit encountered beneath the lowest cultural strata in many of the trenches.

General categories of excavated materials, namely ceramics, bone, and lithics (mostly obsidian), were collected and stored in locus bags. All other collected remains, including “small finds,” radiocarbon samples, and paleobotanical samples, were point-provenienced and gathered according to standard procedures. I collected a total of 61 charcoal and burnt bone samples, as well as a number of soil samples and pollen washes. In operations WSI, WSG, and WSH, where clay-packed floors were particularly well-preserved, one-meter-square grids were laid across the floors in order to systematically sample them for pollen analysis.

Excavation contexts were described, measured, photographed, and drawn. All records are kept in written notebooks and in Project ArAGATS’s MySQL database. Project architect Hasmik Sargsyan drew plans of several units, after which trenches were backfilled in order to preserve architecture and features from erosion and damage.

### *Materials Processing, Curation, and Analysis*

#### Ceramics

Initial processing of ceramics entailed washing, quantifying by count, and sorting sherds by date into one of several possible periods or date ranges according to Project

ArAGATS's standardized dating system.<sup>124</sup> At least one senior specialist of classical-period pottery provided training and oversight throughout the initial sorting process, very often alongside an expert in Bronze Age ceramics.<sup>125</sup> Approximately 17,000 sherds were sorted in this way over the course of two seasons. From that total population, I selected all diagnostic sherds for further study, including detailed coding, photography, drawing, and instrumental analysis. Diagnostic sherds generally included rims, handles, and bases, as well as incised or otherwise decorated body sherds that were diagnostic to vessel form. The non-diagnostic sherds were re-buried at the site in level bags with metal tags. The results of the first phase of pottery processing are displayed in figure 5.9.

The second phase of ceramic analysis consisted of detailed coding of sampled sherds into the Project ArAGATS database. This work is reported in detail in Appendix 1. In order to lay the foundation for a quantitative typology of Iron 3 pottery in Armenia, I aimed to maximize sample sizes for subsequent querying and statistical analysis. Virtually all diagnostic sherds from floor deposits were coded, along with the majority of diagnostic sherds recovered from the overburden above the floors. In addition to the ceramics from Precinct A, I also coded or re-coded Iron 3 pottery from the 1998 through 2003 excavations in other parts of the site, as well as those Iron 3 surface sherds from Hnaberd and Tsilkar that I selected for instrumental analysis.<sup>126</sup>

All sherds were photographed. In addition, project artist Hasmik Sargsyan produced profile drawings of 239 sherds, which I selected on the basis of a rough initial

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<sup>124</sup> This system allows for several possible dating categories. Sherds can be assigned to a specific period, such as Late Bronze I or Iron 3. Alternatively, if such a narrow dating is not possible, sherds can be assigned to a broader range, such as Iron 3 through Medieval or Iron 2 through Iron 3.

<sup>125</sup> In 2006 I was aided principally by Inesa Karapetyan. In 2005, Mkrditch Zardaryan assisted me. In both years, Ruben Badalyan and Adam T. Smith provided their expertise on Late Bronze Age ceramics.

<sup>126</sup> A detailed presentation of the results of Instrumental Neutron Activation Analysis will be reported on in a later forum.



grouping of types. All Iron 3 complete vessels were also drawn (n = 12). Lastly, conservationist Lilit Manukyan of Armenia's Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography restored nine complete or near complete vessels.

The total population of coded sherds was further sampled for analytical purposes. All analyses that employ ceramic evidence in Chapter 6 are derived from a sub-sample of the coded collection that consists only of those diagnostic sherds recovered from Iron 3 floor deposits. These deposits were all screened, thus allaying potential concerns about differential recovery of various wares (Rice 1987: 289).

Many interpretations of social or economic practices derived from archaeological ceramic assemblages are built on an assumption regarding the relationship between quantities of sherds and quantities of vessels. As Rice has pointed out (1987: 291), the simple use of sherd counts to stand in for the relative quantities of whole vessels of different types is problematic since vessels of varying thicknesses, firing, and size will break in different ways, thus potentially over- and under-representing certain categories. Another way to arrive at an estimate of whole vessel counts is to weigh sherds of various types and then convert these weights into vessel numbers by dividing by the known weight of a complete vessel of each and every type. This and other weight-based procedures for determining vessel counts (Rice 1987: 292) require a robust existing typology of forms based on a complete collection of whole pots of known (and highly standardized) weights. Such a collection is not available at present in the archaeology of Armenia, and thus I relied on counts of sherds that are diagnostic to form as a measure of relative vessel quantities. Care was taken to check for joins within the collection and the possible duplication of different rim fragments from the same vessel (non-joining).

## Lithics, Botanical Remains, Fauna, Radiocarbon, and Metals

Certain analyses were contracted out to specialists and laboratories based in Armenia and the United States, while other categories of materials are stored for future study. For instance, lithic finds were not extensively analyzed as part of this project, although Jacques Chabot of the Université Laval examined a sample of 199 obsidian pieces from floor contexts in WSH, WSG, and WSI.<sup>127</sup> In addition, Leah Minc of the reactor facility at Oregon State University performed neutron activation analysis on 15 pieces of obsidian.<sup>128</sup> Finally, aside from obsidian finds, Arkady Karakhanyan of Armenia's Institute of Geology conducted chemical, petrographic, and mineralogical analyses of a serpentine plate.

Due to limited time and resources, analysis of botanical remains was postponed to the post-dissertation phase of this research. 115 matrix samples taken from floors, as well as four pollen washes of complete vessels, await future micro-botanical analysis. In addition, the light fractions from the flotation of 17 soil samples have yet to be examined.

Project ArAGATS faunal analyst Belinda Monahan coded and analyzed all animal bones from floor deposits (see Appendix 2), in addition to sifting through the heavy fractions from the 17 flotation samples for small bones and other artifacts. Lena Atoyan of the Commission for the Preservation of Monuments in Armenia handled the cleaning and conservation of metal artifacts. Lastly, of the 61 charcoal and burnt bone

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<sup>127</sup> Since obsidian will not be discussed in the analysis below, I simply note here Chabot's preliminary impressions from pieces he examined. The obsidian industry at Tsaghkahovit was *ad hoc*, meaning cores were not prepared and there is no apparent strategy in the course of the débitage operation. The industry is flake-based. Most flakes were raw, with simple retouch on only about 10 of the 199 specimens. Fragments of exhausted cores were also present. These preliminary findings are consistent with analysis of obsidian from Iron Age sites in the Vorotan region of southern Armenia (J.F. Cherry, pers. comm. 2008).

<sup>128</sup> Twelve of these samples traced to the obsidian source in Hankavan, two in Arteni, and one in Sevkar-Kechaldag.

samples collected for radiocarbon dating, I selected 14 for processing and analysis at the University of Arizona Accelerator Mass Spectrometry Laboratory.

## **Site Description**

### *Precinct A: Architectural Overview*

The 2006 season established that the cluster of units that make up Precinct A constitutes a single built complex of adjacent rooms that are all likely interconnected (figure 5.10). This roughly 22-room complex occupies 0.54 hectares of a gently sloping area to the west of the southeast ridge (figure 5.11).<sup>129</sup> It is a semi-subterranean structure that is built into the ridge's western slope (figure 5.12). The structure is stepped, or multi-leveled, meaning that the absolute elevations of the floors decrease from southeast to northwest, so that rooms H, G and C are at a higher plane than room I, which in turn, is at a slightly higher plane than the floor of Room K. All rooms were partially dug out, although the rooms that are backed into the slope of the ridge, such as rooms H, G, and E, were more fully subterranean.

The builders of this complex employed a range of construction techniques, which is reflected in the three types of walls that make up the complex: retaining walls, step walls, and partitioning walls. Retaining walls (denoted R-) refer to the single-file subterranean constructions that back against the southeast ridge and have no further

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<sup>129</sup> 22 rooms are currently discernable in the surface architecture. Of course, this figure of 22 does not account for sub-surface rooms that may be obscured at present, nor can it account for the possibility that some of the rooms on the perimeter of the cluster may not, in fact, be interconnected to the complex by doorways. Thus far, however, all excavated rooms belong to a single complex of inter-accessible rooms.

rooms on the other side of them. These include walls R-H and R-G (figure 5.13), and quite possibly the unexcavated, southeast walls of room E, F, and M (figure 5.7).

Retaining walls prevent down-slope movement and erosion and depend on the weight of their mass to counter the lateral earth pressure imposed by the ridge. These are not free-standing structures, but rather courses of stones that line the dug-out. The four courses of walls R-H and R-G are preserved to a height of approximately two meters (figures 5.14 and 5.15). These are the highest walls in the complex.

Step walls (denoted S-) refer to the internal dividers that demarcate the transitions from higher level to lower level rooms. Such walls include S-GI, S-HI, S-IK, S-FC, and S-CJ (figure 5.13). Step walls are double-faced, with two lines of stones running parallel to the retaining walls. These, too, are retaining walls of a sort, in that the bottom course of the down-slope face sits below the level of the up-slope face, thus holding back the earth behind it. Taking the example of S-GI (the only step wall that is fully excavated), the height of the construction on the side that faces into room G is 0.60 meters, while the height on the side that faces into room I is 1.5 meters. This face thus acts as the vertical axis of the step down to the horizontal plane of the floor in room I. Since the rooms are dug-outs, the space between the two faces is earth-filled rather than rubble-filled, as might be expected of free-standing walls. Each side of the step wall is thus not a self-supporting structure, but rather a facing built up against the soil fill.

Partitioning walls (denoted P-) are those which separate adjacent rooms that are on roughly the same horizontal plane, such as P-MH, P-HG, P-GD, P-DC, and probably the wall shared by rooms O and L (figure 5.7). These walls run approximately perpendicular to the retaining and step walls, and thus transect the natural gradient. The

partitioning walls reach the greatest height where the slope is steepest and gradually decrease in height moving to the northwest.<sup>130</sup> As with step walls, partitioning walls consist of two parallel rows of stones that are lined against an earthen fill.

All walls of the complex are dry-stacked (i.e., mortarless), with traces of a plaster coating still visible on some stones.<sup>131</sup> The masonry across the complex consists of large roughly hewn blocks that average approximately 75 cm in length and 55 cm in width. Smaller stones are interspersed in the gaps between these boulders. The foundations described above were likely surmounted by additional courses of stone and perhaps a wooden superstructure.<sup>132</sup> Pairs of roughly hewn column bases in all excavated rooms suggest a partially or fully flat roof that required vertical supports to assume some of the weight from the load-bearing walls (figure 5.16). Although excavations thus far have not clarified the precise method of roofing, travelers' accounts—ancient and modern—as well as ethnographic studies, offer some clues to the techniques that may have been used to cover the rooms of this complex.

### Roofing

In the *Anabasis*, Xenophon recorded earth-sheltered habitats on the Armenian highlands: “The houses were subterranean, with a mouth like that of a well, but roomy below. Entrances were dug for the beasts of burden, and the people descended by

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<sup>130</sup> Thus, for example, where walls P-HM, P-HG, P-GD, meet with the retaining walls, their heights are about two meters. At the other ends, these walls reach a height of only about one meter.

<sup>131</sup> Based on petrographic analysis of geologic samples taken from the Tsaghkahovit outcrop, it is probable that the stone used in the construction of the complex is a form of basaltic andesite (Smith *et al.* 2004: 5).

<sup>132</sup> Excavations in all trenches required the painstaking removal of fallen building blocks from mixed deposits above the floors. There is no evidence for mudbrick construction at Tsaghkahovit.

ladders” (*An.* 4.5.25). The picture Xenophon paints, of cavernous dwellings that were entered through a shaft in the roof, is enigmatic enough as to sound fanciful. But he appears to have been describing a building technology of the late fifth century BC that was still encountered in the highlands in recently as the twentieth century—for instance in remote areas of Muş, Erzurum, and Sivas, and across the South Caucasus. These are called lantern or cone-roofed dwellings (*hazarashen* or *glkhatun* in Armenian, *kirlangiç kubbe* in Turkish, *darbazi* in Georgian, and *karadam* in Azerbaijani) (C'ik'ovani 1967; Lisitsyan 1955: 204-12; Villa and Matossian 1982: 32; Yakar 2000: 407), and are constructed with short wooden beams through a corbelling technique that concludes in an opening or smokehole at the top. The polygonal vault is then covered with earth to provide further insulation. In some cases, twentieth century subterranean dwellings employ a combination of flat and cone roofing, with a small vault in the center of a room. The edges of the vault structure are then supported by one, two, or three wooden beams (C'ik'ovani 1967: 39; Matevosyan 1985: 33) (figure 5.17). In the modern examples, some structures with corbelled roofs have columns which supported rafters that spanned the bottom courses of the vault. The presence of column bases in the Tsaghkahovit complex thus does not preclude the possibility of domed or lantern-style roofing.

Not all semi-subterranean constructions on the highlands are roofed in this way, however. Today, earth-sheltered habitats with fully flat roofs are more common in the region, and, like the Tsaghkahovit structure, such dwellings are often built against hillsides. In a study of village life in eastern Turkey before 1914, which was based in part on interviews with diasporan Armenians who had once lived in the region, we find

the following description of a dug-out house that shares some formal affinities with Tsaghkahovit Precinct A:

In some cases a villager excavated a hillside and roofed over the dug-out area. Both Informant 39, from Hajin, and Informant 41, from Karakehoy, near Adana, mentioned such houses: the latter said that his own house was built on the slope of a hill in such a way that the front entrance was level with the street and the hillside formed the back of the house. One had to step up from the hill to reach the roof (Villa and Matossian 1982: 31).

Such flat-roofed structures built against hillsides are common in mountainous regions of southwest Asia (Hallet and Samizay 1980: 79). In such contexts, the rooftops themselves often double as work surfaces, for instance for threshing grain or other household activities.

Ethnographic parallels provide only general direction for the imagination in attempting to reconstruct the style of roofing at Tsaghkahovit on the basis of so little evidence. Regardless of the precise technology used, however, semi-subterranean buildings like Precinct A can maintain stable interior temperatures in environments that are marked by severe fluctuations of climate. That said, although underground living underscores the ways in which humans habituate to the challenges of extreme mountain weather, environment alone does not necessarily determine this building practice. Travel and ethnographic accounts often note or imply social and political factors—most especially security from the state—as one reason why communities opt for earth-sheltered dwelling. In 1853, Austen Henry Layard traveled through the Armenian highlands, and had this to say about the earth-sheltered homes he encountered:

These villages are still such as they were when Xenophon traversed Armenia.... The low hovels, mere holes in the hill-side... cannot be seen from any distance, and they are purposely built away from the road to escape the unwelcome visits of traveling government officers and marching troops. It is not uncommon for a traveller to receive the first

intimation of his approach to a village by finding his horse's fore feet down a chimney, and himself taking his place unexpectedly in the family circle through the roof (Layard 2002 [1853]: 14).

In the same folkloric study quoted above the informants, who had lived in eastern Turkey during the period of sociopolitical unrest in the early twentieth century, noted physical insecurity as one rationale for subterranean dwelling:

The homes of neighbors might adjoin, and there might be openings in the dividing walls between dwellings through which people, food, and messages could pass. Thus a village might be a kind of labyrinthine, semiunderground warren in which people could hide themselves and their valuables (Villa and Matossian 1982: 29).

In addition to providing defense against the severities of the environment, then, semi-underground habitats can afford a measure of community protection, particularly from outsiders who are unfamiliar with local building practices. Whether security concerns played any role in the choice of highland communities of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to build underground, or whether the clustered subterranean house style simply proved fortuitous at times when it was beneficial to live collectively and inconspicuously, the case made by Layard and Villa and Matossian's informants illustrates how social and political considerations may contribute to the choices people make in the building technologies they use.

Aside from effectively insulating the spaces below and providing security, earth-sheltered habitats harmonize with and integrate into the surrounding landscape. From a distance, lantern-roofed houses are difficult to distinguish from a hilly terrain, particularly in the winters when the mounds are clad in a snow (Yakar 2000), and flat-roofed constructions can be just as inconspicuous, if not more so.<sup>133</sup> In this way,

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<sup>133</sup> In the nineteenth century, the traveler John Macdonald Kinneir commented on the way in which flat-roofed, subterranean houses on the highlands can be fully camouflaged with the surrounding landscape:



subterranean living in a sense defies the contrast between the natural and the built, and reconfigures the relation between humans and the natural world. The dialectical relationship between people and their landscapes in constituting social meaning acquires particular force when the symbiosis is such that people live *in* the earth—when what is built and what is natural, or what is man-made and what is not, can no longer be so readily distinguished.

### *Precinct A: Description of Rooms*

#### Precinct A: Room H

Room WSH is shaped like a parallelogram, with internal dimensions of approximately 7.0 by 8.5 meters (figures 5.13 and 5.15). Two roughly hewn column bases, which were found embedded within the packed clay floor, are aligned along a central axis of the room. A pit in the east corner was largely empty. Just northwest of the pit was a feature consisting of tightly adjacent rows of stones oriented parallel to the northeast wall, which measured approximately 2.30 x 0.75 meters. The stones of this feature were not flattened, as in the case of flagstone floors elsewhere in the complex, suggesting a different function for this jagged surface.<sup>134</sup> In the west corner of the room is another stone feature—an irregular line of stones that runs parallel to the northwest wall and demarcates a small, elongated area (ca. 2.4 x 0.35 m). The purpose of this

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“The climate here is so severe, that the people are compelled to live under ground.... The villages were hid from the view; the roofs of the cottages being on a level with the ground and covered with earth, so that the path led not infrequently over the tops of the houses” (Kinneir 1818: 346).

<sup>134</sup> The feature was dismantled after it was drawn in order to determine whether it was a burial; however, the stones turned out to be resting just above the surface of a lower floor.

segregated corner is uncertain, yet similar trough-like features exist in many of the rooms of the complex. WSH also contained an amorphous clay feature that was built against the center of the southeast wall. This feature appears to have sustained extreme heat and burning, and is thus quite possibly a cooking installation. The feature is marked by nearly solid clay masses and a surrounding matrix of ash, charcoal, and a brittle rock or ceramic that easily crumbled. Another hard-packed clay feature surrounded by carbonized earth and sherds of large pots was found along the northeast wall, again suggestive of cooking activities.

Stratigraphically, WSH presented a more complex situation than other rooms of the complex. There were at least two distinct clay-packed floors that could be discerned in the excavations of the room, and ephemeral traces of several possible re-floorings visible in section. These discrete cultural levels were not associated with ceramic materials that were chronologically distinguishable. Charcoal samples were analyzed from both surfaces, however. The possible absolute dates for these floors are discussed below (p. 231).

In room H, much as in other rooms of the complex, the density of artifacts (other than pottery) was quite low. The room contained several beads, groundstones, and other tools and ornaments (table 5.1). One cluster of artifacts from WSH calls for special discussion. Resting on the lower floor of this room were broken fragments of a zoomorphic ceramic object (figure 5.19), and alongside it, a complete, red-burnished bowl (pictured in Appendix 1, type 08) (figure 5.20).

## The Zoomorphic Artifact from Room H:

The zoomorphic artifact is unfortunately incomplete, with the upper body and head of the animal lost. The animal is recumbent, with its portly body bearing down on its four appliquéd legs, each with precisely rendered joints and hoofs. A horn arcs across part of the animal's upper body. In the rear, there is a tail. This recumbent horned animal is most likely a goat, ibex, or gazelle. The artifact was probably a vessel, with a spout on the top of the body or the animal's mouth. The corpulent body was clearly manufactured on a potter's wheel, given the pronounced circular bands on the bottom. The slipped exterior surfaces are brick red and highly burnished.

There are a number of possible directions in art historical analysis that can help situate the Tsaghkahovit zoomorphic vessel within wider spheres of cultural production and also inform the relative dating of the artifact. First considering other examples of excavated vessels in the form of goats, ibexes, or gazelles, the closest comparanda is a black-polished horned zoomorphic vessel, possibly in the form of an elk, from the Shirakavan, on the nearby Shirak plain. The excavator dates this vessel to the second century BC (Ter-Martirosov 1996: Fig. 190). There is one ceramic vessel in the form of a ram, which was found at the site of Armavir and dated by the excavator to the third to first centuries BC (Tiratsyan 1988: 122, Pl. 30).<sup>135</sup> Elsewhere in the South Caucasus, preliminary searches have produced no direct comparanda.<sup>136</sup> In terms of dating, a third

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<sup>135</sup> As for zoomorphic vessels of non-horned animals from Armenia, a ceramic bear-cub was found at the same site of Armavir and dated to the same period. Also, a black-polished ceramic vessel in the form of a horse was unearthed at the site of Shirakavan, and dated by the excavator to the first centuries BC, respectively (Ter-Martirosov 1996: Fig. 189).

<sup>136</sup> Ceramic zoomorphic vessels in the form of stags have been found in Azerbaijan, and, like the ram vessel mentioned above, are dated to post-Achaemenid centuries (Khalilov 1985a: 103, Pl. 58). Searching in Bill (2003) and Koshelenko (1985) brought up no similar artifacts from Georgia.

century BC date for the occupation of the lower floor of room H at Tsaghkahovit is highly improbable in light of the ceramics and radiocarbon dates (see p. 226). Thus, if the dating of the artifacts from Shirakavan and Armavir is correct, these horned-animal vessels represent the continuation of an earlier tradition to which the Tsaghkahovit specimen belongs.

Looking further afield to regions in reasonably close proximity to Tsaghkahovit for artifacts with affinities to this vessel that might illuminate its dating, a fragment of a clay rhyton in the form of the head of a gazelle was found at Bastam (Calmeyer 1979). The Bastam rhyton is, according to the excavator, “unique among Urartian ceramics” (Kleiss 1980: 301). This is the only such ceramic vessel that I know of from the middle centuries of the first millennium from Iran (the site of Bastam is dated principally to the seventh century BC, although, in an area of the site apart from where this vessel was found, Kleiss [1979: 232] identified an occupation level that he dated to the Median period).<sup>137</sup> In the collections of the site of Deve Hüyük, located just west of the Euphrates in modern Turkey, there is a red-brown burnished ceramic rhyton possibly ending in the shape of a goat’s head, and dated to the Achaemenid period (Moorey 1980: 26, fig. 5).<sup>138</sup> In sum, there are few close parallels of excavated ceramic vessels from the mid-first millennium BC in the shape of horned animals in regions neighboring the highlands. As for unexcavated, non-ceramic artifacts that are relevant to this discussion, immediately called to mind are the well-known precious-metal drinking horns, or *rhyta*, a

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<sup>137</sup> Although it is worth mentioning the ceramic horse-shaped vessel from Achaemenid Village I at Susa and a fragment of another possibly horse-shaped vessel from Persepolis (Curtis and Tallis 2005: Fig. 411 and 412).

<sup>138</sup> As of Moorey’s writing in 1980, no zoomorphic horn-shaped rhyta were known from controlled excavations in Iran. He provides full citations, however, to known examples from illicit excavations, as well as ceramic zoomorphic rhyta from elsewhere in the empire (Moorey 1980: 27).

quintessential form of the Achaemenid period, several of which were made in the shape of horned animals.

More progress can be made in the effort to situate the Tsaghkahovit vessel historically if attention turns away from vessels *per se*, to ibex/goat/gazelle imagery more broadly. First, it should be stressed that these animals are not common in Urartian art where the repertoire of animal imagery consists mainly of bulls, lions, griffins, fantastical winged animals (sometimes recumbent), and other mythical creatures that hybridize anatomical elements of several animals (Piotrovskii 1967; van Loon 1966). As Kleiss stressed, the gazelle rhyton from Bastam is quite unusual. Given the present state of knowledge of Urartian art, it appears that the Tsaghkahovit recumbent horned vessel is not readily situated within the known vocabulary of animal imagery of the highlands in the pre-Achaemenid first millennium BC.

Of regions neighboring the highlands, it is in the arts of Iran that ibex imagery is firmly rooted and, while this tradition began long before the Achaemenid period, I focus here on the forms that tradition took during the first millennium BC. The ibex is a recurrent participant in the visual imagery of the Achaemenids and may be linked in this period to liturgical practices associated with Zoroastrian belief (Root 2002: 189-92). I discuss this aspect of goat/ibex imagery in greater detail in Chapter 6, where I consider the significance of the Tsaghkahovit artifact. Here the point is to establish the preponderance of ibex/goat imagery in the arts of Achaemenid Iran and to make clear that ibex imagery often appears in Achaemenid art in conspicuously meaning-laden scenes. In terms of non-monumental arts, for instance, ibexes appear on several seal impressions on the Persepolis Fortification tablets, in one case beneath the symbol of the god

Ahuramazda (Root 2002: 192). Another seal from this archive bears a representation of what looks like an ibex rhyton (PFS 535; M.C. Root, pers. comm. 2008). Bracelets with ibex-headed terminals were found in the excavations of Pasargadae (Stronach 1978: Pl. 146 and 147), as well as in the so-called Oxus Treasure, a collection of gold and silver objects without provenience (Curtis and Tallis 2005: 140-2). Moving to the monumental art of the Achaemenid court, ibexes appear in particular kinds of contexts where they may be participants in religious ceremony.

The Tsaghkahovit specimen, while possibly unique as an example of an ibex/goat/gazelle vessel dating to the period of Achaemenid rule, may nevertheless exist at Tsaghkahovit within a wider sphere of associations with this animal in the mid-first millennium BC. These associations are visually expressed with particular intensity in the imperial centers of southwestern Iran.

#### Precinct A: Room G

Room G measures approximately 4.75 by 7.0 meters in its internal dimensions (figures 5.13 and 5.14). As in room H, there are two roughly hewn column bases aligned along one axis of the room, which were embedded within the matrix of the floor. In other respects, however, room G differs markedly from room H. For instance, it contained no built features. In addition, room G had only one discernable floor surface.

Table 5.2 shows the distribution of most of the small finds in operation WSG. Three contexts of *in situ* artifacts were uncovered in this relatively small space, both on and beneath the surface of the floor. Each of these requires brief description.

Strewn across the center of the room were shattered fragments of three large storage vessels or *pithoi* (see Appendix 1, type 31). Among these *pithoi* sherds were several broken objects: a basalt mortar, a ceramic stand, a stone spout, and fragments of a serpentine stone plate (figures 5.21 and 5.22). Basalt groundstones are fairly common at Tsaghkahovit, but there are only two mortars from the site. The other one is also from room G, but as is clear from the table above, it was not found on a floor surface (figure 5.23). This one is particularly well-made. Its find context prohibits associating it with confidence to the Iron 3 occupation; however, given that there were no sherds identified to the post-Iron 3 period in the mixed deposits of room G, it is possible that the mortar belongs to the Iron 3 occupation of the room. All of these objects are unique within the assemblage of all artifacts found at Tsaghkahovit. Most notable of these artifacts is the serpentine plate.

#### Serpentine plate:

The Tsaghkahovit plate has a slightly protruding base in the shape of a flat disk, and a shallow, convex body leading continuously to a rectangular rim. Fragments of approximately half of the vessel were clustered in a spot on the floor of room G—enough to reconstruct the diameter at 20.5 cm. The plate's highly polished surfaces have the characteristic greenish and mottled appearance of some serpentines, and indeed, mineralogical, chemical, and petrographic analysis conducted by Arakady Karakhanyan and colleagues of Armenia's Institute of Geological Sciences confirmed this attribution. To my knowledge, in both morphology and mineralogy, there are no comparable vessels

in the archaeology of the South Caucasus or the Armenian highlands, although other forms of stone vessels dating to later phases of the first millennium BC are known (Tiratsyan 1988: 134).

The closest parallels for this serpentine plate are to be found among the remarkable and abundant corpus of green stone plates discovered in the Treasury at Persepolis (Schmidt 1957: 53-59; 89). The comparable Persepolis plates are made of green stones—veined chert or serpentine. Nearly 300 chert and serpentine footless plates were found scattered in the northern halls of the Treasury (particularly halls 38 and 41), and of these, 263 (with their plain squared rims) are morphologically nearly identical to the Tsaghkahovit plate (figure 5.24). All of these plates vary only slightly in size, and the Tsaghkahovit plate fits within the standard diameter range. For example, the chert plate pictured in figure 5.24 is 20.4 cm in diameter—essentially the same size as the Tsaghkahovit plate. The majority of the chert plates from Persepolis were inscribed in Aramaic on the exterior of the base in ink (Schmidt 1957: 55). Inscriptions on the serpentine specimens are extremely rare.<sup>139</sup> Only half of the Tsaghkahovit plate is extant—itself a curious circumstance given that it appeared to be in a primary depositional state—but it is unlikely to have had an inscription on its missing half.

The Tsaghkahovit plate is in all likelihood imported from the imperial heartland: petrographic, chemical, and mineralogical analyses point to a probable provenance in the Zagros mountains. According to geologist Arkady Karakhanyan, serpentine deposits exist in Armenia, in the Shakhdag mountain of the Sevan range (northeast) as well as in the Zagros and Elbrus ranges. However, the specific mineralogical composition of the

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<sup>139</sup> Only one of the 270 serpentine vessels (of all shapes) was inscribed (Schmidt 1957: 91; Table VIII). None of the five fragments of serpentine vessels from Susa is inscribed.



Tsaghkahovit plate (chrysotile with enstatite-pyroxene inclusions) points most probably to a Zagros origin. This is interesting in light of the debate surrounding the place of manufacture of the Persepolis chert plates, with some scholars postulating a source in Afghanistan, in part because the inscriptions repeatedly mention a “Treasurer in Arachosia” (see Cahill 1985: 382). As of Cahill’s writing, sourcing analysis had not been performed on the serpentine specimens from Persepolis, and he acknowledged at the time that “scientific studies would be important in elucidating not only the context of the deposition of the vessels in the Treasury, but also the general flow of forms and motifs in the Achaemenid empire” (Cahill 1985: 383). Nevertheless, following Schmidt (1957: 88), Cahill (somewhat vaguely) suggested a possible Egyptian origin for “certain of the vessels” at Persepolis. This interpretation is significant, because it supports one of Cahill’s larger contentions that the objects in the Treasury are foreign to the imperial heartland, and that this structure served as a storehouse for gift-tribute. The fact that the stone of the Tsaghkahovit plate matches serpentine deposits in the Zagros should at least occasion a reconsideration that the serpentine examples in the Treasury are gifts from far-flung provinces.<sup>140</sup> As recently as 2005, Simpson (2005: 109) wrote that the sources of the stones from the Treasury still remain uncertain. Thus the analysis of the Tsaghkahovit vessel is a step in bringing some clarity to this issue. It is important to be clear, however, that even if the various stone vessels found in the Treasury were gifts to the court, they may have been subsequently redistributed.

It is possible to propose an approximate date for the serpentine vessel based on the dating of the vessels from the Treasury at Persepolis. As mentioned above, in all but

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<sup>140</sup> Although there is now some scientific basis for asserting that the jasper plates were manufactured outside of Parsa, given that a jasper workshop was found at Sardis and one finished jasper plate was found at the site of İkiztepe (Özgen *et al.* 1996: 130, no. 25; Simpson 2005: 109).

one case the serpentine plates were not inscribed; however, several other vessels from the same rooms as these plates (halls 38 and 40) *were* inscribed, and they seem to point to a pattern of activity surrounding these plates occurring during the reign of Xerxes (486-465 BC) and Artaxerxes I (465-424/3 BC). Considering first the inscribed chert vessels, the earliest example is dated to Xerxes' year 7 (479/8 BC) and the latest to Artaxerxes I's year 29 (436/5 BC) (Bowman 1970: 56-62; Cahill 1985: 382). Next, of the non-chert plates that are inscribed, there are two groups: those inscribed with the names of pre-Achaemenid foreign kings (e.g., Ashurbanipal, Amasis, Psamtik); those inscribed with Xerxes' name. Of the stone vessels inscribed with the names foreign kings, none are made of serpentine and only one remotely resembles the plates among which the Tsaghkahovit example belongs (although even in this one case, the vessel is footed, handled, and made of alabaster). The rest are stone objects of other shapes like lids, pedestals, deep bowls, bottle shaped vessels, etc. Of the remaining non-chert inscribed vessels in the Treasury, all are labeled "Xerxes, the Great King." Kings later than Xerxes do not appear on any of the inscribed non-chert vessels (Cahill 1985: 383), nor are there any earlier Achaemenid kings. Moreover, almost all of these inscriptions appear on footless or footed plates (Schmidt 1957: 87). Thus the single inscribed serpentine plate is also dated to Xerxes. Finally, outside of Persepolis, inscribed stone vessels dating to the reign of Darius I and later Achaemenid kings do exist, but they are mostly cosmetic jars and bottles; none resemble the plates in question here. As of 1957, no inscribed stone vessel dated to Cyrus or Cambyses was known to exist and, as far as I know, this has not changed.

To conclude this discussion on dating, while it is of course possible that the uninscribed serpentine plates in the Treasury and the plate from Tsaghkahovit do not belong to the reign of Xerxes, currently the weight of the evidence makes such a position very difficult to support. I am thus proposing that the time of manufacture of the Tsaghkahovit plate also dates to the reign of Xerxes. Therefore, the activity implied by the complex of *in situ* artifacts on the floor of room G—about which much more will be said in the next chapter—occurred some time after 486 BC. This is the most conservative estimate.<sup>141</sup>

As of 1985, Cahill (1985: 382) wrote that with the exception of a few chance finds, objects such as these chert plates (and associated artifacts) have not been found outside of Persepolis. Stronach (1978: Fig. 99.1) documented a footed bowl of “dark green stone” from the surface of the takht at Pasargadae, but it is not clear whether the vessel is of chert or serpentine (figure 5.25a). Five fragments of serpentine vessels are known from Susa, three of which are footless plates (figure 5.25b-d) (Amiet 1990: 217-19, figs. 5, 6, 9, 22, 23). In 2007, researchers at the site of Qaleh Kali, a possible way-station on the road between Susa and Persepolis, discovered fragments of four stone vessels from a dump area associated with a large colonnaded building (Potts 2007: 295 and pers. comm. 2008). Two of the fragments are footed bases of bowls that appear to be made of serpentine (figure 5.25e).

The Tsaghkahovit plate is thus among the few serpentine vessels directly comparable to those found in the Treasury at Persepolis that archaeologists have uncovered through systematic excavations. The Tsaghkahovit specimen provides a rare

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<sup>141</sup> In this regard, it is also notable that, of the radiocarbon determinations discussed below (p. 226) (figure 5.37), the single sample with the highest probability range that reaches as far as the end of the fifth century BC is the sample from the floor in room G (AA72366).

example (if not the first), of a footless serpentine plate excavated outside of the imperial heartland and found on a floor, in a use context with associated artifacts.<sup>142</sup> In Chapter 6, I will return to this artifact and the others discovered alongside it on the floor of room G and consider what the presence of such a plate in Tsaghkahovit might mean for social order in this distant town of the empire.

Although room G contained only one discernable living surface, a small cluster of artifacts were discovered beneath the level of the floor in an otherwise sterile clay matrix. These objects did not appear to be deposited in pits, but simply buried loosely under the surface of the room. Near the southern corner, for instance, were found four fine, red and buff bowls (Appendix 1, type 02), a black-polished *omphalos* (Appendix 1, type 15), a fine “perfume jar” (Appendix 1, type 30), and iron stonemasons’ tools, perhaps a chisel and axe-head (figure 5.26, a and b). The iron objects are noticeably well-made compared to other iron tools of this type and period known in Armenia (Karapetyan 2003: 67; Tiratsyan 1988: 42). Metallurgical analysis on these and other iron artifacts from Tsaghkahovit can, in the future, shed light on the nature of the iron industry in which inhabitants of Tsaghkahovit were engaged.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> I am aware of only two other stone plates that are comparable to those from the Treasury and were found in a province of the empire. A plate made of jasper was among the finds in a tomb at Ikiztepe in western Turkey (Özgen *et al.* 1996: No. 85). The jasper plate from the Ikiztepe tomb appears to be one of the objects that Burhan Tezcan discovered in 1966 during the course of his salvage excavations following the partial plundering of the tomb. The plate and other artifacts from these excavations were transferred to the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara (Özgen *et al.* 1996: 11-2). In Simpson’s (2005: 109) recent summary of the stone vessels from the Treasury, the Ikiztepe specimen is the only non-Treasury example he cites. There is also one a green plate with uncertain provenience, said to be from Qasr-i Abu Nasr, near Shiraz (Curtis and Tallis 2005: 130, no. 147).

<sup>143</sup> For a discussion of metallurgy on the highlands during the mid-first millennium BC, see McConchie (2004).

To conclude this description of *in situ* contexts in room G, a probe excavated beneath the floor exposed a complete, but fragmented, pot (Appendix 1, type 19, WSG.19.C.01) approximately two meters away from the northern threshold of the room. The pot was partially filled with a dark gray ashy matrix. It is possible that this isolated sub-surface vessel contains the ashes of a cremation burial, perhaps of an infant or small child. Secondary cremations are also known from later burials in the archaeology of Armenia (Khachatryan 1975).

### Precinct A: Room I

Only 50 percent of room I was excavated. Based on surface architecture and exposures to date its internal dimensions are estimated at 8 x 16 meters. Room I is larger than rooms H and G combined (figures 5.7 and 5.27). The roof of this room was likely supported by four wooden columns. Two column bases, which are morphologically similar to those in H and G, are aligned along an east-west axis. One of these bases is situated at the end of a linear stone feature which partially segments the room interior (figure 5.13). Another line of stones in the south corner forms a trough similar to the one in room H. Closely associated with this trough is a well-made flagstone feature, which, given its alignment with the door leading into room K, can be described as a pathway.<sup>144</sup> There is a shallow pit beside the southeast wall. Lastly, room I is notable for the small annex that can be reached through a short corridor off of the western corner of the room.

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<sup>144</sup> In their excavations of a multi-roomed complex at the Iron 3 site of Beniamin in the nearby Shirak plain, French and Armenian investigators uncovered a nearly identical arrangement of a long flagstone path aligned with a doorway to a neighboring room (Ter-Martirosov and Deschamps 2007: 71).

Like room G, room I had only one discernable floor surface. With the exception of two nearly complete pots (Appendix 1, type 19) and a small cup, no other complete ceramic vessels were found on the floor of this room. Table 5.3 synthesizes the distribution of artifacts from room I. Several small finds from floors and non-floors merit brief discussion.

#### Bone Horse:

In the soil matrix just above the floor of the western annex was a bone figurine of a quadruped with a hole bored vertically from the dorsal to the ventral surface (figure 5.28). At approximately 4 cm in maximum width, this small zoomorphic figurine appears to be a stylized horse, with its alert, pointed ears, and a line—possibly representing a bridle—incised across the upper part of its snout. The legs are not defined. One side of the figurine preserves the smooth exterior of the original bone, while the other side, although slightly smoothed, is cancellous. There are slight traces of red on the exterior bone surface. The purpose of the perforation is uncertain, and so too is that of the artifact as a whole, but possibilities might include a toy or ornament for rope or a leather strap. The perforation may also have served to secure an attachment to the horse, such as a rider made of a perishable material—a suggestion that emerges from the ubiquity of horse and rider ceramic figurines from elsewhere in the Achaemenid empire (Moorey 1980: 100-3), as well as images of this pairing (Farkas 1969).

As a zoomorphic figurine made of bone, this artifact finds no direct parallels, and thus the particular material of the object will be momentarily set aside. As in the case of

the ibex/goat vessel, it is productive to situate this seemingly toy-like object historically by first examining excavated comparanda from nearby regions, and then broadening to consider horse imagery in general during the first millennium BC.

Securely provenienced examples of miniature artifacts in the form of a horse are not abundant in the archaeology of the highlands and South Caucasus in the mid-first millennium BC.<sup>145</sup> There is a stylized ceramic horse pendant from the collections of the Sari Tepe excavations, a site in Azerbaijan about which more will be said in Chapter 8 (Narimanov and Khalilov 1962: Pl. 20.4). A bronze horse figurine—also perforated along the same axis as the Tsaghkahovit object—is known from a burial at the central Georgian cite of Kavtischevi (45 km northwest of Tbilisi), and is said to date to the sixth to fourth centuries BC (Bill 2003: 86, Pl. 92.21). Moving out of the highlands and South Caucasus, a similarly whimsical (although larger) rendering of a horse was found in a burial near Persepolis (Schmidt 1957: Pl. 89.1). The Persepolis horse is particularly comparable to the Tsaghkahovit figurine for its laterally combined legs and loop for attaching a cord or rope.<sup>146</sup> As mentioned above, ceramic horse figurines, often with riders attached and scarcely separate legs, are common in the arts of the Achaemenid empire (Moorey 1980: 100-3).

The remaining evidence for horse imagery in the highlands during the centuries of Achaemenid control is concentrated at the site of Erebuni, a possible center of satrapal

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<sup>145</sup> In fact, the closest comparanda for the Tsaghkahovit bone horse are a series of three bronze horse figurines found without specific provenience in Ayroum (near Noyemberyan, in northeastern Armenia), and dated on stylistic grounds to the period of Achaemenid rule (Esayan 1980: 40-43; Santrot 1996: 164). Although made of metal, these horse figurines, which are only slightly larger than the Tsaghkahovit horse, are similarly geometric, with pointed ears and cylindrical snout. One has a loop below the mane for suspension.

<sup>146</sup> Holes bored through the legs suggest that wooden axles with wheels may have attached to the figurine. Schmidt has identified the artifact as a toy. It is important to note that the date of the burial is uncertain and may post-date the Achaemenid period.

authority in the region and a primary focus of the discussions in Chapter 8. Until recently, the case for equestrian art from Erebuni dating to the mid-first millennium BC would have been restricted to two silver horse rhyta found near the base of the citadel at the site.<sup>147</sup> However, Felix Ter-Martirosov (2005a) has recently proposed a re-assessment of the fragments of wall paintings bearing horse imagery that were found in a hypostyle hall at Erebuni, which were long thought to date to the Urartian phase of occupation. I return to this in Chapter 8, but for now, suffice it to say that there are some grounds to situate the Tsaghkahovit bone figurine in the first instance within a highland artistic vocabulary of the mid-first millennium BC.

In short, horse imagery and horse and rider figurines are a hallmark of Achaemenid art (Root 2002: 204-208). The Tsaghkahovit figurine, although unique, as far as I can determine, for the material out of which it is made, is iconographically consonant with a broader artistic style of the Achaemenid empire in which the horse figured predominantly.

#### Iron Fibula:

Turning to the metal artifacts from room I, two iron objects were found in the main part of the room: the tang of a knife hilt (found in the soil matrix just above the floor surface) (figure 5.26.d); and a hinged fibula, or garment fastener (recovered from a

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<sup>147</sup> These silver horse rhyta were found along with a silver bull's head rhyton at the base of the citadel in 1968 in the course of construction work (Arakelyan 1971: 143). One is particularly striking for it has a rider straddling the rhyton as if riding the horse. Although not recovered in the course of systematic excavations, I am not aware of any publications that have questioned the integrity of the find spot or the authenticity of the objects. The Erebuni rhyta are not included in Muscarella (2000). For further discussion of the Erebuni rhyta see Arakelyan (1976: 42-5), Ter-Martirosov (1996: 197-201), and Tiratsyan (1988: 52-5).



deep wash deposit) (fig. 5.26.c). The knife hilt has three cylindrical rivets, attached perpendicularly to the tang that once likely held in place wooden scales. This kind of knife handle finds close parallels from other sites in Armenia and Georgia dating to the sixth through fourth centuries BC (Bill 2003; Karapetyan 2003: Pl. 35).

Given that fibulae have been considered highly diagnostic artifacts of Near Eastern archaeology and have received sustained attention, it is noteworthy that the iron fibula from Tsaghkahovit does not neatly resemble the main types that have been defined in the relevant literature (Bittel 1964; Brentjes 1996; Caner 1983; Donder 1994; Muscarella 1965, 1984; Ögün 1979; Pedde 2000; Vanden Berghe 1978). The Tsaghkahovit artifact has a flat, disc-shaped face that tapers at either side as it arcs downward to meet the hinge and pin rest. This fibula appears to have been cast in two parts, given that the pin's blunt end is fastened by coiling to one arm of the arc. Hinged fibulae of the first millennium BC are common in Anatolia, Iran, and the northern and southern Caucasus; their forms, however, vary considerably. Oscar Muscarella (1965) has assigned the flat, disc-shaped, hinged fibulae to northern Iran, or the southwest Caspian, although the Tsaghkahovit specimen differs from others in this small group by virtue of its lack of ornamentation. Although it shares with Urartian fibulae the hinged attachment, the Tsaghkahovit fibula differs from all Urartian fibulae, which do not have such flat disc-shaped centers (Ögün 1979; Zahlhaas 1991). Nor are parallels to be found elsewhere in the wider Caucasus (Brentjes 1996). The closest comparanda for the Tsaghkahovit fibulae are two flat, disc-shaped examples from Armenia, one from Karchakhbyur and the other from Makarashen (Karapetyan 2003: 79, fig. 52.8, 9).

Muscarella has assigned many hinged fibulae to the seventh and early sixth centuries BC, and situates the Tsaghkahovit example in this same date range (pers. comm. 2008). Since the few known examples of this type of fibula have been found at sites dating from the sixth through fourth centuries, however, and in light of the lack of formal (as opposed to technological) similarity with fibulae from Urartian sites, I propose a later dating, to the sixth or fifth centuries BC, and suggest provisionally that this style of fibula is a local form, restricted to southern Caucasia.

### Precinct A: Room C

Measuring 10 x 10 meters, with corners aligned almost precisely along cardinal axes and tightly stacked masonry, room C is the most meticulously constructed room of Precinct A to have been excavated thus far (figure 5.29). Excavations have exposed just over 75 percent of the room's interior, through three separate trenches. Just as in room I, one column base marks the final stone of a linear feature that juts out from the northeast wall and segments a portion of the room. On one side of this divider is a well-made flagstone floor (figure 5.30), which may extend under the baulk to form a pathway leading toward the doorway in the west corner of the room (as in room I). In the east corner, the walls are constructed atop a natural bedrock outcrop that encroaches into the room. There was one pit located *under* the floor in the northeast quadrant of the room, the pottery from which, as well as a single radiocarbon determination, suggest a small Late Bronze Age midden. There were no other built features in this room.

The floors of room C were clean compared to other rooms. Aside from a relatively small corpus of ceramics, the only artifacts of note were a hollowed and worked antler from a floor deposit (figure 5.18.a), two groundstones from floor deposits, and one groundstone from a non-floor deposit.

### Precinct A: Room K

Measuring approximately 750 m<sup>2</sup>, room K is the largest room of Precinct A.<sup>148</sup> It is an irregularly shaped space that is delimited by a double-faced wall on the northwest and a natural bedrock outcrop along the southwest. Elsewhere the room is bounded by the walls of room L, room I, and room J. Surface architecture suggests a possible gate or entrance to this room on the northern end of the northeast wall. In addition, the bedrock outcrop on the west side has a flat clearing on top and a series of clearings in the rock that resemble pathways leading into or out of room K.

Excavations have uncovered 2.5 percent of this large room, with small trenches distributed across the area. It is not yet clear whether this space was covered; none of the 20 small test pits excavated in room K located a column base, although the “telephone booth” sampling strategy that was used required that trenches be abandoned at about one meter depth, before reaching bedrock. Several test pits, as well as the larger trench dug in 2005, had a packed, clay floor surface. Densities of ceramics, bone, and obsidian in

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<sup>148</sup> Currently, room K is distinguished from room J on the basis of an irregular line of spaced stones that seems to divide the two spaces. It is possible, however, that this is one large open space or courtyard and not two separate rooms. The surface stones that currently seem to divide the space are less tightly aligned than other surface architecture in the area.

room K were unusually low compared to other rooms of Precinct A (figure 5.9). There were no other artifacts in these trenches.

#### Precinct A: Room M

Of the remaining rooms that were partially excavated, in most cases exposures were quite small and thus only the briefest summaries follow here. Based on surface architecture, room M is estimated to measure 250 m<sup>2</sup>. Excavations have exposed approximately 3 to 4 percent of this room, including a segment of the northwest wall. The entire floor of operation WSM was a well-made flagstone paving, which appears to extend under the southwest and northeast baulks (figure 5.31). A trough-like feature extends along the length of the room, parallel to the northwest wall.

#### Precinct A: Room E

Based on surface architecture, room E is estimated at 130 m<sup>2</sup>. The 2005 excavations exposed just less than 10 percent of this room, including a segment of the southwest wall. Only traces of the floor in operation WSE were preserved.

#### Precinct A: Room L

Based on surface architecture, room L is approximately 170 m<sup>2</sup>, of which roughly seven percent has been exposed thus far, including a segment of the northeast wall.

Parallel to this wall and corresponding to the level of the clay-packed floor was a linear stone feature, which formed a trough that is identical to those uncovered in rooms H and G.

Beneath the Iron 3 cultural deposit, operation WSL contained a number of pits that were filled with burnt pottery, much of it diagnostic to the Late Bronze Age. Radiocarbon determinations from the pits confirm the relative dating of these features (figure 5.36). As with the single Late Bronze Age pit beneath the floor in WSC, these pits in WSL are at a considerable depth below the level of the Iron 3 architecture, and do not appear to be associated with living surfaces or architecture.

#### Precinct A: Room J

It is not certain whether room J is, in fact, a separate room or a part of room K. Future excavations will clarify this question; however, proceeding with the current mapping of the site, room J measures about 433 m<sup>2</sup>, of which excavations have exposed less than five percent. Deposits in this trench were shallow and material densities low.

#### Precinct A: Room A

Based on surface architecture, room A is estimated to measure 55 m<sup>2</sup>, of which over 50 percent was excavated in 1998. The quality of the architecture in this room mirrors that of room C, with tightly packed stone courses of larger and smaller stones, and the clay-packed floor, as in room C, was largely cleaned of possessions, with

comparatively low ceramic densities. Aside from these pottery sherds, only two artifacts have been found in the excavations of this room to date: a worked antler and another unidentifiable, wheel-like bone object.

#### *Precinct B: Unit 34*

In 1998, a 1.75 x 3 m sounding was excavated in Unit 34. Deposits were shallow (0.55 m), architecture poorly preserved, and ceramics, although largely dated to the Iron 3 period, were low in density, leading the investigators to posit this space as an animal shelter (Avetisyan *et al.* 2000: 51).

#### *WSAR*

I excavated a 2 x 2 m test pit at the southern base of the citadel, against a possible terrace wall (figure 5.5). The wall was preserved in two courses. This small area contained a clay-packed floor. There were no artifacts recovered in this operation.

#### *SLT 6 and SLT7*

SLT6 and 7 were two small test pits measuring 2 x 3 m and 3 x 3 m, respectively, which Ian Lindsay excavated in a block of rooms just to the northwest of the rise that separates Precinct B from the main settlement (figure 5.5) (Lindsay 2006: 176-78). Test trenches were placed in two separate rooms, whose walls are visible on the surface in this

area (some of the rooms were not clearly visible when the site was first mapped). Excessive moisture in the soil matrix just at the level of the Iron 3 occupation in SLT6 led to the collapse of architecture into the trench, which then had to be abandoned. In SLT7, Lindsay uncovered an Iron 3 stone floor similar to those encountered in Precinct A. Both soundings produced an abundance of diagnostic Iron 3 pottery. In addition, in a floor deposit of SLT6 there was found a bronze bracelet or armlet with snake-head terminals (figure 5.32).

Snake-head bracelets are too numerous and varied to discuss in any detail. Briefly, while they are common in bronze, iron, and silver in the archaeology of Iron 3 Armenia and Georgia, for instance (Bill 2003; Karapetyan 2003: 74-6, Pl. 46-7), rarely are two of the known examples exactly alike, and the Tsaghkahovit specimen adds yet another variant to the collection.<sup>149</sup> The Tsaghkahovit bracelet is nearly circular in cross section. Unlike other bracelets found at sites dating to the mid-first millennium BC in Armenia, the transition between the head and the bangle is stepped rather than smooth, and the eyes are rendered with a single impressed marking. Although bronze armlets with animal heads are also numerous from the Urartian period (Kohlmeyer 1991), in that corpus lion-head terminals are more common than snakes (although snake-head Urartian variants occur more often in the South Caucasus than elsewhere), and the heads tend to be even more pronounced, bulkier, and cubic than the later types. Metallurgical analysis may in the future provide further information about the origins and manufacture of the Tsaghkahovit armlet.

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<sup>149</sup> Given the very large numbers of these snake-head bracelets in the Iron 3 period, it is notable that so few are exactly alike. Often it appears that bracelets or armlets of identical form are found in the same burial. This suggests that these objects were not mass produced, and, moreover, that they may be markers of individual identity, in the same way as seals or signet rings.

## Citadel

The architectural configuration of the citadel is difficult to characterize due to the density of construction in this multi-component area and a complex stratigraphic situation. With the exception of the main citadel wall, which itself dates to the Iron 3 period (it sits atop an LBA precursor that has been identified in traces in correlation with other LBA architecture), walls of individual room blocks within the fortifications are not visible from the surface, and thus trenches often exposed room interiors, without providing a clear understanding of the wider architectural arrangement. Nevertheless, broadly speaking, it is possible to provisionally delineate three distinct areas on the citadel (figure 5.33).

On the west side, an interior space to a structure is bounded by the curving interior face of the Iron 3 citadel wall (figure 5.34). The Iron 3 strata of this room contained a paved stone floor with associated ceramic materials (Smith *et al.* 2004: 10). The later, 5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> c. AD occupation in this area of the citadel may have destroyed other internal features of the Iron 3 room.

On the eastern side of the citadel, where exposures have been more extensive to date, there are several non-contiguous spaces of Iron 3 activity (figure 5.35). The stratigraphic situation is complicated, but it appears that Iron 3 occupation in this area takes two forms: to the north, Iron 3 features, including paved stone floors, and internal dividing walls, abut against earlier Late Bronze Age walls, especially the main wall (WC301) that spans the length of all the trenches. In these areas, the later occupants at the site to some degree dug into the earlier LBA levels and used the existing architecture



to reconfigure spaces and renovate them with new features, such as flagstone floors. A different practice took place toward the south of this area, where, in operation C11, a free-standing structure was built *on top of* the Late Bronze Age structures.<sup>150</sup> The Iron 3 citadel wall serves as the southeastern wall to this room. Traces of the citadel wall can also be seen in the far north.

Artifacts from Iron 3 deposits on the citadel include six pierced, striated, or otherwise worked astragali, four bone awls or pins, one metal awl or pin, one ceramic crucible, one ceramic “spoon,” two groundstones, two serrated bone objects, and a worked antler that resembles a hammer (figure 5.36). These are discussed in Chapter 6.

### **Chronology and Periodization**

It is by now clear that the settlement history of Tsaghkahovit consists of two main phases: a Late Bronze Age occupation centered primarily on the fortress hill and at its immediate base, and a mid-first millennium BC occupation, termed here Iron 3, which is located both on the citadel and across the settlement below. I have mentioned in passing that ephemeral traces of habitation dating possibly to the 5<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> c. AD were identified on the citadel, and surface survey produced a small collection of pottery dating to the Early Bronze Age. These broad phases are by now—after five seasons of investigation—quite clear, thanks to various methods of both relative and absolute dating. However, the challenge of refining the absolute chronology of the Iron 3 occupation, and teasing apart

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<sup>150</sup> The cluster of large boulders seen on the plan in the interior of this structure and marked with a red arrow was uncovered below the surface of the well-preserved, clay-packed Iron 3 floor. After careful recording, investigators dismantled the fourth wall of the Iron 3 room in order to clarify the LBA architecture below.

potential sub-phases within this several-hundred-year span remains formidable, and is tethered to the broader problem of calibrating radiocarbon dates for the mid-first millennium BC, the details of which need not be discussed here (Guilderson *et al.* 2005).

Before analyzing the results of radiocarbon dating, it is necessary briefly to explain the relative chronological terminology that Project ArAGATS uses with respect to the first millennium BC. In recognition of the different temporalities that govern the pace of political history as opposed to that of social and material culture change, Project ArAGATS prefers to extend archaeological periodization (in this case the three age system) into the period of Achaemenid rule, rather than adopt the conventions of historical time-telling (e.g., dynastic chronology) when dealing with archaeological materials (Badalyan, Avetisyan *et al.* in press). This is somewhat unconventional for the archaeology of Armenia, whose practitioners, although finding little consensus among themselves, adopt a range of historically-based designations to describe the period under study here (i.e. the “Yervandid” period, or the “Early Armenian” period), rather than define ruptures in relation to material culture change. To a certain extent, currently the distinction between an archaeological versus historical chronology is semantic rather than substantive since the basis for the archaeological chronology that Project ArAGATS uses is derived, in part, from historical ruptures. However, we believe a change in nomenclature is a first step toward pushing archaeological analysis away from the narrow rhythms of royal genealogies. Thus, provisionally, the Iron 3 period refers to the era in which a material culture (particularly pottery) tradition emerges that is both distinct from that of the period of the Urartian empire (Iron 2), as well as from the ceramic repertoires of Artashat and its contemporaries, which begin in the third century BC (e.g. Garni,

Atsavan, Hoghmik, Benjamin II). This Iron 3 period thus provisionally spans the sixth through third centuries BC. I now turn to the absolute dates currently available for Iron 3 Tsaghkahovit.

Figure 5.37 displays a comparative plot of the 14 calibrated radiocarbon determinations relevant to this study from Tsaghkahovit. In this figure it is immediately apparent that there are four samples dating to the Late Bronze Age, eight samples that date between approximately 800 and 400 BC, and three samples that fall between roughly 800 and 500 BC. In the case of the Late Bronze Age samples (which were collected from pits in WSL and WSC, as discussed above), the probable date (at 95 percentile, or two standard deviation) of each sample falls within a fairly narrow range of no more than 200 years between the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries. In contrast, among the first millennium BC samples, at the same probability of 95 percent the samples date within a wider range, averaging 325 years. Before proceeding any further, it is important to restate here that all charcoal samples were scattered, small pieces from a range of secondary contexts rather than from a single widespread destruction level. In addition, it is worth recalling that radiocarbon analysis pertains to the date at which the organic material in question began to decay and not necessarily to the given burning event. If the charcoal samples analyzed here come from burnt remnants of columns or other “permanent” wooden features, the dates would apply to the time of the tree’s death, which may better approximate the earlier phases of the settlement’s occupation (or times of repairs and maintenance) rather than the later phases.<sup>151</sup> Of course, it is impossible to determine what purpose these organic artifacts once served within the settlement—it is

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<sup>151</sup> Ethnographic studies have shown that since wood is a potentially scarce and portable resource, it is sometimes transported from one to another site of habitation (Graham 1993). This possibility must also be considered when trying to date a settlement with scattered charcoal samples.

just as likely that we are dealing with, for instance, the remnants of logs used for fuel during the last days in the life of the settlement; however, this issue should be borne in mind, especially since initial inspection of the determinations suggest earlier dates than we might expect for what I have described to be an Iron 3 town. Looking at figure 5.38, we see that, at two standard deviations, only four samples (AA72366, AA72367, AA72369, AA72370) have high ranges of probability that include the fifth century BC.

On first glance it appears that radiocarbon determinations that provide such a wide margin of possibility are of limited use in dating a site, or a particular event at a site, with any precision. In such cases, often chronologies based on ceramics and other artifacts can yield narrower or equivalent chronological estimates than the absolute radiocarbon dates. Indeed, this is arguably the case for Tsaghkahovit, in light of the pottery, as well as such diagnostic artifacts as the serpentine plate, which provides, at the very least, a *terminus post quem* for the abandonment of the site.

While all this would seem to diminish the value of radiocarbon analysis in Achaemenid (and late Urartian) archaeology at present, an increasingly common method for refining radiocarbon determinations known as a Bayesian approach offers the possibility of deriving more useful information from the data. Bayesian analysis allows for the incorporation of prior knowledge, in this case archaeological knowledge, into a statistical simulation. It entails quantifying archaeological judgment and incorporating it into the statistical analysis that lies at the heart of calibrating radiocarbon dates in order to arrive at more “precise” dates. The accuracy of the result depends on the accuracy of the archaeological belief that is entered into the model. I shall not review here the intricate statistics, assumptions, and caveats that surround Bayesian analysis and archaeology (see

Bronk Ramsay 1998; Buck *et al.* 1996). Thanks to a user-friendly, on-line Bayesian radiocarbon calibration tool hosted by the Department of Probability and Statistics at the University of Sheffield (Buck *et al.* 1999),<sup>152</sup> I have begun an initial and limited attempt at Bayesian analysis of the Tsaghkahovit samples. In light of the complexity of this type of analysis, the modest confidence in the prior knowledge, and the limitations of my own expertise, it is important to stress that the computations below represent only the beginning of a potentially constructive form of analysis in the archaeology of the Urartian and Achaemenid empires.<sup>153</sup>

The parameter that I entered into the Bayesian radiocarbon calibration tool is based on the assumption that the lower settlement of Tsaghkahovit was not occupied during the period of Urartian hegemony. Eight years of survey and excavation at the site and examination of the pottery by ceramicists of all periods in the archaeology of Armenia have not given any reason to argue for the occupation of Tsaghkahovit during the centuries when the Urartian empire dominated the highlands. That is to say, the pottery from the lower settlement at Tsaghkahovit does not closely resemble either the ceramic repertoires of the major Urartian citadels or those of nearby regional fortresses such as Horom and others in the Sevan region. Even such regional fortresses with their local ceramic traditions almost always contain some imports or imitations of canonical Urartian pottery from the Ararat plain, entirely absent from the Tsaghkahovit ceramic collection. The conclusion that Tsaghkahovit was not occupied during the ninth through seventh centuries BC is thus based on the collective archaeological knowledge in

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<sup>152</sup> <http://bcal.sheffield.ac.uk>

<sup>153</sup> I thank Sturt Manning and particularly Caitlin Buck for their help with Bayesian analysis. Dr. Buck assisted me in the use of the BCal online software and advised me as I defined the floating parameters; however, all errors of judgment and interpretation are entirely my own.

Armenia as of this writing, and is of course subject to reconsideration as ceramic chronologies improve. Admittedly, sites dating to the period of Urartian rule and located beyond the Ararat plain are less well-known than those of the imperial heartlands. But enough progress has been made, particularly in the central and northern parts of Armenia, to allow for the present assumption.

For the purposes of Bayesian analysis, the question then arises, what absolute date can be assigned to this “floating parameter,” as it is called. Because of the potential fluidity of such a chronological marker, in the Bayesian radiocarbon calibration tool I have assumed a prior parameter with a normal distribution around a mean of 2550BP (cal) (i.e. 600 BC) and a standard deviation of 50 years. I then specified the relative assumption that all the radiocarbon determinations ( $\Theta_1$  to  $\Theta_{10}$ ) are later than this floating parameter. Table 5.4 shows the calibration results with this parameter worked into the model. By way of sensitivity testing (a way to assess the effect of altered assumptions on the results), I then ran the calibration tool two more times, in one case assuming a standard deviation of 100 years (with the same mean), and in another case assuming uniform distribution of the absolute prior from 2600 BP(cal) to 2500 BP(cal) (i.e. 650-550BC). The results of these two sensitivity tests are seen in tables 5.5 and 5.6, respectively.

In examining these results, the first outcome I note is that, while *highest posterior densities* (HPD or the credible intervals [Buck *et al.* 1996: 152]) vary somewhat under conditions of different floating parameters, the modal values (or the most likely value within the HPD range) remain largely constant. This indicates that the model is robust, with well-specified prior assumptions, and so the posterior date estimates also seem to be

robust (Buck, pers. comm. 2008). In short, the modal values tell us that we can have the highest confidence in a mid-sixth century BC date for most of the samples. Although we cannot be sure whether the organic materials in question found their way into Precinct A toward the beginning or the end of its occupation, we nevertheless have a sound basis for positing that the founding and use of the complex is roughly coterminous with broader changes in the political fortunes of the Armenian highlands, linked to the collapse of Urartu and/or Achaemenid conquest in the mid-sixth century. This is not to suggest that the re-founding of Tsaghkahovit is a *direct* result of Achaemenid suzerainty in the region, but that the re-occupation of the site is *indirectly* linked to the historical transformations on the highlands during the sixth century BC that saw the decline of one imperial authority and the emergence of another.

The similarity of the modal values across the dataset opens the possibility of a rather short-lived occupation of Precinct A.<sup>154</sup> (The differences between samples are negligible in light of the degrees of error that accumulate over the various stages of radiocarbon dating and analysis.) Although without the Bayesian analysis we saw that the fifth century BC is included in the range of probability for some samples (figure 5.38), that probability is always low, except in the case of the sample from the floor of room G. However, that picture changes somewhat when we apply another level of Bayesian analysis on samples among which it is possible to assign relative relationships. In such cases of archaeologically stratified radiocarbon determinations, it is possible to

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<sup>154</sup> I did not include the single, citadel sample (AA52904) in tables 5.4 to 5.6 because it is an isolated determination from a sample that was not recovered from an Iron 3 floor level. However, Bayesian analysis under the floating parameters of table 5.4 yields a HPD comparable to the other samples and a modal value of 549 BC.

add additional prior knowledge into the statistical model (in addition to the floating parameter).

Here I turn to the samples in WSH, where, as discussed above, excavations revealed multiple floor surfaces. Three of these samples are clearly stratified (AA72371, AA72369, AA72370, from earliest to latest). However, it is necessary to stress that there is some difficulty because, in the case of the first two samples mentioned above, it is not clear that they belong to different floors. The floor of room H was slanted, and the two deeper samples were found in different parts of the room. Thus, the different absolute elevations of these two samples probably do not mean that they belong to different floors, and indeed, in the analysis in Chapter 6 I treat these two contexts as belonging to the same lower floor. I am rather more confident in the middle sample, since it was found near the complete bowl and ibex/goat vessel, which were clearly resting on a floor surface. The problem, however, is that the two determinations are quite different, and if the deeper one is eliminated from the analysis it may appear to skew the dates later. In this experiment, therefore, I have kept AA72371 and AA72369 apart and stratified; however, given the complexity of the stratigraphic situation and of the analysis, it is important to reiterate that this is only a first step in making sense of these data. Table 5.7 displays the results of two models of Bayesian analysis on the three WSH samples.<sup>155</sup> It is clear that the modal values for the samples remain largely constant in the two experiments. Bearing in mind all other assumptions, it is possible to have the greatest confidence in a late fifth century BC date for the sample from the highest floor sample in room H.

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<sup>155</sup> The two runs differ in that in one case the samples are assumed to be abutting, while in the other they are assumed to be not abutting.



*Provisionally, therefore, I submit that Precinct A was occupied for approximately one hundred and fifty years, from the second quarter of the sixth century until the last quarter of the fifth century.*

Although the dates from WSH provide some possibility to discern phases in the long-term use of Precinct A, unfortunately none of these phases can be correlated with the architectural reconfigurations made to the complex at some point before its abandonment. Namely, virtually all of the doorways among rooms I, K, H, and G were blocked up at some point after the initial construction of the complex. Most of these blockages were cleared during excavation; however, on figure 5.13 the closure between rooms G and D is shown. Numerous explanations can be offered for these door closures, yet the available evidence does not allow us to weigh the various possibilities. We can posit that at some point in the life of the complex, the social order that previously structured activities in this building was altered or fragmented, such that spaces needed to be segmented. Equally, however, the blockages may simply represent a seasonal routine—the concentration of activities in certain rooms during winter months to conserve heat. Finally, the practice of closing off rooms may reflect abandonment activities—either the shuttering of the complex over the course of a gradual departure or a symbolic activity of sealing and protecting the rooms before a collective abandonment. The effect of abandonment on the archaeological patterns in Precinct A is the subject of the final section of this chapter.

## **Floor Assemblages and Formation Processes**

Taking into account formation processes that lead to the recovery of a given archaeological assemblage is challenging in any situation. It is particularly critical to acknowledge differential processes of formation when a site appears to have been peaceably abandoned. Tsaghkahovit lacks a destruction level that might otherwise have served as a “seal” for the floor deposits. It is thus necessary to try and explain what it means to have artifacts, whether broken sherds of pottery or other fragmentary or complete objects, on the “floors” of the rooms at a site (themselves often hard to isolate). In short, this brief section acknowledges the pitfalls of subscribing to the “Pompeii Premise” (Schiffer 1985), which assumes that artifacts found on the floors of rooms are static representations of the activities that took place in those rooms throughout the period of their habitation.

As a normal process of settlement activity, abandonment behavior has a direct impact on patterns in the archaeological record (Cameron and Tomka 1993). Before leaving a site, inhabitants may curate or cache tools (as perhaps is the case with the iron objects under the floor of room G), reconfigure or dismantle architecture, and generally deviate from previously routine practices in rooms (Schiffer 1987: 89-98). LaMotta and Shiffer (1999) have summarized some of the main factors that create floor assemblages, including processes of accretion and depletion that can occur during habitation, ritual abandonment, and post-abandonment. In terms of accretion, during habitation it is rare for objects to be discarded precisely in the spaces where they were used. Activity areas are often maintained and cleaned such that only microartifactual studies can isolate

samples from primary deposition. Moreover, normal processes of cleaning can be relaxed just prior to abandonment (Cameron 1993: 3). In terms of depletion, refuse can be discarded away from a given activity area or objects can be “provisionally” discarded or cached for future use or nostalgic purposes. Abandonment may entail the removal of valued objects that would have been used in given spaces. Finally, ritual abandonment activities, recorded from numerous ethnographic and archaeological contexts, can alter and even enhance the profile of deposition in a given space from the otherwise “routine” primary deposits that might accrue during ordinary habitation.

With the few exceptions of *in situ* artifact complexes (that is, artifacts that were clearly lying in place on the floors in a primary depositional state), the contexts from which animal bones and pottery were recovered at Tsaghkahovit were not clear-cut cases of primary deposition, such as middens or storage pits, in which distinct depositional episodes can sometimes be identified. Rather, the analyzed bones and pottery were recovered from soil matrices deep in the stratigraphic column, either “near floor” levels, on “floors,” or else just beneath the surfaces of “floors.” Some caution is necessary in referring to floors because the precise living surfaces sometimes cannot be identified at Tsaghkahovit, and even where they can be identified, it is rarely with equal certainty across a given room or operation. “Floors” are first signposted by lenses of orange-brown clay,<sup>156</sup> which creep up into the dark brown soil of deep wash deposits. As the packed clay surface—initially mottled with organic-rich, sometimes burnt, dark brown deposits—becomes more pronounced and uniform, it is usually the case that actual living surfaces have already been surpassed and the dense clay fill matrix of a floor is under

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<sup>156</sup> These lenses are encountered at a fairly regular depth in Precinct A, of between 0.75 and 1.0 meter in trenches on flatter terrain and between 1.25 and 2.0 meters in trenches on the slope.

excavation. Clearly, *in situ* clusters of artifacts aid in the identification of precise floor surfaces. But the scatter of sherds and bones in the matrices above and below such surfaces cannot be assigned as “primary” deposits with the same degree of certainty, even if they appear to be clearly *associated* with the floor. Moreover, the formation processes that led to the assemblages *beneath* floor surfaces, which accrued while the site was still in use, can be different from those that led to the assemblages just above floor surfaces, which can be the result of abandonment or post-abandonment processes. These issues have implications for which materials are selected for interpretation and how assemblages from different spaces can be compared. They also pose challenges for the study of the activities that took place in different rooms.

There is only one case at Tsaghkahovit where there is clear evidence that more than one substantial floor surface existed, and this is in room H, as already discussed. Given the close proximity between the two discernable floor surfaces in room H, and the similar pottery forms at various levels, I suggest that the distinguishable upper floor is likely a re-flooring on the part of the same users of the site rather than an entirely new phase in the use of the settlement. In other rooms, such as I, C, and G, I identified only one “floor.” It is simply impossible at present to discern whether the floors in these rooms are contemporary with the earlier or the later floor in room H (Bayesian analysis of the radiocarbon dates yielded comparable modal values for all three samples), and thus, when analyzing and comparing the ceramic evidence in Chapter 6, I provide two measures in reference to room H: the lower floor, the upper floor, and the sum of both floors. All evidence suggests that this was an intensively used room compared to some of the others in the complex. While it is necessary to distinguish the two floors, the total

measures are also important because they reflect this intensity of use, one of the factors that sets room H apart from the other rooms excavated to date. However, interpretation will focus on the lower floor, because, as I argue in the next chapter, the artifacts on this floor, including the goat/ibex vessel and complete bowl, do appear to constitute a primary deposit. Similarly, analysis in room G focuses on the floor surface, with the complex of artifacts that unambiguously do appear to have been left in place after their use.

The complexities of taphonomy aside, in the next chapter I demonstrate that the archaeological assemblages at Tsaghkahovit do provide critical insight into both daily practices and the activities that accompanied the site's final abandonment. The abandonment of Tsaghkahovit must be situated in light of a broader consideration of practices that took place within the site while it remained a vital community, and a participant in a wider Achaemenid world.

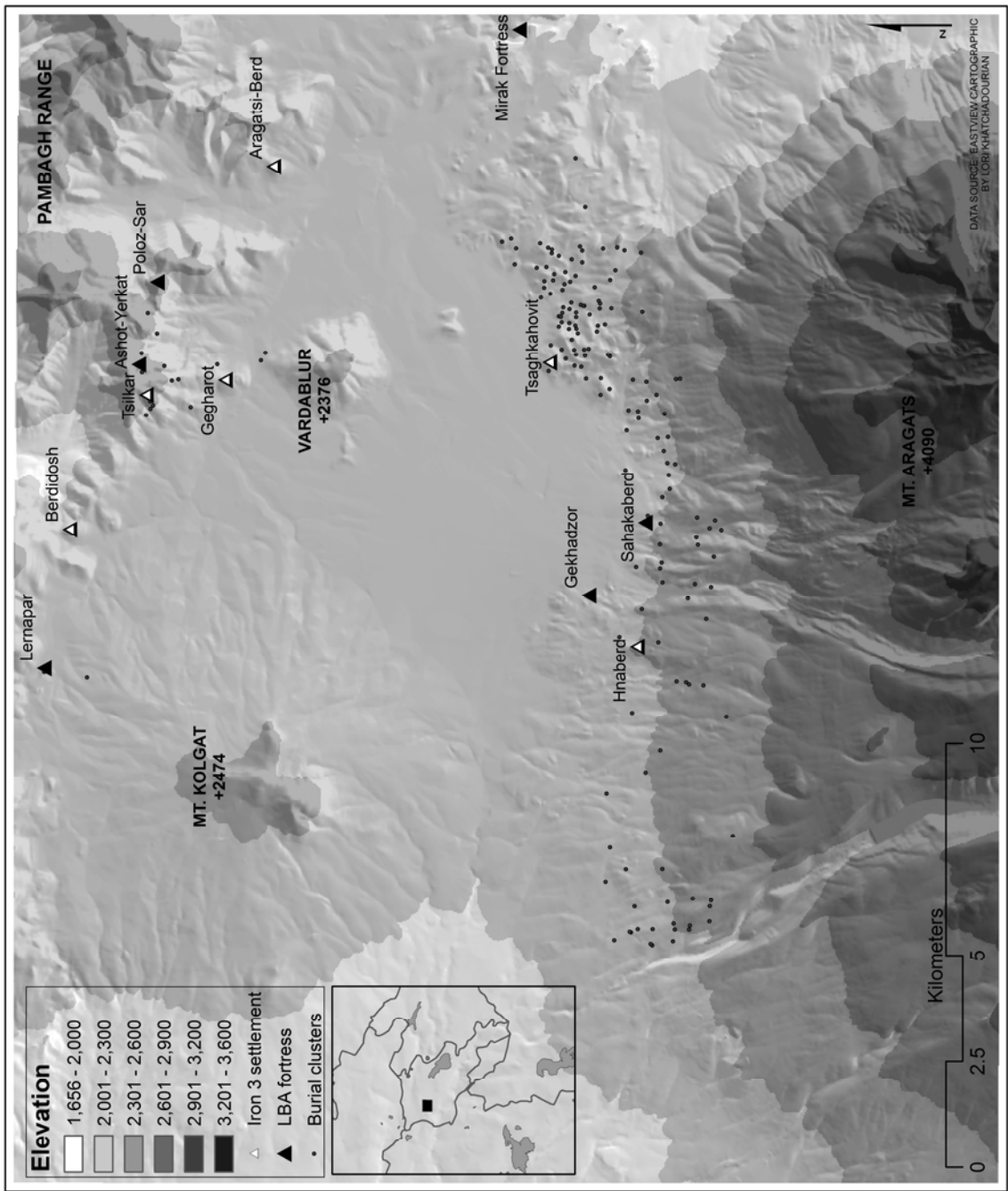


Figure 5.1 Map of the Tsaghkahovit plain.

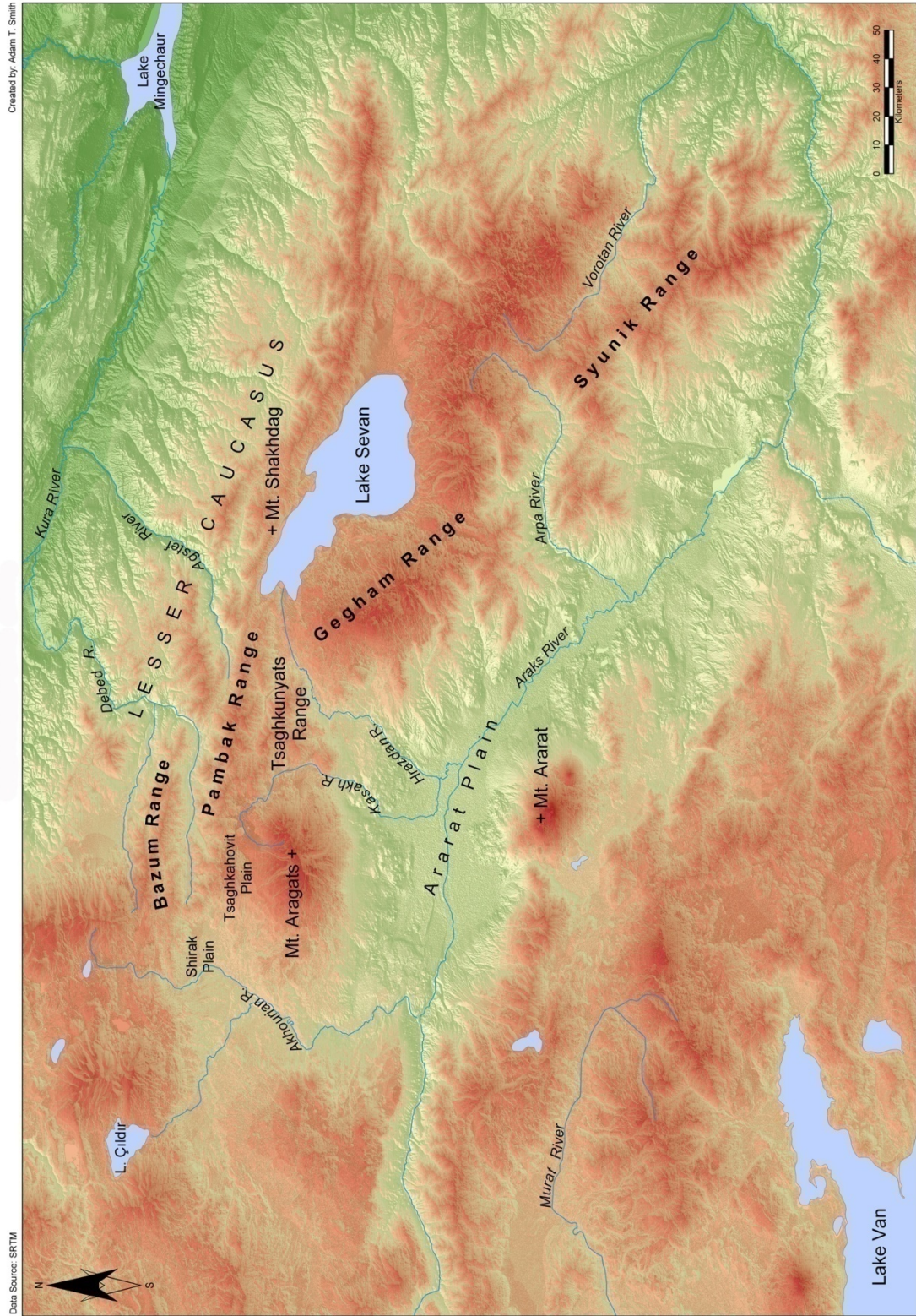


Figure 5.2 Regional map showing the Tsaghkahovit plain in its wider context.



Figure 5.3 Photograph of the Tsaghkahovit outcrop from the northwest.



Figure 5.4 Photograph of the Tsaghkahovit outcrop from the lower settlement. Room WSC is in the foreground.



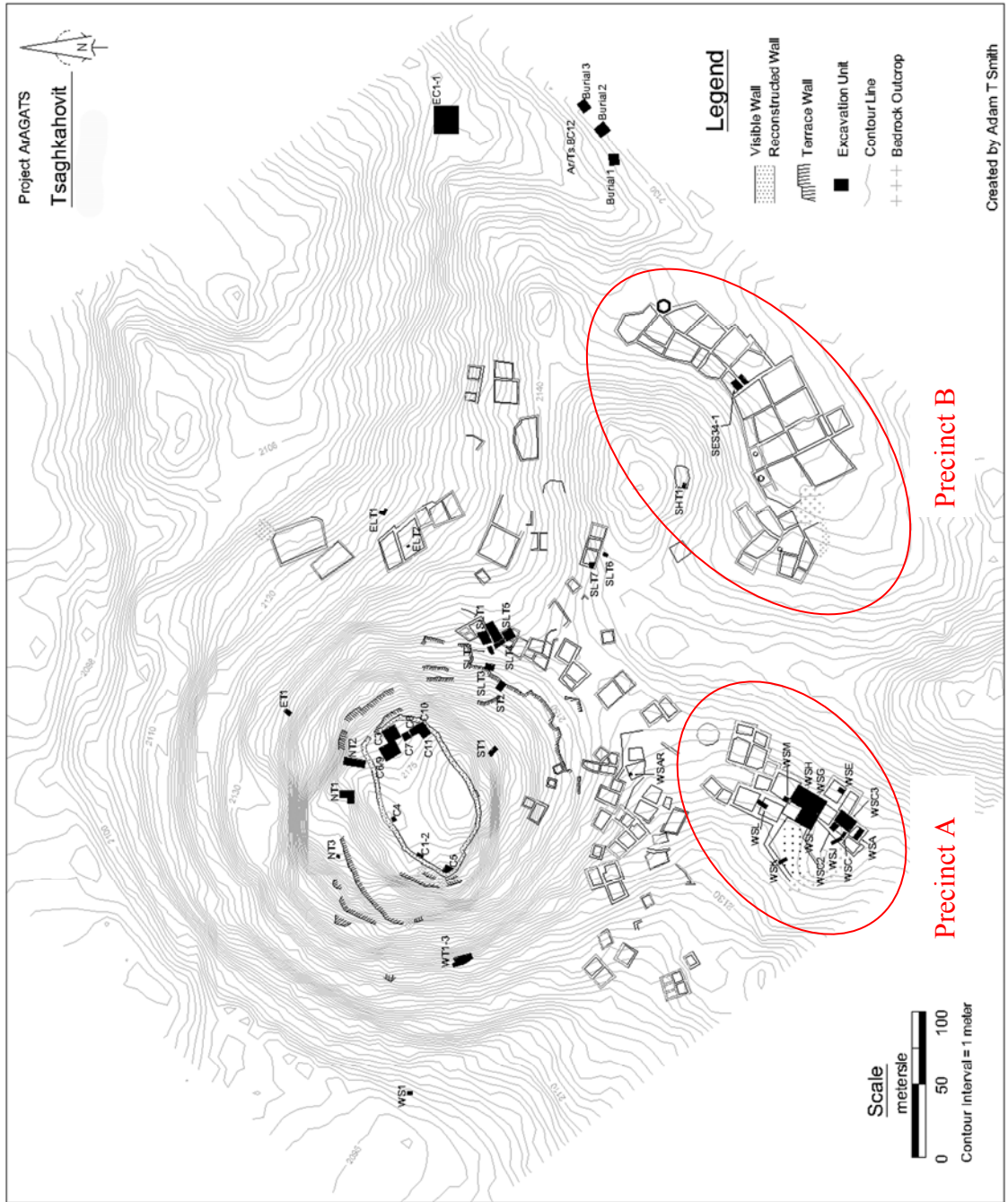


Figure 5.5 Plan of Tsaghkahovit.



Figure 5.6 Aerial photograph of Tsaghkahovit (1989). Fortifications and terrace walls are visible on the outcrop, and room blocks can be seen across the settlement below.

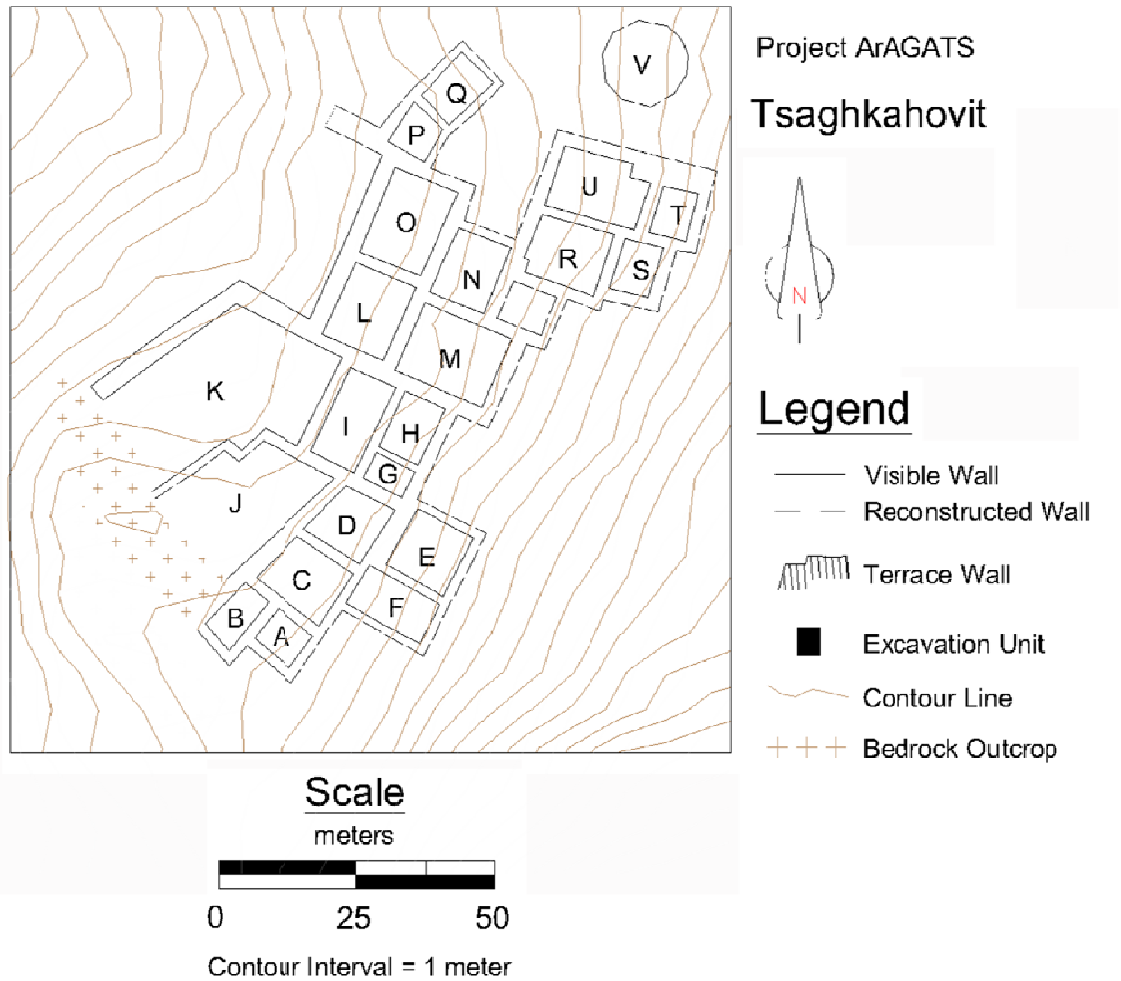


Figure 5.7 Plan of Precinct A based on surface architecture.



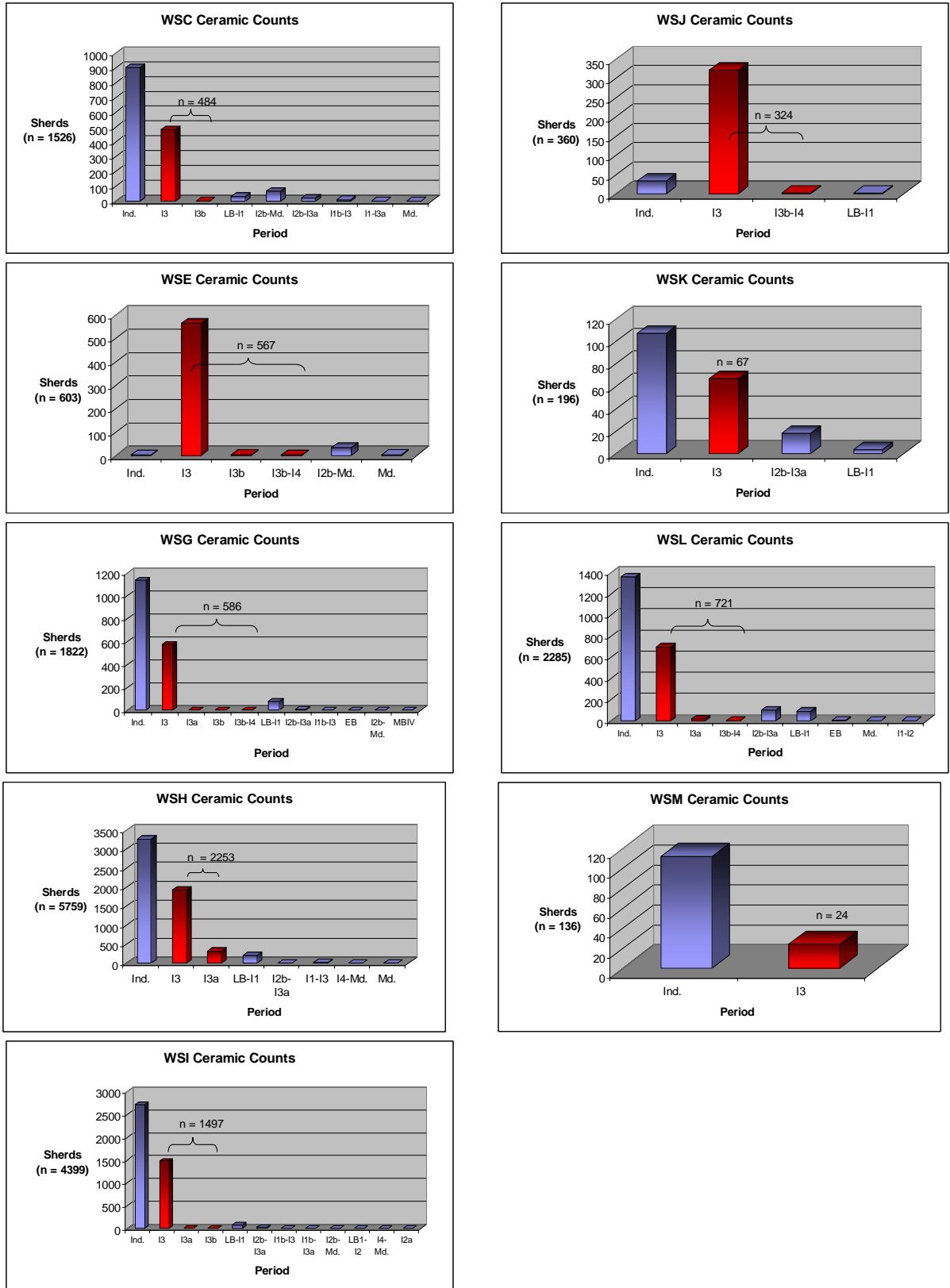


Figure 5.9 Ceramic counts by operation and period. Red bars denote Iron 3.

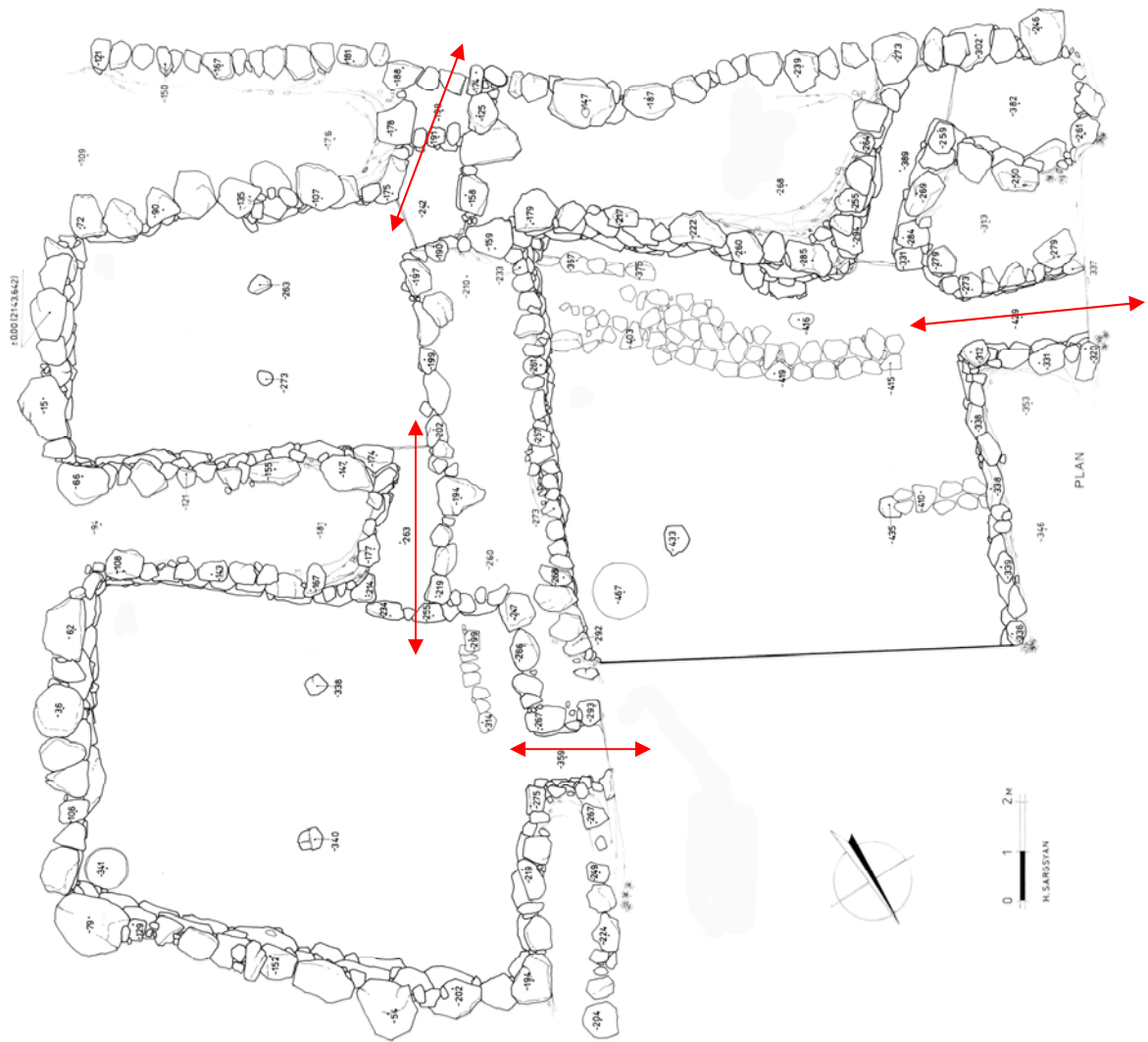


Figure 5.10 Operations WSG, WSH, and WSI showing doorways between rooms. Some doorways have thresholds or later blockages.



Figure 5.11 Photograph of the Tsaghkahovit main complex taken from the citadel.



Figure 5.12 Photograph showing subterranean rooms built into the southeast ridge. In the foreground is operation WSI. In the background, operation WSH is on the left and WSG is on the right.



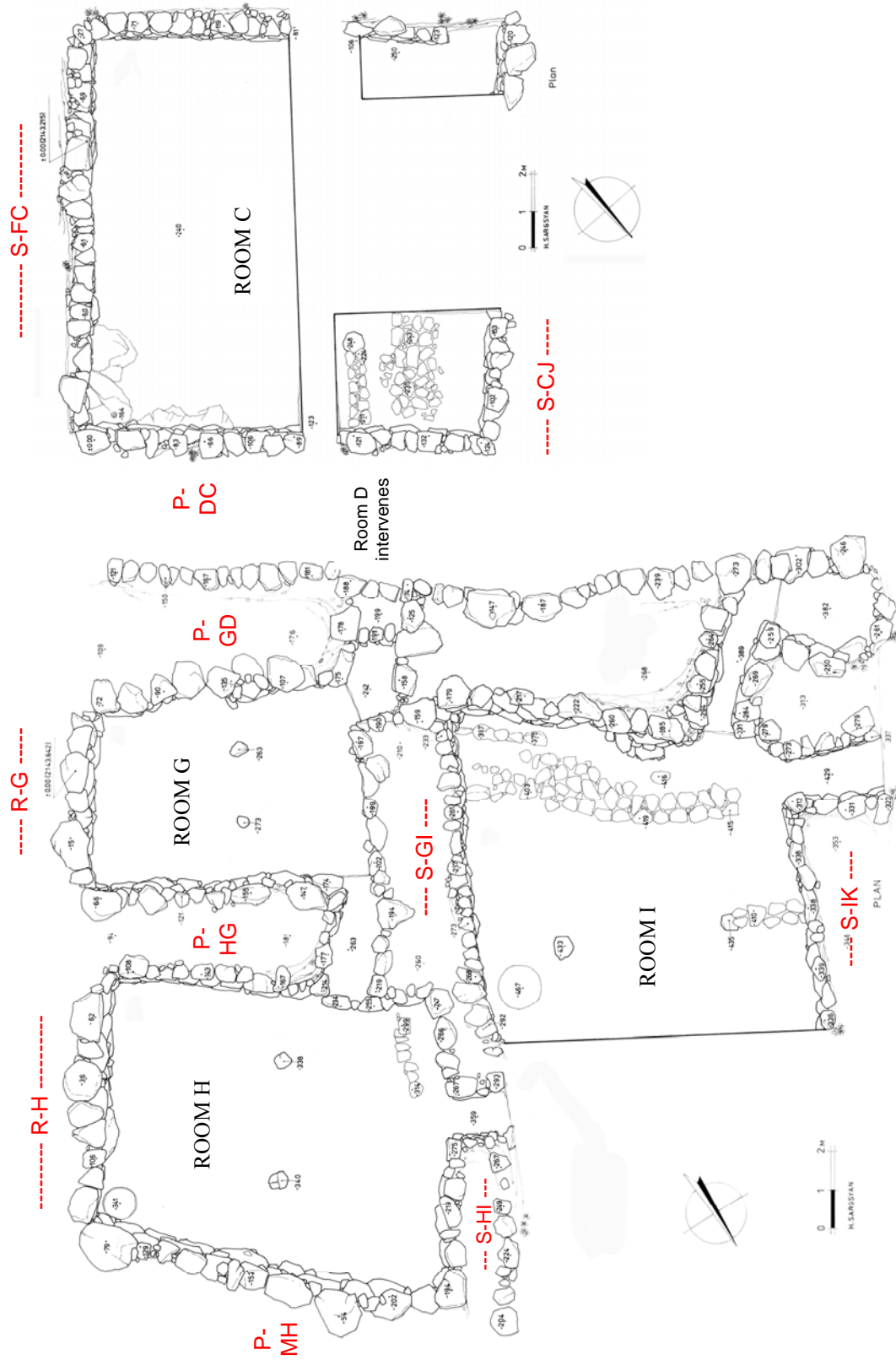


Figure 5.13 Drawing of excavated units with various types of walls marked.



Figure 5.14 Photograph of operation WSG (east view).



Figure 5.15 Photograph of operation WSH (southeast view).



a



b



c



d



e



f

Figure 5.16 Column bases in Precinct A at Tsaghkahovit: WSG (a, b); WSH (c, d); WSI (e, f).

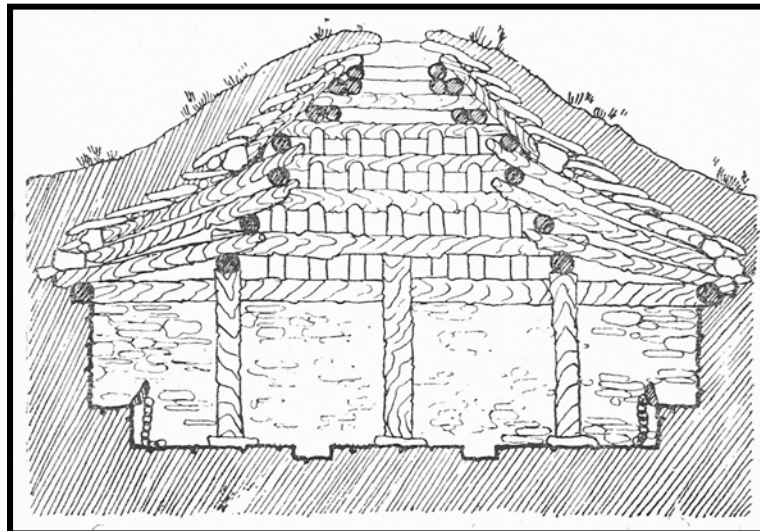
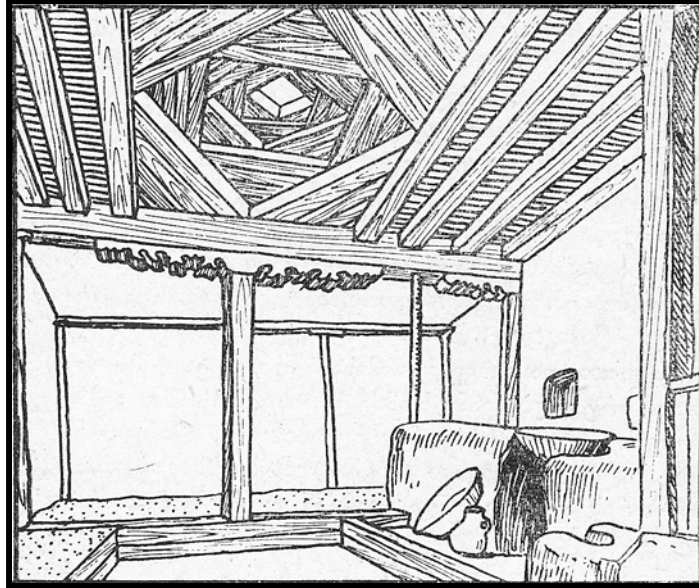


Figure 5.17 Drawings of subterranean houses of the South Caucasus (after C'ik'ovani 1967: Fig. 1 and 11).

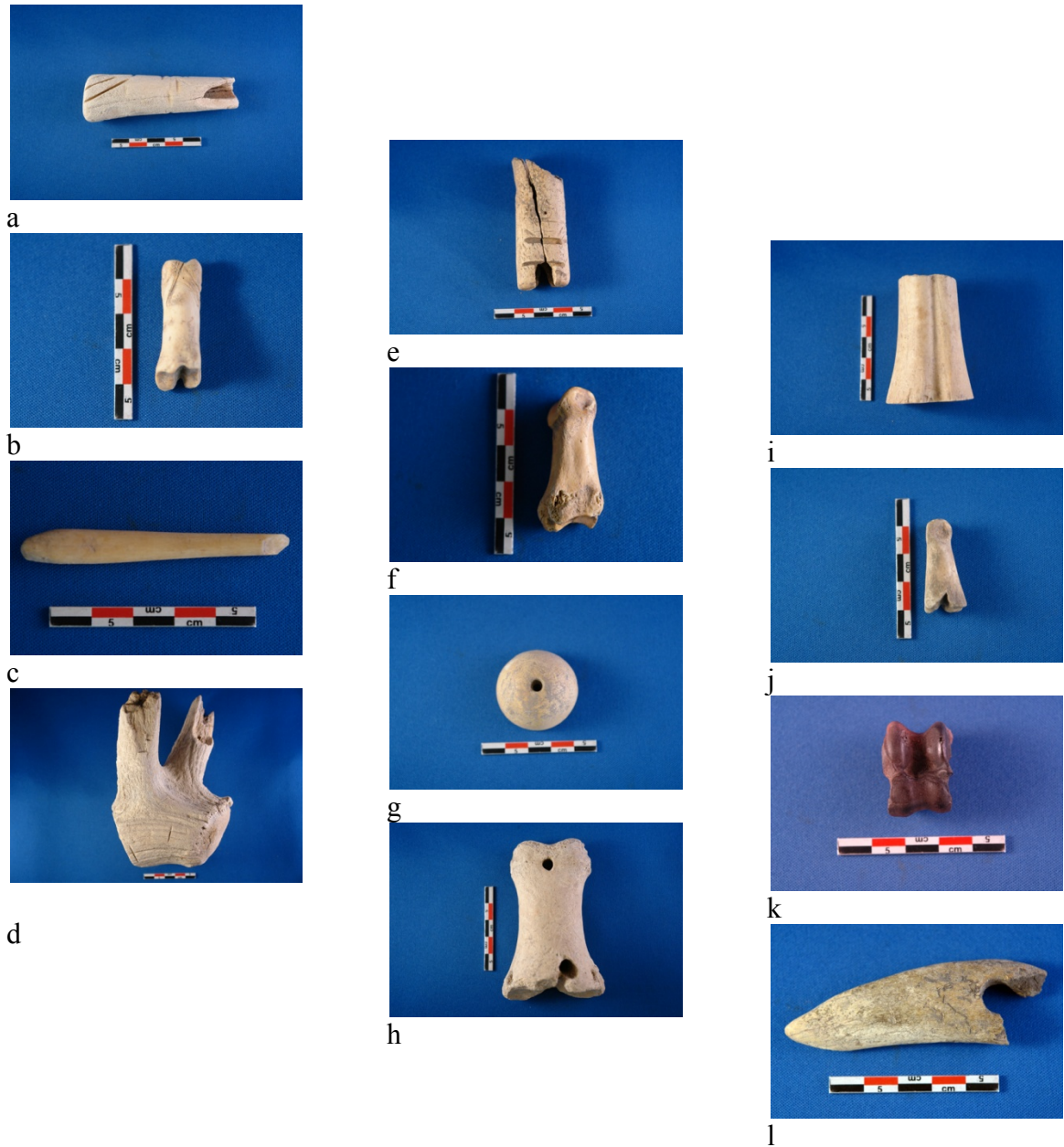


Figure 5.18 Bone artifacts from Precinct A. (From WSH = b, c, g, j, k, l; from WSG = h; from WSC = a; from WSI = d, e, f, i).

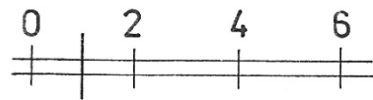
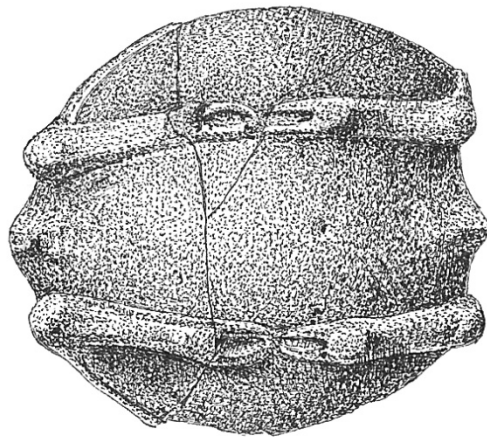
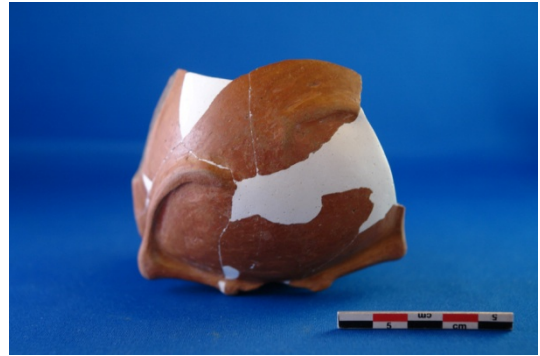
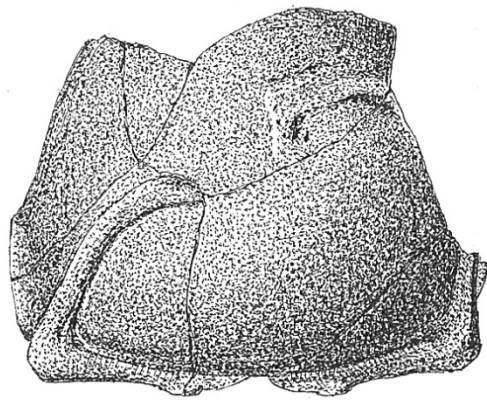


Figure 5.19 Zoomorphic ceramic vessel from WSH in the shape of a goat, ibex, or gazelle.



Figure 5.20 Photograph of bowl and zoomorphic vessel in context.

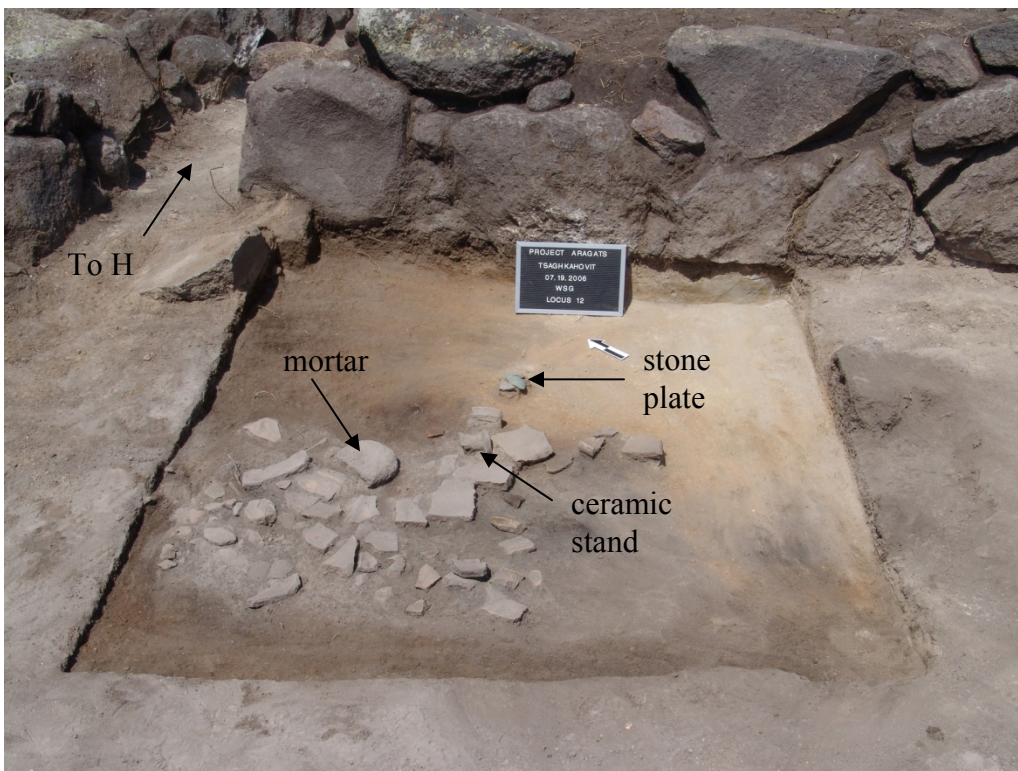


Figure 5.21 Photograph of floor in WSG with artifacts *in situ*.

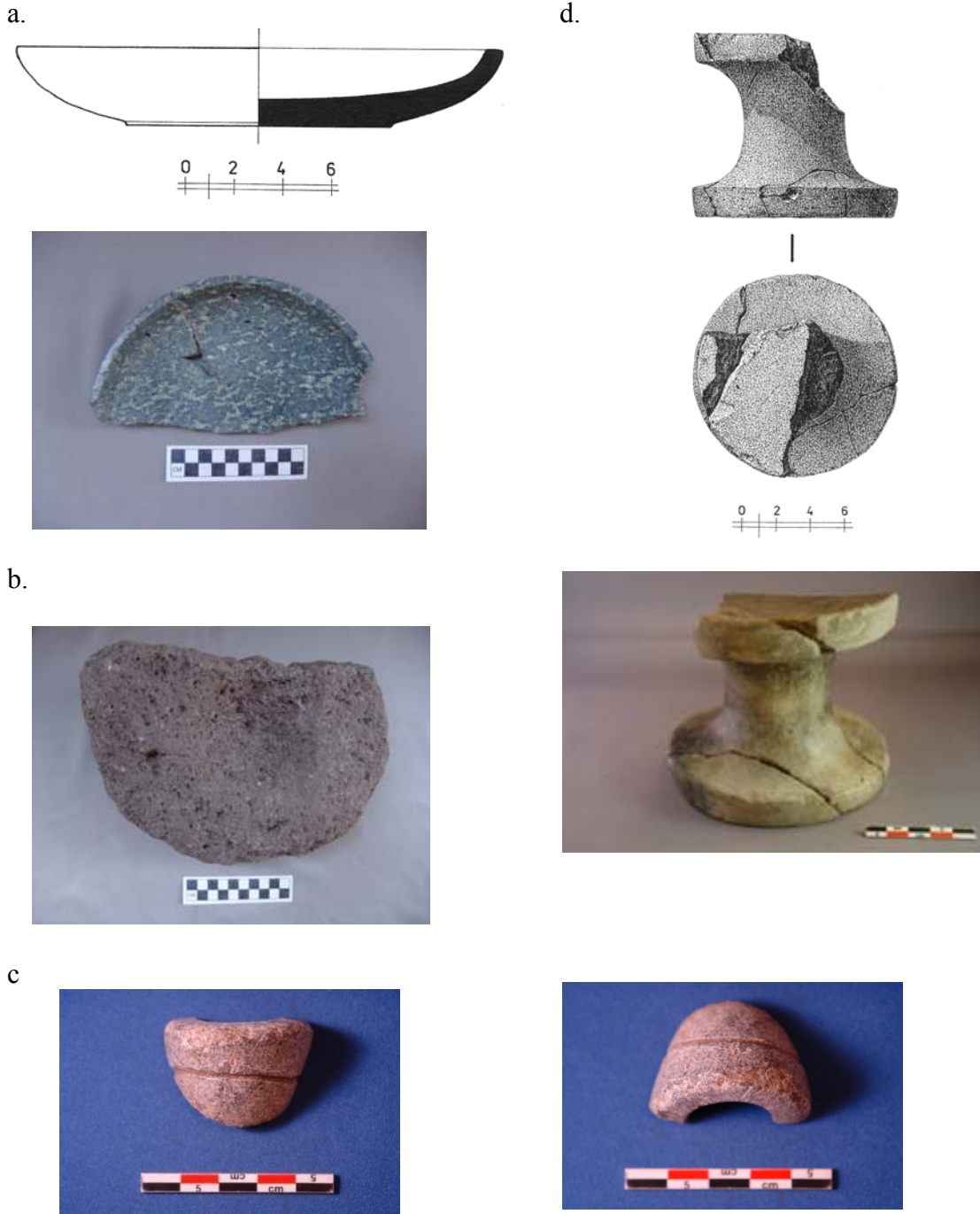


Figure 5.22 Artifacts found together on the floor of room G: a) serpentine plate; b) basalt mortar; c) spout or vessel adornment; d) ceramic stand.



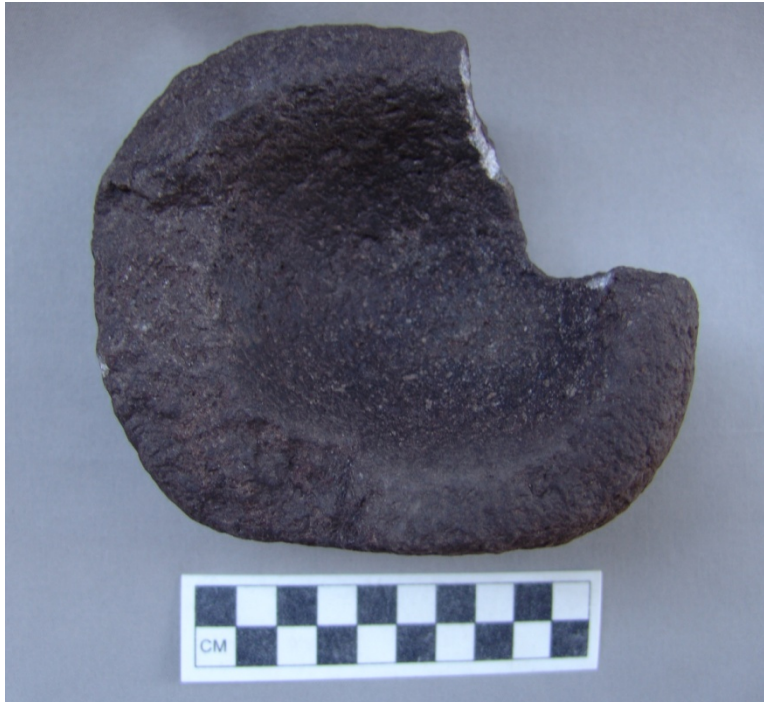
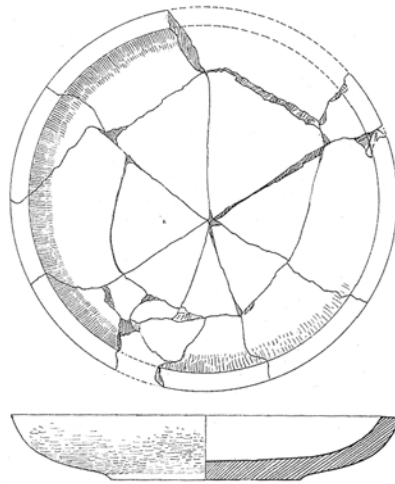
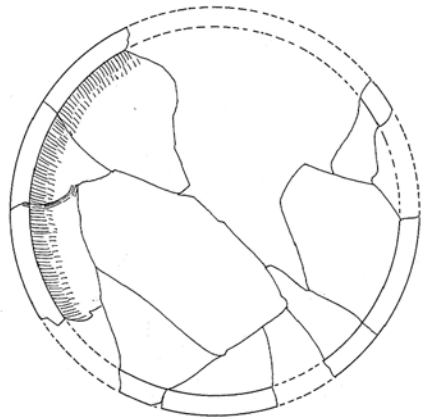


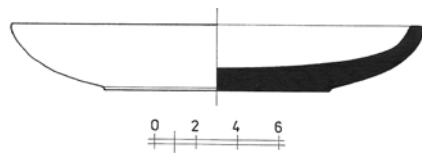
Figure 5.23 Stone mortar from mixed context in room G.



a.



b.



c.

Figure 5.24 Chert and serpentine footless plates: a) chert plate from Treasury at Persepolis, diameter 20.4 cm (Schmidt 1957: Plate 24.3); b) serpentine plate from Treasury at Persepolis, diameter 21.6 cm (Schmidt 1957: Plate 59.7); c) serpentine plate from Tsaghkahovit, diameter 20.5 cm.

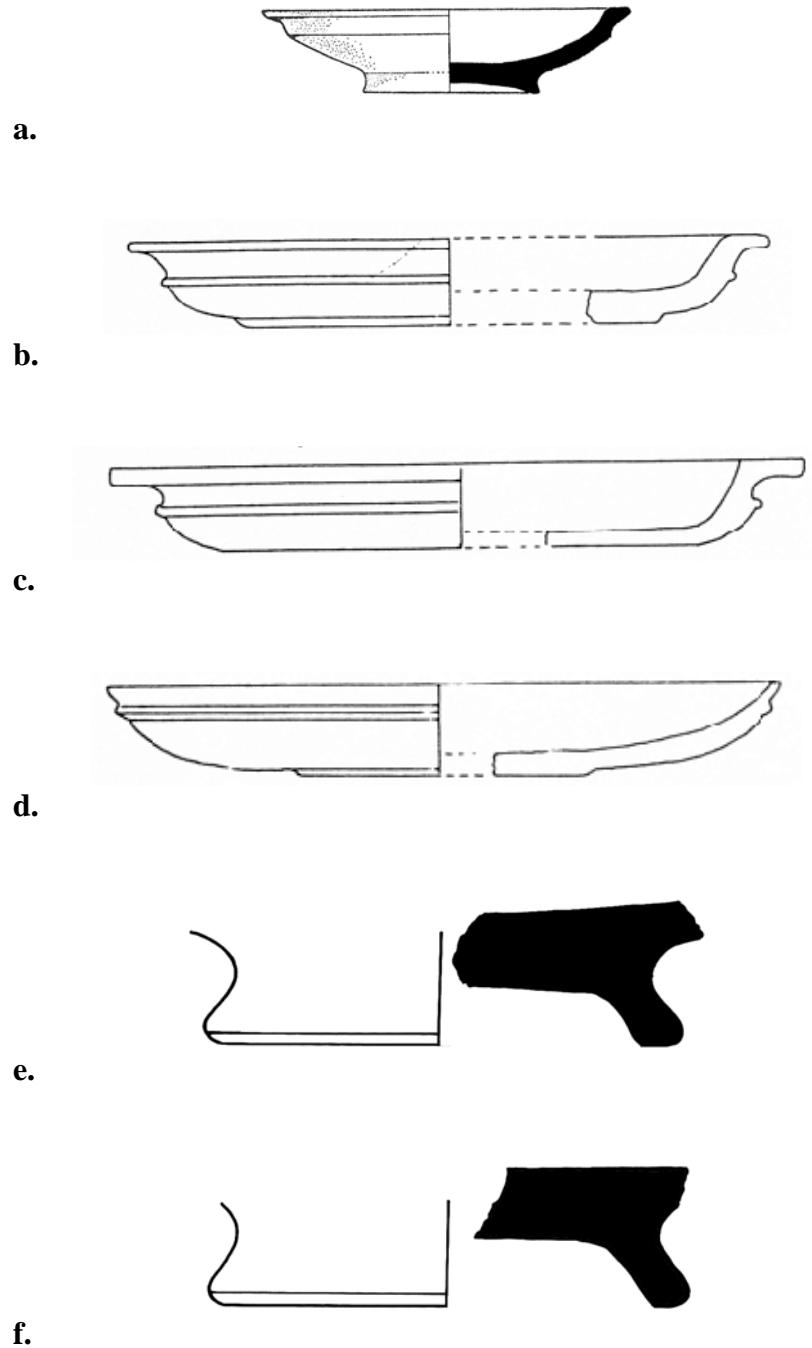


Figure 5.25 Serpentine vessels from outside of the Treasury at Persepolis. a. bowl from Pasargadae, d. = 17cm (Stronach 1978, fig. 99.1); b. plate from Susa, d. = 22 cm (Amiet 1990, #5); c. plate from Susa, d. = 21.7 cm (Amiet 1990, #6); e. plate from Susa, d. = 19 cm (Amiet 1990, #9); e & f. vessels from Qaleh Kali (courtesy of D. Potts).

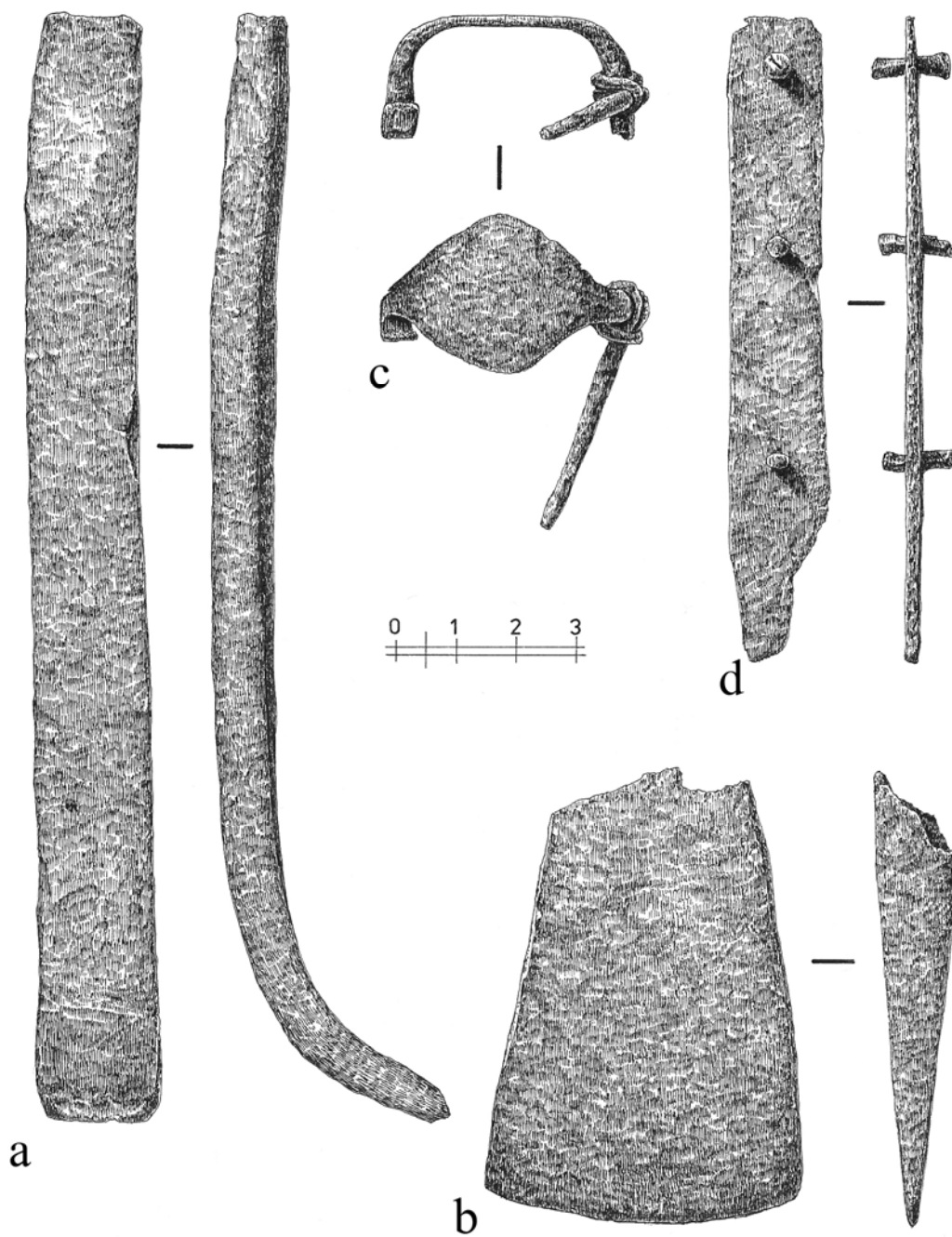


Figure 5.26 Selection of iron artifacts from Tsaghkahovit: a. stonemasons' tool (perhaps a chisel) from beneath the floor in room G; b. stonemasons' tool (perhaps an axe-head) from beneath the floor in room G; c. fibula from non-floor context in room I; d. knife handle from floor context in room I.



Figure 5.27 Photographs of operation WSI. Above, south view; below, northwest view.

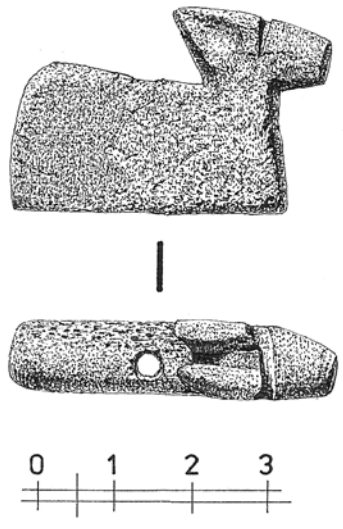


Figure 5.28 Bone horse figurine from WSI.



Figure 5.29 Photograph of operation WSC3 (southeast view).



Figure 5.30 Photograph of operation WSC2 (northeast view).



Figure 5.31 Photograph of operation WSM.



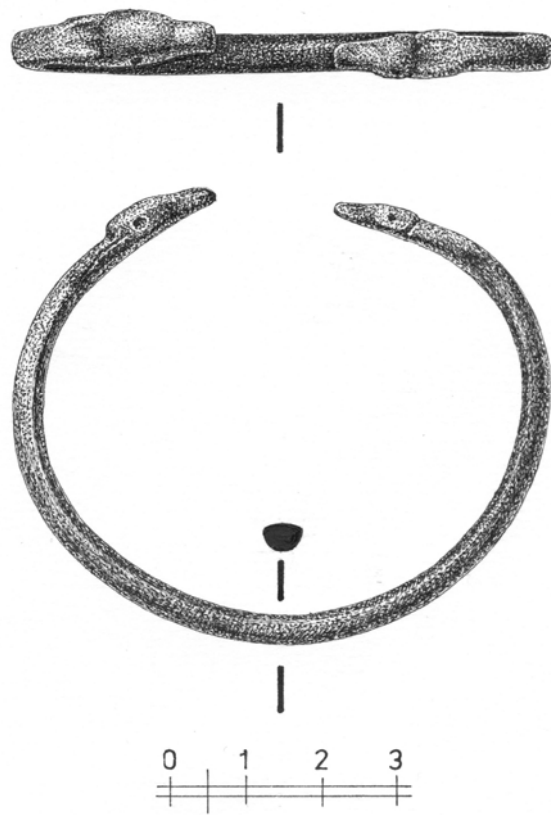


Figure 5.32 Bronze snake-head bracelet from SLT6.

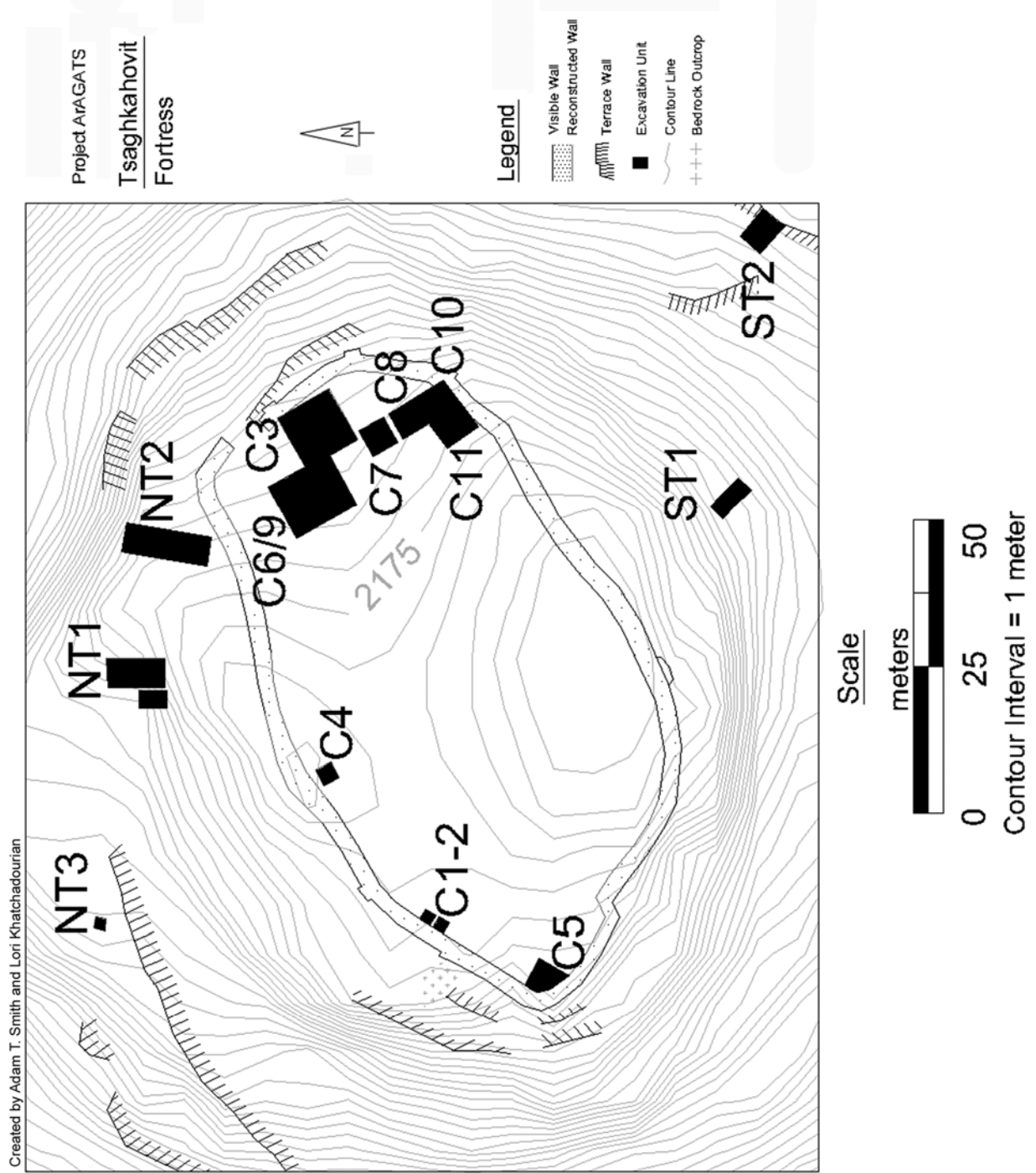


Figure 5.33 Plan of the Tsaghkahovit citadel.



Figure 5.34 Architectural drawing of citadel operation C5. Gray areas denote Iron 3 features. (Drawing by H. Sargsyan)

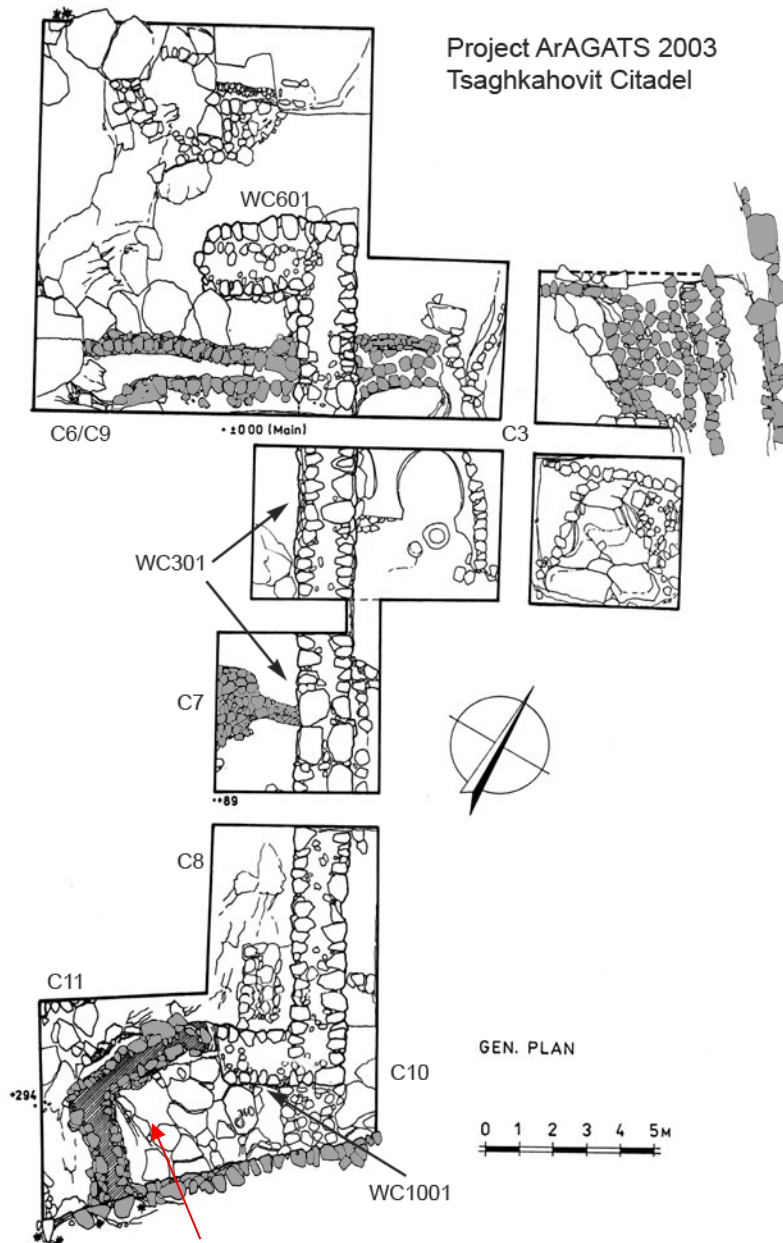


Figure 5.35 Architectural drawing of eastern citadel operations. Gray areas denote Iron 3 features. (Drawing by H. Sargsyan)



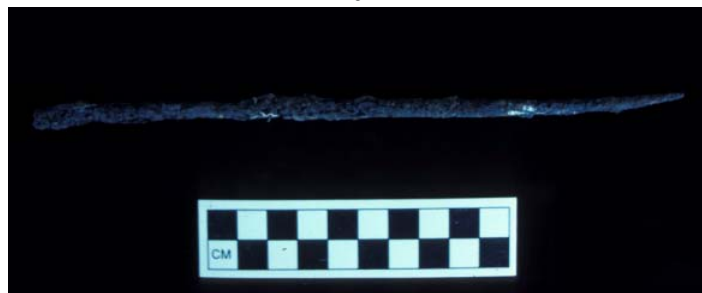
a



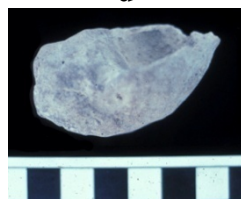
b



c



d



e

Figure 5.36 Bone, metal, and ceramic objects (tools?) from the Iron 3 citadel at Tsaghkahovit.

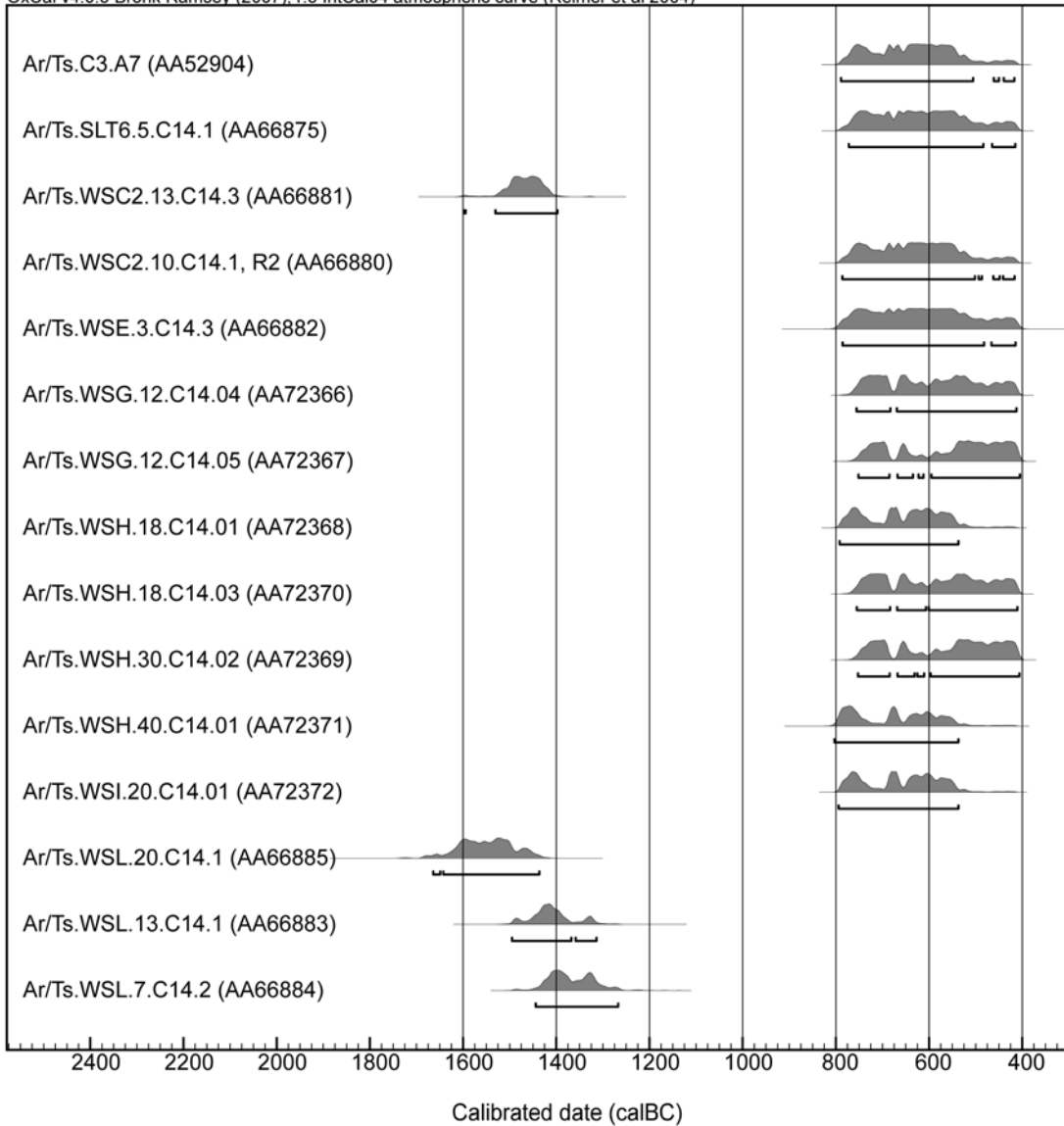


Figure 5.37 Comparative plot of calibrated radiocarbon determinations from the Tsaghkahovit lower settlement and Iron 3 citadel. (C3 date courtesy of Adam T. Smith, Ruben Badalyan, and Pavel Avetisyan. SLT6 date courtesy of Ian Lindsay)

Figure 5.38 Individual plots of Iron 3 calibrated radiocarbon determinations

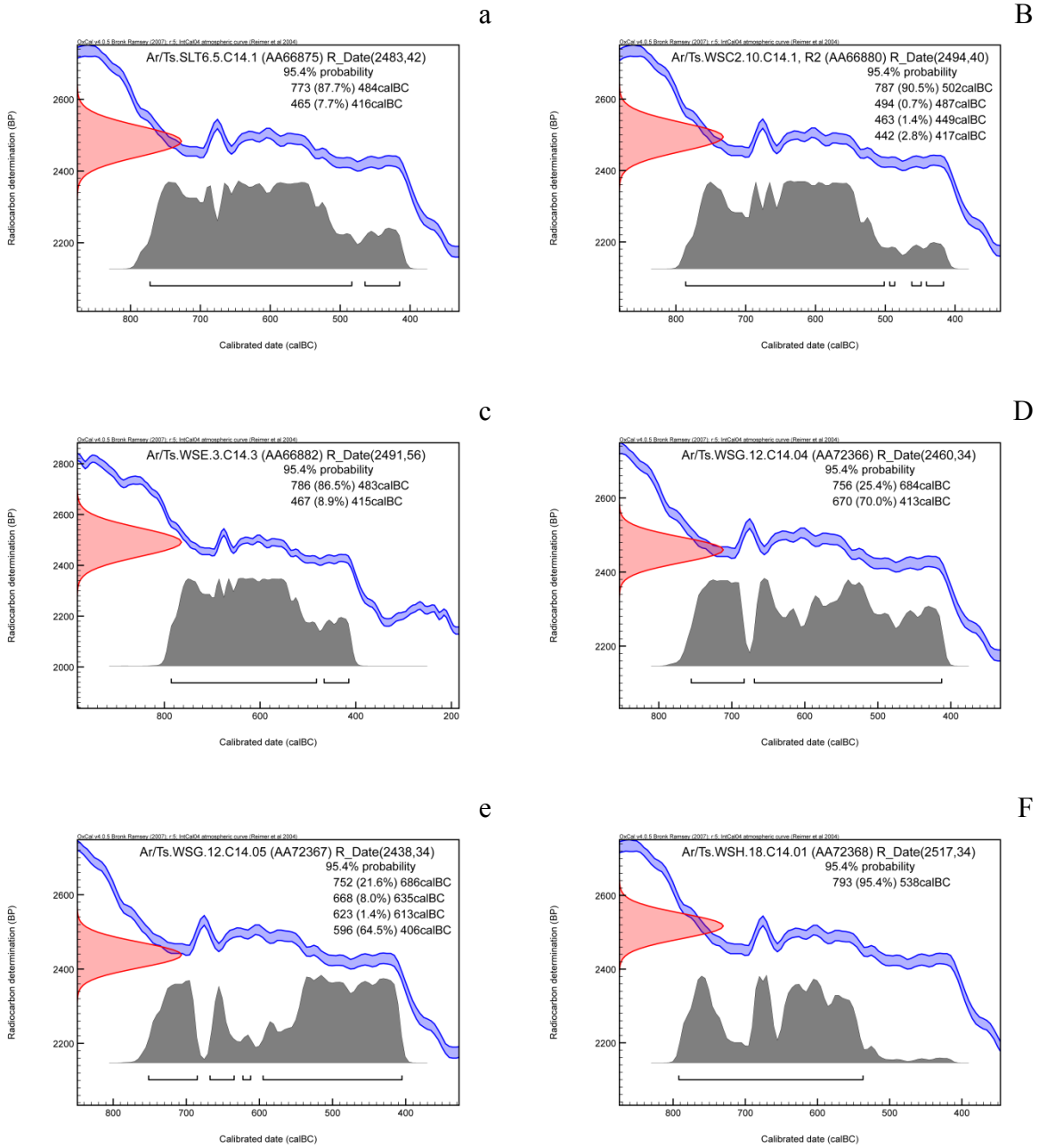
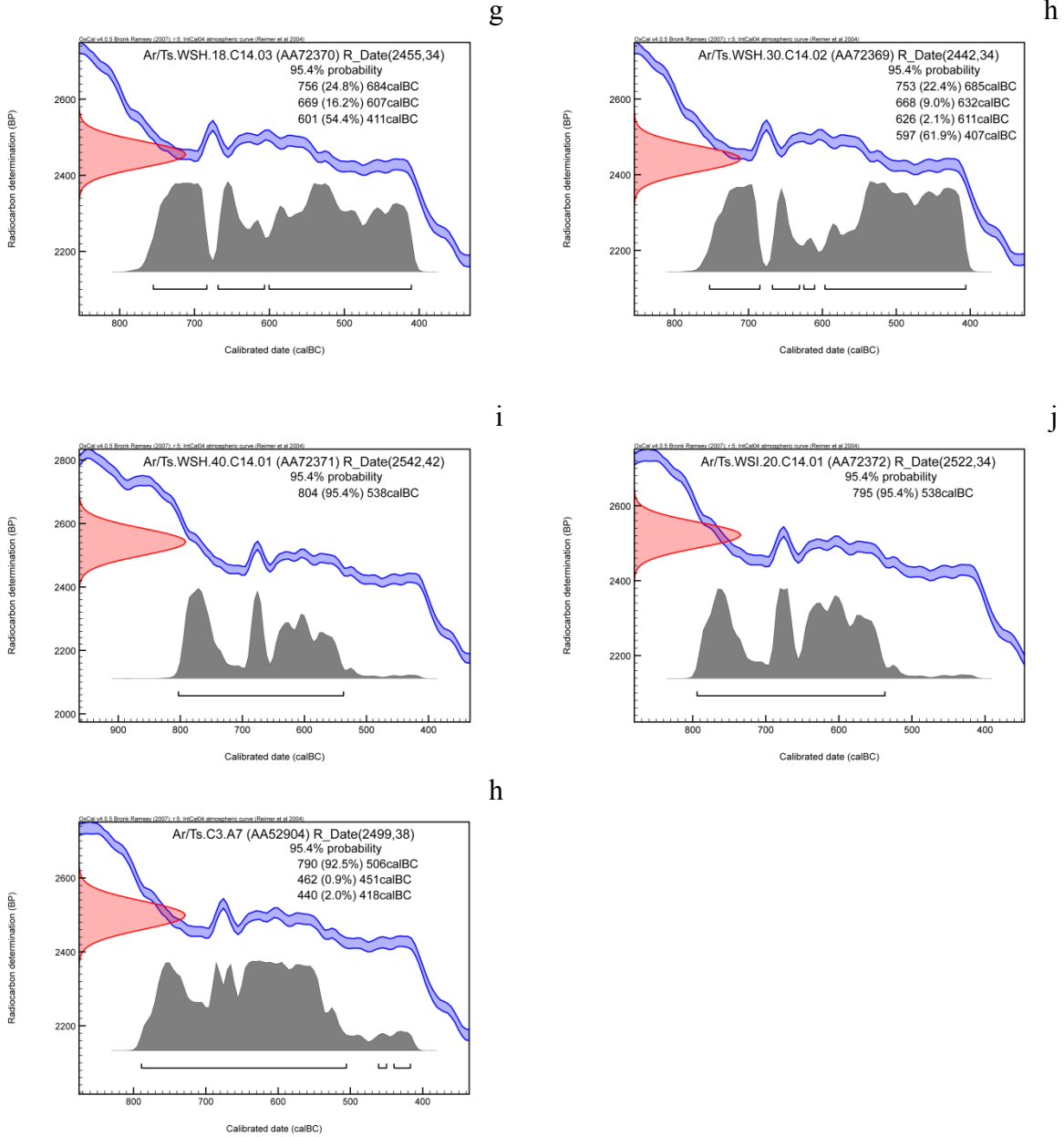


Figure 5.38 cont.





	MISC.	TOOLS			ORNAMENTS	
WSH		GROUND-STONES	POLISHERS, ABRADERS, SMOOTHERS	SPINDLE WHORLS	PIN OR AWLS	BEADS
Floor deposits	1 worked bone with drill hole, 2 worked phalanges. (Fig. 5.18.l,b,j)	1 basalt	1	0	1 bone (fig. 5.18.c)	2 paste, 1 shell, 1 white stone, 2 black stone
Non-floor deposits	Modified astragalus (fig. 5.18.k)	1 pumice	1	1 bone (fig. 5.18.g), 1 ceramic	0	0

Table 5.1 Artifacts from room H.

	MISC.	TOOLS				ORNAMENTS	
WSG		STONE-WORKING	GROUND-STONES	POLISHERS, ABRADERS, SMOOTHERS	SPINDLE WHORLS	METAL JEWELRY	BEADS
Floor deposits	worked phalanx, drilled at both ends (fig. 5.18.h); stone spout (?) (fig. 5.22.c)	2 iron stone-masons' tools (iron chisel and iron axe-head?)	1 basalt ground-stone, 1 basalt mortar	0	0	1 iron ring or earring (?)	0
Non-floor deposits			1 basalt mortar	0	1 pumice	1 bronze earring (?)	1 blue biconic glass

Table 5.2 Artifacts from room G.

	MISC.	TOOLS				ORNAMENTS
WSI		GROUND-STONES	POLISHERS, ABRADERS, SMOOTHERS	SPINDLE WHORLS	KNIVES	METAL JEWELRY
Floor deposits	bone horse figurine; worked antler (hollowed and incised) (fig. 5.18.e); worked phalanx (fig. 5.18.f)	0	1	0	1 iron hilt tang	0
Non-floor deposits	worked bone (fig.5.18.i); modified antler (fig. 5.18.d)	1 tuff, 2 basalt	3	1 stone	0	1 iron fibula

Table 5.3 Artifacts from room I.

Run 1, Group 1		Floating parameter, absolute prior: normal distribution around mean 2550BP, Standard deviation 50 years. Floating parameter, relative chronological information: floating parameter earlier than alpha 1, where alpha 1 is the earliest boundary parameter for Group 1.				
ObjectID	LabID	Determination	Error	68%		Modal value
				HPD Interval (BC/AD)	HPD Interval (BC/AD)	
Ar/Ts.SLT6.5.C14.1	AA66875	2483	42	-654	-515	-554
Ar/Ts.WSE.3.C14.3	AA66882	2491	56	-655	-513	-564 or -559
Ar/Ts.WSC2.10.C14.1, R2	AA66880	2494	40	-653	-517	-560 or -554
Ar/Ts.WSG.12.C14.04	AA72366	2460	34	-659	-511	-580 or -547
Ar/Ts.WSG.12.C14.05	AA72367	2438	34	-663	-499	-546
Ar/Ts.WSH.18.C14.01	AA72368	2517	34	-648	-531	-559
Ar/Ts.WSH.18.C14.03	AA72370	2455	34	-662	-509	-551
Ar/Ts.WSH.30.C14.02	AA72369	2442	34	-662	-503	-548
Ar/Ts.WSH.40.C14.01	AA72371	2542	42	-649	-525	-556
Ar/Ts.WSI.20.C14.01	AA72372	2522	34	-648	-533	-557

Table 5.4 Results of Bayesian analysis on Tsaghkahovit radiocarbon determinations. HPD (Highest Posterior Density) indicates the calendar date ranges, displayed at 95 and 68 percent probability. Modal value is the most likely value in the HPD range.

Run 2, Group 1	Floating parameter, absolute prior: normal distribution around mean 2550BP, Standard deviation 100 years. Floating Parameter, relative chronological information: alpha 1 later than floating parameter, where alpha 1 is the earliest boundary parameter for Group 1					
	95%		68%			
ObjectID	LabID	Determination	Error	HPD Interval (BC/AD)	HPD Interval (BC/AD)	Modal value
Ar/Ts.SLT6.5.C14.1	AA66875	2483	42	-711 -511	-627 -606 -604 -540	-558
Ar/Ts.WSE.3.C14.3	AA66882	2491	56	-713 -511	-627 -540	-555
Ar/Ts.WSC2.10.C14.1, R2	AA66880	2494	40	-705 -514	-627 -542	-553
Ar/Ts.WSG.12.C14.04	AA72366	2460	34	-718 -683	-662 -642 -622 -609 -597 -535	-549
Ar/Ts.WSG.12.C14.05	AA72367	2438	34	-731 -685	-662 -642 -621 -611 -596 -524	-549
Ar/Ts.WSH.18.C14.01	AA72368	2517	34	-692 -522	-618 -545	-554
Ar/Ts.WSH.18.C14.03	AA72370	2455	34	-723 -683	-661 -638 -622 -611 -598 -532	-550
Ar/Ts.WSH.30.C14.02	AA72369	2442	34	-733 -684	-662 -640 -598 -526	-547
Ar/Ts.WSH.40.C14.01	AA72371	2542	42	-691 -522	-617 -546	-554
Ar/Ts.WSI.20.C14.01	AA72372	2522	34	-692 -526	-613 -545	-556

Table 5.5 Results of Bayesian analysis on Tsaghkahovit radiocarbon determinations. HPD (Highest Posterior Density) indicates the calendar date ranges, displayed at 95 and 68 percent probability. Modal value is the most likely value in the HPD range.

Run3, Group 1		Floating parameter, absolute prior: uniform distribution around 2600BC-2500BP. Floating Parameter, relative chronological information: alpha 1 later than floating parameter, where alpha 1 is the earliest boundary parameter of Group 1									
		95%					68%				
ObjectID	LabID	Determination	Error	HPD Interval (BC/AD)	HPD Interval (BC/AD)	HPD Interval (BC/AD)	HPD Interval (BC/AD)	HPD Interval (BC/AD)	HPD Interval (BC/AD)	HPD Interval (BC/AD)	Modal value
Ar/Ts.SLT6.5.C14.1	AA66875	2483	42	-622 -518	-588 -543	-588 -543	-588 -543	-588 -543	-588 -543	-588 -543	-556
Ar/Ts.WSE.3.C14.3	AA66882	2491	56	-625 -516	-587 -543	-587 -543	-587 -543	-587 -543	-587 -543	-587 -543	-567
Ar/Ts.WSC2.10.C14.1, R2	AA66880	2494	40	-623 -522	-586 -543	-586 -543	-586 -543	-586 -543	-586 -543	-586 -543	-568
Ar/Ts.WSG.12.C14.04	AA72366	2460	34	-624 -512	-587 -541	-587 -541	-587 -541	-587 -541	-587 -541	-587 -541	-585
Ar/Ts.WSG.12.C14.05	AA72367	2438	34	-622 -504	-587 -576	-587 -576	-587 -576	-587 -576	-587 -576	-587 -576	-585
Ar/Ts.WSH.18.C14.01	AA72368	2517	34	-622 -532	-583 -545	-583 -545	-583 -545	-583 -545	-583 -545	-583 -545	-571
Ar/Ts.WSH.18.C14.03	AA72370	2455	34	-624 -512	-587 -540	-587 -540	-587 -540	-587 -540	-587 -540	-587 -540	-582
Ar/Ts.WSH.30.C14.02	AA72369	2442	34	-623 -505	-587 -539	-587 -539	-587 -539	-587 -539	-587 -539	-587 -539	-586
Ar/Ts.WSH.40.C14.01	AA72371	2542	42	-622 -532	-584 -545	-584 -545	-584 -545	-584 -545	-584 -545	-584 -545	-563
Ar/Ts.WSI.20.C14.01	AA72372	2522	34	-622 -535	-584 -545	-584 -545	-584 -545	-584 -545	-584 -545	-584 -545	-572

Table 5.6 Results of Bayesian analysis on Tsaghkahovit radiocarbon determinations. HPD (Highest Posterior Density) indicates the calendar date ranges, displayed at 95 and 68 percent probability. Modal value is the most likely value in the HPD range.

Run 1, Groups 3 (Level III, Level II, Level I)	Floating parameter, absolute prior: normal distribution around mean 2550BP(cal), Standard deviation 50 years. Floating parameter, relative chronological information: alpha 1 later than floating parameter where alpha 1 is the earliest boundary parameter for Level III. Level III earlier and abutting level II, level II earlier and abutting level I.									
	ObjectID	LabID	Determination	Error	95%		68%			
					HPD Interval (BC/AD)	HPD Interval (BC/AD)	Modal value			
Ar/Ts.WSH.40.C14.01	AA72371	2542	42	-681	-665	-647	-520	-611	-546	-571
Ar/Ts.WSH.30.C14.02	AA72369	2442	34	-598	-437			-559	-483	-534
Ar/Ts.WSH.18.C14.03	AA72370	2455	34	-535	-405			-470	-409	-418

Run 2, Groups 3 (Level III, Level II, Level I)	Floating parameter, absolute prior: normal distribution around mean 2550BP(cal), Standard deviation 50 years. Floating parameter, relative chronological information: alpha 1 later than floating parameter where alpha 1 is the earliest boundary parameter for Level III. Level III earlier than level II (not abutting), level II earlier than level I (not abutting).									
	ObjectID	LabID	Determination	Error	95%		68%			
					HPD Interval (BC/AD)	HPD Interval (BC/AD)	Modal value			
Ar/Ts.WSH.40.C14.01	AA72371	2542	42	-686	-660	-651	-541	-634	-584	-561
Ar/Ts.WSH.30.C14.02	AA72369	2442	34	-596	-443			-553	-480	-532
Ar/Ts.WSH.18.C14.03	AA72370	2455	34	-508	-403			-451	-408	-415

Table 5.7 Results of Bayesian analysis on WSH radiocarbon determinations.

## CHAPTER 6

### FORTRESS, TOWN, AND EMPIRE: ASPECTS OF SOCIAL ORDER AT TSAGHKAHOVIT

The stone fortress that towers over the Iron 3 town at Tsaghkahovit represents one of the earliest iterations of an iconic settlement form that appeared on the Armenian highlands during the second millennium BC. As the martial pastoralists of the Middle Bronze Age gave way to the earliest complex polities of the Late Bronze Age, the fortress emerged across much of the highlands to host a suite of new institutions that re-ordered social life.<sup>157</sup> As in the case of the Tsaghkahovit citadel, fortresses of this period boast monumental stone enclosure walls that encircle other stone constructions associated with production, ritual, and storage activities.<sup>158</sup>

This fortress tradition endured well into the Iron Age, reaching what is widely regarded as its apogee under the kings of Urartu (see p. 60), whose ashlar masonry fortresses hosted a multi-faceted imperial apparatus. While the fortresses of Urartu were often located at lower elevations than their Late Bronze Age counterparts, on large hills of the plains rather than in the mountains, they restricted access in new ways. Urartian fortresses consisted of often densely built up interior spaces that were considerably

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<sup>157</sup> To provide a statistic from just a few regions of the highlands, all but four of the 32 known Late Bronze Age fortresses in the Ararat, Shirak, and Tsaghkahovit plains are located on outcrops and inaccessible mountain spurs rather than on open plans. The exceptions are Metsamor, Shamiram, Agin, and Gusanagyukh (Smith 2003: 170).

<sup>158</sup> The interrelations among these Late Bronze Age fortress sites (or polities?) and the specific practices through which their users reproduced political authority and social difference within communities remains poorly understood at present, but are ongoing areas of research (Lindsay 2006; Lindsay *et al.* 2008; Smith in press; Smith *et al.* in press).

segmented and thus conducive to regulating movement, isolating activities, and restricting access (Smith 2003: 241-54). Urartu's large fortresses were used to organize the empire's political, economic, religious, and military affairs. The citadels of the regime mediated relations between people and that most prominent of structural positions, the imperial administration, collecting taxes, organizing labor, constraining peoples' choices and actions. In other words, the fortress anchored a network of powerful institutions that articulated people with one another as subjects of an authoritative imperial regime. By the mid-first millennium BC the fortress appeared to be firmly rooted as *the* place for the reproduction of order and authority in many parts of the highlands. An inquiry into the constitution of social order on the highlands under Achaemenid imperial rule must also confront the social logics of these craggy hilltop fortresses, such as the one at Tsaghkahovit, and assess whether their salience as a structuring institution—as a privileged location for the promulgation of the rules and schemas that constrained people—was reproduced, altered, or rejected.

At first glance, it would appear that the fortress retained its centrality on the Tsaghkahovit plain during the centuries of Achaemenid rule. When groups returned to the plain during the second quarter of the sixth century BC, they gravitated with unmistakable regularity to the dilapidated remains of the long abandoned Late Bronze Age fortresses such as the one at Tsaghkahovit described in Chapter 5. Systematic survey of the Tsaghkahovit region (see Chapter 7) indicated that several Iron 3 settlements were re-founded in the shadows of the Late Bronze Age fortresses that had remained vacant for over five hundred years. Given that fortresses were such an entrenched political and social institution on the highlands by the mid-first millennium



BC, it is possible that these Late Bronze Age fortresses, like the one at Tsaghkahovit, would have appeared “normal,” familiar, and even essential to the laying down of new roots (although they also may have seemed rather archaic compared to the fine and elaborate forms of later Urartian fortresses). The acute predisposition to the Late Bronze Age fortresses was, I suggest, instrumental to the broad contours of social order at Tsaghkahovit during the mid-first millennium BC.<sup>159</sup>

However, the relationship between a Late Bronze Age past and an Iron 3 present is not reducible to a mere mimicking of old traditions. During the Iron 3 period, the fortress was an enduring, but not a fixed and immutable, structuring institution. Based on the excavations at the site described in the previous chapter, I argue here that even as the fortress remained a place of symbolic potency, it lost its practical status as the prime spatial location for the practices that reproduced authority. Thus, in so far as the Late Bronze Age fortress conveyed a primordial form of legitimate power, it was regarded with some ambivalence. In its place, new practices appear to have emerged that closed at least the topographic, if not the social, gap between rulers and ruled. It appears that at Tsaghkahovit in the Iron 3 period, there was a significant change in the rules long generated by the fortress. Some of these new practices may have preserved privilege in the hands of those who had access to supra-regional networks of the Achaemenid empire. The evidence for such practices is at present limited, but nevertheless compelling, especially with regard to a specific Achaemenid religious rite *possibly* linked to the

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<sup>159</sup> It is hard to see the Iron 3 re-occupation of the Late Bronze Age fortresses on the Tsaghkahovit plain as merely coincidental. The plain abounds with hillocks and outcrops, swales and basins and many areas offered greater hydrological resources than Tsaghkahovit. A hydrological study of the plain conducted for Project ArAGATS by Arkady Karakhanyan emphasizes Tsaghkahovit’s isolation from Mt. Aragats’s natural drainages. This remains a problem today for the modern village, which relies upon a system of canals and pipes to bring water to the town.

consumption of a drink made from the crushing of a plant known in Old Persian as *hauma*. Excavations at Tsaghkahovit in 2006 uncovered evidence for the performance of a religious ceremony known from the imperial heartland, although the case is complex and requires very careful consideration in light of the uncertainties surrounding this particular religious rite. Thus, some of the new practices that can be traced in the archaeological record at Tsaghkahovit are intelligible only in reference to new practices and structures of the Achaemenid empire. To some extent, it is possible to discern how local leaders and community members at Tsaghkahovit participated in the reproduction of the empire through various domains of daily practice.

The first two sections of this chapter provide brief accounts of social organization and daily life at Tsaghkahovit. In the most general terms, I first examine the spatial layout of the site as a way into issues of community stratification. The next section provides an overview of the shared economic practices that structured daily life. Taken together, these two sections offer brief but critical contextual information for the subsequent analysis of sociopolitics and local authority. The fortress is the focus of the next section, in which I analyze the ceramic, architectural, and artifactual data in order to detail the function of this area and its significance to the Iron 3 settlement as a whole. In the final section, I turn my attention to the conspicuous main complex of Precinct A. Here I consider the evidence for certain practices—such as the possible *hauma* ritual, hunting, and feasting—that mark this area as a center of authority within the settlement and a venue of activity for individuals of high status, conjoined to privileged communities of the wider Achaemenid empire.

## **Social Stratification and Built Space at Tsaghkahovit**

As I argued in Chapter 2, built spaces not only reflect social structure, they also produce social relations in the way the arrangement of space affords or restricts access and encourages certain kinds of physical movement within and between buildings and unbuilt spaces (Hillier and Hanson 1984). The built environment has been a persistent object of archaeological interest in recent decades because of its potential to reveal aspects of social order and organization through close analyses of domestic and public architecture (Blanton 1994; Ferguson 1996; Kent 1990; Laurence 1994; Smith 2003; Van Dyke 1999). At Tsaghkahovit there are limits at present on how informative the built environment can be to the overall social organization of the settlement given the modest scale of exposures at the site. Surface architecture alone, without considerable knowledge of doorways or the basic activities hosted by the unexcavated areas, leaves us as yet in the dark as to functional divisions and circulation flows. Nevertheless, the spatial layout of Tsaghkahovit does convey critical information about how interactions through spaces might have reproduced differences within the community.

The fortress wall surrounding the citadel is perhaps the most logical place to begin a discussion of the Iron 3 site, since it demarcates the most prominent single defined space. The reconstruction of the massive Late Bronze Age wall, albeit using a far more modest masonry style, is in itself a leading indicator of social complexity, as a resuscitation of the dominant indexical sign of socio-political authority from the Late Bronze through the Urartian eras. Although fortress walls can often denote quite bombastic claims about the ability to control movement and access, the concentration of

power resources, and the ability to maintain surveillance, they are not necessarily unambiguous strategies for, and symbols of, domination. Indeed, the masonry of Tsaghkahovit's fortress wall is so modest compared with the massive ashlar blocks of the earlier fortress that it suggests a conspicuous shift away from the aesthetics of raw intimidation to a more pragmatic concern, perhaps to provide for the common defense against (real or imagined) external threats. To argue that the shift in masonry was *not* a considered element of political order at Tsaghkahovit would demand that we attribute the shift to either a lost technology or an inability to muster skilled labor. As is clear from the masonry in Precinct A (see p. 196), neither explanation is persuasive. The fortress wall at Tsaghkahovit is thus a marker of the power to command resources and labor, but also a sign of a less aggressively—or at least less exclusively—martial approach to defining social difference.

Moving out from the fortress, there are other architectural signs of a subtle renegotiation in the terms of constituting local authority and social organization (see figure 5.5). Even though we do not know at present the precise purposes of the different structures located around the base of the hill, the spatial variability of buildings across the settlement suggests both functional differentiation and the “spatialization” of social boundaries. Built units in the lower town appear in different sizes, with different degrees and patterns of contiguity. The most “disorderly” arrangement of units is to the south and southeast of the fortress, where there was little apparent investment in creating a homogenous arrangement of structures. The units here are small- to medium-sized, and either stand alone or cluster in pairs of two or three, rarely more. Closer inspection suggests some possible patterning in this area (figure 6.1): larger units sometimes occur

in fully adjacent pairs (blue); clusters of three have two larger and one smaller unit, aligned so as to create an outdoor space bounded on two sides (green); and some clusters of two units have one larger and one smaller unit, also aligned so as to create a semi-bounded unbuilt space (red). Only three small test probes have been placed in this zone of the site to date (SLT6, SLT7, WSAR). If these are domestic spaces—which is at present likely—the variability identified above may relate to households of various sizes and social statuses. An alternative possibility is that these are other kinds of special-purpose areas, whether for production, storage, or any number of other uses. In either case, the internal variation in built form provides one basis for suggesting the materialization of social difference within the built environment of the Iron 3 town.

The case for specialized social differentiation is further strengthened by Precincts A and B, two nucleated complexes with small, medium, and large rooms. Little can be said about Precinct B at present. As mentioned in Chapter 5, the architecture in this area is insubstantial compared to Precinct A (although this is revealing in and of itself), and several of the spaces are too large to have been roofed. Moreover, the precinct is quite isolated from the rest of the settlement. Based on a single limited sounding, Avetisyan *et al.* (2000: 51) have suggested that some of the larger (and likely unroofed) rooms may have served as corrals for livestock (large rooms on the scale of those in Precinct B are also found on the northeast slope of the site). If this turns out to be the case, then investigations will undoubtedly turn to establishing whether the divisions between units signify distinct property rights of households, extended families, or other social groups. We can only speculate at this point, but Precinct B at a minimum appears to be some kind of non-residential area dedicated to activities that were meant to take place beyond the

primary living quarters of the settlement. As I discuss below, sheep, goat, cattle, and pigs were major foci of the Tsaghkahovit productive economy in the Iron 3 period, and while herd sizes cannot be estimated from extant data, it is likely that the small rooms in the heart of the settlement would not have accommodated the numbers of animals raised by the community.

The built structure of Precinct A contrasts markedly with both Precinct B and the disarticulated room blocks to the north (figure 5.7). The regular arrangement of rooms speaks to considerable architectural planning and a deliberate intention to create spaces that could at once facilitate interactions amongst greater numbers of individuals and yet also control circulatory flows. Room K/J, for instance, is the largest bounded structure in the heart of the settlement, judging by visible surface architecture.<sup>160</sup> It provides access into room I, which, given its size and proximity to the complex's entrance, may have been a particularly "interactive" room or common area for receiving visitors. Room I provides passage deeper into the complex, into room H. The small space of room G is more secluded still, since a visitor or inhabitant likely had to pass from K, to I, to H, in order to reach it from the outside. Room E, built deep into the slope of the ridge, would have been almost entirely subterranean, and could only have been reached by passing through several other rooms. It is unfortunately not possible at present to represent the permeability and accessibility of the complex through a spatial network graph. But from this cursory demonstration of the diversity of spatial relations in this complex it is clear that Precinct A represents yet another very distinctive kind of social space within the site as a whole—and one about which much more will be said later in this chapter.

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<sup>160</sup> As I explained in Chapter 5, rooms K and J are very possibly one large courtyard.

Additional fieldwork will be required to define the dimensions and degrees of inequality between individuals and groups within the Iron 3 town at Tsaghkahovit (mortuary data would also be important here, as would excavations in what I have speculated to be domestic units). However, the extant data do show that there is a legitimate basis for framing an inquiry principally around the practices that might have shaped relations of power within this remote mountain town of an empire.

### **Economy and Daily Life**

In this section I provide a brief account of the current evidence for the basic economic routines at Tsaghkahovit. Tsaghkahovit's productive economy in the Iron 3 period appears to have been based on mixed agro-pastoralism. Tending to sheep, goat, and cattle was an essential part of daily life for part of the community (just as it is on the Tsaghkahovit plain today—the north slope of Mt. Aragats is regarded as superior pasturage compared to other nearby areas). Sheep and goat may have been a more regular component of the diet than cattle in the Iron 3 period, given their dominant representation in the faunal assemblage, and some evidence suggests that the sizes of sheep/goat flocks increased substantially during the life of the settlement (see discussion of kill-off patterns in Appendix 2). Sheep, goat, and cattle would also have supplied the community with other essential goods such as wool and dairy products, although the evidence for the production of textiles and milk processing is restricted to a few spindle whorls and sherds of “butter vessels” used for churning milk. Excavations have not yet located areas where the production of such animal-based goods may have been a key

activity of daily life. But the faunal record does not in itself indicate a concentrated specialized production of a single sheep/goat commodity, either on the citadel or in Precinct A.

Pigs and horses were also important elements of the Tsaghkahovit economy in the Iron 3 period. Horses, including domesticated taxa (*equus caballus*), comprise the fourth most common genus in the faunal sample (close to four percent in Precinct A and two percent on the citadel), and are more heavily represented than in any other period on the Tsaghkahovit plain.<sup>161</sup> By the mid-first millennium BC in southwest Asia, although horses were occasionally consumed (see discussion on royal feasts, p. 327), their primary purpose was probably for transportation. The importance of horses in the local economy at Tsaghkahovit was likely even greater than the faunal record suggests (see Appendix 2). This is particularly intriguing since, as discussed in Chapter 3 (see p. 92), there is a clear association, in both textual and visual representations, between horses and the satrapy of Armenia. It is certainly possible that the Tsaghkahovit economy was partially structured around the rearing of horses in order to pay taxes to satrapal authorities, who in turn fulfilled a tribute quota.

Paleobotanical analysis has yet to be conducted on the Tsaghkahovit Iron 3 samples taken during the 2005/2006 field seasons. Based on data from the analysis of samples from Late Bronze Age contexts, however, as well as limitations on the growing season imposed by the region's high elevation, it is reasonable to expect that barley and, to a lesser extent, wheat would have been the main cereal grains cultivated on the Tsaghkahovit plain.<sup>162</sup> Signs of the processing of cereals are limited at present to a small

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<sup>161</sup> See appendix by Belinda Monahan in Badalyan, Smith *et al.* (in press).

<sup>162</sup> See appendix by Roman Hovespyan in Badalyan, Smith *et al.* (in press).



number of metates. Below I shall discuss the evidence for the storage of staples; for now, suffice it to say that the existence of pithoi in the ceramic assemblage (Appendix 1, type 31) suggests that agricultural goods were processed and kept in substantial quantities in at least some areas of the site. As for the cooking of cereals, several sherds (n=9) of virtually straight-walled vessels with continuous rims may be the remnants of bread moulds.<sup>163</sup>

The organization of craft production at Tsaghkahovit, as well as degrees of control or specialization, are beyond the scope of the present research. In the absence of workshops or other evidence for production such as slag, kilns, moulds, wasters, or high concentrations of débitage, it would be difficult to describe the division of labor within the community, and how specialized or shared knowledge in daily productive practices may have shaped individual or group identities of producers and owners. Preliminary analysis of obsidian artifacts hints at expedient knapping, focused on the production of simple flakes (see footnote 127). As for metals, iron tools at Tsaghkahovit are each one-of-a-kind finds, such as one knife hilt, one chisel (?), and one axe head (?), as are the ornamental metal artifacts (i.e., iron fibula and bronze bracelet) (see figures 5.26 and 5.32). Until production facilities are identified, or patterns examined within the structural composition of a wider corpus of metal artifacts, it is not possible to determine whether or not these items were the products of local technological know-how. But given the tremendous investment in stone working that would have been entailed for the building and upkeep of the architecture at Tsaghkahovit, it is all but certain that acquiring and maintaining the tools for stone-working and cultivating the necessary skills and protocols

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<sup>163</sup> This type of vessel is not represented in Appendix 1.

through apprenticeship was a part of the practice of daily life, whether among a specialized few (perhaps particularly men), or a larger collective.

Only in the domain of ceramics is there already some evidence for supra-household organization of production. Ceramic production in the Iron 3 period at Tsaghkahovit was primarily a local enterprise. Instrumental neutron activation analysis of 224 sherds covering all the major ceramic types from Iron 3 Tsaghkahovit has made it possible to identify the general location of clay sources that were exploited in the production of the pottery from the site. Eighty-eight percent of the sampled sherds trace to clay sources on the north slope of Mt. Aragats, while the clays of only 7.6 percent of the sample match deposits in the vicinity of Gegharot or in the wider Pambak range, on the north side of the Tsaghkahovit plain.<sup>164</sup> Only 2.2 percent of the sample has chemical signatures that differ radically from those known from the Tsaghkahovit plain and these vessels are most probably foreign to the region. Although ceramic production was a critical element of Tsaghkahovit's local economy, craftspeople were clearly also integrated into information networks at a regional scale, judging by the morphological commonalities between the Tsaghkahovit assemblage and those of the Iron 3 sites on the Ararat plain. Some bowls have close formal parallels with potting traditions much further afield, at major Achaemenid centers of Iran and Iron 3 sites in Anatolia, a topic to which I shall return later. What is important for present purposes is that Tsaghkahovit's potting industry, while locally based, nevertheless was connected to a wider industry, with which its potters shared stylistic preferences and possibly technological knowledge.

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<sup>164</sup> These findings will be reported in greater detail in another forum. The instrumental neutron activation analysis conducted for this study is a part of Project ArAGATS' larger efforts to detail changing practices in ceramic production from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron 3 period. See Lindsay *et al.* (2008).

As I discuss in Appendix 1, caution is required when attempting to infer ceramic production technology from visual and tactile examination of sherds alone. However, several factors point to an “individual workshop” ceramic industry at Tsaghkahovit:<sup>165</sup> the thickness and smoothness of individual sherds tend to be highly uniform and in some cases very thin, suggesting the use of a fast wheel; traces of coil-forming are absent from all but the largest vessels;<sup>166</sup> and firing conditions were clearly highly controlled due to the consistencies of color across individual sherds within several types, especially bowls.

The most conclusive evidence for workshops is the collection of seven pot or jar sherds of vessel bases with potter’s marks on the exterior (Appendix 1, p. 522). These potter’s marks consist of at least three distinct notations, rendered in relief: a rectangle bisected by two crossing lines, a circle bisected by two crossing lines, and a notation involving a straight line. Potter’s marks are generally taken to signal a proprietary group or individual with control over the operation of production as a whole, or at least a stage in the process.

It is also notable that the most distinctive and common bowl type (type 01), although occurring in a range of sizes with no clear size-class breaks, is nevertheless standardized with respect to form as well as surface treatment. Of the 55 thin-walled bowls of this type whose surfaces were not too abraded to assess surface treatments, 60 percent were fired so as to create a rather restricted range of strong red colors on both internal and external surfaces. As I shall discuss below, these and other bowls at

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<sup>165</sup> Rice (1987: 184), summarizing Peacock’s (1981, 1982) modes of ceramic production, describes an individual workshop industry as one in which production is usually performed by people who have invested in necessary capital, such as kilns and wheels. Such specialists make their living principally from ceramic production. Workshops in such industries can be isolated and distribution of finished products occurs through “rudimentary” markets (Peacock 1982: 9, 31).

<sup>166</sup> Coil traces are often suggestive of household production, although not necessarily for large vessels.

Tsaghkahovit appear so far to be localized to certain rooms in Precinct A, and none of the type 01 sherds that were sampled for INAA were imported. It is possible that the production of this particular category of pottery was reserved specifically for narrow use in particular kinds of practices by particular members of the community. In sum, the ceramic industry at Tsaghkahovit was not necessarily year-round or full-time. But the existence of specialists and at least some scale of supra-household production are highly likely.

The social and political aspects of production and subsistence activities at Tsaghkahovit await further study. Only generic statements are possible at present, and more data are needed to move beyond them. We can recognize, for instance, that certain members of the Tsaghkahovit community—whether potters, stone-workers, weavers, food preparers, shepherds, possibly metalworkers, or those who worked the land—possessed esoteric or special knowledge not held by others. Their skills might have afforded them social capital, created opportunities to exercise their powers as knowing actors, and provided grounds to mobilize their identities as individuals and as groups. The processes of learning these skills, repeating them, choosing to alter them, and teaching them to others, constituted the routines, or *habitus*, of daily life.

### **Fortress Remade: The Tsaghkahovit Citadel in the Iron 3 Period**

On the basis of spatial analysis alone, we could gain little insight into the function and social significance of the fortress in the Iron 3 period. On the one hand, the wall that was built atop the Late Bronze Age enclosure's extremely large boulders communicated

power, exclusion, and control, just as did its precursor. On the other hand, walls can also provide for the protection of the community, and in this way can be as instrumental in creating coercion as consent, as members of the community opt to recognize the authority of local leaders in exchange for the benefits of living collectively. When considering, as well, the fact that the Iron 3 fortress wall is rather less monumental, and perhaps even less effective as a defensive apparatus than the wall beneath it, the later iteration of the fortress begins to resist easy ascription within the socio-political landscape of the site. In this section I argue that the social significance of the fortress during the Iron 3 period may indeed have been more subtle than that of previous fortresses of the Late Bronze Age and Urartu. The data are fragmentary, but they do make it possible lay a foundation for interpretation.

In Chapter 5 I suggested that, while the architectural situation inside the citadel is at present poorly understood, it is still possible to discern some of the ways in which space was divided. Moreover, even from limited evidence it is easy to recognize the thoroughgoing disinterest on the part of the Iron 3 inhabitants in the monumental space created by the Late Bronze Age building (wall C301 in figure 5.35), with its walls of gigantic boulders, uncovered on the eastern end of the citadel. There is reason to suspect here a disarticulated internal arrangement of rooms during the Iron 3 period. In one area, the main wall of the large Late Bronze Age building (WC301) was entirely buried and built over by a new, more modest freestanding stone masonry room. In other areas, Iron 3 walls were dug into and built against the Late Bronze Age wall, thus partitioning the once monumental structure into smaller informal spaces. The re-use of pre-existing architecture need not denote “squatting” on the part of putatively less capable occupants.

But at the same time, the opportunistic re-use of the pre-existing, readily available monumental structure, and the general absence of a new kind of monumental architecture within the citadel in the Iron 3 period, conspire to cast doubt on the capacity of the fortress to have served as an effective base for the practice and display of centralized power. In order to try and bring some clarity to this seemingly ambiguous social space, it is necessary to examine the artifacts found within it.

### *Ceramics and Vessel Functions*

In the rest of this chapter I deal extensively with the analysis of ceramic patterning in both the citadel and Precinct A, and make certain assumptions about the basic functions of various forms of pottery. These assumptions require brief explanation before proceeding with the analysis. Tables 6.1 to 6.8 display the raw data used in the ensuing discussions, each presenting the distributions of bowls and serving bowls, pots, jars, pots or jars, jugs/pitchers, pithoi, and perfume jars. These tables link to the entries created in Appendix 1.<sup>167</sup> In addition, in some instances, an additional entry was added to the tables to account for sherds that did not fit neatly into the types. Thus, for example, there is an entry for “miscellaneous bowls” in table 6.1. And in table 6.5 I have added handles, since in the Iron 3 pottery in Armenia nearly all handled vessels are pitchers.<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> Table 6.4 (pots or jars) accounts for the sherds that could not be assigned definitively to either of these broad categories. See Appendix 1 for a discussion of the morphological differences between pots and jars in this typology.

<sup>168</sup> The exceptions are distinctive pinch handles and hook handles found on some types of bowls (see Karapetyan 2003). These do not exist in the Tsaghkahovit corpus. See Appendix 1, p. 520 for a classification of handles at Tsaghkahovit.

The small and medium bowls were probably used primarily for consumption of food, drink, or both. Some of these bowls, particularly the so-called “phiale” of type 01, have been associated with the consumption of wine in other Achaemenid-era contexts, both in their ceramic and metal varieties (Dusinberre 2003: 176).<sup>169</sup> Many of the “bowls” at Tsaghkahovit likely were used for the consumption of liquids rather than foods, but even if there were some degree of functional exclusivity among types, this is a distinction that cannot be discerned at present. Nevertheless, the small and medium bowls are tablewares; 72 percent are slipped and polished or burnished on both interior and exterior, and only 18 percent are not polished or burnished on either surface, a figure that is itself inflated due to erosion of sherd surfaces. A full 77 percent of all small and medium bowls are either colored red on both interior and exterior surfaces, or brown on both surfaces, or red on one surface and brown on the other.<sup>170</sup> 49 percent of all small and medium bowls are colored red on both surfaces. The red and brown bowls in the Tsaghkahovit collection are eye-catching for their shinny luster, strong colors, and often delicate quality.

In contrast to the small and medium bowls, I consider the large bowls (average diameter > 28 cm) as primarily—though of course not necessarily exclusively—serving vessels. If I had described these bowls as “basins” they would take on a more utilitarian connotation. However, a few rough measures do indeed suggest that most of these large bowls are tablewares. Looking at the cumulative scatter plot of Figure A1.2, it is clear

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<sup>169</sup> Unfortunately, none of the type 01 vessels were found complete and *in situ*, and thus pollen washes could not be collected. I took one wash sample from the only complete bowl at Tsaghkahovit, which is pictured in Appendix 1, in the entry for type 08. Analysis of this pollen sample, as well as from the floor surface beneath it, may eventually shed some light on what was consumed from this bowl (Adams and Gasser 1980). See also [http://www.geo.arizona.edu/palynology/arch\\_pal\\_artfct.html](http://www.geo.arizona.edu/palynology/arch_pal_artfct.html).

<sup>170</sup> These percentages are based only on those sherds for which color could be determined on both internal and external surfaces.

that most of the bowls whose rim diameters exceed 28 cm are thinner than the average thickness of all Iron 3 pottery from Tsaghkahovit. Moreover, over 53 percent of all of the large bowls are slipped and polished or burnished on both interior and exterior surfaces, while only 24 percent are coarse or unpolished on both surfaces.<sup>171</sup>

Pots and jars (Appendix 1, types 17-25) are heavier and coarser types, which would have been used for storing and cooking. Without conducting microscopic analysis of wares to see if certain vessels were built to withstand thermal stress, a distinction between those more likely intended for cooking rather than storing cannot be drawn in this corpus.<sup>172</sup> Due to their more restricted openings, jars may have served a separate purpose from pots, but given the close morphological parallels between them, as defined in this typology, the two categories are grouped together in the analysis as vessels for storing or cooking.

As for the remaining categories, I associate jugs/pitchers with the storing and pouring of liquids (Appendix 1, types 26-29) because of their restricted necks, sometimes trefoil rims, spouts, and handles (table 6.5). Tables 6.6 and 6.7 display the distributions of pithoi and “perfume jars,” respectively. Due to their extraordinary size—observable in their large rim diameters or considerable body thicknesses (see cumulative scatter plot A.I.2)—the large pithoi can confidently be described as storage vessels. “Perfume jars” are a small group (n=6), distinctive for their miniature size. They may have contained oils, spices, or other products used and dispensed in small quantities.

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<sup>171</sup> The remainder are slipped and polished on only one surface. These are very general measures of “fineness,” to be sure. The individual scatter plots for types shown in Appendix 1 provide another indication of the relative scarcity of very chunky large bowls. Erosion of surfaces would skew the results in favor of coarser surfaces, yet polished and burnished large bowls still predominate.

<sup>172</sup> In rare cases, there are traces of carbon or ash on body or base sherds that suggest exposure to flame. This is unusual, however, and never detectable from the rim sherds that are the basis of the typology.



The multiple uses to which ceramic vessels can be put, and therefore the pitfalls of assuming strict functional categories, are familiar and need not be reviewed here. The designations offered above are broad enough to circumvent such concerns, yet narrow enough to identify general comparisons in the activities that took place in various parts of the site.

*The Tsaghkahovit Citadel: A Production Center in the Iron 3 Period?*

Ceramic Analysis

Figure 6.2 shows the distributions of Iron 3 pottery found on the citadel, calculated with two different sampling methods.<sup>173</sup> Pots and jars make up between 55 and 60 percent of the sampled Iron 3 pottery from the fortress. The second most common category, regardless of sampling method, is jugs/pitchers, which make up either 15 or 21 percent of the sampled corpus. Bowls and serving bowls are not well represented. Taken together (regardless of sampling method), they constitute less than 25 percent of the assemblage. Lastly, large storage vessels and “perfume jars” are all but non-existent. It

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<sup>173</sup> One version includes only the Iron 3 pottery from Iron 3 floor levels (termed stratum 3). The other version includes all the Iron 3 pottery from the citadel, regardless of stratum. The results are surprisingly consistent. The reason for using two different sampling procedures was to attempt a rough check on the representativeness of the sample. The stratigraphy on the citadel is complex, with Iron 3 deposits often intermingled with Late Bronze levels and the levels of the last occupation, dating to approximately the fifth to sixth centuries AD. Restricting the sample to sherds from Iron 3 strata alone results in a very small corpus and excludes the many Iron 3 materials that are in ambiguous cultural levels. Also, the sampling procedures used in the selection of ceramics from the citadel were different from those used in Precinct A. While in Precinct A, as discussed in Chapter 5, I kept and registered virtually all diagnostic pottery from Iron 3 cultural deposits, the researchers working on the citadel instead made judicious but less systematic decisions about what pottery to keep and what to discard. In general, they too kept much of the diagnostic pottery and sherds that are otherwise distinctive. The majority of what was kept from the citadel are coarser wares—pots and jars of various sorts, which is itself a good indication both of the general profile of the citadel’s assemblage and of the unbiased (in the colloquial sense), even if unsystematic, selection procedures.

is important to note that the counts behind some of these percentages are quite small. For instance, only 20 sherds make up the percentage of bowls in the more inclusive sample, and only nine sherds comprise the seven percent serving bowls. (All of the raw count information is listed in table 6.1 to 6.8. The numbers are much smaller still when only stratum 3 loci are considered.)

Regardless of how the sherds from the citadel are sampled, activities involving pots and jars, such as storing and cooking, appear to have been the primary concern, at least judging by the areas excavated thus far. However, large-scale storage of the sort that would require pithoi does not appear to have taken place in the areas excavated on the citadel; nor did the kinds of consumption of foods and drinks that would have required fine bowls, a finding that is somewhat unusual given that jugs and pitchers are relatively well-represented. This raises the question as to why there are vessels for serving or pouring liquids without a greater representation of vessels for consuming them. I return to this below (p. 301).

The significance of the patterns on the citadel, and particularly the relative proportions of pots and jars to bowls and serving bowls, becomes more apparent when this assemblage is compared with the excavated rooms of Precinct A (i.e., rooms H, I, C, G). Although Precinct A will be the particular focus of analysis in the next section of this chapter, here it is worth presenting a general comparison between the pottery from this area and the citadel in order to establish that the citadel assemblage is in fact quite different.

Figure 6.3 shows a comparison of the three datasets: the Iron 3 pottery from stratum 3 loci in the excavated rooms of Precinct A; the Iron 3 pottery from stratum 3

loci on the citadel; and the Iron 3 pottery from all loci on the citadel. The paucity of bowls on the citadel is all the more notable now that their predominance in another area of the site is in view. In the excavated rooms of Precinct A, bowls make up the largest share of all categories of pottery, with 46 percent. Pots and jars, although not insignificant, are less represented within the Precinct A sample than they are on the citadel. It is also notable that jugs/pitchers are such a small percentage of the Precinct A sample (five percent), compared to the citadel. Lastly, judging by the distribution of pithoi, the citadel was not used for large-sale storage. Pithoi are more numerous in Precinct A.

Figures 6.4 and 6.5 represent the comparison between the two areas once again, this time in such a way as to emphasize the disparity in the sizes of the samples between the two areas. Here I show the percentages of each form between the two precincts. Thus, for instance, figure 6.4 shows that while bowls make up 12 percent of the sample of stratum 3 pottery on the citadel, this amounts to only three percent (or four sherds) of all the bowls in these two assemblages.<sup>174</sup> The picture does not change very much when we compare the Iron 3 pottery in Precinct A with that from all strata on the citadel (figure 6.5), except with respect to jugs/pitchers.<sup>175</sup> Lastly, in comparing the distribution of pot or jar sherds with potter's marks, all such sherds were found on the citadel.

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<sup>174</sup> It is not possible to judge to what extent the disparity in sample sizes is a function of the different sampling methods used in each area (see footnote 173), the difficulty of isolating stratum 3 loci on the citadel, or the actual activities that took place on the citadel in the past. The extent of exposure is another factor that may contribute to the discrepancy in sample size; excavations have exposed approximately 360 m<sup>2</sup> on the citadel, compared with approximately 580m<sup>2</sup> in the rooms of Precinct A. But scale of exposures alone is not necessarily relevant in accounting for differential ceramic densities across the site. After all, room C, one of the *largest* rooms thus far excavated in Precinct A, had the *lowest* quantity of ceramics, with less than 6 percent of the total assemblage of rooms H, I, C, and G. This figure is unlikely to change appreciably if the remaining 23 percent of the room were excavated.

<sup>175</sup> Jugs and pitchers are not only far more predominant within the citadel stratum 3 assemblage (15 percent) than within the Precinct A assemblage (5 percent), but in fact the raw counts of jars and pitchers

Since the contrast between the citadel and Precinct A is a key dimension of this study, it is important to establish that the comparisons observed in figure 6.3 are significant. Chi square tests (table 6.9) indicate that the differences between the citadel and the rooms of Precinct A with respect to the proportions of all major forms is very highly significant whether comparing Precinct A with all of the diagnostic Iron 3 pottery on the citadel, or only the pottery from the stratum 3 loci ( $\chi^2 = 56.6455, p = 0.000$ ;  $\chi^2 = 16.235, p = 0.001$ , respectively). Although significant, the strength of association is low in both cases (Cramer's V = 0.378 and 0.231, respectively). Running  $\chi^2$  tests on all permutations of pairs of forms (e.g., proportion of bowls and serving bowls to jars and pots, bowls and serving bowls to jugs and pitchers etc.), with the exception of pithoi (for which the sample size is too small), yielded very significant results (i.e., none with  $p > 0.0004$ ) for all cases except that between pots/jars and jugs/pitchers. In all other cases, although significance was high, the strength of association was low (i.e., Cramer's V between 0.2 and 0.4).

In sum, the high quantities of pots and jars on the citadel and the very low numbers and percentages of bowls are distinctly different from the proportions of these vessels in Precinct A. Ways of eating and drinking that required bowls do not appear to have occurred with appreciable regularity or intensity on the citadel,<sup>176</sup> yet it appears that the storing of goods did. Judging by the relative preponderance of jugs/pitchers, liquids appear to have been required on the citadel in unusual concentrations when compared with the excavated rooms of Precinct A.

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on the citadel slightly *exceeds* that of the main rooms of Precinct A, if all loci are taken into account in *both* precincts (27 versus 24 jugs/pitchers).

<sup>176</sup> The faunal record demonstrates that meat was likely consumed on the citadel. See Appendix 2.

## Tools

All of the bone, metal, and ceramic artifacts found on the citadel appear to be tools. The three bone artifacts with serrated edges probably would not have served as effective cutting implements for meat (figure 5.36.a). I can only speculate on the possible applications for such objects, such as wool preparation and cleaning or other work with textiles requiring a combing motion. It is interesting that the pattern that would result if the serrated edges of these bone artifacts were applied to clay would resemble the equidistant incised lines and wavy motifs found on the shoulders of many pots and jars. Another bone artifact, in this case a worked antler (figure 5.36.b), was probably a hammering tool and could have served multiple purposes, such as soft-hammer obsidian knapping or the manipulation of clay during ceramic production, to cite just two possibilities. Various pointed artifacts such as a polished bone awl and a metal awl (figure 5.36.c and d) also appear to be utilitarian objects, perhaps for working with textiles or creating linear and punctuate designs on pottery. Lastly, a single ceramic crucible was also found on the citadel (figure 5.36.e).

## Discussion

The available architectural, artifactual, and ceramic evidence from the citadel suggest that the area inside the fortress wall was mainly used as a working and storage area. The clustering of discarded tools, none of which finds parallels in Precinct A, supports this suggestion, as does the near absence of fine vessels for consumption and

serving. The relative predominance of jugs/pitchers without corresponding cups and bowls, combined with the evidence of the potter's marks, opens the possibility that the citadel may have been a ceramic production area (remnants of kilns or wasters would of course be necessary to confirm such an idea). An alternative explanation for the ceramic pattern is that the fortress served as a storehouse of some sort for the keeping of liquids and foodstuffs, either as provisions in the event that the community needed to seek refuge, or for regulated distribution. In either case, based on present information, it appears that the citadel was not a residential space, either for community leaders or those of lower social statuses. Notably, in the single free-standing room that was exposed in its entirety, there were no column bases, suggesting that the area may not have been covered with the kinds of permanent fixtures seen in Precinct A. As mentioned earlier, the monumental and commanding architecture of the Late Bronze Age citadel was opportunistically dug into and partitioned into a more internally divided and disorganized arrangement of spaces than there had been in the Late Bronze Age fortress. The cumulative weight of the evidence suggests that the fortress was a central location that served some quite specific needs of the community (or a segment of it), through production activities, storage activities, and, perhaps, as a place of shelter in the event of an attack on the town. The lack of evidence for violence at Tsaghkahovit does not mean that the threat of it—or the salience of a defensive posture—did not resonate in the community. While the space, and the activities that took place within it, may have been regulated, it was not a base from which to project authority, cultivate awe, or naturalize a right to rule (unlike its role during the Bronze Age). I suggest that the renovation of built

space at Tsaghkahovit fortress was linked instead to a renovation of the very terms of authority.

### **Precinct A: Altering the Topography of Authority and Social Order**

Covering approximately 0.54 ha., Precinct A is an especially large unfortified complex with few peers at present in the archaeology of the Bronze and Iron Ages in the Armenian highlands. Of the roughly 22 rooms in this complex, investigations have exposed only five to a substantial extent (50 percent or more), and very small portions of five others. These exposures are sufficient to demonstrate that Precinct A was not an agglomeration of rooms that served essentially the same purpose as one another.<sup>177</sup> Rather, there was functional variation across rooms, suggesting that the parts of the complex were interdependent.<sup>178</sup> Moreover, Precinct A contains the largest single enclosed space in the central area of the site: room K/J is the only bounded area large enough to accommodate sizeable gatherings of people.<sup>179</sup> These aspects of the complex provide a basis for viewing Precinct A as a unique location for activity by leaders of the community—a place whose social significance, if not practical function, was not merely that of an ordinary dwelling.

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<sup>177</sup> Semi-subterranean complexes with multiple households yet attached houses are known from the highlands in the modern era (Hopkins 2003: 30).

<sup>178</sup> For instance, hearths were found only in room H. Several rooms have troughs (L, C, H, I) but at least one room had no built features at all (G). Some rooms had pits (H and I), while others did not (G and C). Stone floors occur in some rooms (M, C, I), but they vary in size and configuration.

<sup>179</sup> Note the stone path in room I (figure 5.13 and 5.27) which points directly to the doorway leading in room K/J. This pathway seems to lend this entrance some importance, and opens the possibility that gatherings in room K/J could have been formal or ceremonial events. The courtyard of K/J was probably unroofed, and may have hosted a range of daily work activities.

In building such a large complex in the main area of the settlement, just to the south of the more modest, possibly residential, structures, community leaders at Tsaghkahovit inserted a symbol of authority within the fabric of the community. Much like the wall of the fortress in this period, this gesture is ambiguous. On the one hand, it potentially signals a strategy of domination that insinuates political power closer into the lives of the governed. On the other hand, in closing the topographic gap and forsaking the emphasis on surveillance-from-above that long defined power relations on the highlands, it bespeaks the possibility for greater interaction among groups within the community and thus a new multi-dimensionality to social relations at Tsaghkahovit. It may be just this ambiguity between power and communality that the siting of Precinct A was intended to convey, in the efforts of local leaders to legitimize inequality. Rather than cloistering themselves behind gigantic walls, privileged members of the community may have maintained their power and influence and naturalized social differences by displaying their access to imported goods and their knowledge of the specific practices for which those goods could be used. It is to the evidence for such practices that I now turn.

### *Room G, Practice, and Religious Authority*

In many respects, room G is quite unlike other rooms of the complex. It is a small space that lacked internal built features, and it contained the highest concentration of unusual artifacts, which were found either buried within or resting on the floor. Collectively, these artifacts suggest that room G was an unusual place—a repository of



cached memories, such as pertained to the deceased individual in the cremation jar burial found under the floor (if indeed this is a burial), and the buried iron tools along with painted bowls and black-polished *omphalos*.<sup>180</sup> In this section I suggest that room G also had religious connotations linked to the imported serpentine plate and the various artifacts found with it. To arrive at this conclusion, it is necessary to pass by (but not wade into) one of the particularly vibrant and unsettled debates in Achaemenid history—namely, the nature of Achaemenid religious belief and ritual practices.

In Chapter 5, I described the artifacts from the floor of room G in detail, particularly the green serpentine plate, likely dating to the reign of Xerxes (see p. 208), whose chemical and mineralogical composition point to a provenance in the Zagros mountains (figures 5.21 and 5.22). It is not possible to ascertain whether this noteworthy object arrived at Tsaghkahovit through direct travel to, or trade with, the Zagros region. Its occurrence at the site could be the result of “down-the-line” trade (Renfrew 1977), or some other mechanism of exchange or gifting in prestige goods.<sup>181</sup> Although the object’s provenance is noteworthy and potentially speaks to Tsaghkahovit’s involvement in systems of value and exchange that extended beyond the Armenian highlands, the serpentine plate’s quality as a prestige good, or an example of what Schmidt (1957: 81) called “royal tableware,” is not the point of greatest relevance to this analysis.

Rather, the archaeological context in which the plate was found draws attention to the effects of such involvement, and the way this particular artifact acted as an instrument

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<sup>180</sup> For the jar burial see Chapter 5, p. 212 and Appendix 1, type 18. For the iron tools see figure 5.26. For the set of bowls and *omphalos* see photos in Appendix 1, type 02 and type 15.

<sup>181</sup> Provenance studies inform only the source of the material in question, and can say nothing about the place of manufacture. It is rather unlikely, however, that the serpentine used to make this plate was imported and the plate itself was manufactured in Tsaghkahovit. Stone-working was certainly a major part of the local economy, as I discussed above (p. 288); however, thus far it appears that these skills were not applied to the production of vessels.

of mediation—connecting the people of the remote mountain town to communities far beyond through a very specific practice. Of particular note is the association of this green plate with a stone (basaltic andesite?) mortar, a ceramic stand, and a stone spout (figure 5.22). It is this assemblage of artifacts, and the state in which they were found—lying on the floor of the room in what looked to be a primary deposition—that reveals the serpentine plate not only as a marker of contact with the imperial heartland, but as a concrete material object used in the reproduction of an imperial practice in this remote town of the empire.

To argue the full significance of the Tsaghkahovit serpentine plate and associated artifacts, it is first necessary to return to the Treasury at Persepolis, where the green chert and serpentine objects were found. Here my purpose is to establish that the co-occurrence of the plate and the mortar at Tsaghkahovit is not insignificant. In the Treasury at Persepolis, in addition to the chert footless plates discussed in Chapter 5 (figure 5.24), excavations uncovered an impressive concentration of 97 green chert mortars and 80 pestles (Schmidt 1957: 55). Cahill (1985: 382) has reasonably concluded that the plates, mortars, and pestles were probably used in sets since there are approximately equal numbers of each. Moreover, to my knowledge, no footless chert plates have been found apart from mortars, and no chert mortars have been found apart from chert plates. Thus, judging by the evidence from the Treasury, there is a close association between mortars and chert footless plates.

There is also a close association between the footless chert plates and the footless serpentine plates. As Schmidt noted in his discussion of the chert plates, “Here we want to point out that—except for their usually thinner walls—many serpentine plates which

we classify as royal tableware are identical in shape with the green chert plates with squared lips” (Schmidt 1957: 53). In addition to noting their similar forms, Schmidt also suggested a functional affinity between the chert plates and the serpentine plates: “...we cannot completely disregard the possibility that certain serpentine plates may have had some purpose related to that of the chert plates. The partly green color of the serpentine vessels, usually mottled black and green, may have bearing on this point” (Schmidt 1957: 55).

It is to the purpose of these objects that I now turn. Most interpretations are based first and foremost on a single seal belonging (judging by the inscription) to a man named Datames. Two impressions of the seal were found at Persepolis (PT3 363 and PT3 384) (Schmidt 1957: 26, Pl. 7, No. 20). In the image are two individuals standing at either side of an altar and a low table.<sup>182</sup> On the table is a mortar and pestle, and the form of the mortar is similar to that of the chert mortars from the Treasury. The mortar and pestle are emphasized by their disproportionate scale in relation to the figures. Above the scene is the god Ahuramazda in the winged disk.

Before considering the meaning of this image and its relevance to Tsaghkahovit, two other seals should also be introduced. One is a cylinder seal from the site of Gordion (Dusinberre 2005: Cat. No. 33.2342 SS 100). The image has several elements, but to focus on what is critical to this discussion, in the center of the scene is a figure in a winged disk and a fire altar. On either side, two figures stand with lotus blossoms in one hand, and “something thin, flat, and about twice as long as their hands” in the other (Dusinberre 2005: 52). Dusinberre has suggested that these may be flat dishes for

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<sup>182</sup> For an analysis of altars such as the one on this seal impression, often called fire altars, and for a discussion of the preponderance of altar imagery in Achaemenid art see Moorey (1979). For a general discussion of fire alters in Achaemenid art and religion see Garrison (1999).

libations, “such as a phiale.” But in my estimation, the dishes do not resemble phiales since there is absolutely no carination of the rim. I suggest that these are instead representations of the kinds of flat stone plates with continuous rectangular rims known from the Treasury (and, now, Tsaghkahovit). The other seal was found far from Persepolis, in Herculaneum.<sup>183</sup> In this scene, there is one figure in front of an altar with what appears to be a fire welling up from inside it. In one hand, the figure carries a footless plate.<sup>184</sup> Once again, the god Ahuramazda hovers above the scene in the winged disk (Boardman 2000: fig. 5.31; Lacerenza 1998: Fig. 1).<sup>185</sup>

It is generally accepted that the first of the seals discussed here depicts a ritual ceremony that required mortars and pestles as paraphernalia for the rite, while the Herculaneum seal has recently also been linked to this same ritual due to the presence of the footless plate (Razmjou 2005).<sup>186</sup> However, the precise nature of the rite being enacted remains obscure; there are no written descriptions of the ritual and its meaning. Many scholars agree that the ritual in question likely involved the crushing of a plant or flower called *hauma* (Bowman 1970: 6-15; Cahill 1985: 382; Razmjou 2005; Schmidt

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<sup>183</sup> The seal was apparently found in 1937 in one of the houses on the Decumanus Maximus. It is currently in the Naples National Archaeological Museum (158854), in one of whose storerooms it was found in 1973 (Lacerenza 1998).

<sup>184</sup> Contrary to what Razmjou (2005: 152) has implied there are no mortars and pestles in this seal image. Other seals with footless plates and fire altars have not yet been identified in one of the subsets of the Persepolis Fortification tablets that is undergoing close analysis, namely Elamite tablets 1-2087, the texts of which were published by Hallock in 1969 (Root, pers. comm. 2008). However, the study of seal imagery from this and other subsets of the Persepolis Fortification archive is ongoing. The collections of sealings from Sardis and Daskyleion also have not yet produced comparable imagery (Dusinberre 2003; Kaptan 2002).

<sup>185</sup> There may be a fourth seal image of this type. Moorey (1979: Fig. 3.A) published the image on a stamp seal from Babylon (BM128849) that shows two figures on either side of an altar. In the right hand of one of the figures is a low, broad object that could be a plate. Moorey does not discuss the object, focusing instead on the altar. This same stamp seal is described by Curtis and Tallis (2005: no. 201), but these authors make no mention of an object in the hand of the person on the left, saying only that both figures “raise their right hand.” The impression published in that catalogue is difficult to discern, but I agree with Moorey that there appears to be a flat object in the right hand of the person standing to the left of the altar.

<sup>186</sup> In her interpretation of the seal from Gordion, Dusinberre speaks only of a worship scene, focusing on other elements of the complex imagery in this seal, but setting aside the potential meaning of the plates.

1957: 55).<sup>187</sup> Complications arise, however, because the details of the *hauma* ceremony are known to us largely from its practice within Zoroastrian religion, as Zoroastrianism was codified *after* the era of the Achaemenid empire. (*Hauma* is mentioned in the Avesta and is cognate with *soma*, from the Rgveda.) From Zoroastrian practice, it is known that after the *hauma* plant is crushed, the resulting plant juices are combined with another liquid to create a sacred drink. This drink may have put the imbiber into an ecstatic state. It may also have been regarded as life-giving or able to confer great strength (Bowman 1970: 8). In its later form, this *hauma* ceremony is known to have required a plate, mortar, and pestle. It is thought that the plate served either as a receptacle from which the liquid was consumed, or in which twigs of the *hauma* plant were held (Bowman 1970: 51).

The parallel between, on the one hand, the rite as known from Zoroastrianism and, on the other, the combination of implements found in the Treasury and depicted on seals bearing clearly religious scenes, is unmistakable. However, the details of the rite and indeed even its very name are provided only by later sources. Thus there is a danger of anachronistically assuming that the ceremony occurred in the same way during the period of the Achaemenids as it did in later times.

The presence of the word *hauma* in Achaemenid documents complicates the matter further, for while it is clear that a plant by this name was already in use by the fifth century BC, none of the documents explicitly mention the crushing of this plant to create a drink for a specific religious rite. Nevertheless, the word appears in contexts that seem to have some religious connotation. For instance, on three of the Achaemenid country

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<sup>187</sup> Scholars have offered several candidates for the precise plant used in antiquity. Bowman (1970: 12-4) and Falk (1989: 78-9) review the possibilities.

lists (see p. 67) (DSe, DNa, XPh), one of the subject territories is called *Saka Haumavarga*.<sup>188</sup> While the second element of this word—*varga*—has been the subject of debate, scholars nevertheless seem to agree on assigning it a religious significance (see Tavernier 2006: 1.4.15.4). Although commonly translated as the *hauma*-drinking Saka (or Scythians), Tavernier has recently retranslated *haumavarga* as a religious expression meaning “laying *hauma*-plants (instead of the usual grass) around (the fire).” *Hauma* also appears in personal names, such as *Haumadāna*, meaning “gift of Hauma,” *Haumadāta*, meaning “given by Hauma,” and *Haumayāsa*, meaning “desiring for Hauma” (see Tavernier 2006: 4.2.730-3; 4.2.735-6). Tavernier translates one name, *Haumataxma*, as “brave through Hauma,” which recalls some of the cited effects of consuming the *hauma* drink, as known from later practice. Unfortunately, further clarity on a ceremony involving the *hauma* plant or its significance in Achaemenid religion is not to be found in the Aramaic inscriptions on the chert objects. While Bowman (1970: 33-7) suggested that these inscriptions refer to a ceremony, most scholars now to agree that the inscriptions relate instead to administrative matters (Cahill 1985: 382, fn. 50; Hinz 1975; Vogelsang 1992: 169).

Nevertheless, even some who have questioned the religious content of the inscriptions written on the chert objects accept that the chert implements were used in a *hauma* ceremony (Hinz 1975: 382). The plates, mortars, and pestles still await an alternative interpretation that is more persuasive than the case for the *hauma* ceremony. Any such interpretation must account for the unusual co-occurrence of objects, the incontrovertibly ceremonial scenes on the seals that involve these utensils, and the evidence for the use of these very utensils in a *hauma* ceremony from a later religion with

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<sup>188</sup> The Saka are a group thought to have lived east and north of ancient Bactria (Vogelsang 1992: 108).

which Achaemenid beliefs had some connection—even if that connection is as yet not perfectly understood.<sup>189</sup>

The purpose of this detailed discussion is not to raise questions about religious belief, whether in the imperial heartland or at Tsaghkahovit. It will require more evidence than what is on view in room G in order to open that question in earnest with respect to this town or the wider highland region. However, it is now possible to return to room G and make the argument that, in so far as there is a strong case to be made that a religious rite involving footless plates, mortars, and altars was part of Achaemenid ritual practice—regardless of whether this rite can with any confidence be called the *hauma* ceremony—such a rite appears also to have taken place at Tsaghkahovit.<sup>190</sup> Schmidt was correct in suspecting a close connection between the serpentine and chert plates.

No single artifact is the linchpin of this argument. Much has already been said about the plate. In turning to the ceramic stand (figures 5.21 and 5.22), which was fallen on its side and lying less than a meter away from the plate, this is the only stand or stand-like object yet found at Tsaghkahovit. It is well made, almost perfectly symmetrical, with smooth polished surfaces and two flat ends. Most notably, the diameter of the stand's flat surfaces is only one centimeter larger than that of the base of the plate. In all

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<sup>189</sup> On the question of the link between Achaemenid religion and Zoroastrianism, Bruce Lincoln (2007: xiii) has recently written that “the energy this issue has consumed is quite disproportionate to its importance.” He prefers to settle on a broader concept of a pan-Iranian, Mazdaean religion marked by the worship of Ahuramazda.

<sup>190</sup> It is worth adding here that while the precise taxonomy of the *hauma* plant remains uncertain, there is some evidence that it was known to exist in Armenia at least in the fourth century BC. This suggestion links the plant *omōmi* (*hauma*) mentioned by Plutarch (*Moralia*, V.26.46) to a plant (*amōmon*) which the fourth century BC writer Theophrastus, as well as the first century AD writer Dioscurides, described in their botanical works as an Armenian and Medo-Persian shrub (Bowman 1970: 13). If Plutarch's *omōmi* is indeed the *amōmon* studied by Theophrastus and Dioscurides, then it is possible that the *hauma* plant had some association with Armenia. Returning to Tsaghkahovit, it is worth noting that in the area immediately surrounding the artifacts there was an unusual material dispersed within the floor matrix—a dark orange substance occurring in easily crumbled masses. A geologist in Armenia examined the specimens but was unable to identify it by visual inspection alone. Scientific analysis in the future could shed some light on what this material is and how it might relate to the activity in question.

likelihood, the stand was made explicitly for the plate. While stands such as this were not found in the Treasury with the plates, mortars, and pestles, a low table or stand does appear on the seal from Persepolis. The Tsaghkahovit stand is small when compared with the one depicted on the seal; but, of course, the seals do not portray an *actual* enactment of the ceremony, rather a representation. Thus all of the accoutrements have been enlarged in order to be discernable in the small space of the seal/sealing.<sup>191</sup>

The mortar, made of local basaltic andesite, is also significant. While other rooms of Precinct A contain various types of groundstones, this is the only mortar from a floor level at Tsaghkahovit. The pestle that would have been used with this mortar was not in the room. In six seasons of excavation at Tsaghkahovit, only one other mortar has been found. It was also in room G, just below topsoil (figure 5.23). As for the other stone artifact that was found on the floor with the plate, stand, and mortar (figure 5.22.c), it is not clear what this object is, but it appears to be a spout or some other adornment or attachment to a stone vessel. No other fragments of stone vessels have been found at Tsaghkahovit.

Although possibly the result of taphonomic processes, the fact that the plate was found broken and incomplete should not be so hastily overlooked. At the Persepolis Treasury, archaeologists found all of the chert, serpentine, and other vessels virtually shattered—a display of systematic destruction that has long puzzled scholars. Some who have attempted to explain the devastation are skeptical that it was the result of a senseless act of vandalism at the hands of Alexander’s forces when they sacked Persepolis (Cahill

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<sup>191</sup> In Zoroastrian practice, in all such acts of *hauma* crushing “the celebrant is required to sit cross-legged, as close as possible to the good earth” (Boyce 1982: 146). Whether this has any relevance to the earlier ceremony under consideration here is unclear, but it is interesting that the Tsaghkahovit stand is so low.



1985: 383; Schmidt 1957: 81). Schmidt suggested an alternative explanation.<sup>192</sup> Cahill (1985: 383) and Bowman (1970: 1) dismissed the possibility that the smashing of the vessels was somehow related to the religious rite in which they were used since a few intact specimens remained, and since vessels apparently unrelated to the possible *hauma* ceremony were also destroyed. But the find condition of the Tsaghkahovit plate might warrant a reassessment of the idea that the smashing of the objects employed in the ceremony—perhaps upon their final usage—was part of the ritual practice. It is quite possible that the context in which the plate was found in room G reflects a final enactment of the ritual before the site’s abandonment, for it is difficult otherwise to explain the apparently primary deposition on the only floor of the room.

The fact that the stand and the mortar were made of local materials reinforces my contention that the plate alone did not bestow prestige upon its owners, so much as the practice that required possession of the plate. Whether observed by many at Tsaghkahovit, or restricted to a few (which is more likely given the size of the room), the religious ceremony (regardless of whether it is labeled by the controversial term *hauma*) would have re-affirmed the social status of the actors involved in this sacral activity. If I am correct in regarding Precinct A as the center of political authority at Tsaghkahovit, then the artifacts in room G suggest that the legitimacy of local leaders may have been derived in part from religious authority. The precise social position of the celebrants eludes us. While the *hauma*-crushing ceremony is usually associated with priestly individuals (the Median *maji*), Boyce (1982: 147) and Bowman (1970: 7, 15), both of whom argued that the *hauma* ceremony took place under the Achaemenids, have

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<sup>192</sup> Schmidt suggests that the objects were destroyed to extract precious-metal coating, but Cahill rightly points out that there is no evidence or parallel for such coating, and the pieces would not need to be destroyed, even if this were the objective.

suggested that laymen or military commanders belonging to a warrior class could have conducted the rite. It is possible that social boundaries between political, military, and priestly roles were blurred at Tsaghkahovit, precisely through practices like the religious rite implied by the artifacts in room G. The combination of artifacts on the floor on this room suggests that certain individuals at Tsaghkahovit had privileged access to what may have been a rather rarified kind of knowledge, emanating from the imperial capital. In reinforcing that privileged access by conducting the ritual these actors not only would have reproduced their positions as political/religious leaders within their community, but in the process, reproduced, in small measure, the proscribed rules of a single social institution of the empire.

In a number of respects, this interpretation relates quite closely to the theoretical discussion in Chapter 2. Rather than interpreting the plate as a sign of “influence,” I am regarding it, along with the mortar and stand, as an essential participant in a practice that may have brought certain members of the community into an intimate interaction, conditioned by the small space of the room. Room G, although accessible from two sides, is not immediately accessible from the presumed entrance into the complex (room I), and thus is somewhat secluded from the largest rooms where the largest numbers of people could gather. I am suggesting that both the spatial arrangement of room G and the artifacts together are what allowed for the kind of practice I have identified. By the same token, religious practices like the ceremony discussed above and others that might have related to the burial in the floor of room G would have made this room meaningful. Use of the plate and performance of the ceremony constitute a practical mediation—

interconnecting certain members of the Tsaghkahovit community with privileged members of the Achaemenid establishment far beyond the town through shared routines.

*Commensal Politics? The Evidence for Feasting at Tsaghkahovit*

The communal consumption of food and drink is a central social practice through which power relationships are created, maintained, and sometimes challenged. “Commensal politics” refers precisely to this political dimension of communal eating and drinking (Dietler 2001: 73), where “political,” as discussed in Chapter 2, is understood not in terms of the work of government institutions, but the relations of power that are produced among actors in their daily interactions. The politics of food and feasting has been a focus of archaeological research over the past decade (see, for example, Bray 2003a; Dietler and Hayden 2001b; Wright 2004), producing a variety of perspectives on the role and purpose of feasts in the reproduction of power relations and social difference. Dietler (1999, 2001) has emphasized the ways in which feasts serve to naturalize (or contest) social differences, and produce or reproduce the kinds of symbolic capital that give individuals influence in society. He also holds that commensal hospitality is inherently political: feasts are practices in which “the micropolitics of daily life are played out” (Dietler 2001: 66). Ritual need not be understood here as “sacred,” but more broadly as an activity that is symbolically marked off from the ordinary routine (Dietler 2001: 67). Nor should feasts be understood only as opportunities for manipulation and power play; they also forge or reinforce group identities, and thus reproduce communities.

As Dietler and Hayden (2001a: 7) have stressed, feasting can be difficult to spot in the archaeological record. To do so requires a great deal of contextual information, comparative data, a range of evidence, and analysis of contrasting patterns across time and space. Distinguishing feasting practices from everyday consumption is critical if its significance as a specific social practice is to be understood, yet this can be very difficult to do. There is no absolute checklist of correlates that can be consulted for all places and all periods, even if there are certain aspects of feasts that recur across cultures and leave similar material traces. Archaeological approaches to feasting must therefore be historically and contextually specific.

In the comparisons between the citadel and Precinct A (figures 6.3-6.5), I have already shown that the latter had a markedly greater incidence of bowls and serving bowls, among other differences. It is thus already apparent that more varied modes of consumption of food and drink took place in Precinct A than on the citadel; but in itself, this is not proof of feasting. Diversity of daily diet is precisely what might be expected in a high-status district of the site. Feasting entails a higher order of elaboration. In this section, I demonstrate that such elaboration is on view on the lower floor of room H. The apparent concentration of consumption vessels on this floor, the variety of the faunal sample, and the presence of various kinds of “special” objects, lead me to suspect that these are the remains of a particular feasting event that took place in this room—an event which may itself have occasioned the preparation of a new floor. In rare cases, actual feasting events have been identified in archaeological contexts (Dietler 1999; Gardeisen 1999), and this may be one such instance.

In addition to the ceramic and faunal evidence, one particularly compelling factor that supports this notion is the ibex/goat vessel and upside-down complete bowl on the lower floor of room H (figure 5.20). Apart from the potential ritual significance of the ibex vessel, which I discuss below, here I highlight only the find context of these artifacts, which were situated on a clearly discernable floor surface and were covered over with the new clay surface. There is virtually no evidence for destruction, nor an alluvial, aeolian, or other sedimentary intermediary deposit that would suggest a period of abandonment. The fill between the floors was instead a well-packed construction fill composed of clay that would have had to have been brought to the room for just this purpose. This is a critical stratigraphic detail, for it opens the possibility that the re-flooring in room H was occasioned by a particular event during the life of the settlement, after which it was deemed preferable to repair and start anew rather than clean.

### Pottery and Feasting

To make a case for feasting on the lower floor of room H, I first compare pottery distributions within all floor contexts in the excavated rooms of Precinct A. Figure 6.6 displays these distributions both with percentages and with raw counts (included in the legends). Upon inspection, it appears that the sample from the lower floor in room H contains a higher percentage and a higher number of bowls compared to all other sampled floor contexts. Bowls make up 78 percent of the sampled pottery from this floor, while elsewhere bowls hover just above 50 percent or less. In comparing these figures, it is important to stress that only rooms H and G are entirely excavated, in contrast to only 50

percent and 77 percent of rooms I and C, respectively. Thus, in quantifying the significance of difference between room floors (as opposed to operations) it is advisable to pair only the distributions in rooms H and G, for which the method of sampling is identical. The differences are significant.<sup>193</sup> The lower floor of H has more than twice as many bowls than the floor in room G and nearly twice as many bowls as the upper floor in room H. Moreover, the sample from the lower floor in H has more than eight times as many bowls as the 77 percent of the sampled floor of room C. With the information currently available, it appears that the lower floor in room H contains an unusually high proportion and concentration of bowls compared to all other Iron 3 contexts thus far excavated at Tsaghkahovit. It is also notable that there is only one pithos sherd from this sample. Storage probably did not take place in this room, at least not in the period before the second floor was laid.

In shifting from quantitative measures to qualitative considerations of the ceramics, the picture is also striking. Table 6.1 shows the distribution of the bowls on the lower floor of room H by type. Medium-sized bowls predominate, particularly types 02, 04, and 01. Among the rest of the lower floor assemblage are some of the most rare or one-of-a-kind consumption vessels from the site. These include an *omphalos*,<sup>194</sup> a well-made, high-fired and polished serving bowl with painted decoration on the exterior (Appendix 1, type 12), and a red-polished plate—one of the eight imported vessels in the

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<sup>193</sup> The difference between the lower floor of room H and the floor of room G with respect to the proportion of bowl sherds and non-bowl sherds is significant, but the strength of association is low ( $\chi^2 = 8.962$ ,  $p = 0.0027$ , Cramer's  $V = 0.27$ ). The difference between the lower floor of room H and the upper floor of room H with respect to the proportion of bowl sherds and non-bowl sherds is also significant, but the strength of association is once again low ( $\chi^2 = 14.2123$ ,  $p = 0.0001$ , Cramer's  $V = 0.32$ ).

<sup>194</sup> The other *omphalos*, from room G, was found buried *in* the floor with the group of painted bowls and the iron tools. It was not *on* the floor. Judging by their limited numbers (there are only these two) and their unique forms as possible imitations of metal prototypes (a notion strengthened by their shiny black luster), I suspect that these vessels were used for special purposes and perhaps are not local products of the Tsaghkahovit ceramic industry. Neither has been sent for INAA.

INAA sample (Appendix 1, type 16). This last vessel is particularly intriguing, not only for its foreign provenance, but for its form. The plate could not have contained anything in transport due to its flat profile, thus presenting an unusual case in which the vessel itself must have been the valued object of exchange. As Sinopoli notes (1991: 104), “[i]t is probably fairly uncommon that vessels in and of themselves are objects of long-distance trade, except in contexts where the vessels are valuable objects, as indicators of status or ritual objects”. This particular Tsaghkahovit plate provides additional support for the argument that the activities in question in room H had special significance, and involved people of privileged status.<sup>195</sup>

In addition to the unrestricted vessels discussed above, there is one closed vessel from the lower floor of WSH that merits brief discussion (Appendix 1, type 26). The handles on this jug/pitcher (which resembles an amphora) are reconstructed; however, such tall vessels with narrow bodies, small bases, and long flaring necks with straight rims often do have two handles that join below the rim and on the shoulder (Karapetyan 2003: Pl. 19).<sup>196</sup> This two-handled jar is, like most of the pottery in WSH, red-polished and thin-walled. It is the only one of its kind found at the site thus far. In the archaeology of the Achaemenid empire, the metal variants of two-handled jugs or amphorae often have unusual handles, with zoomorphic or other decorative details

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<sup>195</sup> Two other foreign sherds among the INAA sample are also consumption vessels. One is another plate, which was found in SLT6 (pictured in Appendix 1, type 16). The other is a red-polished serving bowl found on the floor of room G, in the same context as the *hauma* assemblage (Appendix 1, type 05).

<sup>196</sup> Karapetyan (2003: 36) distinguishes two types of two-handled vessels in the pottery of the 6<sup>th</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC in Armenia. One type, like the Tsaghkahovit example, has a small base, thin-walled flaring neck, and handles that join at the rim and upper shoulder; however, the body of this type is straighter and narrower than the Tsaghkahovit example. Like the Tsaghkahovit vessel, Karapetyan notes that this type of jar generally has highly polished red surfaces. Excavated examples are known from a burial a post-Urartian burial at Karmir-blur, from a pit at Erebuni, and from Karchakhbyur. The second type is stockier, with a less severe flare of the rim and a rounder body giving way to straight or slightly concave shoulders. In his catalogue of Urartian pottery, Kroll (1976: 144) included a similar type of two-handled vessel (Type 83a), and identified it as “Urartian-Median-Achaemenid.” He provides citations to several excavated examples.

(Amandry 1959).<sup>197</sup> In the reconstruction of the Tsaghkahovit jug, an elbow-shaped handle is shown. It is possible, however, that this or other amphorae at Tsaghkahovit had zoomorphic elements; also found in room H was one of two red-burnished handle adornments (the other one was found on the floor in room G. Both are pictured in Appendix 1, p. 520). The WSH artifact is fragmented at two points, where two circular protrusions begin to taper up from the body of the object. I suggest that this handle adornment represents the stylized head of a horned animal, whose horns have broken off.<sup>198</sup> Some of the silver amphorae handles known from various museum collections depict ibexes or bulls with arcing horns of various lengths (Curtis and Tallis 2005: 125). “Artistic” embellishments and animal representations are extremely rare at Tsaghkahovit. The protome from the lower floor of room H and the unique jug/amphora, which may or may not have had zoomorphic animal handles, add to the aspects of the assemblage from the lower floor of room H that suggest a more elaborate drinking assemblage than would be expected for daily consumption, judging by comparison with other parts of the site.

### Ritual Objects and Feasting

The horned handle adornment may have added more than just a dose of finery to the consumption activities that took place in room H. The exceptional recumbent ibex/goat vessel from the lower floor of this room (figure 5.19) lends additional weight to the protome as potentially symbolic of systems of belief and the religious rites such

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<sup>197</sup> One such zoomorphic-handled amphora is carried by the Armenian delegate on the Apadana relief, as we saw in Chapter 3 (see p. 77).

<sup>198</sup> The handle adornment from WSG also appears to depict, in triangular form, the head of an animal, with one point for the face and two others for the horns.



beliefs may have entailed. It is necessary to tread carefully here, because the evidence is very fragmentary and comparable materials or contextual information is scarce. But there is reason to suggest that the ibex/goat vessel was an object with particular symbolic potency for members of the Tsaghkahovit community.

Ibex/goat imagery was foreign to the Armenian highlands in earlier centuries of the Iron Age. As discussed in Chapter 5, the ibex is not a standard part of the Urartian artistic repertoire, where mythical beings abound, nor is it common in the arts of later periods. At the same time, representations of ibexes and associated animals are central to the arts of Iran from the earliest phases of prehistory and into the Achaemenid period and beyond (Root 2002: 184-92). I have already mentioned the use of horned animals as terminals on handles in Achaemenid tableware. Here I consider the potential cultural significance of the ibex, drawing on Root's interpretations of scenes involving ibexes that are found at Persepolis on several buildings "of a relatively private nature" (Root 2002: 190)—that is, palaces rather than, for instance, reception halls.

Two scenes are relevant to this discussion: in one a kid and a lamb are being carried up a set of stairs in a manner reminiscent of depictions of ritual contexts and imminent sacrifice in earlier Elamite and Neo-Assyrian art (Schmidt 1953: Pl. 85, 155-56, 163-64). Root offers the possibility that, given the similarities of gesture, the Achaemenid scenes also depict preparations for animal sacrifice.<sup>199</sup> In another scene, found inside these same palaces, a figure is shown leading (as if herding) a full-grown ibex. This scene, too—especially when paired with the first—may have some religious

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<sup>199</sup> Other interpretations have been forwarded for these scenes. Root summarizes earlier perspectives. The scenes have been interpreted as a preparation for a royal banquet on the occasion of the Iranian New Year. Another idea that has been put forward is that the procession of people carrying, among other things, a kid or lamb may be bearing praise-gifts (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1998).

overtones, Root suggests, in so far as goat's milk is known to be significant to Zoroastrian belief (Lincoln 2007: 140), and the production of goat's milk depends on the maintenance of a healthy herd. Without embarking here on the complicated question of the relationship between Achaemenid religion and Zoroastrianism, suffice it to say that the kid/ibex scenes at Persepolis "suggest that we are seeing programmatic allusions to preparations for a liturgical function" (Root 2002: 191). Such programmatic allusions are also hinted at in various seal images that depict an ibex in association with the symbol of Ahuramazda (Root 2002: 192).<sup>200</sup>

With its upper body and head missing, an important insight into the function of the Tsaghkahovit ibex/goat is precluded—namely, whether or not it had a spout or was completely closed. But given its non-utilitarian form, the fact that it represents an animal that is not common to the art of the highlands, and that this animal may have been associated with ceremonies of Achaemenid religion, the ibex/goat artifact from Tsaghkahovit adds an object of particular symbolic resonance to the lower floor assemblage from room H. Commensal politics at Tsaghkahovit may have entailed drawing upon symbols such as these in order to elevate consumption out of simple economic competition onto a broader social plane. As Dietler (2001: 71) notes, summarizing Cohen (1979), "the most emotionally compelling and effective political symbols are those that are not overtly political but rather tend to have ambiguous 'bivocality' melding intense personal experience of existential identity issues with broader structures of power."

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<sup>200</sup> It is worth mentioning here Felix Ter-Martirosov's (2005a) recent reanalysis of fresco fragments from the site of Erebuni (see p. 406). One poorly preserved fragment seems to depict a youth carrying a lamb. A second, rather well-preserved fragment shows a figure carrying a lamb and also herding a flock (Khodhash *et al.* 1979: 61, fig. 55; Ter-Martirosov 2005a: 52).

Apart from the religious ceremony possible related to *hauma*, then, the social positions of individuals at Tsaghkahovit may have been legitimized and reinforced by yet another religious practice of the Achaemenid court occurring in some form at Tsaghkahovit, which involved goats and/or ibexes.

### Fauna and Feasting

I discussed the basic elements of Tsaghkahovit's faunal assemblage earlier in this chapter when summarizing aspects of economy and daily life in the town. Sheep, goat, cattle, pig, and horse are the taxa that exist in proportions greater than three percent of all the specimens in the sample identified to the level of genus, with sheep/goat and cattle dominating by a wide margin (Appendix 2, table A2.1). These are the main taxa shared in common by both the citadel and Precinct A sample. Precinct A differs markedly from the citadel, however, due to the many additional taxa found there. The variety of taxa in Precinct A is striking, and exceeds that of all other samples of all periods on the Tsaghkahovit plain (see Appendix 2 for discussion of possible sampling bias). In addition to the taxa mentioned above, the Precinct A sample contains red deer, gazelle, and wolf (all also found in the citadel sample, though in lesser quantities), as well as domesticated dog, roe deer, fish, small birds, medium birds, large birds, foxes, marten, and bear. Of these, only gazelle and red deer make up more than one percent of the identified specimens in Precinct A. What is interesting here is not the quantity of each unusual taxon but the overall diversity of the sample.

Setting aside the lower floor of room H for a moment, the faunal record adds yet another layer of evidence to the case for the central importance of Precinct A within the Iron 3 settlement. Several of the animals such as the carnivores and deer would have been hunted, which raises the possibility—well in keeping with Near Eastern traditions—that hunting was pursued at Tsaghkahovit both for leisure and to confer and maintain elite identity. The fish bones are particularly enigmatic, since they do not appear in any other sample of any other period on the Tsaghkahovit plain.<sup>201</sup> There is no water source in the Tsaghkahovit plain today that supports fish life, and the complete absence of fish in all Bronze Age faunal samples suggests that the situation with respect to fishing (although not overall hydrology, of course) was much the same in prehistory. Given their scarcity in the Iron 3 sample as well, it seems most likely that fish were traded or brought into the region from outside, perhaps as far as Lake Sevan, the nearest obvious source. Fish would have been a rare occurrence in the Iron 3 diet in this particular region and access to it may have been restricted to groups of privileged status and for special occasions.

There is one additional observation to be made about the fauna from Precinct A, as a whole. It is possible—although the likelihood is slim at the moment—that the complex was being supplied with meat. Kill-off patterns of sheep and goat suggest that most of these animals identified in the sample were slaughtered before they reached the age of maturity. Since a single herd subjected to such a kill-off pattern would be decimated before long, one explanation for the high numbers of juvenile sheep and goat in the sample is that Precinct A was being provisioned by juveniles from multiple herds.

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<sup>201</sup> Fish bones can be easily missed during excavation. They are more likely to be retrieved from screened contexts. This may partially explain the increased numbers of fish bone in the Precinct A sample compared to other samples (see Appendix 2 for discussion). However, the occurrence of these bones in Precinct A is nevertheless notable.

This would add additional weight to the larger argument that Precinct A was a location of authority within the town. Appendix 2 lays out the details of the problem of interpreting kill-off patterns at Tsaghkahovit, which remains unresolved for the present.

Of all floor contexts in Precinct A, the sample from the lower floor of room H has the greatest variety of taxa (Appendix 2, table A2.3). While only one taxon is represented *only* on this floor (a single bear bone), and other floors have higher concentrations of bones of certain taxa (for instance, the 17 gazelle bones from room A), no other floor sample contains as many different taxa—mammalian and non-mammalian—including sheep, goat, cattle, horse, fish, birds of various sizes, red deer, fox, and bear. A diversity of foodstuffs that are exotic or otherwise hard to obtain—all concentrated in one locale—is a good indication of consumption activities that deviate from the daily routine.<sup>202</sup> Rare and highly esteemed meats might have required relatively complex and time-consuming methods of preparation that would have further marked the event as a ritual.

## Discussion

The culinary equipment, faunal record, and ritual objects found on the lower floor of room H comprise a substantial array of data for asserting that feasting took place in this room at some point before the later floor was prepared. Whether the remains described above are the result of a single repast or a succession of festive occasions over

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<sup>202</sup> In the future, it would be interesting to compare the quantity of sheep/goat and cattle bones from the lower floor of room H to that on the floor in room G and the upper floor in room H. Another element of the faunal record that might also be compared is the evidence for butchery across these three floor surfaces. For now it is interesting to note that there are no burnt bones in the sample from room G, while there are burnt bones from the lower (and upper) floor in room H. See Appendix 2, Table A2.5 and A2.6.

time is uncertain. However, given the assumption (supported by ethnographic evidence) that people tend to keep their floors clean, and given the perspectives on site formation processes at Tsaghkahovit laid out in Chapter 5, I regard the former possibility as more likely.

What, then, is the significance of a feast in room H for understanding social relations at Tsaghkahovit? Feasting events such as the one possibly on view here would have provided occasions for individuals and groups to reinforce or contest social asymmetries. The lower floor of room H provides a basis for concluding that commensal politics was one of the social practices that reproduced the town's social order. How restrictive or open such events may have been, or how frequently they occurred, remains an open question, of course. It is tempting to see in the relatively small size of room H a fairly limited capacity, but events in Precinct A may have spread over several rooms of the complex. Excavations in the room blocks outside of Precinct A may one day shed some light on whether elaborate consumption of food and drink took place elsewhere in at Tsaghkahovit. This does not appear to have been the case on the citadel, based on what is known thus far. What is particularly interesting, if only faintly visible, is how the terms of the feast in Precinct A at Tsaghkahovit may have been defined in part in relation to Achaemenid consumption and ritual practices, albeit modified and localized to accommodate the resources and social exigencies of this remote mountain town.

Aside from the two-handled amphora and animal adornments, I have said little about how the morphology of consumption vessels at Tsaghkahovit resembles those of the Achaemenid heartland, and thus how these culinary practices may themselves be the result of Achaemenid statecraft as, for instance, Dussinberre (2003) has done in the case of

Achaemenid Sardis.<sup>203</sup> The reason for this omission is not because all of the vessels are morphologically “local.” In fact, the best-represented bowl on the lower floor of room H (and in Precinct A as a whole)—type 01—is the so-called “phiale” common to Achaemenid ceramics, with its carination and everted rim (Dusinberre 2003: 172-95). As Dusinberre points out, bowls such as these have a long history in the Near East, but they became particularly widespread in the early first millennium BC. Variations of this form of bowl are among the common types of Urartian pottery, often with red-burnished surfaces (Kroll 1976: types 12-13, 15).

The Iron 3 examples, such as those from Tsaghkahovit, are different from the carinated bowls from the major Urartian sites in Armenia. The rims on the Tsaghkahovit bowls flare outward more markedly, the bodies of the shallow varieties are straighter, and even the surface treatments have a different aspect—with the best Urartian examples being much more highly burnished and deeper shades of red. But it is difficult to assign meaning to these differences between Urartian and Iron 3 carinated bowls, much less to assert that the type 01 examples from Tsaghkahovit demonstrate the “impact” of Persian conquest.<sup>204</sup> At the same time, the form is unusually common in the Tsaghkahovit repertoire, and appears to be more prolific in the Iron 3 period, within a more limited range of bowl forms. This change in potting practices and a possibly attendant change in foodways may be a consequence of sociopolitical transformations brought about by the emergence of Achaemenid power in the region. It is possible that the abundance of type 01 bowls on the lower floor of room H speaks a way in which local leaders might have

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<sup>203</sup> For studies of ceramics and power in the provinces of expansionist states of the New World see, for instance, Bray (2003b) and Goldstein (2003).

<sup>204</sup> Absent from the ceramic assemblage at Tsaghkahovit are the so-called “Achaemenid bowls,” the deeper variants of the phiale that are thought to be distinctive to the Achaemenid era (Dusinberre 1999).

been citing Achaemenid vessel styles in order to achieve their own social goals within their community. There is one sherd in the collection that lends some strength to this idea, and that is the black-polished *omphalos* that once belonged to an Achaemenid-style drinking bowl which, to my knowledge, finds no parallels in Urartian pottery.

Meat is an important marker of social distinction (Goody 1982), and access to a diversity of meats is often a hallmark of high cuisine, as, for instance, Bray (2003b) has discussed with respect to the Inca. Given this aspect of meat as a common component of feasts across cultures, it is not surprising that the faunal sample from the lower floor of room H contains such a variety of mammals and non-mammals. But copious meat eating is not a universal characteristic of commensality. There can be strict cultural restrictions on certain kinds of meat consumption, for instance, which is just to reinforce that this aspect of feasting, although widespread, is also culturally specific. To attempt some contextualization of the Tsaghkahovit fauna, it is worth considering what is known of Achaemenid high cuisine. Information comes to us in this regard from both Achaemenid sources (the Persepolis Fortification tablets) and classical written sources. Some of the latter appear to have been fascinated by the extravagance of royal feasts. One theme that is consistent across these descriptions, however, is that a great variety of meat was a regular part of the royal diet, including sheep, goat, cattle, horse, gazelle, and birds of various sizes (Briant 2002: 286-90; Henkelman in press; Lewis 1987). Most of the meats listed in these accounts are taxa that are represented in Precinct A at Tsaghkahovit, and specifically room H. Without claiming a direct connection between the Achaemenid royal feasts and the ritual consumption that took place at Tsaghkahovit, it is reasonable to



recognize in these similarities a shared understanding of the elements that went into commensality.

If culinary equipment and foodstuffs provide meaningful but nevertheless oblique indications that feasting at Tsaghkahovit in some measure grounded and reproduced elite culture in the Achaemenid empire, the ibex/goat vessel puts this suggestion on somewhat firmer ground. The ibex/goat vessel suggests that commensal politics at Tsaghkahovit may have entailed harnessing some symbols that were particularly redolent of Achaemenid political and religious practices. Like the serpentine plate, the ibex/goat vessel may also be seen as a material participant in social relations, and an object that mediated, or acted as a node in a social network of interactions made up of people and things. This object connected certain people at Tsaghkahovit with certain others far beyond.

## **Conclusion**

Power and authority were forged within the Iron 3 settlement at Tsaghkahovit in orders and practices that broke markedly from earlier traditions. In this one region, long vacant after the collapse of the Late Bronze Age polity, new groups arrived during the sixth century BC and organized community in a way that broke with earlier models of political authority that had harnessed topography as the most salient expression of social difference. It is possible that the conditions that led to their resettling in this vacant region were linked to the repercussions of distant political transformations, such as the collapse of Urartian governance or the consolidation of Achaemenid authority. The new

settlers to the Tsaghkahovit plain may have been breaking free from the dwindling control of an Urartian fortress of the Ararat plain and an extractive economy that had imposed heavy burdens on the surrounding countryside. This might then also explain the choice of local leaders to base their authority outside of the fortress, to signal a departure from the recent past, with its possibly negative associations. Alternatively, the new authorities of the highland satrapy, in order to meet the demands of imperial taxes and tributes, perhaps encouraged settlement in regions with good pasturage for horse and livestock rearing. A better understanding of the date for the re-founding of Tsaghkahovit—should this one day become possible through improvements in the radiocarbon calibration curve, for instance—would provide critical evidence to arbitrate between these explanations.

In either case, the newcomers to the plain made complex calculations as to how they would incorporate the Late Bronze Age past of the region into the fabric of community order. The regular patterning of re-settlement at LBA fortresses on the Tsaghkahovit plain is hardly coincidental. These long-abandoned sites were rendered meaningful, and perhaps provided the basis for the making of a new mythology that grounded the fledgling community in place, giving new locales deep roots in a (perhaps valorized) past, and providing a ready basis for naturalizing a new order of things. It is perhaps the importance of the citadel as community-making structure—a unifying institution and a refuge for collective defense—that prevented its cooptation as the stronghold of local authorities. In the context of highland archaeology, the apparent neglect of the citadel as the prime base of activity for local leaders is difficult to

understand, and very well may suggest a major historical juncture in the *longue durée* of the highlands. Intensive work at other Iron 3 sites would be necessary to affirm this.

Investigations at Precinct A have provided strong evidence that power was exercised and authority cultivated not by hunkering behind walls atop mountain perches, but in some measure by looking outward to the wider empire, and reproducing certain of its practices. Only glimpses of this strategy are available at present after just two seasons of excavation in Precinct A, but evidence for both a religious ceremony possibly related to the later *hauma* rite and commensal feasting suggest that local leaders may have reproduced their social standing in this remote town in part by forging their identities as members of an imperial community (centered most immediately at places like the columned halls at Erebuni and Altintepe, as I discuss in Chapter 8). In so doing, they would also have contributed to the reproduction of the empire at the most intimate local level.

This account may appear to have left little room for coercion, political violence, and resistance that are part and parcel of experience in most if not all complex polities. Also, while the investigations of Precinct A have provided a view into some of the practices through which local leaders at Tsaghkahovit reproduced their social standing, they have not yet informed the mechanisms of governance, or the ways in which political power, once secured, was exercised. There is as yet no evidence for administration or bureaucratic activity, either on the citadel or in Precinct A. Future investigations (particularly of the mortuary record and of the smaller room blocks) at Tsaghkahovit may allow for these important aspects to be incorporated into the study of authority and social order in this town under satrapy and empire. Nevertheless, at present what is most

striking about Iron 3 Tsaghkahovit is that a site located in a region embedded in traditions of political order staked on violence reaching back some 900 years did not merely reproduce social life or political authority in the same terms. Instead, the community reinvented life on the Tsaghkahovit plain in ways that not only were drawn from the new imperial sources, but that contributed to the very practices supporting empire.



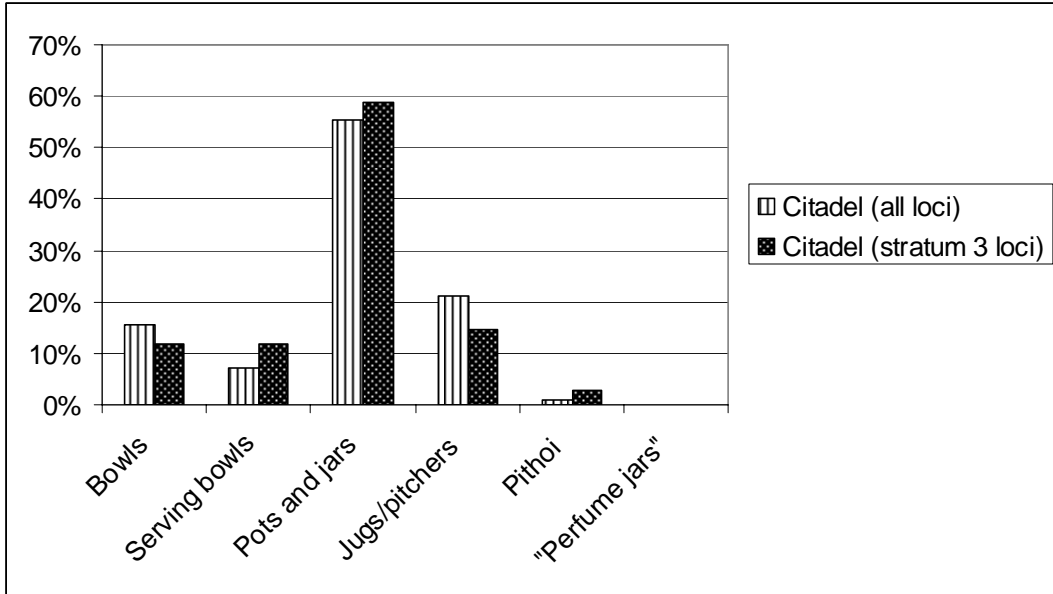


Figure 6.2 Distribution of pottery on the Tsaghkahovit citadel.

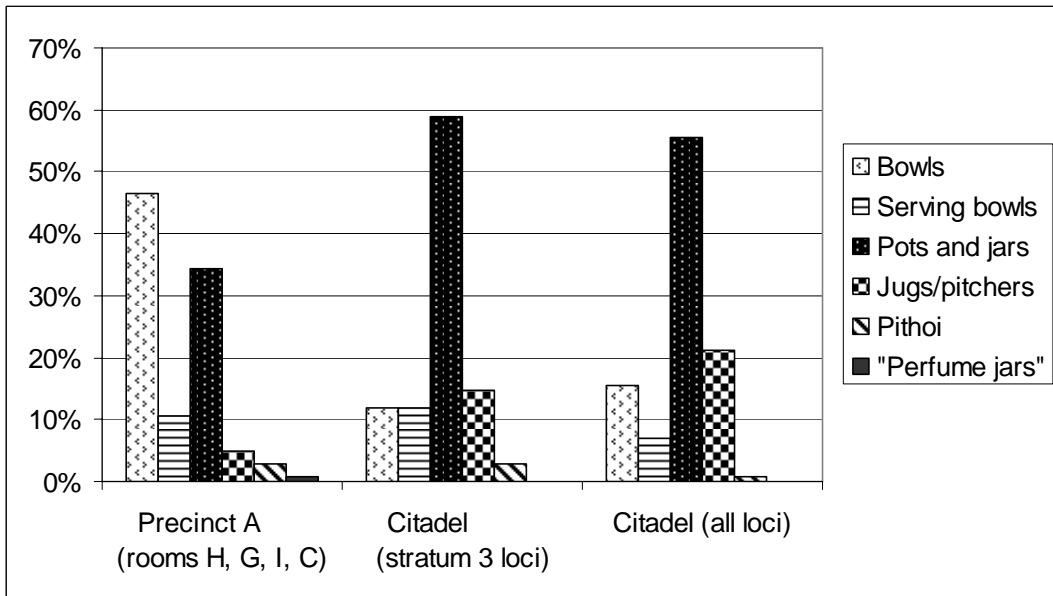


Figure 6.3 Comparison of pottery distributions between rooms of Precinct A (H, I, C, G) and the Iron 3 citadel at Tsaghkahovit.

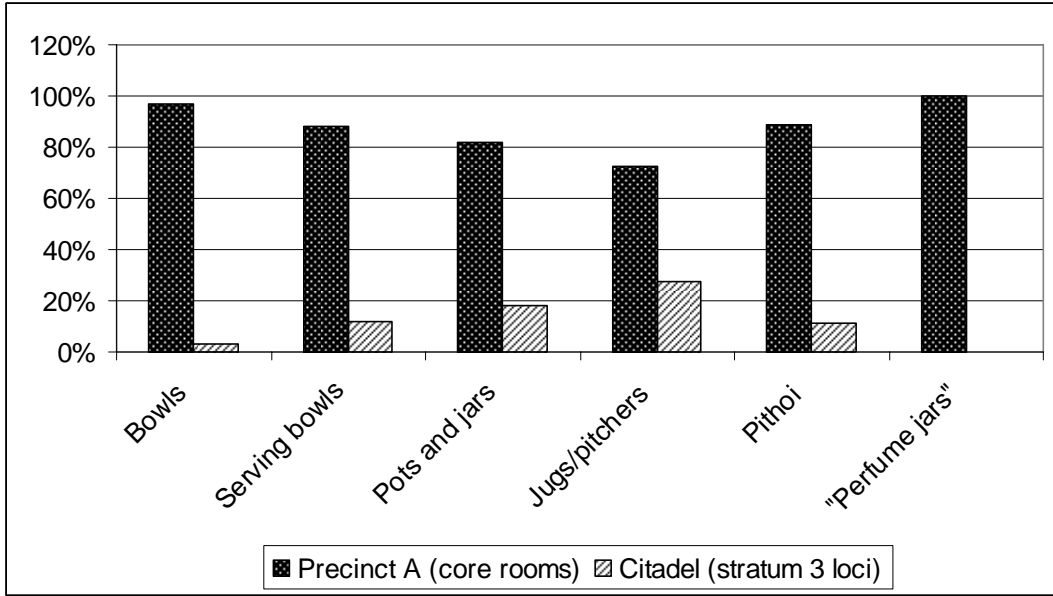


Figure 6.4 Comparison of pottery distributions between core rooms of Precinct A and Iron 3 strata on the citadel at Tsaghkahovit.

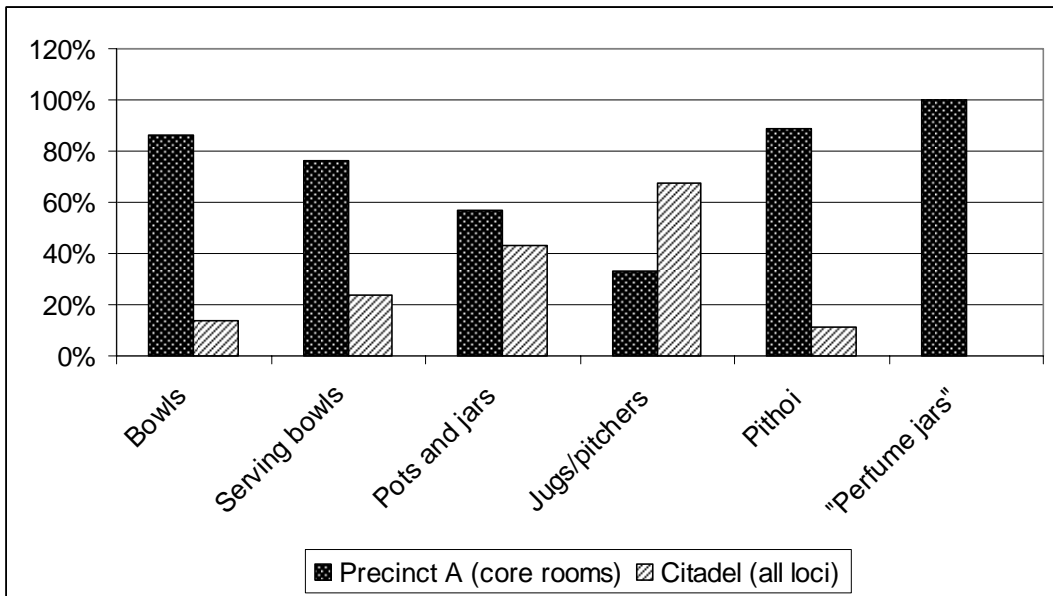
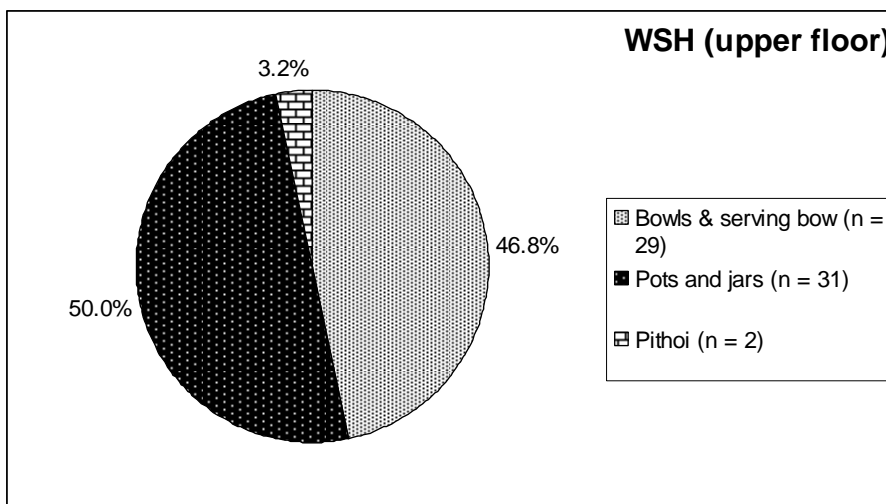
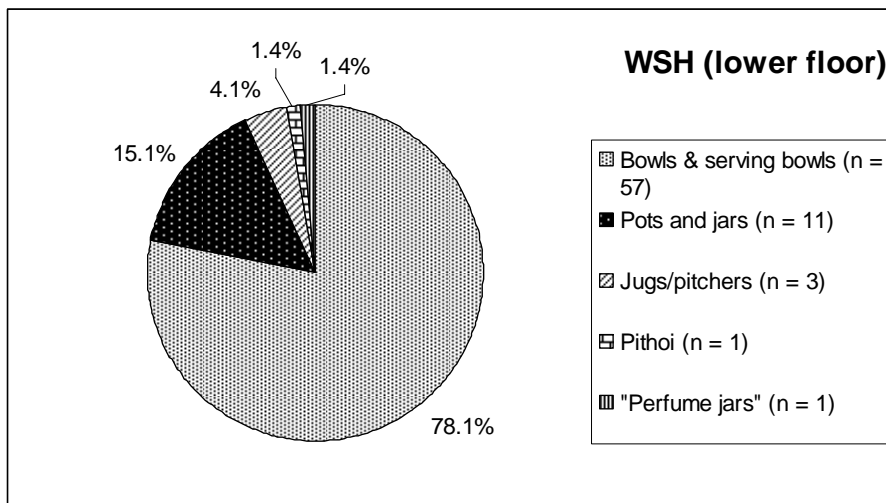
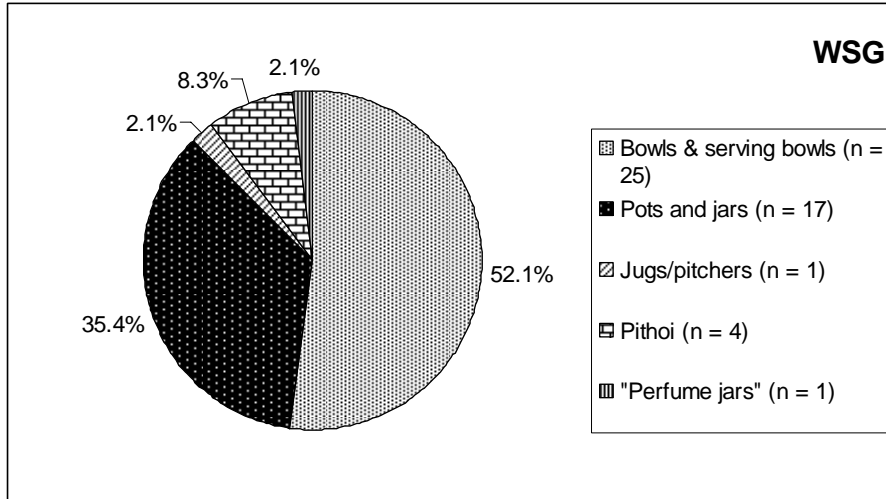


Figure 6.5 Comparison of pottery distributions between core rooms of Precinct A and Iron 3 pottery from all strata on the citadel at Tsaghkahovit.





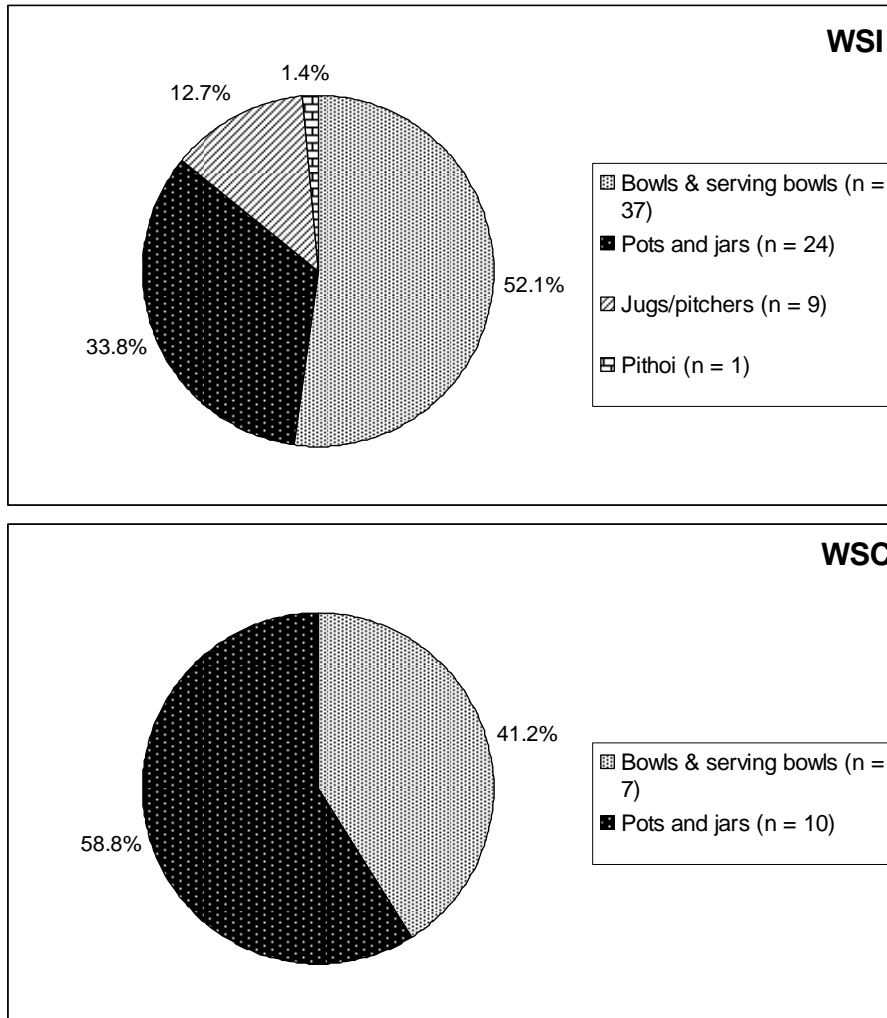


Figure 6.6 Pottery distributions in rooms G, H, I and C.





Pots or Jars	PRECINCT A										IRON 3 CITADEL				Grand Total							
	Room G (100%)		Room H (100%)				Room I (50%)				Room C (77%)		(stratum 3 loci)			(all loci)						
	SM	MD	Upper floor	Lower floor	SM	MD	LG	SM	MD	LG	SM	MD	SM	MD			LG					
	1	3	3	3	9	1	2	1	2	3	5	0	2	1	2	6	5	3	23	14		
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>79</b>											

Table 6.4 Pots or jars from the Iron 3 settlement at Tsaghkahovit.

Jugs/pitchers	PRECINCT A										IRON 3 CITADEL				Grand Total							
	Room G (100%)		Room H (100%)				Room I (50%)				Room C (77%)		(stratum 3 loci)			(all loci)						
	SM	MD	Upper floor	Lower floor	SM	MD	LG	SM	MD	LG	SM	MD	SM	MD			LG					
Type 26	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Type 27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	4	0		
Type 28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0		
Type 29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0		
Handles	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	18	0		
Subtotal	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	27	0		
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>40</b>												

Table 6.5 Jugs/pitchers from the Iron 3 settlement at Tsaghkahovit.

PRECINCT A										IRON 3 CITADEL			
Pithoi	Room G (100%)		Room H (100%)		Room I (50%)		Room C (77%)		(stratum 3 loci)		(all loci)		Grand Total
	Upper floor	Lower floor	Upper floor	Lower floor	Upper floor	Lower floor	Upper floor	Lower floor	Upper floor	Lower floor	Upper floor	Lower floor	
	LG		LG		LG		LG		LG		LG		
Type 31	4		2	1	1		0	8	1		1		9

Table 6.6 Pithoi from the Iron 3 settlement at Tsaghkahovit.

PRECINCT A										IRON 3 CITADEL			
"Perfume jars"	Room G (100%)		Room H (100%)		Room I (50%)		Room C (77%)		(stratum 3 loci)		(all loci)		Grand Total
	Upper floor	Lower floor	Upper floor	Lower floor	Upper floor	Lower floor	Upper floor	Lower floor	Upper floor	Lower floor	Upper floor	Lower floor	
	SM		SM		SM		SM		SM		SM		
Type 30	1	0	1	1	0		0	2	0		0		2

Table 6.7 "Perfume jars" from the Iron 3 settlement at Tsaghkahovit.

PRECINCT A										IRON 3 CITADEL			
Room G (100%)	Room H (100%)		Room I (50%)		Room C (77%)		(stratum 3 loci)		(all loci)		Grand Total		
	Upper floor	Lower floor	Upper floor	Lower floor	Upper floor	Lower floor	Upper floor	Lower floor	Upper floor	Lower floor			
48	62	73	71		17	271	34		128		399		
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	135										305		

Table 6.8 Total diagnostic pottery from the Iron 3 settlement at Tsaghkahovit.

	Bowls	Pots and Jars	Jugs and Pitchers	Pithoi	<b>Row Total</b>
Citadel (all Iron 3 pottery)	29	71	27	1	128
Precinct A (H, I, C, G)	155	93	13	8	269
<b>Total</b>	184	164	40	9	397

	Bowls	Pots and Jars	Jugs and Pitchers	Pithoi	<b>Row Total</b>
Citadel (stratum 3 only)	8	20	5	1	34
Precinct A (H, I, C, G)	155	93	13	8	269
<b>Total</b>	163	113	18	9	303

Table 6.9 Contingency tables for chi square tests.

## CHAPTER 7

### LANDSCAPE AND SOCIAL LOGICS: SETTLEMENT PATTERNS IN THE HIGHLAND SATRAPY

One of the main conclusions of Chapter 6 was that the groups who came to settle at Tsaghkahovit during the Iron 3 period ordered social life under new logics. For example, by basing the likely center of community authority outside the fortress wall, on lower ground and in an unfortified complex, community leaders enforced a rather significant modification of earlier highland sociopolitical traditions—most recently those of the Urartian empire—in which the fortress had long stood as a center of gravity. This chapter looks outward from Tsaghkahovit, shifting focus from the intimacy of a single town to the rugged stretches of the highland satrapy. The purpose is to examine how the model I am suggesting for Tsaghkahovit obtains at a wider regional scale.

There are three main concerns at the heart of this chapter. First, to what extent is there a downward movement of settlement location across the highlands during the first millennium BC, from the centuries of Urartian to Achaemenid rule.<sup>205</sup> It is not the case that *every* inhabitable region of the highlands was dense with massive stone fortresses during the ninth through seventh centuries BC, but in most regions there is a wide range of variation between higher and lower ground and thus communities would have had to

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<sup>205</sup> In this chapter, unless speaking in reference to the Tsaghkahovit plain, I do not use of the term “Iron 3.” Since I will be working with data generated by other projects, I use the chronological terminology employed by each.

make decisions about where, topographically speaking, to locate their settlements.<sup>206</sup>

Tracking peoples' relative siting of settlement vertically on the intensely variegated terrain of the highlands offers one gross measure of the kind of transformation in social order that I have observed at Tsaghkahovit. A general downward trend in settlement elevation on the highlands has already been noted from the Late Bronze Age to the period of the Urartian empire (Smith 2003; Smith and Thompson 2003), but it remains to extend this line of inquiry further into the Iron Age. In this chapter, I will call this a measure of *topographic position*.

A second concern that emerges from the previous chapter is the extent to which groups of people went “on the move” during the Iron Age as the political fortunes of the region changed from Urartian to Achaemenid hegemony. The groups who came to Tsaghkahovit clearly left someplace else behind, and while arbitrating among possible reasons for such a move is difficult at present (see p. 328), the move itself is nevertheless significant. It signals peoples' decisions to break with the past, to change their daily routines, and, in some way, to alter the schemas—the underlying organization of collective life—that had previously constituted daily routines. While the movements of groups cannot solely be reduced to changing sociopolitical dynamics (environmental and economic considerations, for example, may also pertain), changes in political systems (as, for instance, the collapse of Urartu and the later emergence of Achaemenid rule) do often create uncertain times. At such times, new leaders can emerge and re-settle with their adherents. Old leaders can choose to uproot a community and dissociate with the past connotations of a place when such associations no longer provide political capital.

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<sup>206</sup> It is also important to recognize that open agricultural land is scarce in some regions of the highlands. This may also be an important consideration in the placement of settlements. By the same token, however, not all open land is arable.



The choice to stay in the same place is conversely taken as a sign of a certain degree of social stability. Of course, local leaders and social structures can change, but the decision to remain in a previously inhabited locale is in some measure telling of a group's desire to stick with familiar routines and perpetuate traditions.<sup>207</sup> In this study, I describe this aspect of settlement patterning as a measure of *continuity* or *change*.

Lastly, the intensity of settlement activity in a given region can be a general indication of the intensity of social interaction. Are people choosing to settle and be active in more or less close proximity to one another? Intensity is as an index of the potential for collective action and for tension within collectivities. "Social intensification is about an increase in the numbers of social contacts in a given place.... It is especially about contacts that people bring into action as a means of maintaining and reproducing their social lives" (Evans 2003: 31-2). Community leaders arbitrate disagreements and make decisions concerning the distribution of a community's resources. The larger a co-resident group, the more interactive and perhaps elaborate the political interactions will be (e.g., more frequent meetings and outcomes that affect the lives of more people). Large concentrations of people can bring with them more elaborate social networks, and greater possibilities for effective social action within complex polities, whether in the service of cooperation or resistance.

As this summary of the three variables discussed here makes clear, in this analysis of settlement patterns I am departing from certain familiar approaches, such as those that have focused on illuminating degrees of socio-political complexity by ranking

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<sup>207</sup> A great many recent studies of landscape and memory have argued that peoples' attachments to places are strongly determined by their attachments to their past and present social networks. Local leaders often depend greatly on the places of ancestors to reinforce their own legitimacy (Alcock 2002; Ashmore and Knapp 1999; Basso 1996; Bradley 2002; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003).

settlements in a given survey region into categories or “tiers,” according to their size (see, for example, Billman and Feinman 1999; Blanton 2005; Cavanagh 1995; Driessen 2001; Falconer and Savage 1995; Johnson 1973, 1980; Savage and Falconer 2003; Stein 1994; Wright and Johnson 1975). My concern is not to develop site-size hierarchies or assign highland communities to a universal evolutionary stage. In the words of Andrew Sherratt:

The (processual) archaeologists’ belief in the usefulness of a single continuum called “ranking”...begins to look perverse in the context of any wider reading in the social sciences. So many other—and potentially more interesting—structures are conflated in the process of collapsing cultures into this single dimension.... Only some deep-seated cultural anxiety about rank and being ranked can explain this continuing archaeological obsession... (Sherratt 1995: 363-4).

In the reliance on universal formulas and abstract categories, site-size hierarchies sometimes seem to dehumanize the very relationships among people, and between people, pasts, and landscapes, that ultimately structure the social world.

The approach pursued here is informed by other efforts to assess, on the basis of settlement patterns, the consequences of imperial conquest and consolidation for a region’s social and economic organization (Alcock 1993; Barker and Lloyd 1991; Schreiber 1987; Stanish 1997). I am reluctant, however, to ascribe changes observed in the highlands to the prerogative of imperial authorities seeking to extract resources from a conquered periphery. As was clear from the analysis of Tsaghkahovit in Chapter 6, the purpose of this exercise is not to chart the impact or influence of Achaemenid control of the highlands. Rather, it is to consider the ways in which actors in the region made choices in how to re-configure relations of power in their collectivities, all the while

acting within the constraints of enduring highland traditions and the new social rules produced by Achaemenid imperialism.

At the temporal and geographic scale of analysis entailed in the study of inter-regional settlement pattern change, specific daily practices recede from view. But in their place the structures that such practices reproduce can become rather more vivid. That is, while practices like feasting, plant-crushing rites, stone-working, horse-rearing, etc. cannot be as readily “seen,” it is possible coarsely to determine through survey how tightly and broadly communities of the highlands were constrained by traditions of the Urartian sociopolitical order in their choices of where to settle and conduct their daily activities. Survey analysis can provide a much more satisfactory view (than can any single site) on how entrenched or mutable the schemes that had ordered life on the highlands during ascendancy of Urartu in the ninth through seventh centuries BC prove to be when such schemas were confronted with new rules brought about by the region’s changing political fortunes.

*Topographic position, continuity/change, and intensity* are the variables that are of greatest interest for this particular study. But it is another matter entirely as to what degree this is possible with the currently available data. In the next section, I provide a summary of the state of regional research on the highlands. The purpose is to characterize the available datasets so as to make clear some of the challenges to the kind of comparative survey analysis attempted here. Alcock (1993) and Alcock and Cherry (2004b) have laid out the difficulties of combining multiple survey datasets into a synthetic analysis; here I shall consider these and other challenges as they pertain specifically to the highlands. A brief methodology section follows, in which I define the

geographic limits of the study and summarize how the three variables under analysis are measured. From there, the chapter turns to a survey-by-survey presentation of the data, before finally taking stock of the patterns observed across the region and considering how they might inform the broad contours of social order in the highland satrapy.

## **From Bicycles to Vehicles: The State of Survey Research**

### *History of Regional Investigation*

While systematic survey has only just emerged during the last decade in the highlands, there is a long tradition of unsystematic regional reconnaissance that traces at least as far back as Nikolai Marr's investigation of the areas around Mt. Aragats in the late nineteenth century (Marr 1990 [1925]). Others soon followed in his footsteps. Ashkharbek Kalantar (1935, 1994) surveyed the southern Aragats slope (as well as the Gegham range) during the 1920s and 1930s. I discussed in Chapter 4 (p. 147) how his "urban survey" of Vagharshapat in 1931 was in many respects ahead of its time. In the next decade, Kılıç Kökten (1947) conducted horseback reconnaissance of eastern Turkey. These efforts represent an early start to regional investigations that broadened the archaeology of the highlands beyond its previously narrow focus on single-site and burial excavations.

The impetus for a more sustained commitment to regional research came with Charles Burney (1957; 1958), whose surveys of the mountains of northern and eastern Anatolia by bicycle in the 1950s constitute a transformative initiative in highland

archaeology of the twentieth century (Çilingiroğlu and Sagona 2004).<sup>208</sup> Burney's surveys not only brought the highlands into the orbit of Near Eastern archaeology, particularly through his focus on the prehistoric periods and the Urartian empire, but also provided encouragement for the next generation of highland archaeologists to likewise undertake regional investigations. While these early efforts were not systematic by today's standards, it is not for this reason that I exclude them from the present study. As will become clear, many of the surveys discussed below must similarly be regarded as unsystematic. Rather I set aside these early studies because they were carried out before there was any real familiarity with, or interest in, the archaeology of the highlands when it was a province of the Achaemenid empire. As a result, the traces of the sixth through fourth centuries went largely unrecognized and unnoticed.

The situation changed somewhat during the 1960s and especially the 1970s. It would be overstating the case to say that a commitment to truly diachronic survey developed during these decades. Nevertheless, there emerged a new awareness on the part of regional investigators that evidence for occupation on the highlands did not utterly vanish after the collapse of Urartu, and that it was important to record this later phase in the region's history. Relevant in this regard is Stepan Esayan's (1976) long-term survey and excavation research in the Ijevan region of northeastern Armenia conducted in the 1960s and 1970s (figure 7.1, #8), and (to a lesser extent, because it was published so belatedly), Onnik Xnkikyan's (2002) unsystematic survey of southern Armenia in the 1970s and 80s. Further south, Wolfram Kleiss and Stephan Kroll organized long-term regional investigations in the areas around Lake Urmia throughout the 1970s (figure 7.1,

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<sup>208</sup> In the *Festschrift* to Charles Burney, his method of surveying by bicycle is described as, "a feat that is justifiably considered one of those legendary accomplishments of Near Eastern archaeology" (Çilingiroğlu and Sagona 2004). Anyone familiar with the mountains of the highlands would not disagree.

#12 and #13) (Kleiss 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1979a, 1979b, 1981, 1983, 1989; Kleiss and Kroll 1976, 1979, 1992). Kleiss and Kroll generally noted the post-Urartian occupations at the sites they encountered, although the Urartu was their primary focus. Their efforts in turn sparked the interest of other foreign scholars. For instance, Paolo Pecorella and Mirjo Salvini (1984) conducted an additional survey in the region in the years just before the Iranian Revolution (figure 7.1, #12). In Turkey, perhaps the most well-known and systematic survey on the highlands in these decades was the Keban Dam salvage initiative on the upper Euphrates (figure 7.1, #1), which Robert Whallon (1979) and colleagues carried out in connection with a major hydro-electric construction project.

The past two decades have witnessed a solid growth in the number and intensity of survey projects in many parts of the highlands. A long-term project begun in 1988 in the Bayburt province of eastern Turkey (figure 7.1, #2) (Sagona and Sagona 2004b) stimulated a series of research and salvage projects in the region (figure 7.1, #3 and #4) (Rothman 2004; Sagona 1999).<sup>209</sup> Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, collaborative survey projects between Armenian and foreign scholars have become increasingly common. In the summer of 2000 alone, three international collaborative surveys were underway, in the Tsaghkahovit plain of central Armenia (figure 7.1, #7) (Smith *et al.* in

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<sup>209</sup> One of these is the survey of the Pasinler plain, a narrow strip of alluvium at the headwaters of the Araks river (figure 7.1, #3). This important project of the University of Melbourne is excluded from the present analysis since, apart from a preliminary report on one season of survey (Sagona 1999), in which all Iron Age pottery was grouped together, the full publication of results is not yet available. Information on this region is eagerly awaited, since excavation at the mound site of Sos Höyük, located in the east central Pasinler plain, have provided grounds for asserting the region's occupation during sixth through fourth centuries BC. Most interestingly, researchers identified traces of a structure of the "Late Iron Age" (meaning here the period of the Achaemenid empire) at the summit of the mound (Sagona *et al.* 1996: 32). Radiocarbon results suggest a destructive burning event at Sos Höyük in the early Iron Age, after which there is as yet no evidence of a resumption of activity in centuries immediately following (Sagona *et al.* 1997: 183). Thus, a similar pattern to the one observed at Tsaghkahovit may be on view there. A small collection of diagnostic Late Iron Age pottery was also identified in the intensive survey of the area immediately surrounding Sos Höyük (Sagona *et al.* 1995: 198, 217). If there was Late Iron Age settlement in the area at the base of the mound, the comparison with Tsaghkahovit could be particularly illuminating.

press), on the southern shore of Lake Sevan (figure 7.1, #9) (Biscione *et al.* 2002b), and the Sisian region of southern Armenia (figure 7.1, #10) (Kroll 2006). Since then, one additional survey project has begun in the Sisian region (figure 7.1, #11) (Zardaryan 2007). The last of these surveys, known as the Vоротan Project, is particularly important because, while the investigations are thoroughly diachronic in scope, all of the principal investigators are primarily interested in land use and settlement patterns during centuries after Urartu’s collapse—a first for the history of survey on the highlands.<sup>210</sup>

These highland surveys differ from one another in their methods of collection, dating, and data recording, and while it is generally true (and unsurprising) that surveys have become more systematic over the decades—with bicycle-borne reconnaissance giving way to GPS- and satellite-aided survey—what *is* surprising is that this trend is not as decisive as one would expect in light of the “industry standards” in archaeological survey practice elsewhere in the world. For instance, even some of the more recent surveys, although armed with the latest technology, do not employ labor-intensive pedestrian transects and off-site field-walking. An interest in recording very small sites is still rare. So too is the explicit articulation of sampling design. This may be in keeping with wider regional patterns: “When compared with Mediterranean surveys,” Wilkinson *et al.* recently wrote, “most surveys conducted in the Near East seem extensive, inaccurate and idiosyncratic,” even if they “raise issues of wider relevance, especially to the development of early states and empires” (Wilkinson *et al.* 2004: 189). I summarize

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<sup>210</sup> As this dissertation was being completed, the Vоротan Project, directed by Susan Alcock, John F. Cherry, Mkrtich Zardaryan, and Armen Tonikyan, was preparing its first preliminary report after three seasons of fieldwork. Their important findings thus could not be included here. However, this project will contribute greatly to the kinds of questions posed in this chapter, and, in addition, raises the bar for intensive systematic survey in the region. See <http://proteus.brown.edu/VorotanProject/Home>. The findings of the Vоротan Project are greatly expanding upon and refining earlier, unsystematic survey work in the Sisian region (Kroll 2006; Xnkikyan 2002). These latter projects are not included in this study.

the methodologies of each highland survey in the relevant section of this chapter, and present in table 7.1 (following Alcock 1993, Table 2) a snapshot of the major surveys from the highlands since the 1960s; I further group them into the very same three categories which Alcock uses (from A to C), ranging from the more to the less intensive and generally reliable.<sup>211</sup> As the proportion of As to Bs and Cs in this table suggests, all too many efforts of the last three decades still entail travel by vehicle to known or promising site locations without intensive prospecting.

### *Soviet Land Amelioration*

In Armenia, the few projects that have employed transect field-walking on agricultural lands—a practice by now routine in other parts of the world—have confronted a particularly severe challenge. In the decades after World War II, the Soviet Union under the leadership of Nikita Khrushchev initiated an ambitious land amelioration program. The food needs of a growing population could not be met by continued dependence on the reliable grain areas of the U.S.S.R., and thus Khrushchev pushed through a virgin lands program intended to increase the productivity of previously uncultivated areas as far east as Siberia and south into the Caucasus (McCauley 1976). To convey a sense of the scale of the project, Smith and Greene (in press) note that “The [Soviet] Ministry of Amelioration and Water Economy is reported to have operated with

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<sup>211</sup> Following Alcock’s (1993: 36-7) summary, surveys categorized as group C are the least reliable. These are non-systematic and extensive in coverage. Surveys assigned to group B vary, but they include relatively systematic but small-scale efforts, as well as extensive surveys that cover large regions and are often not fully diachronic. Finally, surveys in the A category are designed to record the full history of occupation in a region (not only sites) in a manner that is systematic. This entails the use of regularly spaced pedestrian transects with careful recording of artifact collection. Post-depositional processes are taken into account in group A surveys.



a budget second only to the Ministry of Defense....” This program entailed bulldozing and using other heavy machinery to clear fields and make way for the industrialized agriculture of the collective farms. The research of Project ArAGATS has provided the first glimpse of the impact of this policy on archaeological remains formerly located on open fields (Smith and Greene in press). Through time series analysis of aerial photographs from 1948 and 1989, before and after the amelioration of the Tsaghkahovit plain in central Armenia, coupled with groundtruthing, Smith and Greene were able to chart the utter disappearance of what seemed to have been clear archaeological features in the early photograph.

In this first systematic survey in the South Caucasus, despite a commitment to all the modern methods and theories of archaeological survey, researchers grappled with the prospect of expending scarce resources on the labor-intensive task of walking open fields that had been blighted (from an archaeological perspective) in order to be bettered (from an agricultural perspective). Ultimately, they focused their resources instead on a transect survey of the mountain flanks and foothills, where sherd densities, as elsewhere on the highlands are strikingly low relative to other parts of the world (such as the Mediterranean), perhaps due in part to less intensive land use relative to pastoral activity. Currently, the ongoing systematic survey project in southern Armenia (Vorotan Project), mentioned above, is confronting a similar challenge (Cherry *et al.* 2008). In the coming years, as the impact of this Soviet policy on archaeological remains in different regions is better understood, new strategies can hopefully be devised for dealing with this shared challenge for systematic survey in former Soviet countries.

Nearly all of the surveys utilized in this study emerged out of research agendas principally directed toward problems in the pre-Achaemenid history of the highlands. This has ensured that interpretation of the data has focused especially on such topics as the emergence and spread of the Kura-Araxes culture during the late Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age, modes of pastoralism during the Middle Bronze Age, the initial emergence of social stratification during the Late Bronze Age, and the extent of the Urartian polity during the Iron Age. The later periods, long undervalued in the archaeology of the region, have generally received cursory and under-informed treatment. In several of the studies analyzed in this chapter, there is a repeated tendency in the relevant publications for authors to lament the currently poor state of chronological resolution vis-à-vis ceramics dating to the centuries after Urartu. This problem, however, is itself a function of relative inattention to, and disinterest in, these later periods within programs of excavation. It is not a consequence of some widespread “dark age” across the highlands. To be sure, neatly stratified deposits with multiple horizons are hard to come by. But as I demonstrate in this chapter, there is no shortage of mid-first millennium BC sites on the highlands that surely hold great promise for the development of improved ceramic typology, to say nothing of the advancement of important research questions.

The net result of these conditions is that at present degrees of confidence in the dating of surface materials generally deemed necessary to the interpretation of survey data remain low. Ceramic chronologies for several regions of the highlands are quite

poorly understood, particularly for the period following the collapse of Urartu. I now briefly review the main grounds for the dating of surface materials from the highland surveys, so as not to weigh down the analysis that follows with digressions revolving around ceramic explanation.

The dating of surface materials, particularly fine wares, has been made possible by comparison with collections not only from distant imperial centers like Pasargadae (Stronach 1978), but also from the few highland “type sites” for this period, which have generated, if not reliable sequences supported by both stratigraphy and absolute dates, then in most cases at least enduring archaeological conventions. Among the most important “type sites” for Achaemenid-period pottery in northern Iran and eastern Turkey are Hasanlu, Altıntepe, and Godin Tepe. The Iron Age pottery from these sites has been the focus of ongoing and complex analysis, centered on the appropriate dating of a painted pottery tradition that has come to be known as “Classic” and “Western” “Triangle Ware” (Dyson 1999a; Kroll 2000). Though some early studies ascribed this ware to the phases of the Iron Age in which Urartu was ascendant (von der Osten 1952, 1953), others advanced a later dating to the centuries of Achaemenid rule (Kroll 1975, 1976; Stronach 1974). Since the 1990s, however, thanks to a careful reanalysis of the stratigraphy of Hasanlu II/IIIA (Dyson 1999a, 1999b) and Altıntepe (Summers 1993), as well as the re-study of the pottery from the Van region (Tarhan 1989; Tarhan and Sevin 1990, 1991), there has been a convergence of opinion in favor of the later chronology. The so-called Triangle Wares simply do not occur in Urartian cultural levels (Kroll 2000: 131). This determination has been critical in the identification of pottery dating to the sixth through fourth centuries in the surface materials from northwestern Iran and eastern Turkey.

Triangle Ware is not prevalent east and north of the Araks river in Armenia. There, the dating of ceramics to the centuries of Achaemenid rule hinges on a different set of “type sites”—the major Urartian citadels such as Armavir/Argishtihinili and Erebuni—where departures from Urartian traditions have been observed in their later levels (in both cases quite difficult to discern). East and west of the Araks, the dating of surface pottery depends greatly on forms known from southwestern Iran.

To compound the problem, Triangle Ware and the other pottery styles that have received the most attention are fine wares; as in other archaeological contexts, the coarse local wares that typically form the bulk of survey assemblages are not as well understood. In so far as these coarse wares have been studied, they suggest (as is not uncommon for such wares) conservative pottery-making traditions, with certain forms originating during the Iron I period and continuing, with slight modification, throughout the mid-first millennium BC. As is also familiar in other parts of the world (Alcock 1993: 49), owing to insufficient understandings of post-Urartian chronological frameworks, it is often difficult to subdivide surface materials according to known historical ruptures, so that the “Achaemenid era” is sometimes conflated with the “Urartian era,” and the “Hellenistic period” is almost always combined with the “Roman period.” Perhaps the best indication of our deficient, but improving, understanding of post-Urartian ceramic chronologies is suggested by the following comparison. The Keban Dam survey and excavations (figure 7.1, #1), conducted in the late 1960s and 70s between modern Malatya and Elazığ, did not yield *any* recognizable evidence of occupation during the mid-first millennium BC in the two zones of intensive and extensive survey known as Altınova and Aşvan, now largely submerged (Mitchell 1998: 86; Whallon 1979). In stark contrast, virtually none

of the major surveys conducted on the highlands since 1988 confirm such an utter hiatus in occupation, leading one to surmise a problem of recognition, not existence. Recalling the drop in site numbers which Alcock (1993: 50) notes in Hellenistic and Early Roman Greece, we are very likely seeing in the Keban results the consequence of what was, at that time, a truly incomplete ceramic chronology for the mid-first millennium, rather than a “real” phenomenon of abandonment.<sup>212</sup> The more recent surveys clearly show that the situation is improving.

In sum, the challenges to a study of settlement patterns during the first millennium BC on the highlands are formidable. In addition to the issues common to all comparative survey analyses, on the highlands truly systematic surveys are few, ceramic chronologies for centuries after Urartu’s demise are nascent and weighed heavily toward fine wares, and—perhaps antecedent to both of these factors—there has been in the past a general disinterest among archaeologists of the region in the settlement patterns of historical periods after Urartu. In the face of such obstacles it may seem premature to pursue the present study. As a synthesis of different survey datasets, this study is, perforce, “decidedly primitive” (Alcock and Cherry 2004a: 5). There is little to be gained, however, from allowing interpretation of a growing body of existing data to be stymied by long-term archaeological challenges. The following analysis—in large measure heuristic—is undertaken in the hope that tentative interpretation might create the incentives to carry out truly diachronic and systematic surveys, and to address the more mundane but critical research problems of chronology and periodization.

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<sup>212</sup> It is for this reason that the Keban Dam survey is left out of this chapter, despite being in some ways more systematic than many others that I have included.

## Methodology

This study is geographically delimited by the borders of the Armenian satrapy proposed by Bruno Jacobs (1994) and discussed in Chapter 3 (see p. 87); however, the focus will remain squarely on the mountains and upland plains, setting aside the Colchian and Iberian lowlands and the Black Sea coast north of the Pontic range, as well as the Diyarbakir basin in the south. Jacobs's administrative borders broadly conform to the topographical limits of the highlands, with the Black Sea and the Caucasus mountains forming the northern limit and the Tigris and Botan rivers the southern. On the east, a topographical frontier would technically extend to the eastern edge of the Karabakh plateau, before elevations drop into the Kura-Araxes lowland; however, I shall, like Jacobs, limit this analysis at the eastern border of the modern republic of Armenia for the reasons discussed in Chapter 1.<sup>213</sup> Similarly to the west, the Antitaurus mountains separate the Anatolian plateau from the higher elevations of the Armenian uplands (Hewsen 2001); however, this inquiry is bounded further to the east by the Euphrates river.

The data presented in the next section of this chapter are organized according to major river systems, in order to avoid cardinal designations (e.g., the eastern highlands), since these can create confusion.<sup>214</sup> Rivers provide an "absolute" geography that circumvents the complications of relative terminology. It is important to point out,

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<sup>213</sup> Nakhichevan is also left out of the present analysis since the region has not yet hosted systematic regional analysis. See Belli and Sevin (1999) for a brief summary of unsystematic inspections at a few prehistoric sites in this region.

<sup>214</sup> The terms "Anatolian" and "Armenian" highlands are both used at times to describe overlapping areas, with the former defined in relatively recent literature in relation to the modern border of Turkey and the latter informed by ancient, early modern, and Soviet geography. Thus, what some scholars refer to as the "eastern Anatolian Highland" is, to others, the "western Armenian Highland."

however, that the major rivers of the highlands are, for the most part, not navigable, and certainly not continuously so, nor were they systematically exploited in antiquity for irrigation (Yakar 2000: 383). Apart from providing major water sources for herds, the rivers may have played an important role in facilitating interaction across large stretches of the region, although in some areas, rivers are nested in precipitous gorges that serve, more than anything, as barriers (Burney and Lang 1971: 6).

Each of the eight survey regions discussed below will be examined, *where possible*, along the three variables of *topographic position*, *continuity/change*, and *intensity*. The topographic position of sites is a qualitative variable, such that sites are categorized as follows: 1) Unfortified and non-elevated settlements or activity areas; 2) Unfortified and raised or mounded settlements or activity areas; 3) Promontories, spurs, or other sites and settlements with natural defense on at least one side; 4) Unfortified and un-elevated or raised settlements or activity areas immediately adjacent to fortified spaces; 5) Fortified settlements on lofty outcrops. If virtually no trace of stone fortification is visible, a site is regarded as unfortified. Cemeteries and burials are excluded in the analysis of this variable. Once again, the ability to address the issue of topographic position is limited by the level of detailed information provided in survey publications of each project.

Measuring continuity versus change, or the propensities to relocate, is also more complicated than simply comparing the number of new foundations with the number of sites remaining in occupation from across major historical ruptures of the Iron Age. In addition, in the case of continuously occupied sites, it is useful to assess how deep the history of occupation is, even before the occupation during the centuries of Urartian rule.

Thus, I also compare sites dated to the sixth through fourth centuries that were occupied only in the preceding centuries with mid-first millennium sites hosting activity that appear to have long histories of occupation stretching back into the Iron I and Late Bronze Ages. The point here is to consider the extent to which the choice *not* to relocate and instead to stay in a given place may have signaled deep-seated local commitments that were unaffected by short-term historical changes. Conversely, can the causal forces behind historical transformations—such as the rise and collapse of dynasties, regimes, and institutions—be implicated where we see that settlement patterns do appear to move in rhythm with breaks in temporal sequences? Before we can begin to assess these issues, it is vital to paint as detailed a portrait of the continuities and breakages in settlement landscapes as possible.

Intensity will be measured by a comparison of the raw numbers of sites from each relevant phase of the Iron Age, commonly referred to as the Urartian and Achaemenid periods. This is admittedly not adequate; it is also important to consider the sizes of sites lost versus the sizes of sites gained (Alcock 1993: 54). Measuring site size is a familiar challenge in archaeological survey, particularly in cases where sites appear to be re-occupied over several centuries (Alcock 1993: 58; Cherry and Davis 2001; Hirth 1978). In most of the survey publications employed in this study, site sizes are not systematically provided. It is it simply impossible to take this important aspect of occupation intensity into account.

As will become clear by the conclusion of the survey-by-survey presentation that follows, this chapter represents an exploration into what might be possible if there were



more systematically conducted and published surveys in the region and if ceramic chronologies for the Iron Age were further refined.

## **The Highland Surveys**

### *The Çoruh River Drainage*

In the northwestern highlands the Pontic mountains throw up an impressive and daunting barrier, which traces, at a slight distance, the coastline of the Black Sea. This natural wall effectively separates the Black Sea coast from places inland, only rarely giving way to a few north-south river valleys that break through the range. The largest river in this region is the fast-flowing Çoruh, whose headwaters, fed by mountain snow-melt, lie in the Bayburt plain of modern eastern Turkey (Newton 2004). From 1988-1993, researchers from the University of Melbourne, in collaboration with the Erzurum Museum, organized a field survey of the Bayburt plain, a small plateau (1500 m. a.s.l.) situated between the modern towns of Bayburt and Kelkit, which serves as an important east-west corridor in the northern highlands (figure 7.1, #2). Mountains to the north and south of the plain make communication routes along these directions more challenging, but access to, for example, the Erzincan plain to the south is afforded through north-south valleys watered by the Çoruh and its tributaries (Sagona *et al.* 1991: 145).

The Bayburt survey was conducted in an area approximately 3500 km<sup>2</sup> large, and focused on valley floors and foothills, giving less attention to “high altitudes” due to

limited time and resources (Sagona and Sagona 2004a: 111).<sup>215</sup> A two-stage survey methodology consisted first of extensive reconnaissance followed by targeted pedestrian transecting in select zones in order to “detect more detailed fluctuations in settlement patterns” (Sagona and Sagona 2004a: 112). The express intention of the project was to record all traces of human activity (not just isolated sites), and all periods from early prehistory to the recent past.<sup>216</sup> A total of 102 sites was identified, ranging in date from the Late Chalcolithic to the modern era. Iron Age activity (meaning here Iron Age 1 through the Late Iron Age or “Achaemenid period”) was identified at 84 of these 102 sites. Generally, sites were dated based on the presence of ceramics attributable to one of 19 Iron Age ceramic ware types, which were defined with the help of stratified deposits from the nearby sites of Büyüktepe and Sos Höyük (Sagona and Sagona 2004a: 182-209). Based on the approximate date range provided for each ware type, I have clustered the Iron Age pottery from the survey into three groups: Group 1 consists of wares dated roughly to the eighth through seventh centuries (described by the authors as the Middle Iron Age);<sup>217</sup> Group 2 consists of wares dated roughly to the sixth through fourth centuries BC;<sup>218</sup> Group 3 consists of wares that span roughly the ninth through fourth centuries BC.<sup>219</sup> Unfortunately, sherds of this last group, whose temporal range is so

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<sup>215</sup> This is a rare instance where survey on the highlands may have been biased toward flat and unfortified settlements. Unfortunately, absolute elevations are not provided in the Bayburt publication (a contour map is lacking). Thus it is not clear what constitutes “high altitudes” and whether these zones might conceivably have hosted settlement activity.

<sup>216</sup> Apparently, transects on flatland areas did not yield a higher density of sites than extensive reconnaissance. Field scatters were rare (Sagona and Sagona 2004a: 112).

<sup>217</sup> Wares 6.1.4, and 6.8. Note that ware 6.8 is a so-called “Toprakkale ware” associated with fine, Urartian ceramics. Ware 6.1.4 is also found across the Urartian empire.

<sup>218</sup> Wares 6.1.2, 6.2.3, 6.2.4, 6.2.5, 6.4, 6.5, 6.7, 6.10, and 6.11.3.

<sup>219</sup> Wares 6.1.1, 6.1.3, 6.2.1 and 6.11.2. I have excluded from the present analysis four of Sagona and Sagona’s Iron Age wares. The authors date wares 6.1.5 and 6.1.8 to 400-275 BC, though they are prepared to push the appearance of this ware down to 200 BC. It would seem more appropriate to regard these as post-Achaemenid Iron Age wares. Wares 6.3 and 6.11.2 are dated from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age. Since these do not apply discretely to the Urartian and/or Achaemenid periods, I have left them out;

wide, were present at 96 percent of all Iron Age sites (figure 7.2). This virtually prohibits an analysis change from the Middle Iron Age to the period of Achaemenid rule in the Bayburt region. Nevertheless, the data merit closer consideration.

Intensity: Occupation of the Bayburt plain during the Iron Age was greater than during any other period before the modern era, by a very large margin, with a seven-fold increase in the number of sites compared to the Late Bronze Age (A. Sagona 2004: 241). Although site numbers cannot be unquestioningly correlated with demographics, substantial population increase in the Iron Age is all but certain given a) the magnitude of the increase, b) the fact that the range in sizes of newly occupied sites is wide, and c) the fact that the distribution of small to medium to large sites is constant. Unfortunately, it is not possible at present to compare the intensity of occupation between the Middle Iron Age and the subsequent centuries, when the region likely belonged to the highland satrapy, given the number of sites with Group 3 sherds and the absence of any sites with *only* Group 1 sherds. No sites are unambiguously associated solely with the Middle Iron Age, while there are only two new (though quite small) mound sites occupied at some time during the sixth through fourth centuries. Group 2 pottery was found at 68 sites, which represents 81 percent of all Iron Age sites on the Bayburt plain. It is thus *possible* that occupation of the Bayburt plain was greater when the highlands were a part of the Achaemenid rather than Urartian empires, but the evidence for such a claim at present is meager.

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however, this decision is ultimately immaterial since the presence of sherds of these wares always co-occurred with sherds of Group 3 mentioned above.

Continuity/change: 18 sites in the survey area yielded both Group 1 and Group 2 ceramics, demonstrating a degree of continuity in settlement location from the Middle Iron Age to the centuries of Achaemenid hegemony. Two sites produced sherds belonging to Group 2 (in one case only one diagnostic sherd), but no sherds belonging to Groups 1 and 3, and thus these can be regarded as new locations of activity or settlement. Because of the many sites with Group 3 wares, it is not possible to quantify, relatively, the tendencies toward or against relocating. However, of the 18 sites active in both the Middle Iron Age and subsequent centuries, only three seem to have been active previously, in the Late Bronze Age.<sup>220</sup> Given the spike in intensity of occupation in the Iron Age, this is not surprising: it is probable that new groups migrated into the region in the first millennium BC.

Topographic position: Two fortresses were identified in the survey area, and both yielded Group 2 and 3 ceramics, meaning both were occupied during the centuries of Achaemenid rule, and *may* also have been active in the preceding era of Urartian imperialism. Change cannot be assessed, however. One of the fortresses is described as “large” (dimensions are not indicated) (Sagona and Sagona 2004a: 118), while the other is given as 100 m long, 30 m wide, and 100 m above the valley floor (Sagona and Sagona 2004a: 125). The fortresses are located on steep-sided outcrops. Stone walls and towers are preserved in traces, although these may also date to the “Medieval” occupations evident at both fortresses. Neither fortress appears to have hosted occupation in the Late Bronze Age. One of the fortresses is the site of Büyüktepe, which occupies a

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<sup>220</sup> Note: None of the ware types in this survey area are isolated to Iron I. Also, apparently the Late Bronze Age surface materials were the most difficult to identify due to the absence of a stratified corpus in this region (A. Sagona 2004: 240).

commanding position over the valley of the Beşpınar river, a southern tributary of the Çoruh. Excavations conducted at Büyüktepe in the same years as the survey have uncovered extensive evidence of building activity during the late Achaemenid period, including an impressive circular structure with rubble-filled stone foundations at its summit, which is thought to have served a defensive purpose (Sagona *et al.* 1992: 32; 1993: 82). It is worth noting that from Büyüktepe, it is approximately a 100 km journey, in parts arduous, southward to Altıntepe, a site discussed in Chapter 8.

Aside from these two fortresses, however, most occupation during the Iron Age occurred closer to the plain, on variously-sized unfortified mounds. (Here it is important to recall that “high altitudes” were given less attention in this survey.) Focusing first on sites dated to the Middle Iron Age *and* the centuries of Achaemenid rule (i.e., sites with Group 1, 2, and 3 sherds), these were located on mounds that ranged in height from 2.5 to 30 m above the surrounding plain, with a mean height of 14 m and a median of 12 m (where calculable). Turning to the mound sites which were active during the period of the Achaemenid empire *and perhaps* the Middle Iron Age (i.e., sites with Group 2 and 3 sherds), the picture is basically comparable, with mounds in this category averaging 13 m meters above the surrounding plain, with a median of 10.5 m. However, of the two mound sites dating exclusively to the centuries of Achaemenid rule (i.e., sites with Group 2 sherds only), one is a mere 4 meters high (BPS # 35). The other is described only as a “large conical hill” (BPS # 45). On the basis of these two sites alone, it is not possible to posit a general downward movement from higher to lower mounds. But it is nevertheless noteworthy that one of the sites thought to be established during the centuries of Achaemenid control is considerably closer to the plain than most sites occupied earlier.

*The Kura River Drainage: The Ijevan Region*

The eastward-flowing Kura river, known in antiquity as the Cyrus (Strabo *Geog.* 11.1.5), constitutes one of the largest river systems in the South Caucasus. From 1960 to 1972, Stepan Esayan (1976) conducted unsystematic regional reconnaissance and excavations in the mountainous, northeasterly limits of modern Armenia—a sliver of territory in the Ijevan region that is diagonally transected by a number of southern tributaries of the Kura river (figure 7.1, #8).

Esayan published his regional study at a time when rather little was known about pottery of the Iron 3 period in Armenia (or what he called the “Early Armenian” period [see p. 161]), and even less about ceramic chronologies of all periods beyond the Ararat plain. Over the course of 12 years, he excavated at 20 of the 57 fortresses he encountered—in some cases digging just a few probes, in others, numerous or broad exposures—in order to establish a chronological sequence for the region. Esayan highlighted the difficulty of dating single-occupation sites (Esayan 1976: 98) and relied extensively on comparative collections from Georgia, Azerbaijan, Iran, and elsewhere in Armenia for the dating of both excavated and surface materials. Inesa Karapetyan (2003) recently re-examined and re-published the materials Esayan had discovered, thus tempering some of the concern that might otherwise surround the dating of sites in the survey area.

Esayan was principally concerned with documenting the region’s “cyclopean” fortresses and burials, and thus he gravitated in his searches toward choice locations for

fortified settlement in a mountainous and heavily forested area, to the neglect of low-lying river valleys. In examining the data from this region of the Kura river drainage, interpretation is thus inherently partial, and based on an incomplete picture of the region's settlement history.

Intensity: Of the 57 fortress sites Esayan identified, I focus here on the 28 for which he provided some chronology of occupation, either on the basis of excavated materials, surface pottery, or architecture.<sup>221</sup> Judging by these 28 fortress sites, the “Early Armenian” period was the most intense period of occupation in antiquity in the Ijevan region by a very wide margin. After only limited traces of activity in the Bronze Age (two Early Bronze Age fortresses and one Late Bronze Age fortress, dated only on the basis of the fortifications), occupation in the region seems to have increased slightly during the Early Iron Age, when five fortresses (four test excavated, one surveyed) hosted some activity. During the centuries of Urartian ascendancy, intensity of occupation appears to have remained generally constant, with four or maybe five fortresses (all test excavated) showing signs of habitation. However, Esayan observed a marked spike during the sixth through fourth centuries BC, when an unprecedented 19 fortresses were active (15 excavated, four surveyed).<sup>222</sup> The sizes of all of the Ijevan

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<sup>221</sup> Esayan proceeded cautiously with the dating of the 37 fortresses where he had not conducted excavations, in most cases reserving judgment entirely.

<sup>222</sup> In her summary of Esayan's work, Karapetyan includes three sites whose dating to the sixth through fourth centuries BC is not so clear, and thus are excluded here. At Dzhagatsatekh, Esayan found a groundstone and some red-painted pottery with parallels to Garni, Armavir, and other sites, and he thus dated this level to the 4<sup>th</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries (Esayan 1976: 154). It is not clear why Karapetyan (2003: 12) dated this site earlier. At the site of Srvanes, Esayan (1976: 254) did not encounter any cultural levels in his three sondages, and only noted formal similarities in the fortress construction to other “Early Armenian” fortresses. On this basis, Karapetyan (2003:12) included it in her catalog. Finally, as for Berdatekh, Esayan (1976: 249) was not able to date this fortress in his analysis and Karapetyan (2003: 12) does not detail what new information she has acquired in order to be able to date the site to the sixth

fortresses are roughly similar and generally small, ranging from one to two hectares of walled space at their summits. Nothing can be said at present about the overall extent of the sites beyond the limits of the walls. Nevertheless, on the basis of the sheer quantity of fortresses alone, there can be little doubt that new groups were coming into this region of the highlands during the period after the collapse of Urartu.

Continuity/change: Of the 19 fortresses noted above, only one was also inhabited during the centuries of Urartian rule. Based on the available data, therefore, there can be little doubt that this region witnessed a radical transformation in the middle of the first millennium BC.

Topographic position: All of the “Early Armenian” sites which Esayan identified were fortresses with formidable stone fortifications averaging three to four meters thick. These “Early Armenian” fortresses formed the basis of Karapetyan’s model of settlement organization in this period, which was predicated on the priority given to settlement defense (Karapetyan 2000; 2003: 17-20). By ranking the size of the fortresses in Esayan’s survey region and examining their general patterning, Karapetyan suggested a nested security strategy anchored by the largest fortresses, which were themselves not only entirely walled, but usually reinforced by a lofty citadel situated at the highest elevation of the settlement, and itself fortified. Surrounding these largest fortresses, Karapetyan envisioned a ring of smaller forts or walled, and in some cases, seasonal settlements. Every settlement is a self-contained defensive unit fortified by two-faced,

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through fourth centuries. However, I have added Srtner, on the basis of Esayan’s dating of the surface materials.



rubble-filled stone walls, occasionally buttressed, and sometimes configured in two rows at apparently vulnerable points on the circuit. The location of fortresses often correlates with formidable natural defenses, such as precipitous spurs, ridges, and lofty outcrops protected by one or more inaccessibly steep slope.<sup>223</sup> In short, regardless of what is not known about activity and settlement on fields and plains at the base of these sites, it is clear that the fortress was the dominant locus of settlement in this region.

### *The Araks River Drainage*

#### The Doğubeyazıt and Erciş Regions

Moving southward to another major river system of the highlands, from 2002-2004 Catherine Marro, Aynur Özfirat and colleagues conducted three short seasons of unsystematic survey in the areas south of the Araks river (Marro and Özfirat 2003, 2004, 2005). Their efforts focused on two regions, one the areas around Mt. Ararat, or the Doğubeyazıt region (figure 7.1, #6), and the other still further south, in the Erciş region north of Lake Van (figure 7.1, #5). The latter of these is quite far from the Araks and, in fact, separated from it by mountains; however, I include it here because the two regions were explored by similar methods and by the same researchers.<sup>224</sup>

As with some other surveys discussed in this chapter, the coverage of the research as portrayed on figure 7.1 is deceptively large. These are extensive and

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<sup>223</sup> One exception is the site of Tavri Pash, which sits on low-lying mound near the bank of a river. The site is walled and apparently surrounded by a moat (Esayan 1976: 256; Karapetyan 2003: 18).

<sup>224</sup> Although the area east of Lake Van, the heartland of the Urartian empire, has been a region of reconnaissance and site-based investigations, the overwhelming emphasis of such research is on Urartian and, to a lesser extent, prehistoric phases (Burney 1957, 1958; Salvini 2005; Sevin 2004).

unsystematic research programs that offer a general picture of settlement in the region, which, although informative in some measure, is much more partial than the embrace of the mapped area implies. Survey seasons lasted for two weeks and were carried out by teams of ten people. The publications of these surveys do not include any explication of survey methodology. The title of the publications, however, in themselves reveals a temporal bias to the work, quite at odds with the inherently diachronic nature of modern survey techniques: “Pre-Classical Survey in Eastern Turkey” (Marro and Özfirat 2003, 2004, 2005). A commitment to diachronic investigations, as well as disclosure of the survey strategies employed, are essential elements of systematic survey. It is not clear precisely why or, even more curiously, how survey was conducted so selectively. Nevertheless, since some mention is made of sites dating to the centuries of Achaemenid rule, here called the “Late Iron Age,” I summarize the relevant data.

Intensity: In both the Doğubeyazıt and Erciş regions, the most intense period of occupation was the Middle Iron Age, or Urartian era. In the former of the two regions, researchers identified a total of 20 settlements (and several cemeteries). In the latter region, they identified nine settlements (and several cemeteries) dated to both the Early and Middle Iron Ages, and 17 additional sites dated to only the Middle Iron Age. The numbers drop dramatically in the subsequent Late Iron age. In the Doğubeyazıt region, only four sites yielded pottery dating to the period in question. In the Erciş region, the number is the same—four Late Iron Age sites, down from 26 during the Middle Iron

Age. Bearing in mind the problems with identifying Late Iron Age pottery,<sup>225</sup> from the evidence currently available it appears that both of these regions in the heartland of the Urartian empire were significantly depopulated in the subsequent centuries.

Continuity/change: In both regions, all Late Iron Age occupation occurred at sites that were also in use during the preceding Middle Iron Age.

Topographic position: In the Doğubeyazıt region, four of the 20 Middle Iron Age sites are described as “flat sites” or “low mounds” (Marro and Özfirat 2003: 395, 2005: 331), while the remainder are fortresses. Notably, two of these four “flat sites” are among the four Late Iron Age sites, while the remaining two sites of the Late Iron Age are fortresses. In the Erciş region, 12 of the 27 sites occupied during the Middle Iron Age are fortresses. Three of the Middle Iron Age sites are mounds and the remaining twelve sites appear to be flat settlements. In the subsequent Late Iron Age, only one of the four relevant sites is a fortress. One is a mound, and the remaining two sites are flat settlements. In sum, while groups appear to have largely left the Doğubeyazıt and Erciş regions, once heavily occupied during the period of Urartian supremacy, the places where activity appears to have continued are primarily non-fortress sites.

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<sup>225</sup> The pottery dated to the Late Iron Age in these surveys appears to be restricted to fine wares. The authors highlight only painted sherds like “Triangle Ware” and sherds thought to imitate metal prototypes (Marro and Özfirat 2005: 333).

## The Tsaghkahovit Plain

Before reaching the Caspian Sea on its eastward course through the Ararat plain, the Araks river is replenished by a number of left tributaries—first the Akhourian, and next the Kasakh, which originates north of Mt. Aragats, on the Tsaghkahovit plain. In Chapter 5, I introduced the settlement history of the plain. Here I detail the survey results in the format of the present chapter. In 1998 and 2000, Project ArAGATS organized a systematic survey of this small but high mountain depression (2000 m. a.s.l.), nestled between the northern slope of Mt. Aragats and the southwestern slopes of the Pambakh range of the lesser Caucasus (Avetisyan *et al.* 2000; Smith *et al.* in press) (figure 7.1, #7). At its widest, the plain extends approximately 15-20 km (figure 5.1). A number of mountain passes and river channels afford access from the plain to the Lori and Debed valleys to the north, to the Ararat plain to the south, and to the Shirak plain to the west.

Field methodology in the Tsaghkahovit plain region consisted of a pedestrian transect survey (at 25 m and then 50 m spacing) covering approximately 98 square kilometers of the foothills and hilly flanks surrounding the plain, as well as more intensive surveys at the 13 major settlements of the region. Intensive survey entailed subdividing sites into collection loci, and then walking one meter spaced transects within each locus, collecting all visible materials. Test excavations were conducted at five fortresses and four cemeteries. A suite of remote sensing techniques were also harnessed. As mentioned above, due to Soviet amelioration policies, Project ArAGATS did not survey the plain itself. In general, surface material densities were remarkably low, with virtually no sherds encountered beyond the immediate areas of the settlements (this is not

entirely surprising since these areas were not under the plough). Instead, architectural features, such burials and irrigation facilities, make up the archaeological landscape beyond the confines of the large sites. Subsequent years of intensive excavations on the Tsaghkahovit plain permit more secure dating of the region's different occupation phases thanks to radiocarbon determinations and the kinds of ceramic and other artifacts discussed in Chapter 6, which have helped us refine initial readings of the Iron Age surface pottery (Badalyan *et al.* 2003; Badalyan, Smith *et al.* in press; Smith *et al.* 2004).

Intensity: The most substantial phase of activity in the region was the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1500-1150 BC), when at least 10 fortresses were built along the lofty summits surrounding the plain, dominating a landscape further inscribed by 199 contemporary burial clusters.<sup>226</sup> The survey revealed no evidence for re-occupation during the Iron 2 period (the centuries of the Urartian empire). Social life returned to the Tsaghkahovit plain in the Iron 3 era, after a long period of abandonment. The survey revealed evidence of clear re-occupation at six of these 10 fortress sites (Tsaghkahovit, Hnaberd, Sahakaber, Gekhadzor, Aragatsiberd, and Tsilkar). In addition, there were fainter traces of re-occupation at two sites (Berdidosh and Gegharot).<sup>227</sup> At the time of the survey, relevant surface materials from these sites were dated to roughly 700-300 BC; however,

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<sup>226</sup> The researchers acknowledge the difficulty of dating burials and burial clusters on formal grounds alone. Project ArAGATS established a typology of burials in the region, which was then used systematically in the description of finds. Certain types—the most well represented in the survey area—are thought to be broadly characteristic of the Late Bronze Age. Excavations carried out at nine of these burials since 1998 have confirmed this dating.

<sup>227</sup> Extensive excavation at Gegharot has not produced any traces of a relevant occupation stratum, suggesting that the activity associated with the surface materials was quite ephemeral. Also, it should be noted that the mortuary record for the Iron 3 re-occupation of the plain is something of a mystery. Project ArAGATS identified 18 possible burial clusters made up of so-called cist burials—often associated with the mid-first millennium BC in Armenia, but we have not excavated any of these and thus remain uncertain about their dating.

subsequent excavations and re-survey at three of the fortresses settlements—Tsaghkahovit, Hnaberd, and Tsilkar—now suggest a more narrow period of occupation.<sup>228</sup>

Continuity/change: The groups who settled at the Iron 3 sites of the Tsaghkahovit plain relocated from somewhere beyond the plain. There is no evidence for Iron 2 occupation.

Topographic position: The patterning of the mid-first millennium BC settlements in relation to the Late Bronze Age fortresses suggests that the fortress retained its importance for the new groups that settled in the Tsaghkahovit region, although as I discussed at length in Chapter 6, in the case of Tsaghkahovit the settlement spread far beyond the confines of the fortress to the lower flanks. This appears also to be the case at Hnaberd, where the stone walls of rectilinear structures—similar to Tsaghkahovit—fan out beyond the walls of the fortress and onto the slopes below. At Tsilkar, in fact, the settlement is located a small distance away from the Late Bronze Age fortress, on an unfortified ridge. In all other cases, Iron 3 resettlement appears to be confined to the area of the Late Bronze Age fortresses.

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<sup>228</sup> I discussed the dating of Tsaghkahovit at length in Chapter 6. In 2006, I returned to Tsilkar and Hnaberd and conducted additional survey. The pottery at both sites is broadly consistent with that at Tsaghkahovit. Surface materials were less abraded at Tsilkar than at Hnaberd, and thus I am more confident that Tsilkar is contemporary with Tsaghkahovit. Further excavation would be required at Hnaberd to refine the dating of the first millennium occupation; however, from my re-survey of this site there is no clear basis for asserting a substantially earlier or later occupation than that at Tsaghkahovit.

## The Southern Lake Sevan Basin

The Lake Sevan basin is another inter-montane zone, bounded by ranges that enclose the lake region in a triangular depression. The Areguni and Sevan ranges run along the northeast, the Gegham range along the west, and the Vardenis range along the south. Because of the mountains that hug the basin, the Lake Sevan region seems rather isolated. Urartian inscriptions suggest that in antiquity access to the region was afforded via at least two left-bank tributaries of the Araks river: the Hrazdan, which drains the lake into the Araks, and the Arpa, which affords access to the southern Sevan area via the Selim Pass.<sup>229</sup> At 1900 meters above sea level, Lake Sevan is the highest of the highland lakes (Hewsen 2001; Sayadyan 2002), and the perilacustrine plains have been host to archaeological investigations since the late nineteenth century (Biscione *et al.* 2002a: 9-10; Hmayakyan 2002; Salvini 2002).

From 1994 to 2000, researchers from Italy's Istituto Per Gli Studi Micenei Ed Egeo-Anatolici and Armenia's Institute for Archaeology and Ethnography jointly conducted a geomorphological and archaeological survey of the southern shores of the Lake Sevan basin (Biscione *et al.* 2002b) (figure 7.1, #9). Broadly speaking, survey methodology entailed ceramic pick-up and (re)mapping at sites already known, primarily from governmental records, as well as through local informants. Transects were not employed, either on or off site. The density of surface materials at many known sites was extremely low (in some cases only one sherd was diagnostic of a given period), and for

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<sup>229</sup> Urartian inscriptions dating to the reign of Argishti I have been found along the Hrazdan valley, at Elar and Lehashen, which is located just at the northeastern point of Lake Sevan. Inscriptions dating to the reign of Sarduri II attest to Urartu's conquest of southeastern coast of Lake Sevan. The latter may have been carried out through the southern route. Other Urartian inscriptions attest to the conquest and control of this region at various points in Urartian history (Biscione *et al.* 2002a: 10-2).

this reason the investigators did not impose grid squares, instead aiming for “total” sherds pick-up (Biscione *et al.* 2002a: 14).<sup>230</sup> Nor were grids and transects employed at those sites with larger scatters. In order to establish the regional ceramic sequence, test trenches were excavated at four sites. Nevertheless, in light of enduring morphologies and surface treatments, the task of distinguishing Urartian from post-Urartian pottery, as elsewhere on the highlands, proved challenging (Hakobyan 2002; Hmayakyan 2002).

In general, for the present study, the utility of this survey and the reliability of interpretations based on the data are limited. Unfortunately, there are inconsistencies within the publication. The use of temporally circumscribed architectural typologies (relating to the Bronze and Early Iron Ages) to account for all periods encountered in the survey is also worrisome. These typologies effectively preclude the possibility for monumental construction in historical phases, with the exception of churches. Finally, the absence of any explication on the dating of certain features on typological grounds makes it difficult to assess the basis on which certain conclusions rest.

Intensity: Of the 83 sites identified in this survey, only 20 are relevant to the present study.<sup>231</sup> Of these 20 sites, 14 show indications of activity during the “Urartian period”

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<sup>230</sup> Survey methodology does not appear to have been as thorough as stated. In several instances, sherds were not picked up or their numbers were not recorded, even if they were deemed sufficiently diagnostic to be dated (i.e., sites 16, 22, 38, 47, 66, 75, 77, 78, 80, 81, 82). In addition, medieval pottery was not collected or analyzed.

<sup>231</sup> The survey defined only 82 sites. One of these, however, (site 17, Karchakhbyur), had been previously excavated, and it is clear that the necropolis and settlement, which in this survey are grouped together, in fact were in use at different periods (Karapetyan 2003: 17, 28). I have therefore separated site 17 into two sites. Of the 83 sites, 41 either had no surface materials or had materials which could not be dated. In nearly every such instance, if sites appeared to be forts with visible defensive walls, they were dated by the researchers to the Early Iron Age (i.e., sites 19, 36, 40, 46, 47, 49, 55, 60, 61, 62, 74) (Sanamyan 2002), a problematic pattern not only given the general limitations in the dating of stone architecture of southern Caucasia, but also in light of our relative ignorance about post-Urartian architectural forms beyond the centers of the Ararat plain. It would have been appropriate to discuss these problems. Further typological problems attend to the dating of necropoleis in the survey area. Of the 41 sites with no pottery or entirely



(as it is termed by the researchers) and 13 suggest activity during the “Achaemenid period” (also the terminology of this research project). Although we can preliminarily suggest that intensity of occupation in the region remains roughly constant, it is impossible to delve deeper into this question and compare the sizes of new sites with those of abandoned sites, since the site sizes are not provided in the survey report.

Continuity/change: Biscione and colleagues emphasize the continuity of settlement activity from the Urartian to the Achaemenid eras in their survey area (Biscione *et al.* 2002a: 10, 12, 14), and the lack of new building activity in the Achaemenid period (Sanamyan 2002: 337).<sup>232</sup> Such assertions, however, in fact contradict the raw data presented in the survey volume, which are rather more nuanced than this picture of wholesale continuity suggests. It does seem that groups were relocating, either within or into this region. Seven sites in the survey area seem to have been loci of activity in the Urartian, but not the Achaemenid period, which means people living at these sites relocated (table 7.2). Seven other sites were active in both periods. Six sites appear to have been occupied in the Achaemenid period, but offered no traces of habitation in the preceding Urartian period, thus also suggesting relocation. Furthermore, of the seven sites that were continuously active from the Urartian through the Achaemenid periods, four were also occupied during the Iron I period and in most cases, the Bronze Age as

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un-diagnostic pottery, those which appeared to contain “kurgans” were dated variously to the Middle Bronze Age (i.e., sites 14), the Early Iron Age (i.e., sites 19, 21), either of those periods (i.e., sites 09, 27, 29, 38, 58), the Hellenistic period (i.e., sites 40, 46), or they were not dated at all (i.e., site 72). A general typology of the “kurgans” in the southern Lake Sevan basin that might explain the differential dating was not presented.

<sup>232</sup> This project uses both “Achaemenid” period and “Early Armenian” period designations.

well. Three of the seven sites occupied in the Urartian but not Achaemenid period also showed evidence of activity in the preceding Iron I period.

In other words, half of the sites hosting activity in the Urartian period in the southern Lake Sevan region were abandoned (seven out of 14). “Most” of those that were abandoned (by a margin of only one) were new foundations of the Urartian era, while “most” of those that were continuously occupied (again, by a mere margin of one) had deep histories of occupation. In addition, the number of sites newly founded in the Achaemenid period is nearly the same as the number of abandoned Urartian-era sites. Given that the intensity of occupation in the region may have remained largely stable, and given that there is no evidence for the total abandonment of sites occupied during the Urartian period, it is reasonable to postulate that existing populations were moving in the mid-first millennium BC to new locales within the southern Lake Sevan basin (unless, for the most part, they inhabited places that had deep histories of occupation). Alternatively, the data may suggest the arrival of new groups into the region, who, unencumbered by preexisting ties to place, settled in new locations.

Topographic position: With the exception of one sherd scatter, all 14 sites occupied in the Urartian period were forts or fortresses, located usually on commanding hills with steep, inaccessible slopes on at least two sides. However, in striking contrast, of the six new sites of Achaemenid date, four are unfortified settlements on low ground. Of the remaining two sites, one is a fortress located on a flat promontory and lacking a commanding position. The last is a fortress more akin to the Urartian-era sites. By and large, in the southern Lake Sevan region the mid-first millennium BC may have

witnessed a transformation in the role of the fortress, as at Tsaghkahovit. Many fortresses of Urartian date appear to have been left vacant while local leaders founded new sites at lower elevations.

### *Lake Urmia and the Southern Araks Tributaries*

Lake Urmia is the largest, lowest, and shallowest of the highland lakes (Hewsen 2001: 17). North of the lake, as far as the southern limits of the Ararat plain, a number of small plains and valleys are watered by the southern tributaries of the Araks river. From 1967 until 1979, a series of survey missions were carried out in this general region of northern Iran, first by Wolfram Kleiss alone, and then with the assistance of Stephan Kroll (figure 7.1, #12 and #13). In addition, from 1976-1978 Emilio Pecorella and Mirjo Salvini (1984), of the Istituto Per Gli Studi Micenei Ed Egeo-Anatolici conducted another survey in a smaller area of this same region (figure 7.1, #12). Although both of these surveys were generally diachronic in scope, the main focus of research was to establish the limits and nature of Urartian occupation in the east. Survey methodology, described only vaguely by one of the researchers as “more or less intensive” (Kleiss 1979b: 145), consisted of visits to, and unsystematic ceramic pick-up at, probable site locations (i.e., mounds and strategically favorable locations). Surface materials were dated in part by comparison with stratified deposits from both long-term and short-term excavations, for instance by Wolfram Kleiss (1979c, 1988) at Bastam (from 1969-1978) and Pecorella *et al.* (1984) at Qal’eh Ismail Aqa and Tappeh Giljar (in 1977). Given their similar

methodologies and overlapping geographic coverage, the data from the two surveys are combined in the present analysis.<sup>233</sup>

Intensity: The most intense period of occupation in this region before the modern era was during the ascendancy of Urartu. In this period, a total of 142 sites—including a handful of major fortresses and several smaller forts and settlements—dotted the area immediately east of Lake Urmia and along the southern Araks tributaries (Belgiorno *et al.* 1984; Kleiss 1979b). In the succeeding Achaemenid period (as it is termed by the researchers), a mere 18 sites hosted some level of activity, and, from the survey reports, there is no reason to suspect a major expansion in the sizes of those sites from the preceding period. Based on the available evidence, an overall drop in the intensity of occupation in the region is all but certain (Jakubiak 2003: 35-40; Kleiss 1973: 83-89, 1974: 80-82, 1975: 58-60, 1979a: 290-298, Kleiss and Kroll 1976: 108-113, 1979: 213; Kroll 1976: 166-170).<sup>234</sup> As Kroll notes, however, this drop in site numbers “may be due to our poor understanding of the pottery of the later periods” (Kroll 2004: 47).

Continuity/change: Three of the 18 sites were new foundations of post-Urartian date. The remaining 15 sites had also been active in the Urartian period, and at four of these 15 sites the history of occupation reached further back, into the Bronze Age or Early Iron Age. In other words, many of those communities which did remain in (or came to

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<sup>233</sup> In the case of three sites, there are discrepancies in the dating between projects. In these cases, I favored the Pecorella *et al.* dating since the project occurred later in time, when the local ceramic sequences may presumably have been better understood.

<sup>234</sup> The area to the east of Lake Urmia, around modern Tabriz, also appears to have been scarcely occupied in the Achaemenid era, in contrast to the centuries preceding (Kleiss and Kroll 1992). This apparent abandonment may in part be due to the lack of stratified deposits of the period’s ceramics, which hindered the dating of the surface materials (Kleiss and Kroll 1992: 46).

inhabit) the region strongly favored settlements that already existed in the Urartian period.

Topographic position: Nearly all of the 18 sites occupied in the Achaemenid period are fortresses built on mounds or lofty hilltops. Only three sites can be considered unfortified mounds, one of which was newly founded in the post-Urartian period.\

### *The Euphrates River Drainage*

### The Muş Plain Region

The eastern Turkish province of Muş is home to one of the larger plains on the Armenian highlands. What the Muş steppe lacks in agricultural potential—due to an unsuitable geological substrate—it makes up for by an abundance of surrounding high pastures (Burney 1958: 158; Rothman 2004: 125-6; Yakar 2000: 386). Traversed by the Murat river, which rises north of Lake Van and near Mt. Ararat, the plain of Muş affords east-west passage through the massifs of the eastern Taurus mountains.

In 1991 and 1993, a team of American, Canadian, and Turkish researchers conducted an unsystematic survey in the Muş province as a salvage initiative in advance of the construction of the Alpaslan Dams (figure 7.1, #4). Field methodology consisted of visiting sites already known from the earlier reconnaissance missions of Kökten (1947) and Burney (1958), and identifying new sites through a survey of the plain and surrounding foothills. Regrettably, other elements of field research, including sampling

strategies and methods of surface material collection, are not detailed in the relevant publications (Rothman 1992, 2004; Rothman and Gülriz 1997); however, it is clear that time constraints weighed heavily on this important salvage project, and modern conditions, including looting and limited visibility due to vegetation, played a role in research design.

Be that as it may, as published, the survey data present certain serious challenges. As elsewhere on the highlands, the lack of stratified Iron Age deposits in the Muş-Van region impedes the confident dating of the ceramic collections. As a result, sites which produced pottery of the Achaemenid, Hellenistic, and Roman periods are undifferentiated on the site distribution map (Rothman 2004: 148-9: fn. 180). Nevertheless, in the site catalogue, these historical periods are, in fact, distinguished from one another, although the specific comparative collections used for comprehending the pottery of the Achaemenid period (as Rothman terms it) are not detailed (Rothman 2004: 129). Despite the data presented in the site catalogue, it is somewhat confusing that in the pottery catalogue, which appears to list the total number of sherds found at each site, not a single sherd is dated to the Achaemenid period,<sup>235</sup> whereas the author does often distinguish between Hellenistic and Roman pottery. In short, one is left unsure of how to regard the temporally subdivided data presented in the site catalogue, and, in general, any analysis of the results pertaining to the post-Urartian period must be cast as highly preliminary.

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<sup>235</sup> Sherd 15.05 is dated to the mid-late Iron Age and sherd 29.06 is indicated as “Achaemenid?” (Rothman 2004: 168, 176).

Intensity: A total of 45 sites were identified in the Muş survey, of which 26 are pertinent to the present study.<sup>236</sup> Of these 26 sites, 21 show traces of activity in the Urartian period and 19 produced evidence of activity in the Achaemenid period. Although sizes were not estimated for a great many of the Urartian sites that were abandoned, the sizes of the sites that appear to have been founded in the Achaemenid period are generally larger than the abandoned Urartian sites. In other words, it is safe to posit that, at the very least, the intensity of occupation remained largely the same from the Urartian to the post-Urartian period.

Continuity/change: Seven sites showed traces of activity in the Urartian period but not the Achaemenid period, 11 showed traces of activity in both the Urartian and the succeeding Achaemenid period, and eight sites appear to be new locales of activity in the Achaemenid period. Of the 11 sites occupied continuously across the historical breakage, six were also sites of activity in the Late Bronze/Iron I period (table 7.3). Of the seven sites occupied during the Urartian but not the Achaemenid period, five had been new foundations of the Urartian period, i.e., were not sites of activity in the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age. In other words, half of the 10 sites that had been newly founded during the Urartian period were abandoned some time in the middle of the first millennium BC, and the number of new sites established in the Achaemenid period exceeds those that were continuously in use. Given that the intensity of occupation on the plain of Muş remains largely the same, and given that there is no evidence for the utter abandonment of sites occupied in the Urartian period, it is reasonable to postulate that many existing

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<sup>236</sup> I exclude from this analysis any sites about which doubt is explicitly indicated for either the Urartian or Achaemenid period, i.e., sites 11, 25, 40, 44.

populations were moving to new locales on the plain, unless (with the exception of only two sites) they inhabited areas that have deep histories of occupation. The patterns suggest a tendency to avoid locations with relatively recent associations to the Urartian period, given that half of such sites are not reused and eight new sites appear, while overall intensity of occupation remains largely stable.

Topographic position: In the absence of detailed descriptions of each site encountered in the survey, it is not possible to assess the topographic positions of the Achaemenid-era sites in the Muş region. According to Mitchell Rothman (2004: 149), in the periods after the decline of Urartu the settlement pattern shows “a fairly dense (for Muş) occupation of the best arable land in the central plains.... The defensive positions the Urartian rulers favored in the hills appear from our current evidence to be less important during the time of the world empires.” It must be noted, however, that modern political conditions in this region prohibited survey access to all of the relevant hilly areas surrounding the plain.

### **Settlement Patterns and Social Logics**

In 1983, then again in 1994, then again in 2004, John Cherry (in the last iteration with Susan Alcock) considered the prospects, opportunities, advances in, and impediments to combining regional survey data into synthetic analyses of the Mediterranean, arguably one of the most systematically and intensively surveyed regions of the world (Alcock and Cherry 2004a; Cherry 1983: 406, 1994: 95). What clearly emerges from this decade-by-decade assessment is that comparative survey analysis was



slow in taking hold in Mediterranean studies, even despite, or perhaps because of, the ever increasing intensity of regional survey efforts (Alcock and Cherry 2004a: 4). In the highlands, where intensive survey is incipient, and total coverage is dishearteningly fractional relative to the scale of the region under consideration, it could be argued that it is just too soon to hope to say anything with confidence on the basis of comparative analysis. However, it seems unproductive to postpone interpretation until (sorely needed) cutting-edge methods clear a path. There is in postponement a risk of elevating field method as an end in itself. Preliminary comparative analysis like the one advanced in the remainder of this chapter can, if nothing else, create sound hypotheses for future problem-oriented and, one would hope, intensive systematic survey research in the region.

The broad contours of collective life changed radically during much of the Iron Age on the highlands, judging by the evidence currently available (see table 7.4). Several regions that were either in the heartland of the Urartian empire and inscribed with numerous fortress constructions (such as Doğubeyazıt and Erciş), or those regions that hosted a major Urartian fortress (such the Lake Urmia region, with Bastam) were substantially vacated by the time the Achaemenid empire was ascendant. The numbers are striking: in Doğubeyazıt there is a drop in site numbers from 20 to 4; in Erciş from 26 to 4; and, in Lake Urmia, from 142 to 18. Nor is there any concomitant evidence for new large settlements in these regions that might have hinted at settlement re-organization rather than regional abandonment. Bearing all caveats of survey methodologies in mind, it is as though there was a thorough exodus away from regions that were dense with fortresses occupied during the centuries of Urartian rule and particularly near to the major

fortresses of the Urartian governmental apparatus. Muş, which is also near Lake Van and the center of Urartu, does not fit this pattern, since site numbers there remain constant. Regrettably, however, it is not possible to try and account for the different situation in Muş, since in the absence of detailed site descriptions it is not even clear whether the Urartian-era sites of this region were fortresses. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to ask whether the collapse of Urartu created the possibility for social disruption amongst groups in the vicinity of the Urartian fortresses that served to dissociate them from the weakened authorities of the dying Urartian regime and relocate elsewhere.

Even as regions that were near to Urartu's political establishment witnessed a severe out-migration, locales that had, as it seems, remained largely beyond the sphere of Urartian control, and had been scarcely occupied during Urartu's ascendancy, came to be settled in the subsequent centuries. In the Tsaghkahovit plain and in the mountains of Ijevan social life returned or intensified during the sixth through fourth centuries, and early evidence suggests a similar transformation in the Vоротan region of southern Armenia (J.F. Cherry, pers. comm. 2007). Given that the clearest evidence for out-migration is in the more southern of the surveyed regions on the highlands (Doğubeyazıt, Erciş, and Urmia) and the evidence for in-migration is in the northern of the surveyed regions on the highlands (Tsaghkahovit and Ijevan), it is *possible* that, at a very general scale, people were moving northward, perhaps following the removal of Urartian controls that concentrated labor and resources near royal fortresses. Alternatively, the occupation of previously unsettled regions in the northeast may reflect a deliberate political strategy on the part of new satrapal authorities to assert control over regions previously ungoverned, thus reconstituting them as interior to the territory of the nascent polity. All

things considered, however, it is premature to propose conclusions with any degree of confidence.

Nevertheless, evidence is emerging from across the highlands to suggest that communities were changing their practices and breaking from some of the rules of the past, promulgated by the fortress institution. This is apparent not only through large-scale departures from once heavily fortified regions, but also through changes in site location within regions from higher to lower ground. Looking at patterns in the topographic positioning of sites, there is some basis to assert that the pattern observed at the site of Tsaghkahovit was not unique. In the regions that were largely abandoned, there is evidence that people who did live in these vacated areas regarded fortresses with some ambivalence. Thus, in the Erciş region, lower-lying sites were favored. In the Doğubeyazıt region, the numbers of fortress sites and open settlements are equal (in both regions, the numbers of sites are very low, only four in each). In Urmia, however, the fortress remains an important locale of habitation.

Turning to places that evince possible constant levels of settlement intensity—namely Muş, the southern Lake Sevan area, and maybe Bayburt—there may be a trend toward lower-lying sites. In the Bayburt region, although two fortresses continue to be occupied in the Achaemenid period, the average elevation of the new, unfortified mound sites is lower than mounds occupied in the Urartian period. In the Lake Sevan area, all of the newly founded Achaemenid-era sites are on low ground or in unfortified locations (while the sites that were continuously occupied from the Urartian period are fortress settlements). In the Muş region, we can only go on the statement of the investigator: “The defensive positions the Urartian rulers favored in the hills appear from our current

evidence to be less important during the time of the world empires” (Rothman 2004: 149). Not only were people possibly moving away from fortress locations in the Achaemenid period, they were generally moving away from sites with strong associations with the preceding centuries. Several new sites in the southern Lake Sevan region were established, while most of the Urartian sites that were abandoned had not been active in the Iron I period. Moreover, most of the sites that were continuously occupied had been loci of activity in the Iron I period. Similarly, in the Muş region, there are several new sites founded in the Achaemenid period. Most of the continuously occupied sites evince deep histories of occupation reaching back into the Iron I and Late Bronze Age. In contrast, the majority of the abandoned Urartian sites had been newly founded in the Urartian period, and thus these sites were less rooted in local settlement histories.

The pattern in regions that were previously unsettled is particularly interesting. On the Tsaghkahovit plain and in the Ijevan region, there is a strong preference for habitation near or in fortified locales. From a political or military standpoint, this may be interpreted as a defensive strategy, as these “frontiers” of the Achaemenid satrapy (i.e., regions beyond former Urartian control) came to be consolidated into the Achaemenid empire. However, as is clear from the discussions in Chapter 6, such strategic geopolitics does not obviate the need to understand how this pattern informed local social logics. By the end of the Urartian period, the fortress had become such an entrenched institution of settled life, that laying down new roots without building (or re-building) a fortress presumably would have been regarded a radical violation of the basic principles of social order. Tsaghkahovit and Hnaberd are very intriguing in this regard, where settlement activity clearly extended well beyond the fortress walls, and where (at least in the case of

Tsaghkahovit) the fortress, although indispensable, was not the apex of community authority.

## **Conclusion**

In Chapter 2, I introduced Sewell's suggestion that social life can be understood in terms of the concept of mediation, or that which makes people interconnected members of each other's worlds (see p. 34). During the centuries of Urartian control on the highlands, the fortress *mediated* relations among people—it connected them across vast stretches by shared understandings about how certain kinds of spaces must play a role in the organization of living collectively. The fortress reproduced certain kinds of routines as the normal ways of everyday life. These routines would have been broadly recognizable across the different regions of the highlands that were marked by such fortress constructions. Indeed, the Urartian kings successfully established the fortress as the location *par excellence* on the highlands, standardizing both its operation in built form and its resonance in diverse media. The fortress was a powerful structuring institution, to use Giddens's term, by which I mean that the practices that took place there reproduced the rules of possibility that ordered social life. Fortresses made alternative practices unthinkable.

From the data reviewed in this chapter, a picture of settlement patterns within the highland satrapy is beginning to emerge. *Despite* a tendency toward survey methods that give preference to likely fortress locations, this emerging picture suggests that the importance and the role of the fortress changed during the centuries of Achaemenid

dominion—perhaps not decisively and perhaps not universally—but nevertheless, palpably. The nature of our control over regional chronologies at present makes it impossible to attribute this change to the transformations linked to any single historical process, whether the collapse of Urartu or the emergence of Achaemenid rule (and indeed, these processes are not necessarily singular, in themselves). But by the mid-first millennium BC, new and somewhat different schemas were being reproduced. One question that immediately emerges is: if the fortress was no longer such a critical mediator of relations among groups of people across the highlands in the mid-first millennium BC, then what took its place? What, if any, spatial practices made people in the highland satrapy interdependent members of a larger collective, beyond that of their own immediate surroundings? Intensive investigation at other sites such as Tsaghkahovit would help illuminate this question. However, in the next chapter I argue that communities of the highlands were indeed interconnected, specifically through key institutions of satrapal authority.

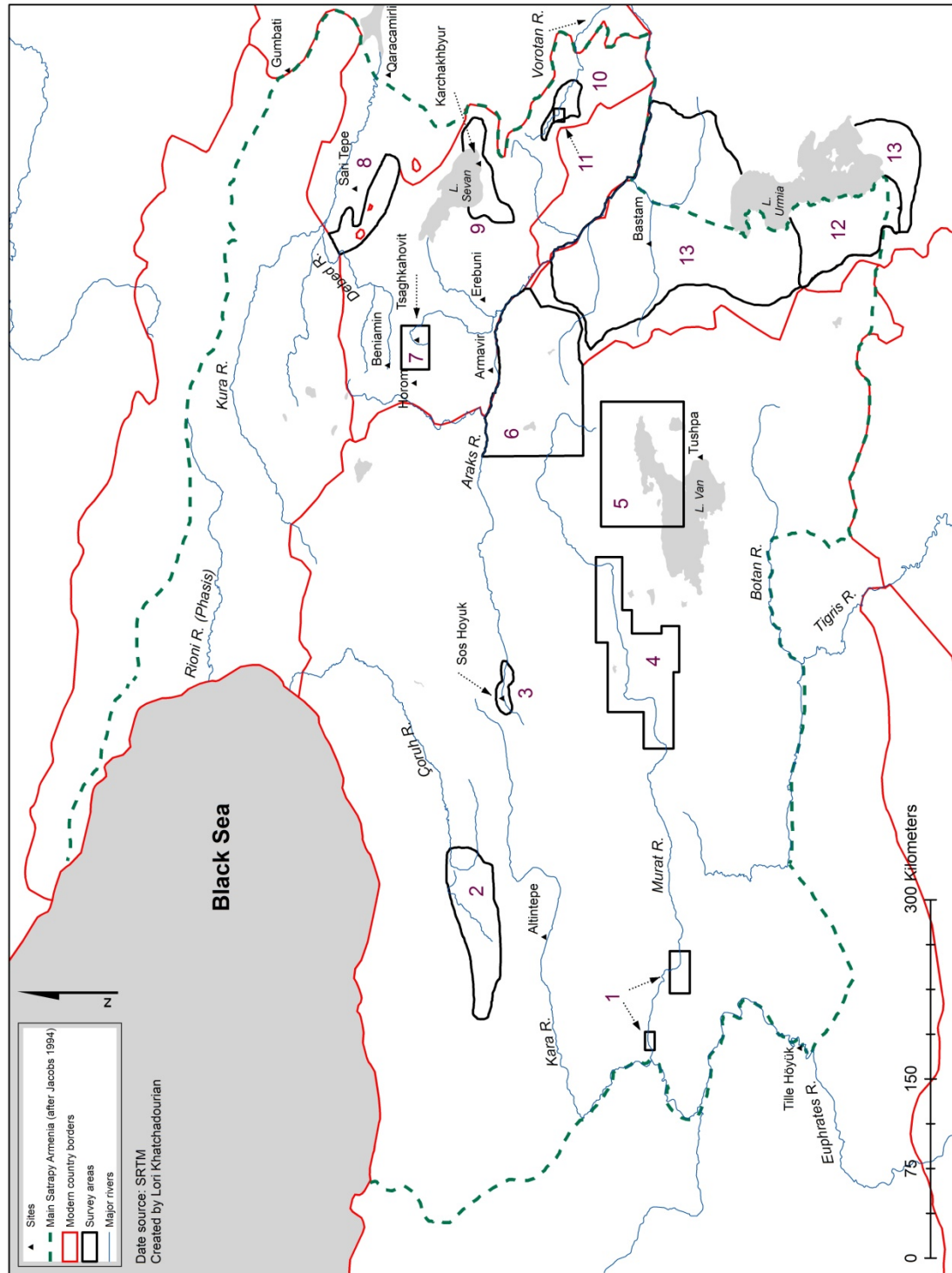


Figure 7.1 Map of the highlands showing survey regions. 1 = Keben Dam survey; 2 = Bayburt plain survey; 3 = Pasinler plain survey; 4 = Muş plain survey; 5 = Erciş region survey; 6 = Doğubeyazıt region survey; 7 = Tsaghkahovit plain survey; 8 = Ijevan region survey; 9 = southern Lake Sevan basin survey; 10 = Sisian region survey; 11 = Vorotan region survey; 12 and 13 = Lake Urmia surveys.

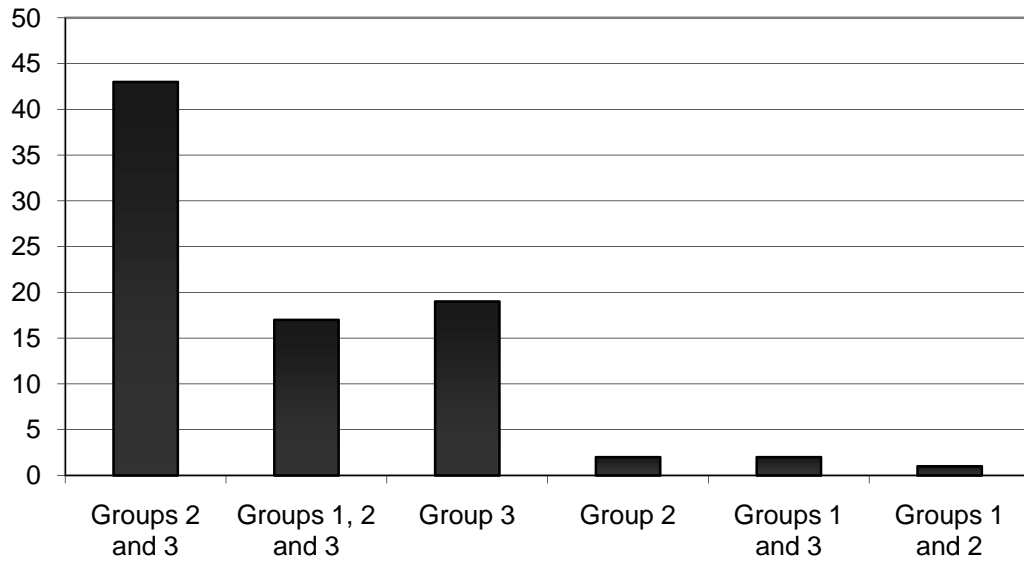


Figure 7.2 Distribution of 84 Iron Age sites in the Bayburt plain by ware groups.



DATES	CATEGORY	REGION/PROJECT	PRINCIPAL PUBLICATIONS
1960-1972	C	Northeastern Armenia, Ijevan	Esayan (1976)
1967-1979	C	Northern Iran, Urmia	Kleiss (1979); Kleiss and Kroll (1992)
1968-1974	B	Southeastern Turkey, Keban Dam	Whallon (1979)
1970-1991	C	Southern Armenia, Syunik survey	Xnkikyan (2002)
1976/1978	C	Northern Iran, Urmia survey	Pecorella and Salvini (1984)
1988-1993	A	Northeastern Turkey, Bayburt survey	Sagona and Sagona (2004)
1991/1993	B	Southeastern Turkey, Muş survey	Rothman (1992, 2004); Rothman and Gülruz (1997)
1994-2000	B	Central Armenia, Lake Sevan survey	Biscione <i>et al.</i> (2002)
1998/2000	A	Central Armenia, Project ArAGATS	Avetisyan <i>et al.</i> (2000); Smith <i>et al.</i> (in press)
1999	—*	Northeastern Turkey, Pasinler	Sagona (1999)
2000	C	Southern Armenia, Syunik survey	Kroll (2006); <a href="http://www.vaa.fak12.uni-muenchen.de/Armenia/2000/Armenia-2000-Eng.html">http://www.vaa.fak12.uni-muenchen.de/Armenia/2000/Armenia-2000-Eng.html</a>
2001	C	Southern Armenia, Kapan region survey	<a href="http://www.vaa.fak12.uni-muenchen.de/Armenia/2001/Kapan-2001-Detail.html">http://www.vaa.fak12.uni-muenchen.de/Armenia/2001/Kapan-2001-Detail.html</a>
2002-2004	C	Eastern Turkey, Doğyubeyazit and Erciş Regions	Marro and Özfirat (2003, 2004, 2005)
2005-present	A	Southern Armenia, Vorotan Project	Zardaryan <i>et al.</i> (2007); Cherry <i>et al.</i> (2008)

Table 7.1 Major highland survey projects since the 1960s. Those highlighted in gray are not included in this chapter, for reasons discussed in the text.

\* Final publication forthcoming, but preliminary report suggests “A”.

No. of sites with Urartian-era but <b>not</b> Achaemenid-era occupation	No. of sites with <b>both</b> Urartian- and Achaemenid-era occupation	No. of sites with Achaemenid-era but <b>not</b> Urartian- era occupation
7	7	6
Subset with pre-Urartian occupation	Subset with pre-Urartian occupation	
3	4	--

Table 7.2 Distribution of relevant sites in the southern Lake Sevan basin.

No. of sites with Urartian-era but <b>not</b> Achaemenid-era occupation	No. of sites with <b>both</b> Urartian- and Achaemenid-era occupation	No. of sites with Achaemenid-era but <b>not</b> Urartian- era occupation
7	11	8
No. of sites with pre-Urartian occupation	No. of sites with pre-Urartian occupation	
2	6	--

Table 7.3 Distribution of relevant sites in the Muş plain region.

	<b>Intensity</b>	<b>Continuity/change</b>	<b>Topographic position</b>
Bayburt	<i>Possible</i> increase but hard to say.	n/a	n/a
Ijevan	Sharp increase.	Major changes. Groups settling in the region.	Fortress remains very salient.
Doğyubeyazıt (Mt. Ararat region)	Sharp decline.	Major changes. Groups leaving the region.	Fortresses are not favored over flat settlements.
Erciş (Lake Van region)	Sharp decline.	Major changes. Groups leaving the region.	Downward movement.
Tsaghkahovit	Sharp increase.	Major changes. Groups settling in the region.	Mixed picture. Some downward movement, but fortress remains important.
Southern Lake Sevan	Constant.	Modest evidence for relocation but continuous occupation as well.	Downward movement in locations of new sites.
Urmia	Sharp decline.	Major changes. Groups leaving the region.	Fortress remains very salient.
Muş	Constant.	Changes. People leaving Urartian sites. New settlements in the region.	<i>Possible</i> downward movement, (according to Rothman).

Table 7.4 Summary of results of survey data analysis.

## CHAPTER 8

### HIGHLAND HALLS AND SATRAPAL AUTHORITY

I have used the term “highland satrapy” throughout this dissertation to denote a distinct unit of the Achaemenid empire that stretched from the northern Euphrates river eastward into the Lesser Caucasus. So deployed, the term can seem to give fixity to what in fact remains an open question: What *was* the “highland satrapy”? What practices and mediations gave it coherence? The historical sources discussed in Chapter 3 leave no doubt that an entity known as Armenia, likely divided into two parts, and roughly mapped on the highest uplands of southwest Asia, was a constituent part of the empire. But it is another matter entirely to identify what bound the denizens of this entity into a polity or organized community, distinct from *other* organized communities of the empire. What mediated relations between the inhabitants at Tsaghkahovit and those on the Muş plain or in the southern Lake Sevan basin, for instance? What made these inhabitants not only members of their local communities, but also members of a polity, or a satrapy, that the Achaemenid kings appear to have called Armenia?

In the highland satrapy, there is some evidence for the conventions that typically signal centralized political institutions during the mid-first millennium BC in southwest Asia, such as the use of seals and sealings and administrative tablets—instruments of mediation *par excellence*. One Achaemenid seal from the highland region was found not far from Tsaghkahovit, near the site of Horom on the Shirak plain (figures 8.1 and 8.2)

(Garrison and Root 2001: 56, fn. 135; Kohl and Kroll 1999: 258, fig. 7).<sup>237</sup> One stamp seal and two sealings from stamp seals have been found at Vardadzor and Armavir, respectively, but the stratigraphy of these sites and the nature of the imagery prohibit conclusive dating to the centuries of Achaemenid glyptic production (cf. Karapetyan 2003: 87, fig. 54.3-5). In addition, there an Elamite tablet known from Armavir (see footnote 40). However, the evidence thus far is limited. The familiar instruments of administration are conspicuous in their absence. Without a visible apparatus of political regulation, what would it have meant for the Achaemenid kings to define Armenia as a province of their empire? How were tribute levies and taxes collected? How were peace and security maintained? How was a distinctly political sense of community constituted across this vast rugged landscape? What, in other words, were the conventions and practices that connected people across the highlands?

As in previous chapters, I suggest once again that the answers to these questions are to be found in the complex role of the fortress as an institution of highland politics, yet an institution that was in considerable flux, it seems, during the mid-first millennium BC. In previous chapters we have seen that the fortress may have lost some ground as the key structuring institution of social life. At Tsaghkahovit, the fortress was demoted by the new settlers at the site, who shifted the base of power to a second location outside of the protective embrace of the Late Bronze Age stone fortifications. And across the highlands, as the study of survey data in Chapter 7 suggests, there is some evidence for

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<sup>237</sup> The cylinder seal depicts a scene of heroic encounter, one of the most predominant images in the repertoire of Achaemenid glyptics. Garrison and Root (2001: 56, fn. 135) have described this seal as an unquestionable product of the Achaemenid period. The seal was found near the site of Horom, but it does not have secure provenience. A local farmer in the village of Horom found it. The seal is extremely similar to a seal from Pasargadae (Root 1999; Stronach 1978: Pl. 162 a-b). Sealings with imagery reminiscent of Achaemenid glyptic styles have been found at the city of Artashat on the Ararat plain, which was founded over a century after the collapse of the Achaemenid empire (Khachatryan 1996).

movement downward, onto lower ground, and movement away from fortresses built during the ascendancy of Urartu. From a regional perspective, these transformations appear less revolutionary than experimental—as though in some places, to some degree, we are seeing the gradual repudiation of the social logics of an earlier era, when the fortress was the *sine qua non* of collective life. Even as the fortress receded slightly as the critical location for, and image of, order, it is not entirely clear what was taking its place, binding together highland communities into a single province. I argue here that a form of satrapy-wide political community did exist and that it was vested in part in the rehabilitated spaces of older fortresses. But, the spatial order of these fortresses was much transformed, as was their practical articulation with the communities beyond. As such, while the satrapy utilized spaces redolent with symbolic associations to past traditions, their practical conventions emphasized the “new world order” of the satrapal regime.

In the first section of this chapter, I catalogue the evidence for recuperations of earlier Urartian fortresses during the centuries of Achaemenid rule.<sup>238</sup> This is not a comprehensive review, but a summary of several major and minor Urartian fortresses that suffices to demonstrate that authorities in the highlands were generally disinclined toward these locales of the former Urartian polity. In the subsequent section, I turn to the two most significant exceptions, Altintepe and Erebuni. Here I provide detailed descriptions of these remarkable sites and consider how the arrangement of built space may inform our understanding of the making of the highland satrapy out of heterogeneous far-flung

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<sup>238</sup> Here I mean specifically Urartian fortresses that appear to have been built by the imperial establishment of Biainili, and not the broader category of highland fortresses built during the centuries of Urartian control (i.e., Iron 2 in the terminology of Project ArAGATS). For a bibliography on Urartu and its fortresses see Zimansky (1998).

communities. In the final section, I consider the limited though growing evidence for a distinct approach to constituting satrapal authority, one found particularly in the northeast, near the Kura lowlands, beyond the borders of earlier Urartian imperial power.

### **Breaking with Tradition?: Urartu's Abandoned Fortresses**

During the sixth through fourth centuries BC, inhabitants of the highland satrapy largely disregarded the standing remains of the Urartian fortresses around them. This appears to have been the case particularly at the large seventh century fortresses of the Urartian king, Rusa II. For instance, at Ayanis, on the east shore of Lake Van (figure 8.1) (Çilingiroğlu *et al.* 2001), no evidence for occupation after the demise of Urartu has been identified either on the citadel or in the lower town (P. Zimansky, pers. comm. 2008). Another construction of Rusa II, Bastam, in northern Iran, also remained uninhabited during the centuries of Achaemenid imperialism (Kleiss 1979c, 1980, 1988).<sup>239</sup> Yet a third fortress of Rusa II, Teishebai URU (or Karmir Blur), located on the Ararat plain, had been violently destroyed and then abandoned in the late seventh century BC. By the following century, Teishebai URU would likely have appeared as a dilapidated heap of melted mudbrick atop stone foundations. This once impressive Urartian political center was never cleared, repaired, or re-occupied.<sup>240</sup> Similarly at Tushpa, on the southeast

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<sup>239</sup>It does appear that part of the lower settlement was briefly occupied after the destruction of the fortress. Kleiss identified a short-lived Median occupation, but asserted that there exist no grounds to suggest continued activity into the period of the Achaemenid empire (Kleiss 1979c: 233).

<sup>240</sup> Although three burials, which Martirosyan dated to the sixth through fourth centuries BC, were dug into the lower town *outside* the fortress (Karapetyan 2003: 24; Martirosian 1961: 137-48).

shore of Lake Van, once the capital of the Urartian empire, there is no evidence for a re-occupation of the site during the mid-first millennium BC.<sup>241</sup>

At Oshakan, on the northern Ararat plain, the Urartian citadel at the summit of a hill was left vacant during the centuries in question, despite the presence of a reusable complex of fine ashlar masonry. That said, an unfortified residential structure below the citadel does appear to have some evidence for continued occupation (Esayan and Kalantarian 1988; Ter-Martirosov 2001). Similarly at Horom, while the areas inside the walled citadel remained vacant during the sixth through fourth centuries BC, researchers did discover a small, post-Urartian domestic complex and animal stable constructed against the external face of one of the fortification walls (Badaljan *et al.* 1997; Kohl and Kroll 1999).<sup>242</sup> Other Urartian fortress sites which also stood in disuse when the highlands was a satrapy of the Achaemenid empire include Aramus, Artashat, and Aragats on the Ararat plain and Çavuştepe and Anzaf in eastern Turkey. Finally, the site of Argishtihinili presents a complicated case. Of the eastern and western fortified hills that make up the original Urartian complex, the western hill remained unoccupied in subsequent centuries. On the eastern hill, the stratigraphic situation is exceedingly complicated due to several phases of reuse, but researchers have yet to identify

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<sup>241</sup> Here, too, some Late Iron Age burials (defined by the researcher as Median-Achaemenian-Parthian), were found either above or within the level of an Urartian complex (Tarhan 1994: 39-41).

<sup>242</sup> Horom is a slightly unusual case because the fortress had a deep history of occupation before the Urartian period and local pottery styles exist alongside Urartian pottery. In certain respects Horom does not strictly conform to the canonical Urartian fortress style. However, Philip Kohl and Stephan Kroll (1999) maintain that Horom should be regarded as an Urartian fortress. Two Urartian inscriptions from Spandarian in the north Shirak plain testify that the Urartians were active in this region. In observing this small settlement at Horom, and in considering the nearby, unfortified Achaemenid-era site at Beniamin, Kohl and Kroll (1999) suggested that in the post-Urartian period “[s]ettlement now did not need the protection of the natural hills and the cyclopean masonry, but could be located directly on the plain, a shift in settlement suggestive of the more peaceful times that accompanied Achaemenid rule” (Kohl and Kroll 1999: 257).



architecture or a stratigraphic level clearly associated with the sixth through fourth centuries BC.<sup>243</sup>

From this brief survey of several major and minor fortresses of Urartu, it is safe to conclude that the walled spaces of that polity were largely repudiated by the authorities of the highland satrapy. For very small numbers of people—those who buried their dead in and around some of the fortresses or established small settlements outside the walls—these sites may have been places of pilgrimage or otherwise significant for their associations with ancestors long dead. But by and large, based on what is known to date, the summits of the Urartian imperial apparatus appear to have been either citadels to be avoided or places simply deemed inappropriate in the construction of a new regime. That is, except for the two fortresses at Erebuni and Altuntepe, which present striking exceptions to the pattern noted above.

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<sup>243</sup> The long-time director of the Armavir excavations, Gevork Tiratsyan (1988), noted that there was no clear evidence for an Achaemenid-era stratum at Armavir (Tiratsyan 1988: 11), despite Felix Ter-Martirosov's (1974) attempt to delineate one as part of his dissertation research. Ter-Martirosov (2001: 156) has since argued that a columned hall at the east side of the eastern hill dates to the period of Achaemenid rule but his post-Urartian dating of the structure in question is not widely accepted. Despite doubts, the existence of the Elamite tablet found at Armavir makes it difficult to set aside the possibility of reoccupation during the centuries of Achaemenid hegemony.

## **The Columned Halls of Erebuni and Altintepe**

### *Description of Sites*

#### Altintepe

The small fortress of Altintepe is located on a steep conical mound that rises up at the eastern end of the Erzincan plain, in modern eastern Turkey (figure 8.1) (Forbes 1983; Karaosmanoğlu *et al.* 2005; Özgüç 1961/1962, 1966; Summers 1993). The outcrop, which occupies a commanding position over the east-west thoroughfare of the Kara river, was a locus of activity from the Early Bronze Age through the medieval periods (figure 8.3). During the Iron Age, Altintepe hosted two main periods of occupation (figure 8.4). The first (subdivided into three phases), is marked by an Urartian temple surrounded by a portico, ancillary storerooms, and tombs, all contained within a buttressed fortification wall. During the second period of occupation, a large columned hall was built to the south of the earlier structure. Its northern corner sits on top of the south-eastern end of the earlier temenos. During this subsequent occupation, the earlier structures appear to have lain unused, although the fortress wall was rebuilt.

This hypostyle hall was made of three-meter thick mud-brick walls stacked on top of a stone socle. The structure's roof was supported by 18 wooden columns (three rows of six), which bore their weight down upon round, poorly-finished limestone column bases, some as large as 1.5 meters in diameter. Access to this large (44 x 25.30 m) space was afforded through one entrance in the east (not indicated in figure 8.4), which led

through a vestibule to a small room that opened on a series of variously sized annexes. Apart from a hearth in the hall's northeastern quadrant, there were no other fixed architectural features (e.g., no benches, platforms, or niches); however, pieces of fresco were discovered, mostly on the floor of the room but also in traces on the walls. These fragments evoke a colorfully ornamented space painted with multiple registers of vegetal motifs, animals, geometric patterns, and winged genii (Özgüç 1961/1962). Apart from these fresco fragments, pieces of gold, and a corpus of ceramics, excavations conducted by Turkish teams between 1959 and 1966 exposed a clean, hard-packed earthen floor. A sketched reconstruction, although perhaps more imaginative than strictly accurate, nevertheless provides some sense of the interior of the hall (figure 8.5). Excavations resumed in 2004 revealing an earlier structure beneath this floor, which measured 14 x 10 meters, a fraction of the size of the columned hall above (Karaosmanoğlu *et al.* 2005: 184).

The dating of the hypostyle has been a matter of some discussion. In the absence of inscriptions and radiocarbon determinations, researchers have dated this structure through archaeological and art historical analysis. The original investigator, Tahsin Özgüç (1966), noted the clear indications that the columned hall and associated fortification wall belonged to a later occupation phase than the temple complex. Not only does the hall encroach upon the *temenos*, but the masonry of the later fortification appears to be composed of spolia from the earlier constructions. Equipped with this relative chronology offered by the site's architecture, Özgüç turned to the ceramics and the fresco fragments to establish an absolute date. At the time, the so-called "Triangle Ware" found in the area of the columned hall and prevalent elsewhere in eastern Turkey

was associated with the Urartian empire (see p. 354). Moreover, the iconography of the frescos fragments was strikingly comparable to that of the fragments from Erebuni, also then thought to date to the Urartian occupation of the site. Özgüç recognized the strong Assyrian influences on these wall paintings and was mindful of von der Osten's dating of Triangle Ware. He therefore concluded that the monumental building at Altintepe must belong to a second, terminal Urartian occupation of the site (Özgüç 1966: 45-6).

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, as archaeologists working in Turkey and Iran began to call for a re-dating of Triangle Ware to the centuries of Achaemenid rule, Geoffrey Summers (1993) published an important study in which he re-examined the pottery from Altintepe and re-assigned the hypostyle hall and associated constructions to the Achaemenid period (such a dating had been proposed decades earlier by de Francovich [1966: 220] and Burney and Lang [1971: 158]). Between the stratigraphy and the ceramics, this later dating for the columned hall at Altintepe is now quite secure; however, the question of the wall paintings has not been revisited. If we accept, as I do, the later dating of the columned hall, then the wall paintings must also date to the period of Achaemenid rule.<sup>244</sup>

### Erebuni

Erebuni is located in the eastern highlands, about 450 km east of Altintepe (figure 8.1). The site is set atop a steep hill, which rises up at the eastern end of the Ararat plain,

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<sup>244</sup> A fresh art historical analysis of these fragments in light of Summers's revised dating of the structure in which they were found would be extremely productive. Ter-Martirosov (2005a) has recently re-examined the wall paintings from the columned hall at Erebuni, which provide the closest parallels to the fragments from Altintepe.

not far from the Hrazdan river (figure 8.6). Excavations at Erebuni were conducted in the 1950s under the joint sponsorship of the State Pushkin Museum in Moscow and the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR. Royal Urartian cuneiform inscriptions found at Erebuni securely date the first significant occupation of the hill to the first half of the eighth century BC, when Argishti I had built several densely arranged buildings, as well as a fortification wall (figure 8.7). As at Altintepe, there is evidence for a significant, later building phase at the site, marked by the expansion of a pre-existing construction (a portico), the renovation of another structure (a large Urartian temple), and the new foundation of a third (a small Urartian temple). Some of the remaining buildings may also have been reused during subsequent centuries, and the fortification wall underwent minor renovation. Recently, Ter-Martirosov (2005a: 50) has argued that the portico at the entrance to the citadel on the south likely dates to the post-Urartian occupation, since it is not customary in Urartian fortresses for porticos to be situated outside the fortification walls, facing outward and undefended.<sup>245</sup> Taken together, the later rebuilding at Erebuni was not merely a renovation but a broad transformation of the overall architectural composition (Oganesyanyan 1961: 77).

In its final iteration, the columned hall at Erebuni measured approximately 29 x 33 m in its internal dimensions (i.e., slightly smaller than the hall at Altintepe). Once again, a sketched reconstruction offers one impression (not necessarily an accurate depiction) of how the hall may have appeared from the inside (figure 8.8). The hall contained five rows of six wooden columns (nearly twice as many columns as Altintepe, but more densely spaced). The basalt column bases, 26 of which were found *in situ*,

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<sup>245</sup> Interestingly, Nylander has made the same observations about outward oriented porticoes with regard to Palace P at Pasargadae (Nylander 1970: 115).

differ from the bases at Altintepe. They are rectilinear slabs, with average dimensions of 0.7 x 0.6 x 0.5 meters, and they were embedded within the packed clay floor. In conjunction with the adjacent constructions thought to be associated with the hall, the complex covers an area of 1,715 square meters. Although there are two doorways leading to these ancillary rooms (the elongated one of which juts up against the fortress wall), the only exit out of the complex, as in the case of the hall at Altintepe, is in the east.

Building techniques at the two sites are also similar: the walls at Erebuni were made of roughly hewn stone foundations with a mudbrick superstructure. As with the columned hall at Altintepe, the Erebuni hall was colorfully ornamented with wall paintings depicting multiple registers of vegetal motifs, animals, griffins, and geometric patterns, judging by fresco fragments found in the hall (Oganessian 1973). Unlike the columned hall at Altintepe, however, there are various features inside the building at Erebuni, most notably a low, packed clay bench running along the walls, a clay, three-stepped “sacrificial altar” built against the southwestern wall (traces of ash and charcoal were found on this feature and on the wall behind it), and a slab-covered well along the western wall, into which a stone-lined drain led from the center of the hall.

There is clear evidence for at least two substantial building phases of the columned hall at Erebuni. Along the northern wall, two distinct types of masonry were used in the construction of the stone socle: in the western half, the foundation is made of roughly hewn stone blocks, preserved to a height of 1.5 m, while in the eastern half, well-hewn basalt slabs reach a height of only 0.5 m (Oganessian 1961: fig. 42). The dimensions of the buttresses on the exterior of this northern wall also differ from east to

west. In addition, the construction techniques used on the eastern wall of the hall are the same as those used on the eastern half of the northern wall. This circumstance has led investigators to posit that the original colonnaded space built by the Urartians consisted of a small portico (two rows of six columns), which was subsequently expanded through the addition of new walls that stretched to the east (Oganessian 1973: fig. 25b). In effect, this colonnaded space would have served as a portico to the long and narrow room to the west. All of the architecture to the east of this portico, including the entrance, belonged to the later building phase (Oganessian 1960, 1961; Tiratsyan 1988: 24).

The dating of these two building phases remains an open question. There is little doubt that the founding of Erebuni dates to the second decade of the eighth century BC, when, according to an inscription, the site was established by the Urartian king Argishti I. This has led most researchers to suggest that the initial building phase of the columned hall, marked by the two-rowed portico, dates to the reign of the Urartian dynasty and the eastward expansion of the structure dates to the centuries when Armenia was a satrapy of the Achaemenid empire. Oganessian (1973) supported his argument for associating the first phase with the Urartians on the basis of the fragments of wall paintings, which carried scenes of supposedly typical Urartian iconography. As at Altintepe, initially some of the excavators of Erebuni dated the second building phase also to the Urartian period (to the reign of Sarduri II) (Loseva 1955a, 1955b, 1958; Piotrovskii 1955: 13). Beginning in the early 1960s, however, a general consensus formed around an Achaemenid-era dating for this second phase, which, in the absence of clear stratigraphy, was based exclusively on architectural and art historical comparisons (Khodzhash *et al.* 1979; Oganessian 1960: 295, 1961: 75-102; Tiratsyan 1960; 1988: 24-7). In particular,

researchers focused on the fact that several artifacts found across the site, including arrow heads, ceramics, silver rhyta, and bronze horse bits, have parallels in other Achaemenid archaeological contexts in Iran and elsewhere in the Caucasus. While these artifacts were not necessarily encountered in association with the columned hall, they testified more generally to post-Urartian activity at the site. With respect to the hall itself, Tiratsyan pointed out the similarities between the configuration of columns at Erebuni (six rows of five columns) with that of Palace P at Pasargadae and Hall 62 in the western part of the treasury building at Persepolis (Schmidt 1953; Stronach 1978: Fig. 38).<sup>246</sup> There are no Urartian parallels for such a configuration.

In the late 1990s, excavations at Erebuni resumed (under the direction of Felix Ter-Martirosov), in order to refine the stratigraphy of the site and distinguish more clearly the Urartian from the post-Urartian building phases. This is a daunting task at Erebuni, where the churned-up deposits from early excavations—unsystematic by today's standards—have been relocated by dubious restoration work undertaken during the late 1960s. In preliminary statements on his new investigations, Ter-Martirosov (2001: 157; 2005b) has noted the presence of a thick cultural stratum dating to the sixth through fourth centuries BC, which he identified in the stratigraphic columns of trenches placed in previously undisturbed areas of the site. In addition, on the basis of soundings carried out adjacent to the columned hall, Ter-Martirosov has offered a revised chronology of this area. The Urartian cultural deposit, he argues, sits at a considerable depth (1.5 m) beneath even what was previously considered the western portico. Ter-Martirosov reconstructs three building phases for the hypostyle hall, all post-dating the kingdom of

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<sup>246</sup> However, one need not look only to the Achaemenid centers for parallels to the structure at Erebuni. The most similar columned building is in fact much closer to Erebuni, at Godin Tepe in northwestern Iran (Johnson 1974-1975: 33; Kroll 2003: 284).



Urartu, based on both the stratigraphy and his re-analysis of the fresco fragments (Ter-Martirosov 2005a). For the thorough evaluation of these important re-assessments, we must await a detailed excavation report. Nevertheless, while the dating of the various construction phases remains in question, there is little doubt at this point that, in its final form as a hypostyle hall, the structure dates to the centuries of Achaemenid dominion. Before proceeding, it is important to stress that the methods of excavation and renovation at Erebuni during the 1950s and 1960s did not match the standards of the present and, as with many sites that boast a long history of research, reservation accompanies the basing of interpretation on the early datasets. Nevertheless, the post-Urartian reoccupation of this fascinating fortress warrants careful re-examination.

*The History of a Form and the Form of a History*

The columned halls at Altintepe and Erebuni take their place in a long-standing scholarly conversation about the origins and development of the hypostyle hall as an architectural form of the Near East—a form that finds one of its most distinctive instantiations in the major centers of Achaemenid Iran. This chapter, however, is not primarily concerned with architectural history and the debates on the origins and transmission of the hypostyle hall. So only the main points of this conversation are summarized here, as they relate to Altintepe and Erebuni.

The placement of the columned halls within Urartian fortresses, and the fact that the buildings may have been built atop or beside earlier Urartian porticoes, prompted early researchers working at Altintepe and Erebuni to suggest that the origins of the

elaborate columned halls of Achaemenid Iran were to be found in the architecture of Urartu (Loseva 1955a, 1955b, 1958; Neve *et al.* 1965: 26; Özgüç 1966; Tiratsyan 1964).<sup>247</sup> Almost immediately after these suggestions were offered, they encountered critique.<sup>248</sup> Other oft-cited antecedents to this feature of Achaemenid architecture were the hypostyle halls of Egypt (see de Francovich 1966: 216-17 for a critique of this view as well). Subsequently, however, the discoveries of columned structures at the sites of Hasanlu, Tepe Nush-i Jan, and Godin Tepe (all in western Iran), have shifted the gaze away from Urartu and Egypt (as well as Greece, another cited source, particularly the Telesterion at Eleusis), as more appropriate antecedents to the Achaemenid halls are now to be found within Iran itself (Curtis and Razmjou 2005: 50; Nylander 1970: 112; Root 1995: 2619; Stronach 2001: 97). In the case of Hasanlu, the columned hall appears to have been built earlier than the known Urartian porticoes.<sup>249</sup> Soon after the excavation of Tepe Nush-i Jan, Roaf and Stronach (1973: 132) wrote:

The autochthonous development of the columned hall in western Iran is now well documented and it is no longer necessary to suppose—as not a few writers have in the past—that the Achaemenians took their inspiration for this architectural form from Urartu or Egypt.

If this, then, is the general history of the columned hall as a form, it remains to consider how the form of the columned halls at Altintepe and Erebuni has contributed to the writing of Achaemenid history. Particularly among the investigators at these sites, it has become customary to label the colonnaded buildings by the Old Persian term

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<sup>247</sup> For a review of porticoes and columned spaces in Urartian architecture see Forbes (1983: 49-59).

<sup>248</sup> As the excavations of Altintepe and Erebuni were underway and news of the hypostyle halls spread from Turkey and the USSR, de Francovich (1966: 219) wrote, “this enthusiasm, this fervour for Urartu have ended up by distorting the reality of artistic phenomena that can be objectively appraised: scholars have been led to formulate judgments on the importance of Urartian architecture and art in general out of proportion to the real value of this very modest civilization devoid of originality.”

<sup>249</sup> Building II at Hasanlu burned down at the end of the ninth century BC (Dyson and Voigt 2003). On the question of Urartian columned spaces and Hasanlu see Çilingiroğlu (1978).

*apadana*. This term is used principally to describe certain monumental buildings at the Achaemenid imperial centers of Persepolis and Susa (see p. 75 and figures 8.9 and 8.10) (Karaosmanoğlu *et al.* 2005; Özgüç 1966; Summers 1993; Ter-Martirosov 2001); however, as Curtis and Razmjou (2005: 50) have correctly pointed out, the halls at Altuntepe and Erebuni are not, in fact, apadana-style buildings. It is worth unpacking this term in order to try and pinpoint what is at stake in this misnomer when applied to the halls of the highland satrapy.

*Apadana* is one of three terms (along with *hadiš* and *taçara*) that occur in Old Persian inscriptions to refer to a “palace” building, although the nuances of meaning among the three words are not clear (Stronach 1985: 433). David Stronach (1985) has argued that the word *apadana*, which appears only four times in the Old Persian inscriptions, was intended, in a very restricted way, to refer to buildings that have a key set of characteristics, including, most especially, stone columns (although other important features may include corner towers, and porticoes surrounding a central hall). Buildings that can be properly regarded as *apadanas*, according to Stronach, are also very large, occupy strategic positions, and generally are elaborated on a grand scale. Not all of the numerous columned halls built at the Achaemenid centers of Pasargadae, Susa, and Persepolis are *apadanas*, although the term is often used as a shorthand to describe columned buildings that approximate the iconic form (Curtis and Razmjou 2005: 50). These halls contain among them not only a great deal of architectural variety, the details of which do not concern us here (see, for example, Boucharlat 2001; Nylander 1970; Schmidt 1953; Stronach 1978, 1985, 2001), but also clearly hosted a wide range of

activities, even if precise functions of the various colonnaded buildings at the three sites are not clear.

The primary purpose of the apadana is perhaps better understood than some of the other columned structures. Since this is the word that is commonly applied to the hypostyle halls at Altıntepe and Erebuni, it is worth briefly reviewing what function these apadana buildings are thought to have served. Generally, apadanas are described as audience or reception halls. The elaborate pictorial reliefs carved on the staircases of the apadana at Persepolis (see p. 75) lend support to the idea that these were venues of pomp, pageantry, and processions in which officials and prominent individuals from across the empire would participate and be received by the king (although as allegorical expressions, the reliefs should not be read as literal representations of the activities that took place within the halls). The notion that these spaces were used for reception is offered some support by their spatial arrangements. In the case of the apadanas at Persepolis and Susa (figures 8.9 and 8.10), the main halls can be entered from all four sides, but only one doorway leads to and from the interior of the palatial complexes.

At Susa, a stone foundation for a throne was discovered between two rows of columns on the southern end of the hall, closest to the dedicated entrance in the south. No such throne traces were found at Persepolis, perhaps because the ground surface is directly on bedrock (Stronach 1985: 441, fn. 31). On the one hand, the apadanas at Susa and Persepolis are quite open spaces, with multiple ways into the main halls through doorways on all sides. The possibility for fluid flows of traffic can be harmonized with the notion of circulating audiences, observing and participating in performance and ceremony.

On the other hand, there appear to be dedicated, or more exclusive, entrances on the south sides of these structures, where adjacent rooms, thought to be palatial buildings, lend the halls a frontal orientation. The architectural arrangements of the apadanas suggest differential relationships to the columned spaces that coincide with the hierarchical dynamics implied by notions of audience and reception. Of course, these spaces may have had secondary functions as well in the day-to-day life of Persepolis and Susa. But audience and reception between king and subjects has been the dominant interpretation.

In the absence of the distinctive features that distinguish the apadanas at Susa and Persepolis, determining the function of the hypostyle halls at Pasargadae has been considerably more challenging, as Nylander (1970) has noted (figure 8.11). Palace S and Palace P stand isolated, without a dense agglomeration of neighboring structures, and thus frontal orientations within the central halls are difficult to discern. In the long porticos on one sides of these buildings, however, traces of thrones have been suggested (Nylander 1970: 114).

Apart from the apadana and apadana-like buildings at these imperial sites, the entire southern part of the Persepolis complex presents a dense concentration of colonnaded construction. On the basis of pictorial reliefs that adorn some of these buildings, various columned halls at Persepolis have traditionally been thought of as residences for kings and meeting places for military officials and nobles, such as, for instance, the relatively small Central Building, which has benches in the two porticoes. While the reliefs on the buildings cannot be viewed as literal representations of the activities they hosted, the diversity of pictorial strategies on the various columned halls at

the very least allows for the recognition of heterogeneity in the functions of the various columned halls.

In this brief look at apadanas and other columned halls from the imperial heartland, my purpose has been simply to illuminate the connotations of the term when applied to the colonnaded buildings at Altintepe and Erebuni. This hypostyle form was repeated at the sites of the imperial heartland and has become a characteristic feature of Achaemenid architecture, whatever its antecedents may have been. Let us now return to the highlands.

#### From Apadana to Satrapal “Seat”

It is quite misleading to apply the term apadana to the highland structures. They lack several of the defining architectural elements of apadanas, to say nothing of the degree of decorative elaboration that makes the halls in Iran majestic imperial centers, with their highly crafted and ornate architectural elements and, in some cases, detailed relief scenes (Root 1979, 1985). The columned halls of Erebuni and Altintepe did not have stone columns, corner towers, and surrounding porticoes. Nor are there any fixed features that denote a clear frontal orientation. In addition, the ways in which the heartland and highland buildings allow for the circulation and regulation of traffic differ in notable respects. The openness of the apadanas at Persepolis and Susa, with their multiple points of access, contrasts markedly from the closed columned halls at Erebuni and Altintepe, with their single entrances in the east. Not least of all, the immense scalar

difference between the apadanas of Iran and the halls of the highlands makes any such analogy difficult to sustain.<sup>250</sup>

The apadana misnomer, which all too easily transposes connotations of grandeur to the more modest halls of the highlands, arguably has stunted a subtle interpretation of these nevertheless highly significant edifices. Once their columned halls were rendered apadanas, it is a relatively short step to codify the sites of Altintepe and Erebuni as “palaces” or residences of highland satraps—the now widely accepted interpretation—and even to imagine (somewhat fancifully) specific historical actors known from Greek sources literally seated within them. Thus, for instance, in her painstaking reconstruction of Xenophon’s journey across Anatolia, Claudia Sagona remarks that, as the “Ten Thousand” made their way arduously through the snowy mountains of the highlands, they came “to within an hour of the *city* [Altintepe], *probably the seat of the lieutenant-governor Tiribazus himself*” (C. Sagona 2004b: 313, emphases added).<sup>251</sup> A similar transposition of the historical onto the archaeological has been offered by Felix Ter-Martirosov with respect to Erebuni. Here the “apadana,” Ter-Martirosov (2001: 160) argues, “was connected to the royal aspirations of Orontes and used to underline his right to imperial prerogatives.”<sup>252</sup> Elsewhere we learn that Erebuni was “rebuilt into a residence of an Achaemenid satrapy” (Ter-Martirosov 2005a: 50). The presumed relationship between the so-called apadanas at Altintepe and Erebuni and the status of these sites as satrapal centers has given rise to circular reasoning: Apadanas mark satrapal

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<sup>250</sup> Altintepe and Erebuni are 1,113 and 957 square meters, respectively, while the apadanas of Susa and Persepolis are both approximately 3,364 square meters, more than three times as large. Their columnar configurations also differ: both apadanas are square, with the same number of columns on all sides, while the highland halls are rectangular. On this score alone, the closest comparanda to Erebuni within the royal centers are, as noted above, Palace P at Pasargadae and room 62 on the southwestern side of the Treasury at Persepolis. There are no buildings in the royal centers with three rows of six columns as at Altintepe.

<sup>251</sup> Tiribazus is thought to have been the satrap of the western division of Armenia. See p. 84.

<sup>252</sup> On Orontes, see p. 93.

capitals because satrapal capitals have apadanas (Briant 2002: 743). In concluding his discussion of the “apadana” at Altintepe, Summers (1993: 96) notes: “Surely, then, the seat of the Satrapy of the nineteenth province in the list of Herodotus, the Satrapy of Western Armenia, was located here.”

In short, although not much has been written about these sites and the hypostyle halls they contain, when Altintepe and Erebuni do appear in the literature it is almost always in conjunction with terms like satrap, palace, residence, and apadana.<sup>253</sup>

Analytically, they are thus projected both outward, out of the highlands and toward southwestern Iran, and upward, onto a plain of imperial significance. Concerning these buildings, one scholar has recently written: “The tentative assumption is that they were used in a similar way to the columned halls at Persepolis and Susa...” (Allen 2005: 95).

The tentative assumption may certainly be correct, but, we might also ask, in a similar way to *which* columned halls at Persepolis and Susa? To the grand apadanas that served as audience halls, or to the small storage room in the Treasury, or to the palaces at Susa that housed kings, or to the council hall on the terrace at Persepolis where nobles met, or to one of the many other columned halls at these impressive imperial centers? This rhetorical question is meant to convey that there is a certain slipperiness when it comes to summoning Persepolis and Susa in a discussion of Altintepe and Erebuni and the function of their columned halls. Invoking the imperial capitals on the basis of the marginal formal similarity of a building with multiple rows of columns may, in the first instance, seem to bring some clarity to the uses of the columned halls. But upon further inspection, this line of analysis falls short. It emerges from what Smith has called a kind

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<sup>253</sup> But see Oganessian (1961: 75), who was reluctant to accept Tiratsyan’s (1960) early designation of Erebuni as a satrapal center.



of “romantic subjectivism” vis-à-vis built space, in which form is overly aestheticized as culturally expressive at the expense of a concern for practices and actions (Smith 2003: 59) (see Chapter 2, footnote 26).

Notwithstanding the limits of the datasets, then, it is appropriate to reopen the question of how these spaces served as privileged locations for the practices of authority that forged the satrapy. Depriving these sites of apadanas hardly diminishes their importance as likely political centers on the highlands during the mid-first millennium BC. Indeed, I too suggest that they were primary venues for the maintenance of satrapy-wide authority, and perhaps even the important centers of the eastern and western administrative zones. But such an interpretive flourish demands not an account of how the halls cited far-away Persepolis and Susa, but rather how the practices sited within them contributed to the governance of the highlands. To do that, the buildings must be examined in their local highland context, as institutions centered within a familiar and enduring fortress landscape.

### *Columned Halls as Highland Halls*

What practices sited in the highland halls helped to forge satrapal authority and project it outwards, into the communities that were bound together as a province? What formal rhetorics and symbolic repertoires made these effective spaces of governmental authority, and what kind of authority did they foster?

Of all of Urartu’s fortresses currently known to us, it is not clear why Erebuni and Altintepe were singled out for revitalization. One factor may be that neither fortress had

been destroyed in the conflagrations that reduced many of Rusa II's citadels to rubble. Altintepe and Erebuni remained untouched, still capable of projecting the impression of a vibrant imperial power, rather than a decimated one. It may also be the case that the locations of the two fortresses on either end of the highlands made them favored locales, especially if we accept the faint hints at an eastern and western division of the satrapy provided in the historical record (see p. 84). But whatever the reasons for their selection, the renovation of these fortresses was, I suggest, part of deliberate strategy of legitimation that drew on the legacy of Urartu and its iconic symbol of political authority. The new columned halls were built *not* on open plains (as is the case at Pasargadae and Persepolis, for instance) but embedded within the buttressed walls of an Urartian past. The new users of these sites appear to have vested their authority in part on the potentially diverse affective responses these re-occupations might have created for those both within and beyond the walls of the fortresses. By building the columned halls here, they were incorporated into a highland political vocabulary. The hypostyle halls thus became *highland* halls.

### *Highland Halls as Council Halls*

So what role did the highland halls play in highland governance? What work did these buildings do in the practical exercise of power? This question is not addressed by the simple ascription of the label satrap's "residence." Such a term obscures more about social practice than it reveals, to say nothing of the fact that it is a functional designation that the archaeological assemblages found within these halls does not support. Indeed, it

is important to emphasize that even as the buildings merit closer examination than they have yet received since they were first excavated half a century ago, the available data are woefully limited, essentially amounting to architectural plans and fresco reconstructions. We must proceed without firm control over the artifactual assemblages within the buildings.<sup>254</sup> Moreover, in the case of both sites, little is clearly understood about the degree to which the structures surrounding the columned halls were reused during the post-Urartian phases of occupation. The stratigraphy at Altintepe suggests that the earlier structures surrounding the columned halls were not revitalized. While archaeologists have posited a more substantial reoccupation at Erebuni, it is unfortunately on the basis of little compelling archaeological evidence, and thus remains disputed (Oganessian 1961; Ter-Martirosov 2005).<sup>255</sup>

It is nevertheless possible to advance our understanding of these important sites as locales for a new kind of political practice. The columned halls themselves suggest that the reuses of Erebuni and Altintepe are not reducible to a mere mimicking of Urartian traditions, any more than they are to a simple scaled-down replication of the monumental buildings of Persepolis or Susa. I have already noted to ways in which the highland buildings depart from the apadanas of Iran. They also find no directly counterparts in the architecture of Urartu. Although columned and pillared spaces were a regular feature of Urartian architecture, they differed considerably from the halls described above (and, it appears, different functionally from one another, as well). Urartian halls were long

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<sup>254</sup> In the case of Erebuni, for instance, the pottery has not been systematically published and, in the case of Altintepe, available publications either do not provide detailed quantitative and contextual information, or do not distinguish Urartian from post-Urartian pottery (Emre 1969; Summers 1993).

<sup>255</sup> Several artifacts found across the site of Erebuni, including arrow heads, bronze horse belts, and a remarkable corpus of silver rhyta (see footnote 147), have parallels in other Achaemenid archaeological contexts in Iran and elsewhere in the Caucasus. While these artifacts were not encountered in association with the columned hall, they testify more broadly to post-Urartian activity at the site.

rectangular buildings, with only two rows of columns or pillars, as, for instance, at Bastam, Armavir, and Erebuni (Forbes 1983). Hypostyle constructions were not a part of the Urartian architectural repertoire. In addition, in terms of internal space, the two-rowed structures were markedly smaller than the later hypostyle halls at Erebuni and Altuntepe.<sup>256</sup>

These differences suggest that the latter buildings thus had the capacity to concentrate unprecedented numbers of people in a single interior space. Satrapal authorities built these columned halls on a scale never before required in the political traditions of the region. They hypostyle halls of the highland satrapy articulate a new order of monumentality. Urartian fortresses were premised on the segmentation of activities and the regulation of movement (see p. 60 and p. 278). The plan of Erebuni provides only one example of this phenomenon (figure 8.7), which is also assiduously reinforced at labyrinthine sites like Karmir Blur, Argishtihinili, and Bastam, where we find often densely compacted rooms separated by long, narrow courtyards (Kleiss 1988; Martirosian 1961, 1974). It appears that promoting interaction among sizable numbers of people who enjoyed access to the restricted inner quarters of the fortress was not an element of the Urartian political process.

On the basis of scale alone, therefore, the highland halls illuminate the faint contours of a new approach to governance in the highland satrapy. One of the excavators estimated that the space could have held two to three thousand people (Oganessian 1961: 79). While this is a rather generous estimate (it would give each person only about 0.3 m<sup>2</sup> to stand), it seems safe to assume that such large halls were meant to accommodate

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<sup>256</sup> For instance, the columned hall at Bastam is a quarter of the size of the hypostyle hall at Altuntepe and a third of the size of the hypostyle hall at Erebuni.

crowds (even if these halls were one part of an otherwise private palatial or residential complex whose full plan remains obscure.). I suggest that in notable departure from the Urartian past, the highland halls drew participants into the confines of the fortress, inviting interaction among large groups rather than segmenting and isolating people and activities.

But what kinds of participation and interaction did these spaces encourage? Once again, the arrangement of the built spaces opens possible avenues for conjecture. Two elements in particular may inform the nature of social relations produced by these halls. The first concerns traffic flow. One feature that contributes to the interpretation of the apadanas at Persepolis and Susa as places for royal audience or reception is the differential access afforded into the main hall. Doorways lead into the apadanas both from the royal palace quarters that back against the south sides (a royal entrance), as well as from all other sides. Access to the space was thus presumably distinguished hierarchically. At Altintepe and Erebuni, there is only a single entrance into the hall complexes (in both cases in the east). While the hall at Erebuni has ancillary rooms on two sides that have their own entrances into the hall, these rooms too can only be accessed via one eastern doorway.

The second element is the absence of a clear frontal orientation within these halls. Permanent built features that might indicate a clear focal point for the activities that took place in the halls are absent, and while features made of perishable materials surely once filled these halls, a certain multi-functionality is arguably built into the simplicity of a single large undifferentiated space. At Altintepe, the inbuilt hearth is situated toward the northeastern part of the room (in a spot that breaks distinctly with the overall symmetry

of the room), while at Erebuni, the “sacrificial altar” is along southern wall (also not centered). The apparent absence of a permanent frontal orientation is most clearly expressed at Erebuni, where a low bench surrounds all four sides of the hall.

These factors of access and orientation conspire to cast doubt on any interpretation of these halls as venues for the promulgation of steeply hierarchical social relations. Although right of entry into the halls was potentially strictly regulated by the existence of only one main entrance, this same entrance served for all participants engaged in the practices that took place within the halls. Similarly, by depriving the halls of a clear and fixed point of orientation, there is a potential to foster horizontal rather than vertical forms of social interaction. The built spaces of these halls place real limits on the kinds of power relations we might reasonably reconstruct. They effectively challenge, if not exclude, arguments for a vast social distance or radical inequality among the hall’s users. And they certainly lay bare the insupportability of “satrapal residence” or audience halls as an end point of interpretation.

Yet it remains to specify the kinds of practices, in particular, that these halls may have afforded. One possibility is that these halls were multifunctional spaces in which group council or assembly among highland authorities periodically took place. In a setting where administrative practices and their associated paraphernalia appear to have been eschewed (at least on durable media), assembly halls would have facilitated the production of cadres through face to face interaction in a place steeped in enduring political traditions. As such, they may have served as mediating locations among local leaders such as those from Tsaghkahovit and representatives of imperial authority. They may have been venues for group-oriented decision making, competition, and “commensal

politics” (Dietler 2001) among community leaders from across the eastern and western parts of the satrapy.<sup>257</sup> Furthermore, it is possible that such gatherings were at the same time opportunities for the shared practice of religious ritual. The fire installations in both halls are notable, particularly the tri-stepped “altar” at Erebuni. Tri-stepped fire altars are common in Achaemenid iconography, and are linked to the worship of the god Ahuramazda (Moorey 1979). As with both the Urartian and Achaemenid courts, political and religious authority in the highland satrapy were likely inextricably linked. While the specific practices elude us, the data suggest that the highland halls inculcated local leaders, thus binding communities from which they came to a larger collective and sustaining its rules and conventions. Despite the historical information detailed in Chapter 3, which informs us of kings and ruling satraps, it is currently extremely difficult to make a case for autocratic forms of local government based in these columned halls. But perhaps the details of Achaemenid rule in the highlands lie somewhere between the representation of all-powerful Great Men to be found in the texts and the beguiling inclusiveness of the halls.

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<sup>257</sup> The case for feasting activities that may have included ostentatious displays of wealth hangs on a thread. As already mentioned, an unusual concentration of silver drinking vessels (*rhyta*) whose zoomorphic forms are highly characteristic of Achaemenid precious metal wares were found at the base of the Erebuni citadel (Ter-Martirosov 1996: figs. 188 and 194). In addition, a collection of ornate silver vessels of Achaemenid style are said to have been found “near Erzincan,” which is only twelve miles west of Altintepe (Curtis and Tallis 2005: figs. 104, 106-108). These vessels were included in the 1897 Frank’s bequest to the British Museum, and are regrettably without provenance. Summers (1993: 93) has associated these objects with the occupation at Altintepe. While it is impossible to know whether any of these rare artifacts were used in the activities that took place within the halls, their concentrations in and around these key monumental sites at the very least supports the larger picture of competitive consumption and wealth display among satrapal elites who were likely associated with Erebuni and Altintepe.

## **Fortress Metaphors? Alternative Locales of Satrapal Authority**

The model of satrapal authority described above hinged in large measure upon the harnessing of Urartu's legacy in the formulation of a new political community. In this final section, we turn to a handful of sites that were located beyond the limits of direct Urartian control. How was political authority created and projected in highland regions that were not burdened by, or even particularly near to, the legacy of Urartian fortresses? At three sites in the far northeastern highlands (Gagošidze and Kipiani 2000), evidence is beginning to emerge that suggests there may have been other means for producing the satrapy. Here, Persepolitan-style column bases have attracted the attention of researchers for their apparently unproblematic demonstrations of imperial "influence" in the region. Scholarly interest to date has focused more on the column bases themselves, as singular objects imitating distant styles than on their emplacement within local regimes of rule and as constituent parts of architectural complexes engaged in daily routines. In other words, much as in the case of the highland "apadanas," our attention has been diverted by simple formal parallels with the imperial heartland that have overshadowed the local spaces in which the bases were found.

The three sites in question are Gumbati, located in the lower Alazani valley of modern Georgia, Sari Tepe, south of the Kura river in western Azerbaijan and Beniamin, on the Shirak plain just west of Tsaghkahovit. Notably, two of the three sites (except for Beniamin), are located in the lowlands of the Kura drainage. They thus bring us out of the highlands (again, except for Beniamin) to areas beyond the former empire of Urartu. Indeed, Gumbati is just beyond Jacobs's satrapal borders for Armenia. Excavated



exposures at these sites are of a very limited scale at present, and thus the picture that has begun to emerge is fragmentary. Nevertheless, the results provide tantalizing hints at a different but related approach to political authority in this region of the highland satrapy.

### Description of Sites

At the site of Gumbati, five bell-shaped limestone column bases and one torus-shaped limestone base are associated with a complex of mudbrick rooms, which the excavators date to the Achaemenid period (figures 8.12 and 8.13b-c).<sup>258</sup> The complex, as reconstructed, is approximately 40 x 40 meters (600 m<sup>2</sup> larger than the hall at Altintepe). It has evenly-spaced buttresses on its exterior walls and (assuming the reconstruction is correct), square towers at the corners of the building (Knauss 2006: 90) (figure 8.14). Although the bases were not found *in situ*, due to their different sizes the excavators postulate two columned halls or porticoes within a complex of smaller rooms (Knauss 2000: 121, 2006: 89-91). The complex is quite poorly preserved, particularly on its northern end, and as a result the locations of the presumed porticoes are uncertain.

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<sup>258</sup> There is some disagreement on the dating of the structure at Gumbati. Otar Lordkipandze (2000: 9) assigns the relevant pottery to the fourth and third centuries BC and later, while Florian Knauss (2006: 91) prefers a late fifth or early fourth century BC date. Given his later dating, Lordkipandze has suggested that the building and column bases demonstrate continuity in Achaemenid-style building practices into the period after the collapse of the empire, to which Knauss (2006: 86) has responded that such an argument is weak for its failure to explain “why Georgian craftsmen should have copied Achaemenid models after the fall of the empire.” Knauss’s response unfortunately does not provide an archaeological argument for his initial dating. There is no shortage of evidence for continuity in the production of “Persian” forms into later periods in antiquity, including in Georgia (Kipiani 2004; Tsetskhladze in press). At the same time, given the coarse resolution on mid-first millennium BC pottery, particularly in eastern Georgia, where there has been relatively little investigation into these periods, it is also possible that the pottery is being pulled forward (by Lordkipandze) into a better understood phase of the ceramic chronology. Unfortunately, radiocarbon analysis or other, artifact-based evidence for an absolute date are not available to resolve the question.

The site of Sari Tepe was partially excavated during the late 1950s (Narimanov 1959, 1960; Narimanov and Khalilov 1962). Much of the relevant structure is situated under active agricultural land and thus remains largely unexposed, but the excavations were sufficient to permit a partial reconstruction (figure 8.15). The complex is composed of two nested rectilinear constructions. The two parts are made up of a number of small, adjacent rooms. The curtain walls are punctuated by evenly spaced buttresses set between rectangular or square towers on the corners and in the centers of each side. As reconstructed, the complex measures 85 x 85 meters. Two bell-shaped column bases were found in the central structure (figure 8.13a) (Khalilov 1985b: Fig. 16; Narimanov 1960: 162).<sup>259</sup>

I mention the site of Beniamin here only in passing. Under investigation by French and Armenian archaeologists since 1989, with some hiatuses (Ter-Martirosov and Deschamps 2007), the excavations have uncovered a building measuring approximately 32 x 29 meters, consisting of four main rooms with long and narrow corridors on three sides. The excavators describe the complex as a palace. A lotus-shaped column base was found in association with this complex, set against one wall. Because the column is not clearly *in situ* and to date remains a rather isolated find, I set it aside for the purposes of this discussion (Ter-Martirosov 2001) (figure 8.13d).

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<sup>259</sup> Not far from Sari Tepe, also in western Azerbaijan, a limestone, bell-shaped base was discovered by chance in the village of Qaradjshamirli (figure 8.13e) (Knauss 2005: 208, 2006: 97). In the absence of associated architecture, this site is excluded from the present analysis. A joint German-Azerbaijani-Georgian team began excavations in this village in the summer of 2007, and an announcement in the Azerbaijani press noted the discovery of an Achaemenid “administrative building.” <http://en.apa.az/news.php?id=33365>. Publication of this discovery is eagerly awaited.

## Discussion

How are we to understand the rectilinear segmented complexes of Gumbati and Sari Tepe, with their iconic Persepolitan-style column bases and buttressed and towered exteriors? They are at first glance entirely different from Altintepe and Erebuni. Not only do they possess distinct architectural forms—structures with internal divisions and rooms of various sizes—but they were also set in low-lying regions rather than perched atop the summits of lofty hilltops. Florian Knauss (2000, 2001, 2005, 2006) has written extensively on these structures. He describes Gumbati as an official building, “the residence of a Persian official or a local chieftain—a vassal of the Great King” which gives “ample proof of Persian presence in this region” (Knauss 2006: 91).<sup>260</sup> This argument focuses particularly on the forms of the column bases as reflections of the work of a Persian governor, sent forth from Iran to govern the Caucasus. Knauss (2005: 204) has written that “the monumental building in Gumbati must have been planned and built by foreign, namely Achaemenid craftsmen.” In a later publication he modified his perspectives on the possible origins of the craftsmen: “In a region without any prototypes of monumental mud brick and stone architecture[,] buildings such as the palaces at Sari Tepe and Gumbati... must have been planned and built by architects and craftsmen trained in Iran, Mesopotamia or Anatolia” (Knauss 2006: 95).<sup>261</sup>

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<sup>260</sup> Although perhaps not intended, there is an unfortunate implication to Knauss’ phrasing: if a Persian occupied the building, he is labeled an officer, with all of this word’s connotations of status and administrative prerogative; however, if a non-Persian occupied the very same building, he is regarded as a chieftain, with the associated connotations of primitive tribalism.

<sup>261</sup> Knauss forgets that Teishebai URU was a gigantic mudbrick and stone building, as was Argishtihinili, Erebuni, Ayanis, Horom, etc.

I propose to set aside the freighted question of the ethnicity of the craftsmen.<sup>262</sup> Far more interesting is the way in which some of these structures, particularly the buildings at Gumbati and Sari Tepe, may articulate with the satrapal centers of Altintepe and Erebuni through their spatial forms. What is particularly striking is the use of mudbrick buttresses and corner towers on buildings that are otherwise situated on low ground, in locales that are not naturally defended. The regular buttressed walls and corner towers, hallmarks of Urartian defensive masonry, were perhaps, I suggest, citations that served to inscribe an Urartian legacy where no such legacy had previously existed. Local authorities who built Gumbati and Sari Tepe may have symbolized the Urartian fortress form through an architectural metaphor transposed onto a single building rather than an elevated citadel. If at Altintepe and Erebuni a new kind of colonnaded building was embedded within an old fortress context, at Gumbati and Sari Tepe it appears that an old fortress form was being employed in the construction of a new, possibly colonnaded, building. If the estimates and reconstructions are correct, Gumbati and Sari Tepe could also have accommodated gatherings of local leaders. Thus the practical operation of these sites in promulgating local authority relied upon the twinned citation of embedded highland traditions (in the form of Urartian masonry styles) and a new symbolic repertoire (in the form of Persepolitan column bases).

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<sup>262</sup> Knauss's invocation of foreign craftsmen recalls, with all the same unfortunate resonances, what Root (1980: 9) has termed the Richterian tradition (after Gisela Richter) of Achaemenid art history, prevalent in the 1960s and 1970s, which credited Greek craftsmen with the production of Achaemenid art and architecture. In keeping with this tradition, the result of Knauss's interpretation is a cascading scale of cultural capabilities, with the Persians indebted to the Greeks for their artistic and technical achievements, and the local peoples of the Caucasus in turn indebted to the Persians.

## Conclusion

During the centuries of Achaemenid rule, a political community may have been constituted in the highlands through the rehabilitation of *select* fortresses of the collapsed Urartian polity into pivotal locales of satrapal authority (Erebuni and Altintepe), and the symbolic citation to these fortresses in places beyond the Urartu's imperial sphere (Gumbati and Sari Tepe). These renovated fortresses and fortress metaphors served as spaces for the cultivation of horizontal ties among leaders from across the highlands—leaders like those in Precinct A at Tsaghkahovit. Satrapal authority may have been reproduced and leaders may have been inculcated through (periodic?) associations at these locales. But, as I argued in the case of Altintepe and Erebuni, the nature of that revitalization, both qualitatively and quantitatively, points to a transformation in the configuration of local imperial politics rather than to a direct rehabilitation of Urartian traditions.

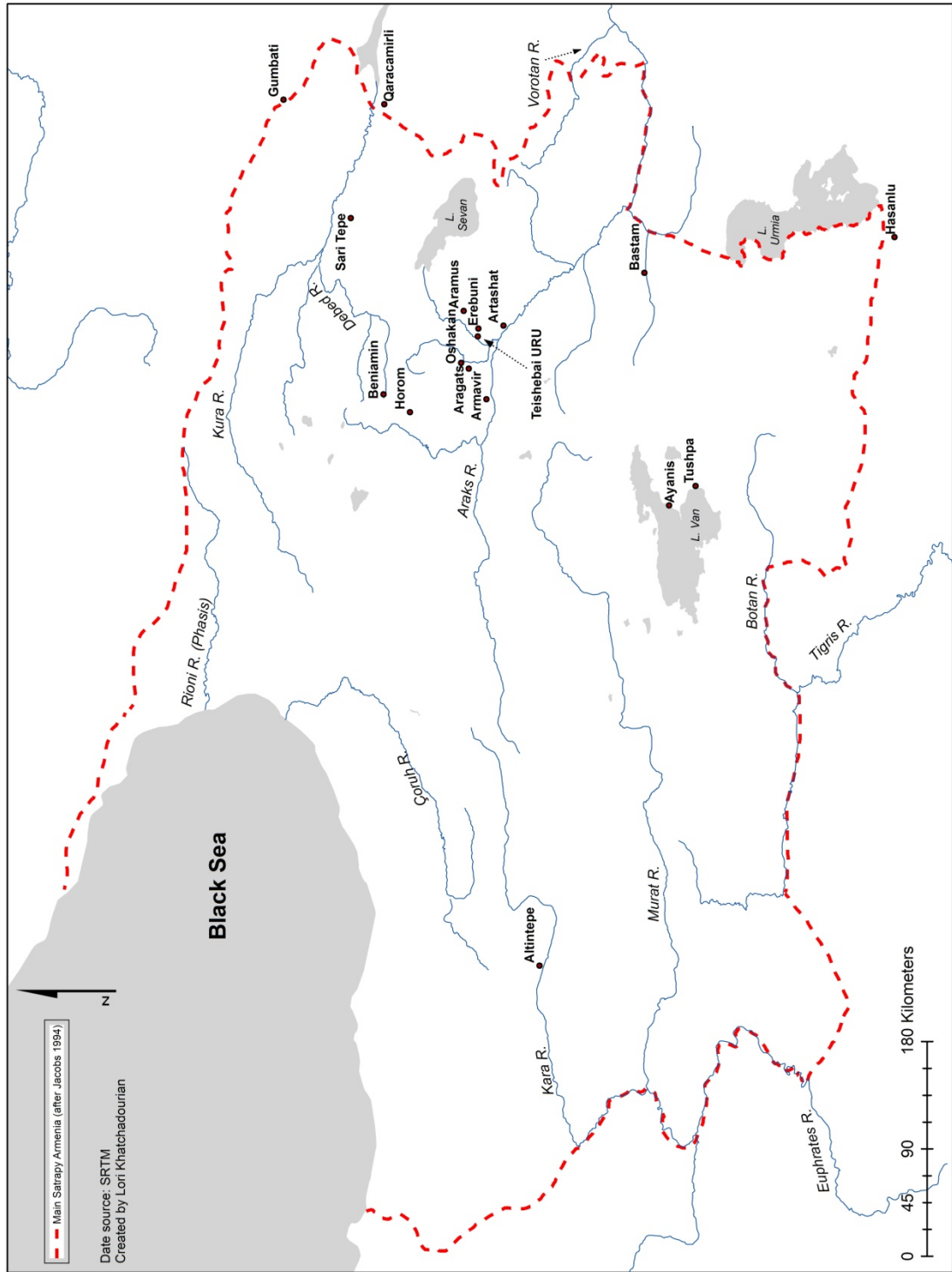


Figure 8.1 Map of the highland satrapy showing sites mentioned in Chapter 8.

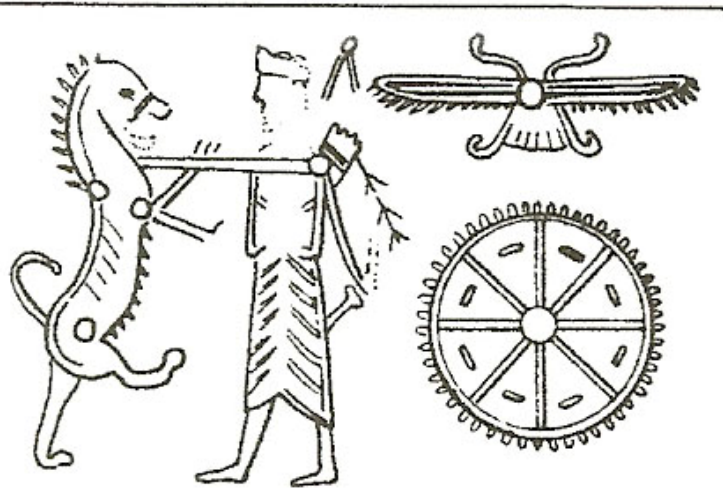


Figure 8.2 Horom cylinder seal (drawing from Kohl [1999: Fig. 7]; photography by Lori Khatchadourian).



Figure 8.3 Photograph of Altıntepe ([www.erdoga.org/images/editor/altintepe.bmp](http://www.erdoga.org/images/editor/altintepe.bmp)).



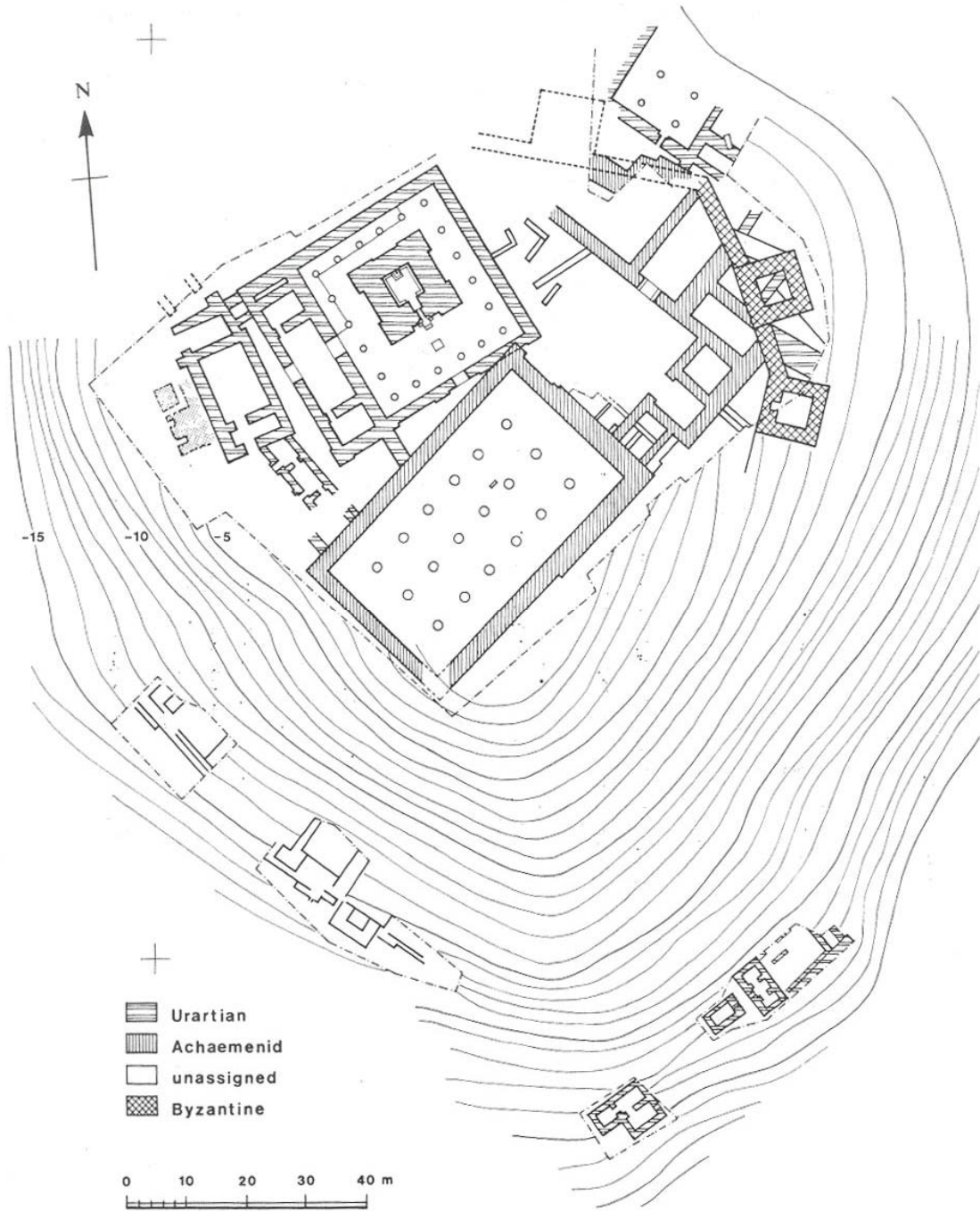


Figure 8.4. Plan of Altintepe (after Summers 1993: fig. 2).

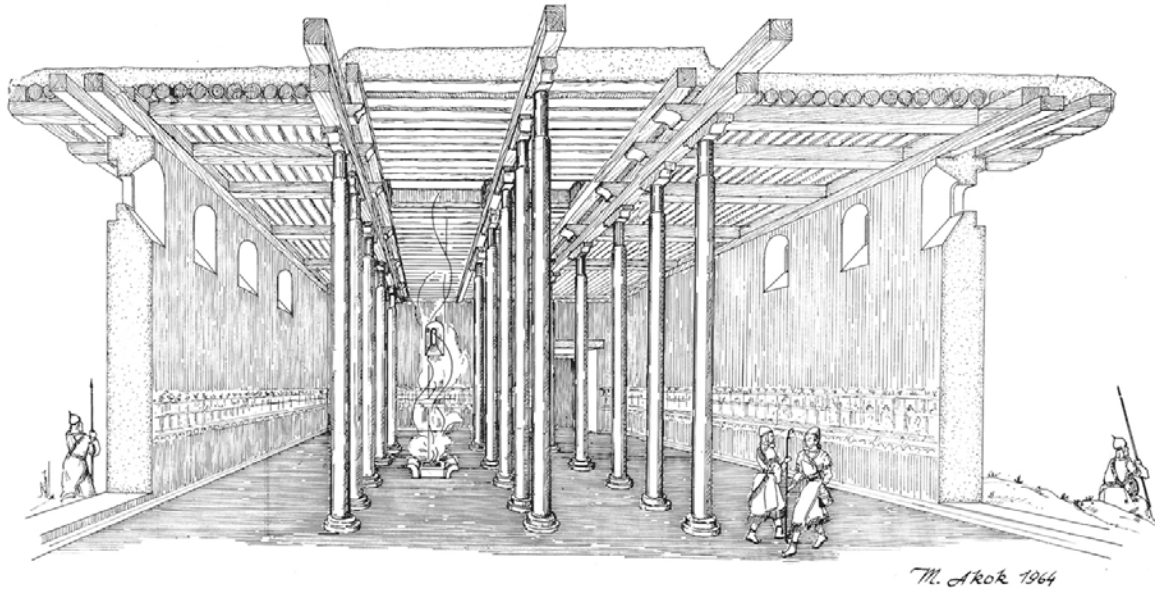


Figure 8.5 Reconstruction of columned hall at Altintepe (after Özgüç 1966: fig. 13).



Figure 8.6 Photograph of Erebuni (courtesy of Adam T. Smith).

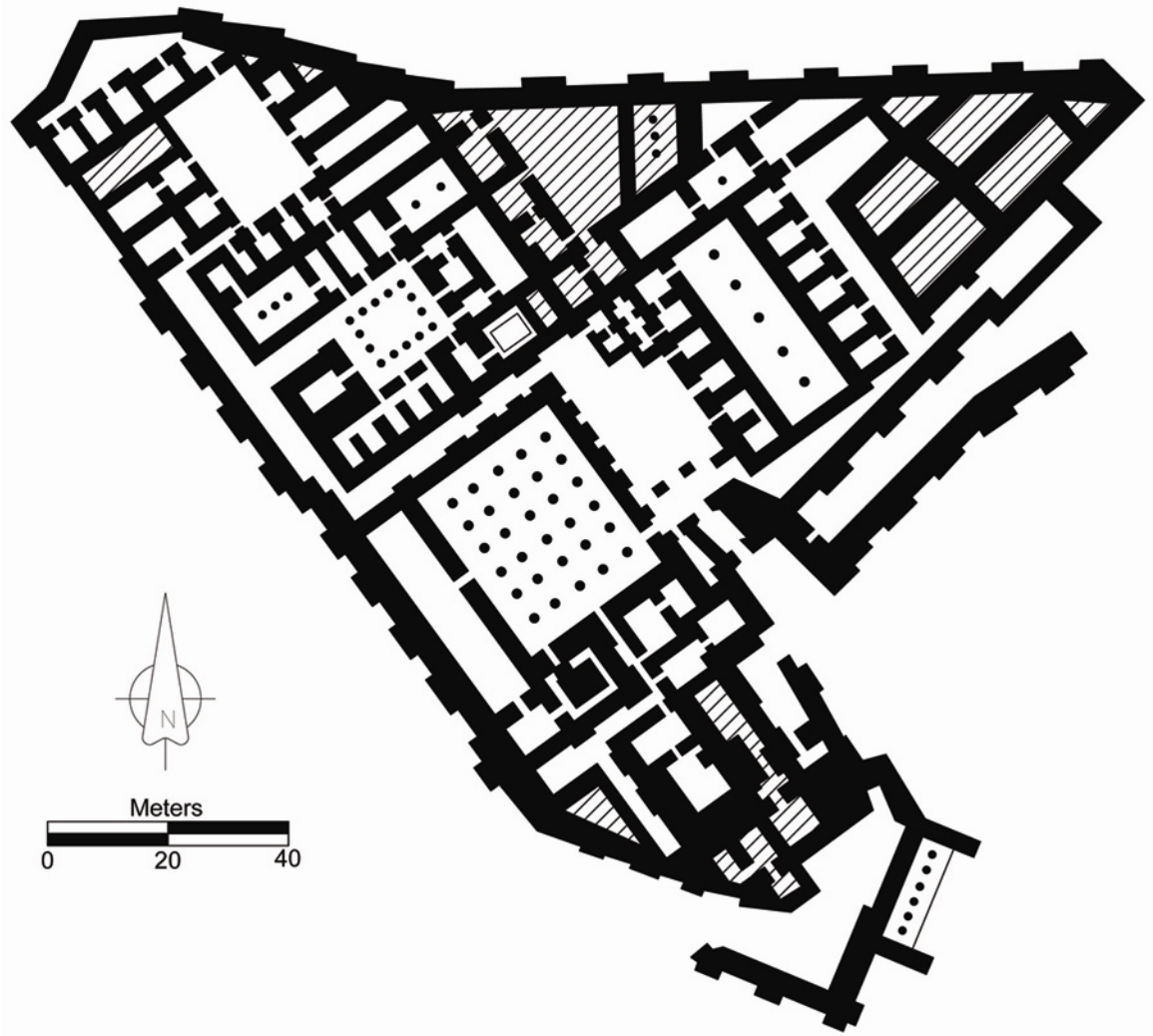


Figure 8.7 Plan of Erebuni showing columned hall among Urartian-era structures (after Smith 2003: fig. 43).

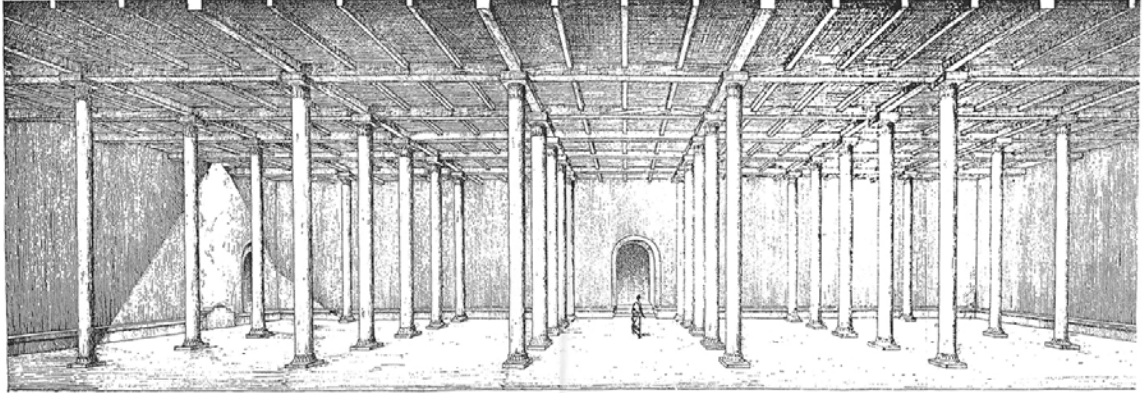


Figure 8.8 Reconstruction of columned hall at Erebuni (after Oganessian 1961: fig. 45).

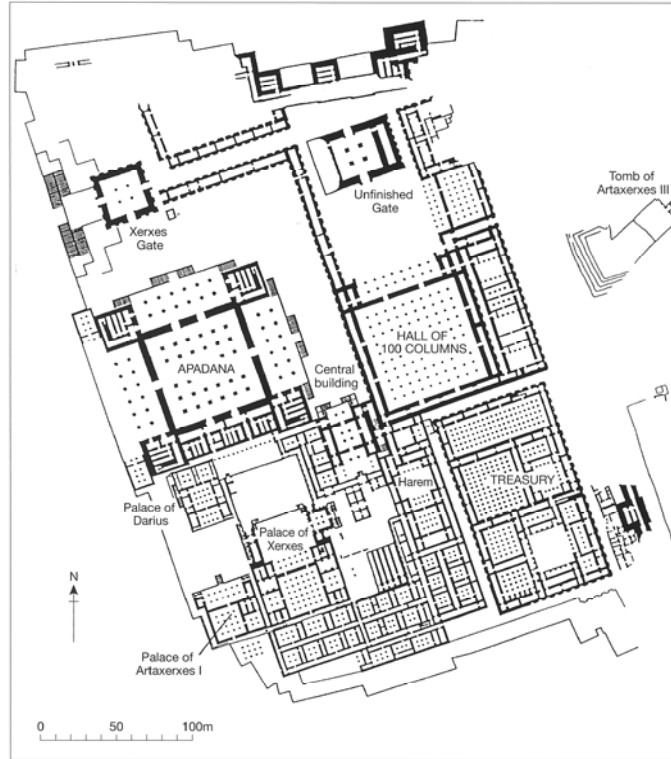


Figure 8.9 Plan of Persepolis (Allen 2005: Fig. 3.16).

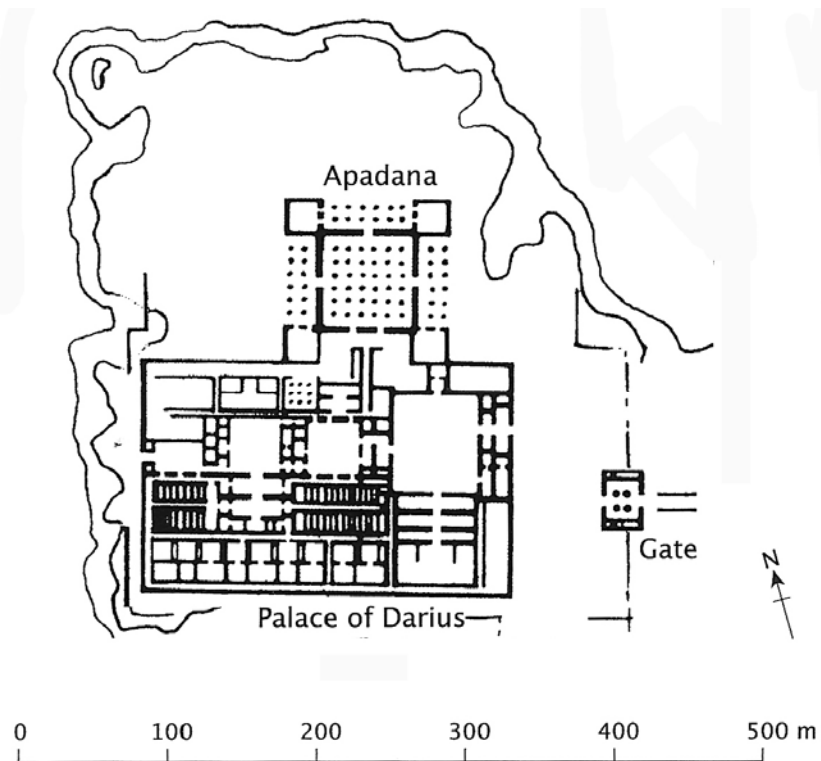


Figure 8.10 Plan of main palace complex at Susa (after Allen 2005: Fig. 3.8).

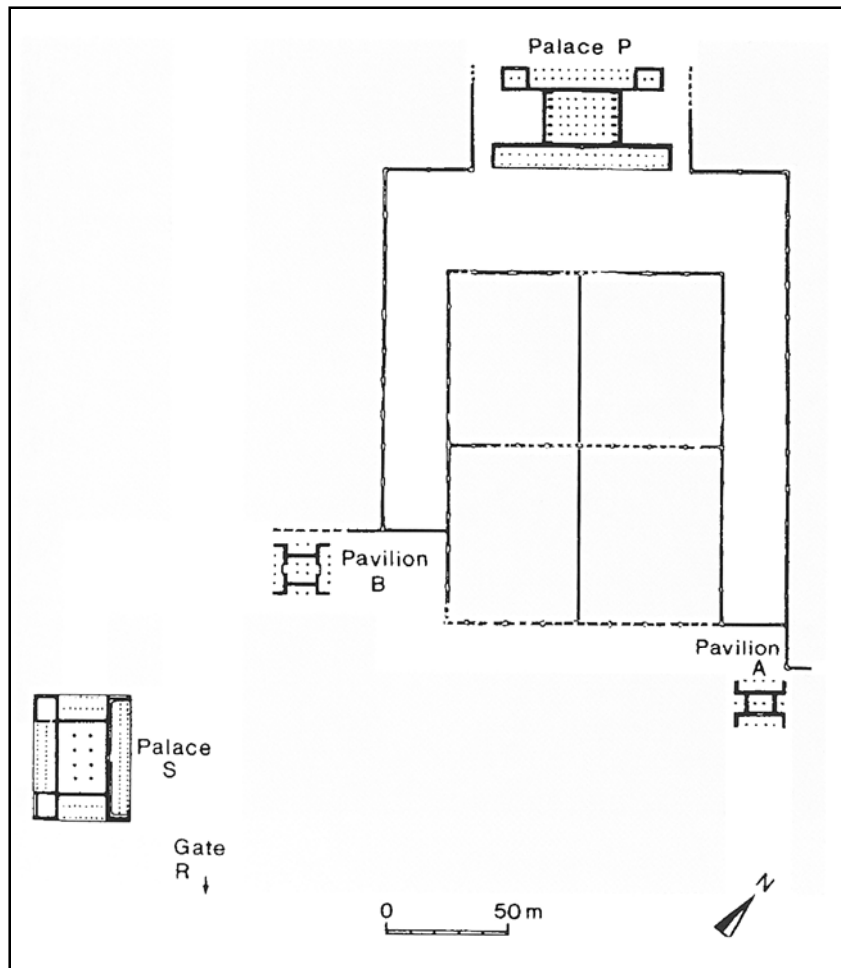


Figure 8.11 Plan of Pasargadae (Allen 2005: Fig. 1.16).

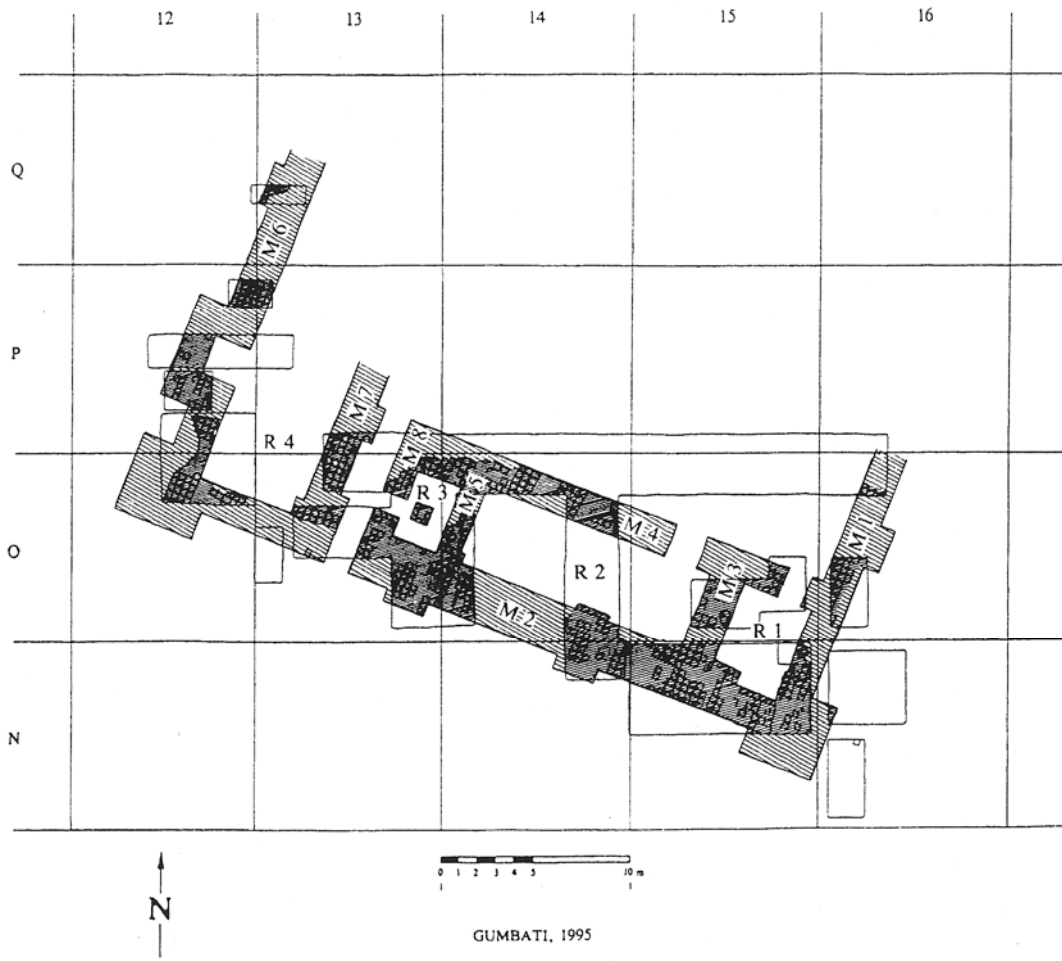


Figure 8.12 Plan of Gumbati (Knauss 2000: Fig. 1).

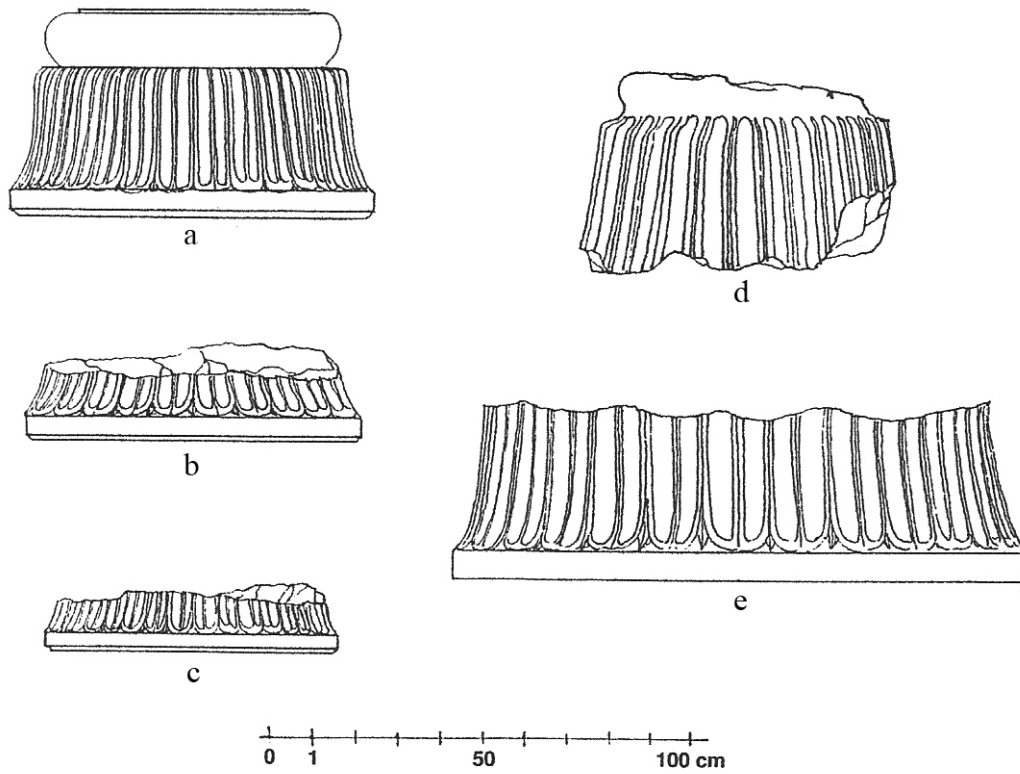


Figure 8.13 Persepolitan-style bases from the South Caucasus: a. Sari Tepe, Azerbaijan; b, c. Gumbati, Georgia; d. Beniamin, Armenia; e. Qaradjshamirli, Azerbaijan (after Gagošidze and Kipiani 2000: Fig. 1.1).



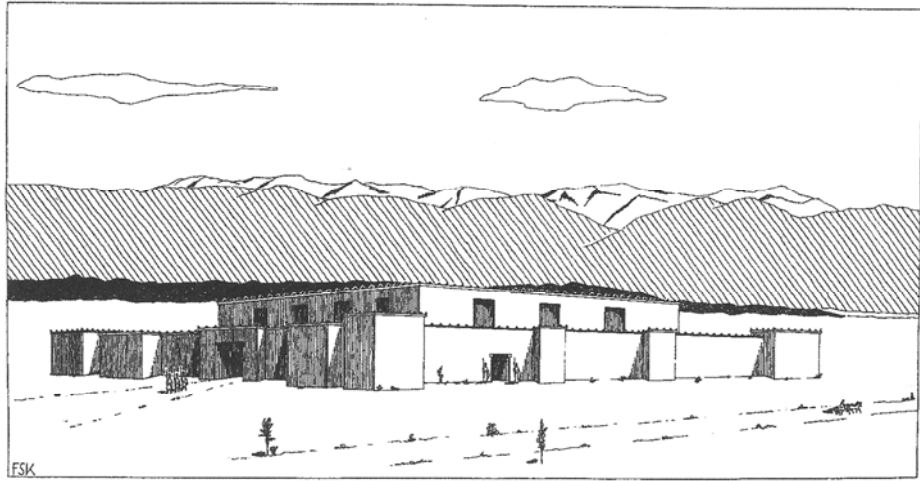


Figure 8.14 Reconstruction of Gumbati (Knauss 2006: Fig. 10).

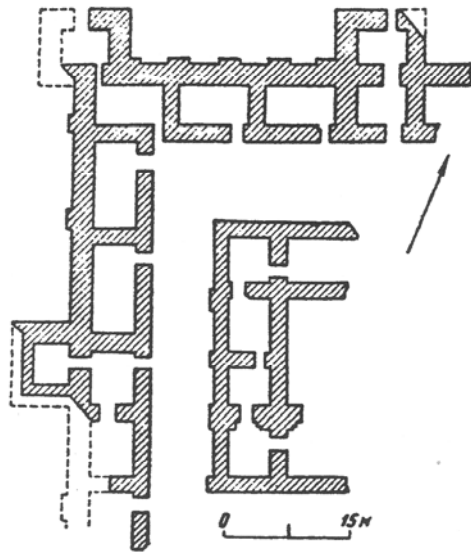
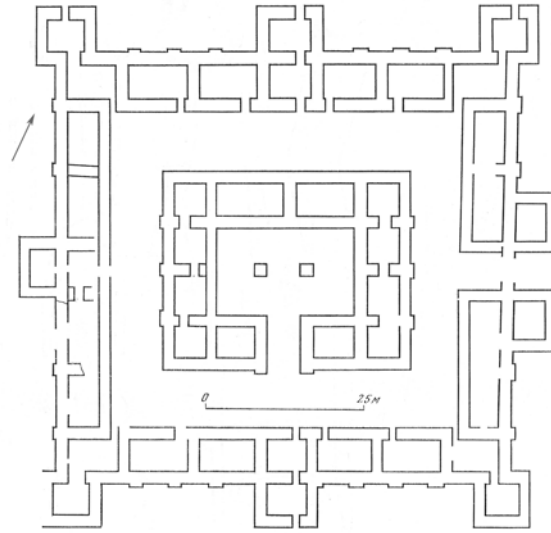


Figure 8.15 Plan of Sari Tepe. Reconstructed version above (Khalilov 1985b: 16.1); excavated area below (Knauss 2006: Fig. 17).

CHAPTER 9  
CLIFFHANGERS

In the fifth century BC, the Achaemenid king, Xerxes, ordered that an inscription be carved high on a rock cliff on the southern façade of the fortress at Tushpa, former capital of the Urartian kingdom (figure 8.1). Xerxes had the text written in three languages into a blank niche that had been chiseled into the precipice during the reign of his father, Darius I. Xerxes was thus completing a project that his predecessor had left unfinished in these northern reaches of their vast empire. After an elaborate encomium to the god Ahuramazda, “the greatest of gods, who created the sky and who created the earth and who created man,” the Tushpa inscription continues:

I am Xerxes, the great king, the king of kings, the king of countries, king of the entirety of all languages, king of the great, broad earth, the son of king Darius, the Achaemenid.

King Xerxes says: King Darius, my father, by the grace of Ahuramazda made much that was good, and *this mountain* he gave an order to work the face, and he wrote nothing over it; so I ordered that this be written there (emphasis added).

May Ahuramazda, together with all the gods, protect me, my kingdom, and what I have made (Lecoq 1997: 263-4).<sup>263</sup>

If a cliffhanger is a suspenseful situation whose outcome is in doubt until the very end, then this Achaemenid royal inscription, chiseled on the face of a rocky highland crag, is a cliffhanger in more ways than one. After a divine invocation and an impressive

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<sup>263</sup> The rock carving at Tushpa is known as Achaemenid royal inscription XV. The translation presented here is of the Babylonian version of the text, which also appears in Old Persian and Elamite.

preamble of unfettered kingly bombast, by the second stanza the modern reader is anticipating an account of some great deed done by the “king of this great, broad earth.” The inscription seems to leave the reader hanging, though, for Xerxes goes on only to recount the circumstances surrounding the inscription’s making. As a text that seems to convey little information beyond that of its own creation, the Tushpa inscription may seem peculiar, if not anticlimactic to a modern historical sensibility.

Or so it would seem. If Xerxes’ inscription is read on its own, apart from its physical placement on the rock face of the Tushpa citadel, it is quite puzzling. But this curious father-son project in fact represents a complex and deliberate gesture of imperial intervention. The artful force of the Tushpa monument has escaped the notice of ancient historians, perhaps because the subtle appropriation it attempts is not neatly contained within the lines of the terse text itself. Darius and Xerxes’ monument opens to the most interesting analysis when it is considered foremost as a *material* act within a process of imperial formation, rather than an isolated narrative. In attempting to make sense of this unusual monument, one scholar has observed: “...the reason for Darius’ wish to leave an inscription here in particular is unknown” (Kuhrt 2007b: 301). With boasts of rebellion and conquest surely in mind, Kuhrt goes on to ask “Could it have been connected with the many battles fought in this region following his seizure of the throne?” But from our final vantage point, at the end of this study of social logics on the highlands, it is quite clear that Darius and Xerxes created their monument at Tushpa not because of battles fought and won.

The inscription and its placement at Tushpa was the result of a highly calculated strategy on the part of the Achaemenid kings. Far from being the trivial conclusion to an

impressive preamble, the act recounted—“I ordered that this be written”—represents an important moment in which Xerxes indelibly rebranded Tushpa’s mountain bluff, inserting himself, his genealogy, and his cosmology into the highlands. In carving the Tushpa niche and inscription, Darius and Xerxes were making a claim upon the foundations of authority that had long prevailed in this region, now remade as a province under empire. Symbolically and with divine sanction, they attempted to appropriate an extremely salient place within the social logics of the region—a place that mediated transformations in collective order on the highlands over time. The kings seem to have recognized that the fortress was *the* place through which to bind the highlands to the empire and they insinuated their royal prerogative into that enduring political tradition. And not just any fortress. Of all the lofty outcrops that clutter the highlands, the Achaemenid kings chose Tushpa, the heart of the former Urartian empire, where the fortress was codified as an institution of imperial authority and collective order. However, in effectively acknowledging the primacy of Tushpa and the institution of fortress-based rule it represented, the Achaemenid kings at the same time acted within the bounds of the very sociopolitical institution they aimed to remake. Enduring sociopolitical traditions of conquered communities can place constraints on even the most powerful imperial agents, thus shaping the course and contours of empire making.

Only in the context of a wider sense of changing social order and political authority on the highlands during the reigns of these kings can the full significance of the Tushpa monument be appreciated. Throughout the last four chapters of this dissertation I have developed an approach to a study of social logics on the highlands that gave considerable prominence to the fortress. At a most basic level, social logics are about

historical change. That is, they refer not to a given synchronic social order as a fixed state of affairs, but to the diachronic principles that explain transformations in the way structures and positions are interconnected through the mediations of the material world. Social logics account for transformations in structures, as they are materially constituted; they account for why collective orders take certain forms over time and not others. I have tried to account for the ways in which, during the period of Achaemenid rule, people occupying social positions as local leaders and satrapal authorities redefined the relationship among the fortress, the complex social and political order it produced, and their positions through new practices in new kinds of spaces. This process of redefinition operated at a number of interconnected scales, from the halls of political authority to the confines of a single, remote mountain town. Let us review here how these various scales intersected.

### **Summary of Research**

Darius and Xerxes' inscription is even more enigmatic than it at first appears, for, as I showed in Chapter 8, authorities of the highlands during the centuries of Achaemenid dominion in fact appear to have had little regard for the fortresses of Urartu, including Tushpa. Evidence suggests that Achaemenid kings appropriated a political tradition that was in the process of being overhauled (which makes one wonder whether Darius knew something his son did not when he chose to leave the Tushpa project unfinished!). The kings of Urartu had forged a social order that was conspicuously staked upon the institution of the buttressed fortress—a bombastic building form that dotted the

highlands—as both a symbol of exclusion and might, and a practical instrument of government and defense. In so doing, the Urartians were building upon the innovation of the Late Bronze Age, when fortress polities first became widespread in this region. The fortress was an important place—arguably the pivotal place—that had long participated in defining relations and asymmetries between people.

The new authorities of the highlands were manipulating this tradition. Through new material practices, they were altering the terms of collective order that connected and constrained people. In constituting a political community, they selected only two former Urartian fortresses, Erebuni and Altintepe, perhaps due to their locations and their intact condition. By turning their backs on the many other Urartian fortresses (including Tushpa), they appear to have rejected a model of authority based on surveillance, intimidation, and bureaucracy. The significance of the reuse of Erebuni and Altintepe derives not solely from the nature of the reuse itself, which I turn to next, but to its context within the local history of the highlands and in parallel to the vacancy of Bastam, Tushpa, Teishebai URU, Ayanis, and other fortresses of the Urartian regime.

Aspects of this transformation are conspicuously on view at the two sites that the Achaemenid authorities did revitalize. At Altintepe and Erebuni, satrapal authorities built columned halls on a scale never before required. The columned halls admitted more people into the political process than had been the case under the kings of Urartu. I suggest that these large, undivided spaces, which have no clear frontal orientation, a single point of entry, and, in the case of Erebuni, benches on all four sides, may have served as council halls. They may have been places in which leaders from across the highlands would periodically gather, forge ties, and learn how to reproduce the practices

that made them a political elite. Through the kinds of interactions they fostered, these highland halls inculcated highland leaders, thus binding the communities from which they came to a larger collective and sustaining its rules and conventions. As locales of satrapal authority—that is, places that brought local leaders together—these may also have been the venues through which highland leaders came in contact (and conflict) with imperial authorities, and thus made choices, within their constraints, about what sorts of imperial practices they would reproduce in order to try and cement their status.

The Urartian buttressed fortress remained an important symbol of political authority, as Darius and Xerxes well understood, and thus remained a key site of mediation for relations between highlanders and the empire. That is, we do not observe an utter break from the past, as might be suggested, for instance, if the columned halls had been built outside of defensive walls and on lower ground. Indeed, even in lowland areas of the Kura river draining, at sites like Gumbati and Sari Tepe we see once again the twin pairing of colonnaded space (in this case through a distinctly Achaemenid idiom) and buttressed fortress, here invoked through a kind of architectural metaphor. Until such time as actual columned halls are discovered at Gumbati and Sari Tepe, we might entertain the idea that the Persepolitan bases at these sites also served as a reference to a building form, rather than as a part of the form itself. We can understand the deployment and combining of these symbolic repertoires as attempts on the part of local leaders to use—but modify—both old and new symbols of authority in asserting their positions within their communities and linking themselves to the wider satrapy and empire.



Some of the patterns that I observed at the highest levels of satrapal authority appear to be echoed across the highlands, even if detectable at a very coarse resolution. In Chapter 7, I compared the results of surveys (most, unfortunately, unsystematic) in eight regions of the highlands: the Bayburt plain toward the northwest, the Ijevan region in the northeast, the Doğubeyazıt, Erciş and Muş regions around Lake Van, the Tsaghkahovit plain on the north slope of Mt. Aragats, the southern Lake Sevan Basin, and the regions west and north of Lake Urmia. Given the quality of the data in many cases, the patterns that have emerged from this comparison offer hypotheses for future work more than they do firm conclusions.

Nevertheless, the changing role of the fortress, and especially the Urartian fortress, is palpable. It appears that several regions of the highlands that were either in the heartland of the Urartian empire and inscribed with numerous fortress constructions (such as Doğubeyazıt and Erciş), or that hosted a major Urartian fortress (such as the Lake Urmia region, with Bastam) were largely vacated by the mid-first millennium BC. The inverse picture is on view in those regions that had remained beyond the sphere of Urartian control, and had been scarcely occupied during the centuries of Achaemenid rule. In the Tsaghkahovit plain and in the mountains of Ijevan social life returned or intensified. I suggest that *perhaps*, at a very general scale, people were moving northward following the dissolution of Urartian fortresses that had for centuries tied communities to their extractive institutions.

The implication of these regional findings—that highland communities were breaking with past traditions or transforming the schemas that had ordered social life—is further corroborated, to a certain extent, by the topographic position of sites during the

sixth through fourth centuries BC. In certain regions, such as Muş and the southern Sevan basin, the people who established new sites preferred unfortified locations on low ground (relative to earlier foundations). Moreover, in Muş and the Sevan basin, the sites that tended to be continuously occupied from the eighth and seventh centuries also had deep histories of occupation reaching to the Late Bronze or Early Iron ages, while those Urartian-era sites that were abandoned tended to be new foundations of the centuries of Urartian hegemony. In other words, where people were breaking with the past during the sixth through fourth centuries BC, it appears to have been specifically with the relatively recent, Urartian past.

What is perhaps most striking is that in regions that had not been heavily settled during the ascendancy of Urartu, such as in Ijevan and Tsaghakhovit, new groups of people gravitated to lofty outcrops, and either built new fortresses or rebuilt earlier ones that dated to the Late Bronze Age. This may, of course, have been a defensive calculation, although this seems an unlikely explanation; in the absence of any palpable evidence for violence, it is at least an insufficient explanation. It is more likely that even as people were breaking from the conventions of the fortress as the central pivot of social order (i.e., a place of authority where resources were concentrated and around which routine practices were organized), it still retained its importance as a necessity of settled life. In opting for fortress locations, the groups that settled in the Ijevan and Tsaghkahovit regions were not unconsciously going through the motions of old routines. Their leaders were calling those routines that they knew well into question and making deliberate decisions vis-à-vis the fortress. They were altering (though not overturning) their positions in relation to institutions of the local highland past.

At a single highland town on the north slope of Mt. Aragats, known today as Tsaghkahovit, a more detailed picture of the transformations observed at the regional and satrapal levels is emerging. As part of this dissertation research, I conducted two seasons of fieldwork at Tsaghkahovit, a site that stretches over 40 hectares and is dominated by a large stone fortress that was first built during the Late Bronze Age, when fortress polities arose on the highlands. This fortress was destroyed during the middle of the second millennium BC and the site was abandoned, only to be revitalized during the sixth century BC, after a long hiatus. Based on excavations conducted to date, it appears that the re-occupation of Tsaghkahovit was considerably more extensive than the earlier settlement. It spilled out well beyond the summit of the stony outcrop and onto the gentle hills and swales at its base. The results of excavations suggest that during the Iron 3 period (the archaeological periodization used in this project), local leaders were not cloistered behind the walls of the fortress, but resided instead in a roughly 22-room, semi-subterranean, nucleated complex at the base of the citadel, known as Precinct A. The findings summarized here are based on the several years of Project ArAGATS's excavation on the citadel, as well as my own excavations in Precinct A, particularly in four rooms (H, I, G, C). Relative to the size of the site, exposures are limited, so results are of course preliminary.

Careful analysis of several lines of evidence point to a significant change in social order in this town during the mid-first millennium BC compared with earlier periods on the highlands. Although the fortress wall was rebuilt and the fortress was occupied during the Iron 3 period, its status was not paramount within the community as a locale of political authority. Ceramic evidence, artifacts, and spatial arrangements suggest that the

citadel may have served as a production or work area of some sort, but much work in this part of the site remains to be done. However, artifacts from the area appear to include tools, ceramic repertoires are predominantly composed of coarse wares (relative to Precinct A) with strikingly few consumption vessels, and spaces appear fragmented and haphazard despite an available monumental space from the Late Bronze Age that could have been more ambitiously reused.

Precinct A presents an entirely different picture. The spatial arrangement alone provides a regularized built environment, with rooms connected to one another. Differences between rooms are apparent not only by their depth within the complex but different built features among rooms that suggest an integrated social space. Some artifacts suggest that the occupants of this building were picking and choosing from symbols and forms that were circulating at the time in wider southwest Asia, and particularly prominent in the art of the Achaemenid empire. These include a bone horse figurine and a ceramic vessel in the form of a goat or ibex. Finally, the concentration of fine wares within the excavated rooms of the complex, particularly red-burnished bowls, and particularly on a floor of one room (H), is striking.

Examining several bodies of evidence—including ceramics, fauna, and artifacts—I laid out an argument for the practice of commensal politics in this room. Feasting may have been one of the periodic practices through which the local leaders of Tsaghkahovit reproduced their positions within the community. Certain elements of feasting, such as the possible variety of meats and especially the harnessing of certain kinds of symbols (ibex/goat vessel, zoomorphic protomes), suggest that these events were not occurring in isolation, but that local leaders were using the feast as an occasion also to articulate

themselves and their community within the Achaemenid empire and the conventions—possibly religious conventions—of the imperial establishment. I suggest that artifacts such as the ibex/goat vessel mediated relations, connecting people in Tsaghkahovit with those far beyond as subjects of a unifying imperial world, while at the same time serving instrumental ends for local leaders.

A small assemblage of artifacts from the floor of room G was the focus of extensive discussion. The assemblage includes a ceramic stand, a basalt mortar, a stone spout, and a serpentine plate whose chemical composition traces to the Zagros. The plate is morphologically identical to a number of serpentine and chert plates found in the Treasury at Persepolis (along with mortars and pestles). These have been associated with a very specific (and today much debated) ritual known as the *hauma* ceremony. This ceremony is thought to have involved the use of a shallow stone plate, a mortar and pestle, and a stand or table to produce a drink made from the crushing of a plant. Analysis of the artifacts from room G brings the discussion of this dissertation close to heated questions in Achaemenid studies concerning the nature of Achaemenid religion and its relationship to Zoroastrianism. The many complexities of the *hauma* ceremony have already been detailed in Chapter 6. For now, suffice it to say that I conclude that that a religious rite perhaps related to this ceremony may well have taken place at Tsaghkahovit.

It is not clear what the significance is of observing this *particular* practice, characteristic of the Achaemenid core regime, on the highlands versus any other. We will need more information to assess that. For my purposes, what is significant is not the possible *hauma* ceremony, *per se*, but that we have the resolution in Tsaghkahovit to

discern *a* practice of Achaemenid religion (and one that happens to be quite fascinating in its own right). If we remove *hauma* from the equation, we are still left with the challenge of explaining what the plate is doing at Tsaghkahovit—I mean literally, what work it is doing as an actor (following Latour) or a mediator of social relations. It is of course possible to leave the unnamed the ritual activity suggested by these artifacts (although I see no reason to remove *hauma* from the discussion), but we would still be left with an imported object in its use context, very clearly associated with other artifacts that suggest its actual employment in a social practice.

Practices such as the possible *hauma* ceremony help us account for the transformations in the relations between highland traditions (structures) and the positions that people (actors) held in society during the centuries of Achaemenid rule. In their capacities as local leaders, community leaders at Tsaghkahovit were changing the traditions of political authority that had been vested in the fortress by instead looking outward and choosing from new traditions and practices of the Achaemenid empire. The connection between the fortress (as a structure or promulgator of rules) and local leaders was being changed through the material mediation of things like the serpentine plate, the ritual ceremony perhaps connected to the *hauma* rite, and the space of room G.

At both satrapal centers and in this one town, it is remarkable that we see a common ambiguity in the position of the fortress. Further work will inform the connections between these locations (did Tsaghkahovit leaders learn of things like religious practices at satrapal centers or did they have direct ties further afield?). But it is clear that across social scales and geographic distances, something similar was at work: leaders of the highlands were both pushing away from fortresses and gravitating toward

them. In a sense, Darius did the same thing at Tushpa: sufficiently drawn to Urartu's capital to carve out the niche, but not interested enough to finish the project with an inscription. There is palpable equivocal commitment to the fortress and what it represented.

### **Significance of Research**

This dissertation aspires to speak across the disciplines of ancient history and archaeology, as well as across the larger domains of the humanities and social sciences. Its contribution to Achaemenid studies is twofold. In an historical sense, the work sheds light on a little-known province, synthesizing the extant textual and visual evidence that can inform an account of Armenia within the Achaemenid empire. In addition, by introducing new evidence from Tsaghkahovit and assessing the potentials of comparative survey for informing long-term change, this work provides a new view upon places both neglected and better known (Erebuni and Altintepe) that warrant more extensive examination.

In a more anthropological sense, this dissertation demonstrates how an engagement with social theory and social archaeology can open new directions for the study of the Achaemenid past and provinces of early empires more broadly. This effort began on a conceptual level in Chapter 2, where, using the lens of practice theories, I attempted to bring into focus some of the limitations of centrifugal conceptual paradigms vested in empire-wide structural phenomena. The larger theoretical argument of the dissertation posits that insufficient attention has been given to the materiality of everyday

interactions that in large measure constitute social order in provinces of early empires, particularly the Achaemenid empire. This project questions the utility of investigating empires solely through diffusionary concepts like “influence” and “impact” and argues that “influence” inappropriately renders material objects and places as passive reflections of cultural processes and top-down imperial impositions. It disregards the unique social logics of particular places by explaining change only in terms of monolithic external forces. Traditions of archaeological research in the study of the Achaemenid empire have been inattentive to broader developments in archaeological theory, to the detriment of our understanding of the material conditions of social life in this empire.

In departing from existing traditions in the study of the Achaemenid empire, the present work takes as one of its starting points the position (drawn from practice theories) that empires are reproduced not only through the actions and institutions of kings and other “Great Men,” but also through daily practices in towns, villages, and centers of power within provinces of the empire. This is by no means to diminish the important roles played by those who occupy privileged locations of power in shaping history, but to recognize that these roles are not all-determinative. In Chapter 2, I argued that a particular kind of social archaeology should complement (and not replace) existing approaches to the study of this empire that have focused on the textual and visual production of attested ethno-linguistic groups like Greeks, Persians, Medes, Egyptians, Lydians, etc., as reflections of culture and history. My contention is that, while symbols, beliefs, art, languages, texts, events, and the doings of Great Men are instrumental to the making of past worlds (and, indeed, they are given their fair share of attention in this



work), they do not fully encompass the terrain of historical inquiry and historical explanation.

### **Stepping Back: East and West**

...one is forced to admit that despite the progress accomplished in other areas, and despite some very early lucid openings, in Achaemenid historiography “Orientalism” has remained the keystone for more than three centuries! Is this not a disturbing observation? (Briant 2005: 269)

It is a disturbing observation. Achaemenid studies began to cohere as a subfield during the late 1970s and 1980s out of a political aspiration. It aimed to chip away at an ingrained Hellenocentrism that had, for too long, relegated the Achaemenid empire as an effete, backward, despotic state, ruled by peoples of a derivative culture, who could do nothing more than borrow from Greek or Assyrian models. Scholars of this empire began to show that the Achaemenid realm could be examined apart from such antiquated paradigms. Thirty years later, it is probably not an exaggeration to say that what gives Achaemenid studies coherence—across methods and regions—is in part a principled effort to put the classical sources in their proper place alongside other kinds of evidence, and a mandate for continued vigilance (on view in the quotation above), even as old paradigms have certainly receded.

Despite these disciplinary foundations firmly rooted in a declaration of independence from overpowering classical paradigms, is it possible that a new “doxa” has emerged from the “heterodoxy” of the 1980s? Having worked to liberate the study of the Achaemenid empire from hellenocentrism, do Achaemenid studies now find

themselves self-defined as an “Other,” still in relation to classics? It sometimes seems so, in so far as the understandable frustration expressed in the quotation above still can be found in, and sometimes provide the stimulus for, recent scholarship, even if often in more subtle terms. Surely this has become a tiring concern for those who have been contending with it since the 1970s.

To a certain extent, this position as “Other” is written into the cards, due to the nature of the available narrative sources for Achaemenid history. The narrative history of the empire is tethered to the very classical sources that gave rise to Hellenocentric perspectives in the first place, yet these cannot be dismissed just because of the politics of the modern academe, for they are important representations in their own right. Historians working with visual media from the empire and those engaged with non-classical documents, especially from Babylonia and Persepolis, are finding ways around this problem. The approach laid out in this dissertation offers yet another, complementary way to put to rest the problems of Hellenocentrism and Orientalism by reaching out to a comparative social archaeology of provinces under empire that allows the archaeological to collaborate with the historical and the art historical. This approach also permits each dataset to contribute to a far wider understanding of the Achaemenid world, a natural continuation of the transformations begun in the 1980s at the Achaemenid History Workshops, which are often credited with setting the terms of a new Achaemenid studies.

There are larger stakes beyond the perhaps arcane debates over identities of disciplines within ancient studies. Goody (2006) has noted that what is at stake in the study of the age of antiquity, in which the Achaemenid empire falls, is the very foundation of modern civilizational narratives that continue to juxtapose West and East.

The period of the Achaemenid empire is the crucible for the production of histories and popular culture (most recently, films like “300” and “Alexander”) that reinforce the notion of a timeless and essential distinction between Orient and Occident, between Western civilization and Marx’s Asiatic exceptionalism. This narrative, Goody and others (for example, Springborg 1992) have argued, is a creation of modern historians of the ancient world, who have appropriated the authority of classical sources in order to stress the divergent historical trajectories of Europe and Asia. One solution, according to Goody (2006: 287), is an anthropological archaeology of antiquity. This work represents a step in just this direction.

### **Cliffhangers**

The last sentence of Xerxes’ inscription at Tushpa reads: “May Ahuramazda, together with all the gods, protect me, my kingdom, and what I have made.” What has he made? To what does this clause refer? Is Xerxes referring to the rock-cut inscription itself? Or is it a more generic and intentionally ambiguous clause that refers to what he accomplished, as king, in this particular part of the kingdom (we know he does not mean the kingdom as a whole, since it is listed separately)? What did the Achaemenid kings make in the highlands?

This is the cliffhanger that this dissertation has begun to resolve. Perhaps the suspense has only been heightened by the tantalizing preliminary findings of this research, which are based on often threadbare datasets. Nevertheless, they have provided first glimpses into the ways in which highland communities were negotiating their

relations with their local pasts and the Achaemenid imperial present. In a part of the world where so little archaeological work has been done on the centuries in question, suggestions of future avenues of research that might bring some clarity to the emerging picture could fill the pages of another chapter. Some immediate concerns that arise from the particulars of this project include: the need for regional surveys that are more intensive and systematic; in a related vein, targeted efforts at improving ceramic and absolute chronologies; and excavation at other Iron 3 settlements, with or without fortresses, in order to see whether the transformations observed in this work hold true elsewhere on the highlands. The work at Tsaghkahovit will continue, not only in other rooms of Precinct A, but also in the room blocks closer to the base of the citadel, in order to gain some purchase on social differences within the community.

Future fieldwork and methodological advances are critical, and we can be generally confident that they will occur. New data will unfold to support, or force a reconsideration of the arguments advanced in these pages. The greater suspense, to my mind, resides in how the study of the Achaemenid empire can contribute to broader questions pertaining to our understanding of provinces under empire, the intersection of history and social theory, and how theories of history and the social can be brought into conversation on the terrain of Achaemenid history. These are suspenses we must get comfortable with, however, for they are long-term questions. But cliffhangers are always the most exciting just before they are resolved.

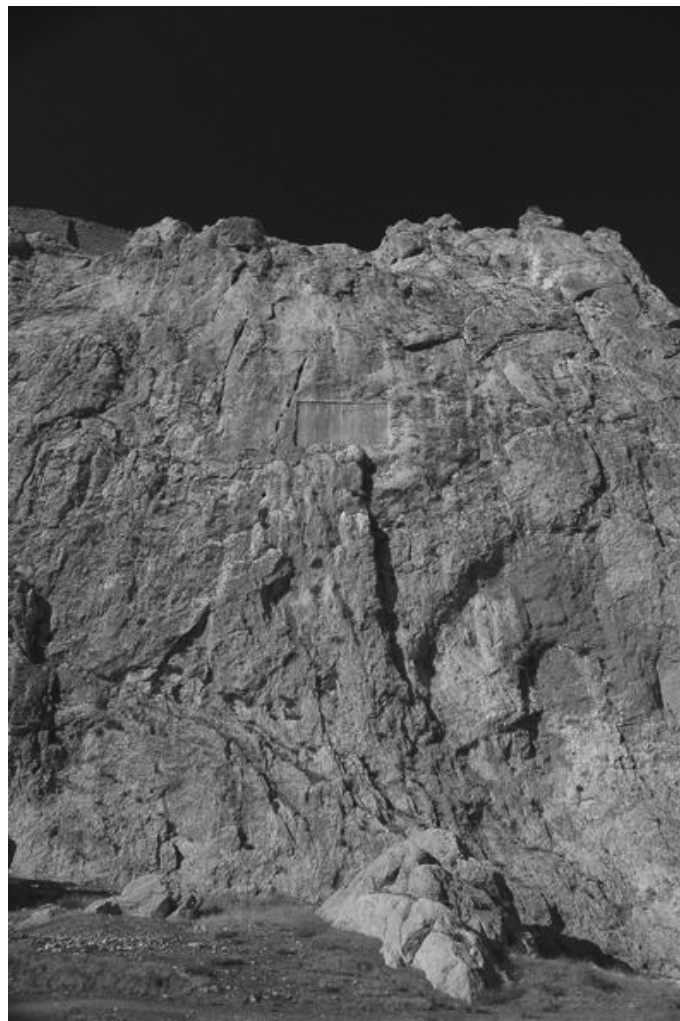
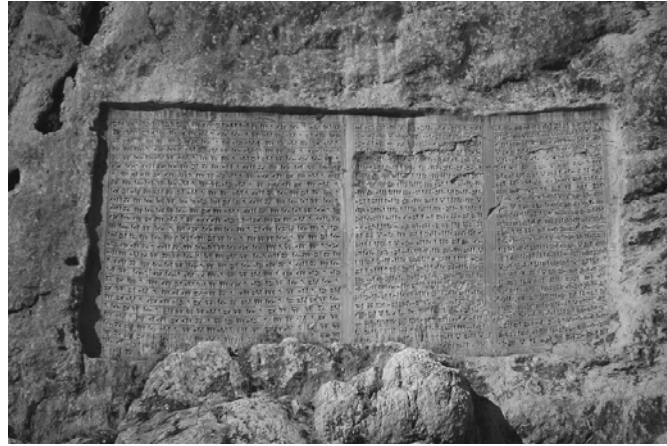


Figure 9.1 Achaemenid royal monument at Tushpa (after <http://www.livius.org/aa-ac/achaemenians/XV.html>). Above: inscription XV. Below: southern façade of the Tushpa fortress showing carved niche.

## APPENDIX 1

### CERAMIC TYPOLOGY

This appendix presents a preliminary typology of the Iron 3 ceramics from the site of Tsaghkahovit. It also provides a rudimentary foundation for a quantitative classification of Iron 3 ceramics in Armenia. Future iterations of this typology will incorporate comparative references to pottery from other sites in Armenia and neighboring regions (eastern Turkey, Iran, Georgia, etc.); however, for the purposes of this particular project, the focus remains squarely on the Tsaghkahovit assemblage, so as to address the specific research questions concerning activity areas and social space laid out in Chapter 6 of the thesis. In this introduction, I provide a brief explanation of how this typology was generated.

The Project ArAGATS ceramic coding form, part of the project MySQL database implemented through an html front-end, records information on a wide range of variables for each sherd. Table A1.1 lists most of the fields included on this form. I coded a total of 939 sherds from Tsaghkahovit, Hnaberd, and Tsilkar into the Project ArAGATS pottery database. The data can be queried, filtered, and sorted using standard SQL query language so that any given attribute or combination of attributes can be prioritized in the clustering of the pottery into groups. After experimenting with various configurations through this digital sorting process, I decided to privilege vessel form above other attributes as the highest-order factor in the grouping of the sherds. I determined vessel

form based on a series of cascading considerations. The first and broadest consideration is the “variant” of a vessel, or whether it is unrestricted (open), restricted (closed), or indeterminate as to variant. The second order variable is “mode.” Unrestricted modes include bowls, cups, plates, pots, and bread-moulds. Restricted modes include jars, jugs/pitchers, and “perfume jars.” The difference between unrestricted “pots” and restricted “jars” is based on a subjective assessment of the angle of the vessel’s shoulder in relation to the neck (rarely are the sherds sufficiently preserved to quantify the ratio between neck diameter and maximum body diameter). I did not measure these angles with a goniometer. This intuitive distinction can and should be tested quantitatively in the future.

According to the initial, bulk classificatory system described thus far, the header of each entry in this typology lists, first and foremost, the type’s variant and mode. Further subdivisions within each variant/mode group (with the exception of the indeterminates) are based on a range of other essential variables—formal characteristics, most especially pertaining to the axis and profile of the shoulder, neck, and rim of each sherd. In general, an imaginary vertical axis provides a point of reference, in relation to which shoulders and necks can form a hypothetical cylinder, cone, or inverted cone. Rims can have an outward, inward, upward, double, or continuous axis in relation to the neck, shoulder, or body. Neck, shoulder, and body profiles can be straight, convex, or concave. Rim shapes can be pointed, rounded, rectangular, 2-part, or 3-part. These various possible morphological combinations were taken into account (and sometimes combined) in defining formally comparable clusters of sherds into types, each of which constitutes a separate entry in this typology.

The next order of subdivision is a quantitative measure of vessel size based on rim diameter. Since there are very few complete vessels in the Tsaghkahovit collection, in determining size classes it was not possible to take into account other common measures, such as vessel volume and vessel height. Histograms of rim diameters within types provide a rough measure of size clusters. In making these histograms, I experimented with various intervals to try and minimize distortion while bringing forward groupings (Drennan 1996: 12; Shennan 1997: 27; Sinopoli 1991: 172). Often, however, the total number of sherds of any one type is quite small and thus it is unlikely that the groupings are actually representative of size preferences. In addition, in many cases the frequency distributions in these histograms are continuous. In such instances where there are few peaks in the histograms, size breaks are somewhat arbitrary and obviously do not respond to an innate characteristic of production. Larger samples and complete vessels will either clarify these size groupings or re-affirm the absence of standardization in terms of vessel size.

Additional characteristics within size classes can sometimes add weight to the divisions. The additional characteristics included in this typology are inclusions, sorting, hardness, surface treatments, and surface colors. Inclusions refer to the non-clay particles in the fabric of the sherd, particularly sand. I used a standard sand gauge to measure this variable. I did not conduct petrographic or microscopic analysis as part of this project, and thus a mineralogical characterization of the inclusions and a determination on the use of organic tempering are not possible at present. The quality of sorting of the sand inclusions, on a scale from well sorted to poorly sorted, was also measured using a Stoney Knoll sand grain sizing folder.



Hardness, surface treatment, and surface color are variables that pertain to ceramic finishing and firing. Hardness testing in this case was limited to a scratch test using Mohs hardness scale. This method can lack precision (Simon and Coghlan 1989). To mitigate some of the problems with scratch hardness testing, the exact same materials were used as test instruments for all sherds and every effort was made to use the same pressure, orientation, and speed in scratching. As for surface treatment, close visual inspection with the naked eye or a magnifier eye loop could usually discern the presence or absence of slips and whether or not surfaces were smoothed or polished. Finally, I used Munsell soil color charts to determine interior and exterior surface colors. In cases where surface colors were highly mottled, either no color was recorded or a dominant color was recorded, if possible, with mottling noted in the remarks field. Decorative elements are quite rare on the Tsaghkahovit ceramics but where present this variable is also noted in each type entry. Other variables that were recorded, such as those pertaining to core bands, are not included here. The measurements are available for future study of firing conditions.

In this typology, one further descriptive statistic examines the relation between rim size and body thickness (in the case of bowls) or shoulder thickness (in the case of all other vessels) using scatter plots. A linear trend-line along a scatter plot of these two variables using the entire ceramic corpus provides a general marker of the median ratio, such that vessels that fall above this line can be considered coarser, while the vessels that fall below this line can be considered more fine (figure A1.1). This bulk scatter plot provides a general proxy for table wares, bearing in mind, of course, that several other attributes, such as decorative elements and surface treatment, are important in

determining vessel “fineness”. (The topic of vessel forms and associated functions is discussed in greater details in Chapter 6.) Scatter plots of individual types are also useful as indicators of standardization, such that instances of no correlation within types indicate low levels of standardized production and vice versa.

As Sinopoli (1991: 43-65) and Rice (1987: 274-288) have discussed, creating a ceramic typology always entails emphasizing certain characteristics over others, and the selection of which traits to prioritize depends on specific research interests. Although there are certainly benefits to highly quantitative typologies that take into account a number of quantitative variables simultaneously, the datasets from Tsaghakhovit are too small and fragmentary to warrant such a strategy at present. In this typology, the choice to elevate form above other variables was made partly on the basis of accepted practice, and partly in response to the interpretive aims of Chapter 6. Although vessels may serve multiple functions, and morphology is only one factor (along with residue analysis, use traces, raw materials) in determining probable primary vessel function, it is nevertheless an important one (Sinopoli 1991: 85). Variables relating to form are the primary basis of this typology; however, the inclusion of other attributes pertaining to treatments, fabrics, and colors, permits the examination of patterns across and within types.

Each entry in this typology follows a similar format. Where quantities of types are relatively substantial, a histogram provides the basis for size class distinctions. In a cell of the table below each profile drawing is a list of all the sherds in the collection that belong to that group. *The first sherds listed refer to the sherds drawn in the cell(s) above, from top to bottom. After these, the sherds are listed alphabetically. All sherds whose object IDs are rendered in bold were retrieved from Iron 3 floors and pits while all*

*others are from mixed deposits.* This distinction is important for the analysis in Chapter 6. In some cases, a type is created for one-of-a-kind vessels, either because they are particularly interesting forms, or because other vessels of this type are known from Iron 3 assemblages elsewhere in Armenia. Only in such cases are citations provided to comparative collections, particularly in Karapetyan's 2003 work, the most recent comprehensive publication of Iron 3 pottery in Armenia. However, nearly all forms in this typology find close parallels in Karapetyan's plates.

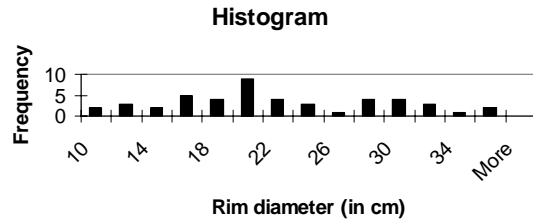
A final word on method of pottery manufacture is in order, since this topic is not addressed in the typology that follows. It is common opinion among archaeologists of Armenia that the pottery of this period is, for the most part, wheel-made. In several cases, wheel tracks appear to be visible on vessel interiors. Moreover, vessels of this period are thin-walled compared to those in earlier assemblages in which coils and other evidence for hand-built production techniques are common. For this late period in the archaeology of southwest Asia, it is perhaps a reasonable hypothesis that much of the pottery in this assemblage was wheel-made (of course, in the case of very large storage vessels, coils are clearly detectable, as are finger depressions on the rare, coarse moulded cup). As Courty and Roux (1995) have demonstrated, however, visual inspection of surface features with the naked eye cannot discern the great range of potential pottery production techniques, and the combinations of, for instance, slow-wheel usage and hand-building techniques on a single vessel. What appear to be wheel tracks can in fact be the traces of a smoothing instrument, and coil-built roughouts can be shaped on a slow wheel. Microscopic and instrumental analysis, as well as rigorous investigation of standardized production along a number of variables, can refine our understanding of

production technologies. So too would ceramic workshops or production areas, which have not yet been identified at the site. For the present, the high degrees of regularity and the relatively large quantities observed within several types in the catalog must suffice for lending some weight to the hypothesis for wheel-made production.

VARIANT: Unrestricted

MODE: Bowls

TYPE: 01

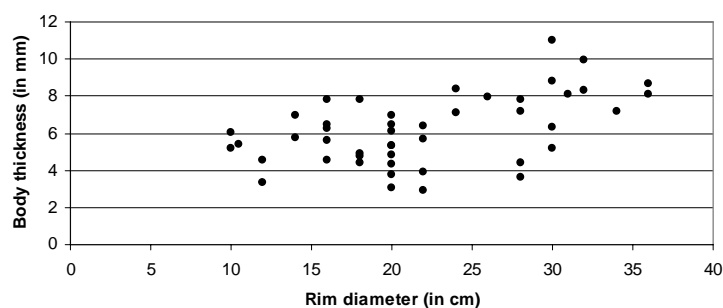


	SMALL (D. 10-14 CM)	MEDIUM (D. 15-26 CM)	LARGE (D. 27-39 CM)
SHALLOW & SMOOTH			
SHALLOW & SHARP			
DEEP SHARP & SMOOTH			
	Total 7: <b>WSE.03.C.11</b> , <b>WSC3.11.C.2</b> , <b>WSG.12.C.11</b> , <b>WSG.12.C.77</b> , <b>WSH.12.C.03</b> , <b>WSH.40.C.06</b> , <b>WSL.16.C.04</b>	Total 26: <b>WSH.30.C.28</b> , <b>WSL.13.C.12</b> , <b>WSG.12.C.22</b> , <b>C5.7.C.3</b> , <b>C11.8.C.2</b> , <b>SLT7.2.C.05</b> , <b>WSC2.06.C.01</b> , <b>WSG.12.C.27</b> , <b>WSH.06.C.04</b> , <b>WSH.08.C.16</b> , <b>WSH.16.C.01</b> , <b>WSH.22.C.12</b> , <b>WSH.22.C.26</b> , <b>WSH.30.C.04</b> , <b>WSH.30.C.17</b> , <b>WSH.30.C.18</b> , <b>WSH.40.C.03</b> , <b>WSH.40.C.19</b> , <b>WSL.05.C.02</b> , <b>WSL.09.C.01</b> , <b>WSL.19.C.02</b> , <b>WSL.19.C.26</b> , <b>WSL.20.C.03</b> , <b>WSL.20.C.06</b> , <b>WSL.20.C.10</b> , <b>WSL.20.C.13</b>	Total 15: <b>WSL.05.C.01</b> , <b>WSH.30.C.41</b> , <b>WSC3.10.C.01</b> , <b>C3.A3.C.10</b> , <b>C7.12.C.01</b> , <b>C8.6.C.1</b> , <b>C11.4.C.1</b> , <b>WSC.10.C.01</b> , <b>WSE.03.C.14</b> , <b>WSH.03.C.02</b> , <b>WSH.04.C.02</b> , <b>WSH.30.C.03</b> , <b>WSH.30.C.27</b> , <b>WSL.27.C.05</b> , <b>WSL.20.C.04</b>

	SMALL	MEDIUM	LARGE
INCLUSIONS	Five medium sand, one fine sand, one coarse sand	Mostly medium sand, three coarse sand, three fine sand.	Six medium sand, five coarse sand, four very coarse sand.
SORTING	Well sorted to medium sorted	Most are well sorted. Some poorly sorted.	Most are well sorted. Some poorly sorted.
HARDNESS	2-4	2-3	2-5

SURFACE TREATMENTS (INT. & EXT.)	Slipped and polished	All but one are slipped and polished. One is slipped and smoothed.	Most are slipped and polished. Five are slipped and smoothed.
COLORS (INT. & EXT.)	Most are red (Red 10R 4/6, Red 2.5YR 4/8, Yellowish Red 5YR 5/6). One is black and two are brown (10YR 5/3, 7.5YR 5/4).	Most are red (Red 2.5YR 4/6, 5/6, 10R 4/6, 4/8, 5/6). Browns are also common (Strong Brown 7.5YR 4/6, Brown 7.5YR 5/4, 4/3, 4/4, Light Brown 7.5YR 6/4, Reddish Brown 5YR 4/4, 5/4 2.5YR 4/4).	No dominant color. Wide range of reds, grays, browns, and blacks.

Scatter plot



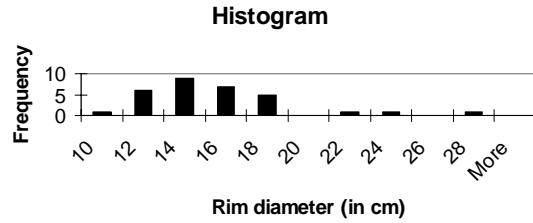
DESCRIPTION:

These carinated bowls are the most common type of bowl in the Tsaghkahovit assemblage. They come in deeper and shallower versions, and with sharper or gentler transitions at the body/neck break. The rims are continuous off of the inverted cone neck. Rims either narrow to a point or are rounded. The medium size is most common. Most bowls of this type are slipped and polished, and most surfaces are red, although browns are also common. The smallest bowls have stable thicknesses, ranging by no more than two millimeters in each size. Medium and larger versions show more variability. Given the great quantity of this type of bowl, and the uniformity of form and color, this vessel may be a standard production of a potting industry. There are 62 sherds of this type in the collection, although 14 are too small to measure rim diameters.

VARIANT: Unrestricted

MODE: Bowl

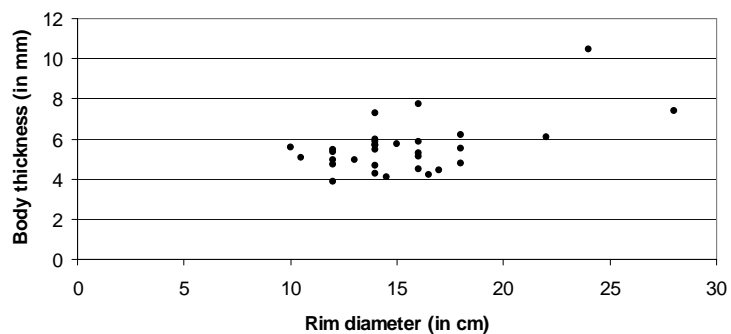
TYPE: 02



	STANDARD (D. 10-18 CM)	LARGE (D. 22-28 CM)
SHALLOW		
DEEP		
	<p>Total 28: WSH.30.C.44, WSE.03.C.06, WSH.18.C.02, WSG.18.C.07, WSG.18.C.06, WSG.18.C.05, HF1.17.C.03, WSC3.08.C.02, WSE.03.C.10, WSE.03.C.32, WSG.07.C.04, WSG.12.C.24, WSG.12.C.25, WSG.13.C.06, WSH.04.C.04, WSH.14.C.04, WSH.22.C.16, WSH.30.C.10, WSH.30.C.11, WSH.30.C.38, WSH.30.C.39, WSH.30.C.40, WSL.16.C.02, WSL.19.C.19, WSL.20.C.01, WSL.20.C.05, WSL.35.C.01, WSL.03.C.03</p>	<p>Total 3: WSH.06.C.02, WSH.14.C.03, WSL.19.C.13</p>

	STANDARD	LARGE
INCLUSIONS	Most are medium sand	Medium, coarse, and very coarse sand
SORTING	Most are well sorted; some are poorly sorted.	Well sorted and poorly sorted
HARDNESS	2-3	2-3
SURFACE TREATMENTS (INT. & EXT.)	Slipped and polished	Slipped and polished
COLORS (INT. & EXT.)	Most, vessels of this type are red (10R 4/6, 2.5YR 4/8, 2.5YR 4/6, 2.5YR 4/8). Four are black on the interior and exterior and two are gray. Some are light or strong brown (7.5YR 4/6, 6/3, 6/4, 5/6).	Brown (7.5YR 4/4, 7.5YR 4/3)

Scatter plot



DESCRIPTION:

Vessels of this type have upward oriented rims that are pointed or rounded in shape.

These rims transition gently from the convex body. Vessels of this type occur most commonly between 10 and 18 cm in diameter and there are shallower and deeper varieties within this “standard” size class.



The three deep variants (**WSG.18.C.05**, **WSG.18.C.06**, **WSG.18.C.07**) are nearly complete (photograph below). All three were found together under the floor in room G, along with an iron chisel and axe head (figure 5.24, a and b). These three vessels are nearly identical in height (5.36, 3.75, 5.35). They are also similar in rim diameter (16.5, 14.5, 17) and base diameter (61.7, 55.6, 63.2), with one being somewhat smaller than the other two. Two of these vessels belong to a subclass of this type, notable for its two-toned decorative element. The interiors of this subclass are all the same shade of red, while the exteriors are all the same shade of light brown. On the exterior of the rims, however, there is a red band that extends as far as the body/rim break. Based on this distinctive decoration, as well as the form of the base to body transition, four other two-toned vessels of this type were identified in neighboring rooms (**WSH.30.C.25**, **WSH.30.C.26**, **WSH.15.C.05**, **WSI.20.C.12**).

Most vessels of this type are polished and, aside from the two-toned variety, are red on the interior and the exterior. In the standard size, bowls are the same thickness, rarely varying by more than 2 mm. It is the second most common bowl form after type 01.

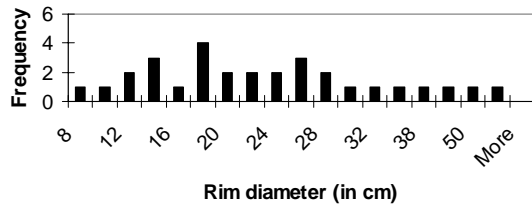


VARIANT: Unrestricted

MODE: Bowl

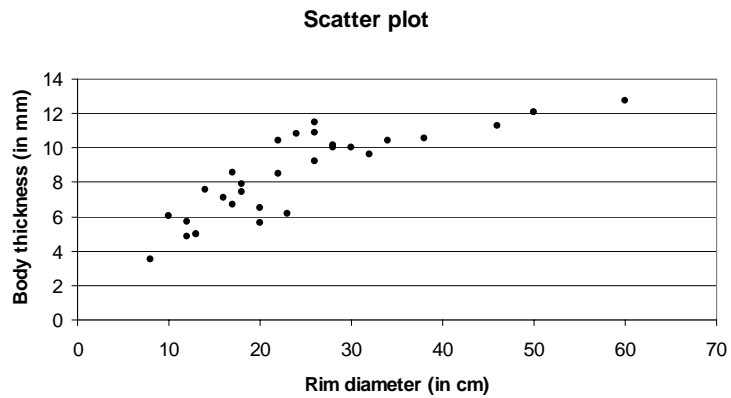
TYPE: 03

Histogram



SMALL (D. 8-16 CM)	MEDIUM (D. 17-30 CM)	LARGE (D. >31 CM)
<p>Total 8: WSH.06.C.08, WSH.12.C.08, WSG.03.C.03, WSH.02.C.11, WSH.13.C.06, <b>WSH.14.C.08</b>, <b>WSH.30.C.01</b>, <b>WSH.30.C.06</b></p>	<p>Total 16: C3.C5.2, SLT6.4.C.02, C8.2.C.6, SLT6.4.C.04, <b>WSE.04.C.01</b>, WSH.02.C.04, WSH.08.C.06, WSH.12.C.10, WSH.13.C.03, <b>WSH.30.C.02</b>, <b>WSH.30.C.05</b>, <b>WSH.30.C.48</b>, WSI.05.C.01, WSI.06.C.03, WSI.14.C.01, WSL.01.C.20</p>	<p>Total 6: <b>WSH.22.C.05</b>, WSG.09.C.10, WSH.08.C.02, <b>WSL.19.C.11</b>, <b>WSL.27.C.06</b>, WSL.01.C.09,</p>

	SMALL	MEDIUM	LARGE
INCLUSIONS	Medium or coarse sand	Medium, coarse or very coarse sand	Medium or coarse sand
SORTING	Most are well sorted. Two poorly sorted.	Most are well sorted. Three poorly sorted.	Well sorted or poorly sorted
HARDNESS	2-4	2-4	3
SURFACE TREATMENT (INT. & EXT.)	Slipped and polished	Slipped and smoothed or slipped and polished	Slipped and smoothed or slipped and polished
COLORS (INT. & EXT.)	Half are mottled browns, dark browns, and reddish browns. Half are red (Red 2.5YR 4/6, Yellowish Red 5YR 4/6, Red 10YR 4/6).	Most are red or brown (Yellowish Red 5YR 5/6, Red 2.5YR 4/6, 4/8 and 5/6, Reddish Brown 5YR 5/4, Reddish Yellow 5YR 6/6, 7.5YR 6/6, Brown 7.5YR 5/4, Very Pale Brown 10YR 7/3 and 7/4). Two are black.	Same range of reds and browns as in the smaller sizes.



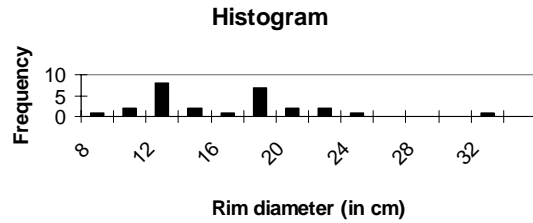
DESCRIPTION:

This type of bowl is similar to types 02 and 04, except that the rim is squared off or rectangular rather than rounded or pointed. The rims are either oriented upward or continuous from the body. It is a common form. I have defined the size classes somewhat arbitrarily given the continuous frequency distribution across rim diameters. Most vessels of this type come in red and brown shades. Other variables within and between size classes differ.

VARIANT: Unrestricted

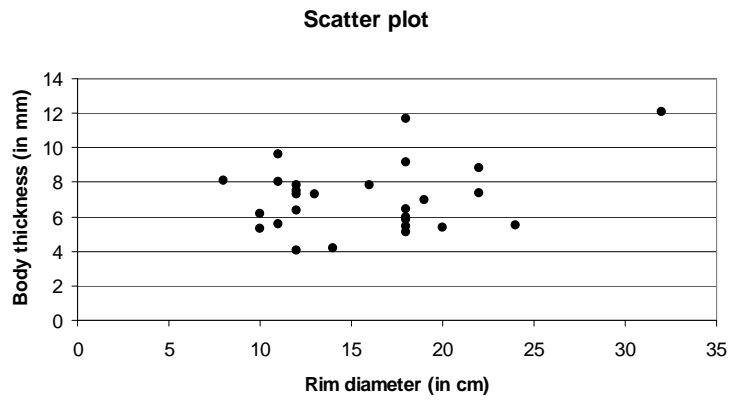
MODE: Bowl

TYPE: 04



SMALL (D. 8-16 CM)	MEDIUM (D. 17-25 CM)	LARGE (D. 26-34)
Total 14: WSC2.3.C.01, <b>C5.17.C.4</b> , C8.1.C.1, WSG.03.C.01, <b>WSG.11.C.02</b> , WSH.04.C.03, WSH.05.C.03, WSH.08.C.03, WSH.12.C.01, <b>WSH.14.C.07</b> , WSL.01.C.05, <b>WSL.08.C.05</b> , SS34.B8a.C.04, TL1.3.C.01	Total 11: WSH.08.C.01, <b>WSH.22.C.22</b> , C6.1.C.3, <b>WSH.15.C.04</b> , <b>WSH.15.C.06</b> , <b>WSH.22.C.17</b> , <b>WSH.40.C.10</b> , <b>WSL.13.C.06</b> , WSL.01.C.07, <b>WSL.08.C.04</b> , TLSf06.01.C.03	WSL.20.C.02

	SMALL	MEDIUM	LARGE
INCLUSIONS	Fine, medium, and coarse sand	Medium, coarse, and very coarse sand	Very coarse sand
SORTING	Well sorted or poorly sorted	Well sorted	Well sorted
HARDNESS	2-5	2-4	3
SURFACE TREATMENT (INT. & EXT.)	Half are slipped and polished. Half are slipped and smoothed.	Two thirds are slipped and polished. The rest are slipped and smoothed.	Interior is slipped and smoothed. Exterior is slipped and polished.
COLORS	Wide range of grays, reds, yellowish-reds and browns.	Mostly Red 2.5YR 4/6 or Red 10R 4/6, or Yellowish Red 5YR 5/6 on interior and exterior.	Exterior is Brown 7.5YR 5/4. Interior is Light Yellowish Brown 10YR 6/4.



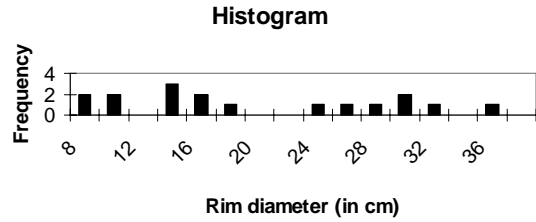
**DESCRIPTION:**

This type of bowl has a continuous rim that follows directly from the convex body. It is similar to type 02, except that the axis of the rim is not upward from the body. The rim either narrows to a point or is rounded. The scatter plot above shows that within size classes, vessels can range in body thickness. Colors tend toward reds and browns. Most sherds are well sorted.

VARIANT: Unrestricted

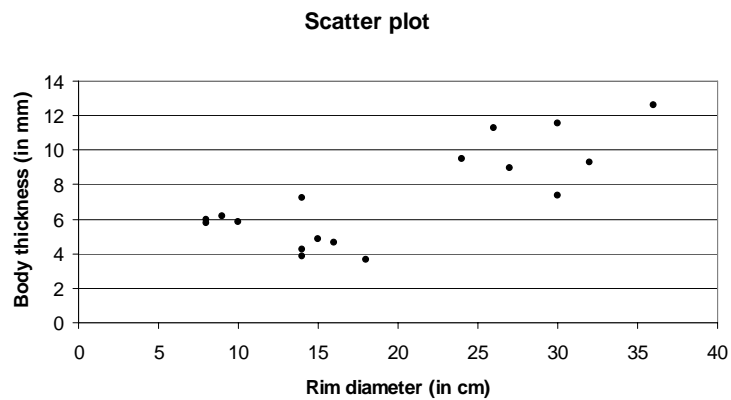
MODE: Bowl

TYPE: 05



SMALL (D. 8-12 CM)	MEDIUM (D. 14-20 CM)	LARGE (D. 24-36 CM)
Total 4: <b>WSH.15.C.07</b> , <b>WSE.03.C.31</b> , <b>WSH.40.C.07</b> , <b>WSK.02.C.01</b>	Total 6: <b>WSE.03.C.08</b> , <b>WSG.07.C.01</b> , <b>WSH.22.C.27</b> , <b>WSH.30.C.36</b> , <b>WSI.04.C.01</b> , <b>WSI.16.C.03</b>	Total 7: <b>WSI.2.C.01</b> , <b>C7.6.C.1</b> , <b>WSAR.02.C.04</b> , <b>WSG.07.C.02</b> , <b>WSG.09.C.14</b> , <b>WSG.12.C.08</b> , <b>WSL.05.C.02</b>

	SMALL	MEDIUM	LARGE
INCLUSIONS	Coarse and very coarse sand	Fine, medium, and coarse sand	Medium and coarse sand
SORTING	Poorly, medium, and well sorted	Well sorted and poorly sorted	Well sorted
HARDNESS	3	3-5	2-4
SURFACE TREATMENT (INT. & EXT.)	Slipped and polished	Slipped and polished	Slipped and polished
COLORS	Aside from one black sherd and one very dark gray sherd, most sherds in this group are red or brown. Common colors are: Yellowish Red 5YR 5/6, Red 10R 5/6, Red 10R 4/6, Red 2.5YR 4/6, Reddish Yellow 5YR 6/6, Brown 7.5YR 5/4, Light Brown 7.5YR 6/3 and 6/4, Strong Brown 7.5YR 5/6.		



DESCRIPTION:

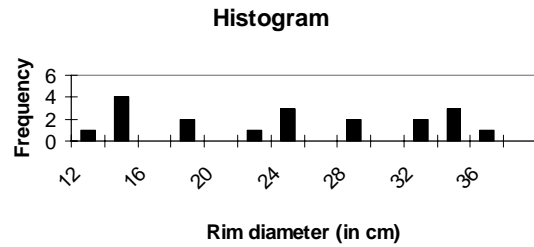
This type of bowl has an inward pointing or two-part rim and no neck. Size classes are distinct. All sherds of this type are slipped and polished and most are colored reds or browns. There is a clustered distribution of the body thickness to rim diameter ratio.

There is little variation in the thickness of the small and medium vessels, but somewhat more variation among the larger vessels.

VARIANT: Unrestricted

MODE: Bowl

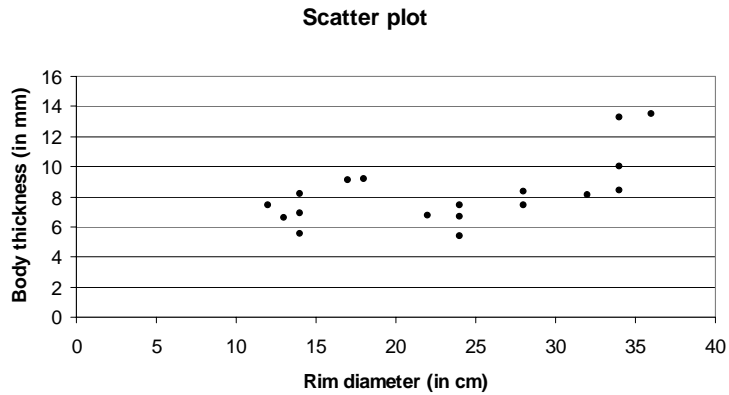
TYPE: 06



SMALL (D. 12-18 CM)	MEDIUM (D. 22-28 CM)	LARGE (D. 32-36 CM)
Total 7: <b>WSH.30.C.07</b> , WSH.13.C.04, <b>WSH.15.C.10</b> , <b>WSH.30.C.09</b> , <b>WSH.30.C.12</b> , WSL.12.C.01, WSL.1.C.25	Total 6: WSC3.02.C.03, <b>WSH.15.C.17</b> , C7.11.C.01, WSG.02.C.04, WSH.12.C.04, <b>WSH.15.C.14</b>	Total 6: <b>WSH.40.C.01</b> , WSL.12.C.03, SLT7.4.C.02, <b>WSC3.08.C.05</b> , WSH.13.C.07, <b>WSL.32.C.02</b>

	SMALL	MEDIUM	LARGE
INCLUSIONS	Five medium sand; two coarse sand.	Very fine sand to very coarse sand	Fine sand to very coarse sand
SORTING	Well sorted	Well sorted to poorly sorted	Well sorted or poorly sorted
HARDNESS	2-5	2-4	2-4
SURFACE TREATMENTS (INT. & EXT.)	Most are slipped and polished	Most are slipped and polished	Slipped and smoothed or slipped and polished
COLORS (INT. & EXT.)	Most of these sherds are red on both surfaces (Red 10YR 4/6, Dusky Red 10R 3/3, 3/2). Two are very dark gray and one is black.	Most are red (Red 10R 4/6, 2.5YR 4/6, Dark Red 2.5YR 3/6). One is Brown 7.5YR 4/2.	Most of these sherds are black or brown on both surfaces (Brown 7.5YR 4/2, 5/4, Light Brown 7.5YR 6/3, 6/4). In some cases surfaces are too mottled to measure color.





DESCRIPTION:

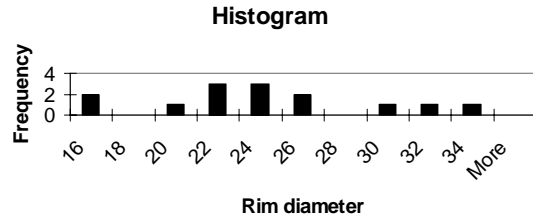
Bowls of this type have inverted cone concave necks that lead continuously to rectangular rims. They are similar to type 01, except for the rectilinear shape of the rim.

Size classes are somewhat arbitrary. With the exception of the largest sherds, thicknesses of this type are quite regular within and among size classes. Colors vary across size classes, but most of the vessels in this type are red. Other variables vary.

VARIANT: Unrestricted

MODE: Bowl

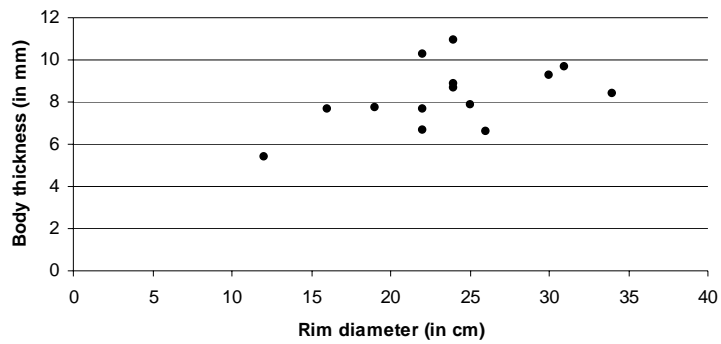
TYPE: 07



	SMALL (D. 12-18 CM)	MEDIUM (D. 19-28 CM)	LARGE (D. 29-34 CM)
STRAIGHT			
	TOTAL 2: WSG.16.C.09, <b>WSE.3.C.05</b>	TOTAL 7: WSH.8.C.10, C6.6.C.2, WSC3.05.C.02, WSG.09.C.03, <b>WSG.13.C.05</b> , WSH.10.C.01, WSH.12.C.05	TOTAL 3: <b>WSL.19.C.04</b> , WSH.12.C.02, <b>WSH.30.C.46</b>
ANGLED			
		C8.8.C.1	

	SMALL	MEDIUM	LARGE
INCLUSIONS	Coarse to very coarse sand	Medium to coarse sand	Coarse to very coarse sand
SORTING	Well sorted	Well sorted	Well sorted or poorly sorted
HARDNESS	Fluorite	Fluorite, Calcite, Selenite	Selenite and Calcite
SURFACE TREATMENTS (INT. & EXT.)	Slipped and smoothed or slipped and polished	Mostly slipped and polished. 2 just smoothed	2 slipped and polished. 1 slipped and smoothed
COLORS (INT. & EXT.)	Brown (7.5YR 5/4) Dark Brown (7.5YR 3/2) or Black (10YR 2/1)	Mostly reds and browns (Reddish Brown 5YR 5/4, Brown 10YR 5/3, Brown 7.5YR 4/2, 4/3, 4/4, 5/4, Yellowish Red 5YR 4/6, 5/6)	Browns and grays (Brown 7.5YR 4/2, Dark Grayish Brown 10YR 4/2, Very Dark Gray 10YR 3/1, Strong Brown 7.5YR 5/6, Light Brown 7.5YR 6/4)

### Scatter plot



#### DESCRIPTION:

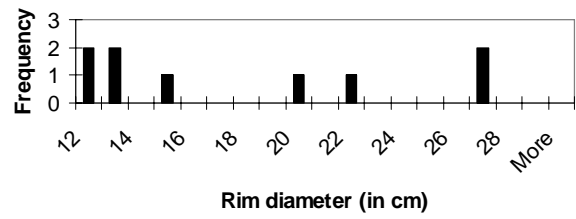
Bowls of this type have “double” or hammer-head rims that turn both inward and outward off of the axis of the neck or body. In most cases, the rim follows directly from the body, but occasionally there is a carination or concave neck. The rim can either be straight or angled. This type of vessel occurs most frequently in the medium size range, and in red and brown colors.

VARIANT: Unrestricted

MODE: Bowl

TYPE: 08

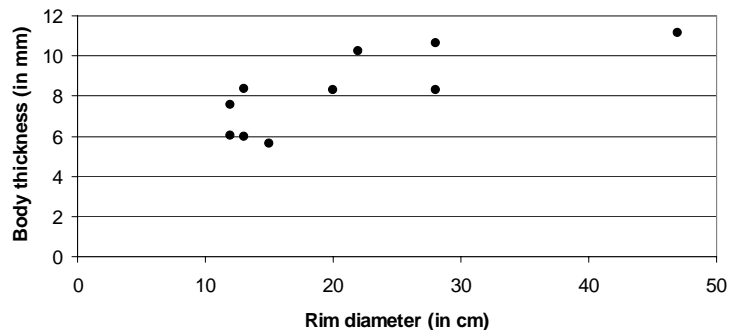
Histogram



SMALL (D. 12-16 CM)	MEDIUM (D. 20-23 CM)	LARGE (D. >27 CM)
<p>Total 5: <b>WSH.14.C.01</b>, <b>WSH.37.C.01</b>, <b>SLT7.2.C.02</b>, <b>WSH.40.C.02</b>, <b>WSI.27.C.02</b></p>	<p>Total 2: <b>C9.2.C.15</b>, <b>WSI.01.C.01</b></p>	<p>Total 3: <b>WSH.22.C.04</b>, <b>C8.8.C.3</b>, <b>WSI.26.C.03</b></p>

	SMALL	MEDIUM	LARGE
INCLUSIONS	Medium sand	Medium or very coarse sand	Coarse sand
SORTING	Well sorted	Medium sorted	Well sorted or poorly sorted
HARDNESS	2-4	2-3	2 and 4
SURFACE TREATMENTS (INT. & EXT.)	Slipped and smoothed or slipped and polished	Slipped and smoothed or slipped and polished	Slipped and smoothed or slipped and polished
COLORS (INT. & EXT.)	Most sherds are red (Dark Red 10R 3/6, Red 10R 5/6 and 4/8)	Surfaces too eroded or too mottled	One is Dark Gray 2.5Y 4/1. Light Yellowish Brown 10YR 6/4 on exterior of others.

Scatter plot



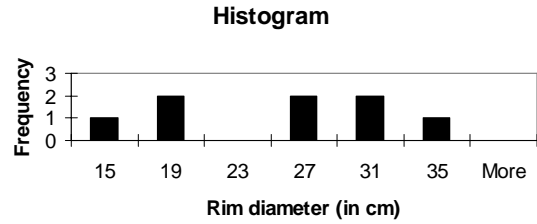
DESCRIPTION:

Bowls of this type have cylindrical and straight or concave necks that lead to rounded or rectangular rims. There is one complete vessel of this type, pictured above, which was found with the ceramic zoomorphic vessel on the floor of room H. This dark red bowl is 4.7 cm high. Another near complete vessel within the small group, this one dark gray, is 3.75 cm high. Vessels within each size class differ in thickness by little more than two millimeters. However, there are only ten sherds of this type, so it is premature to assess patterns across variables.

VARIANT: Unrestricted

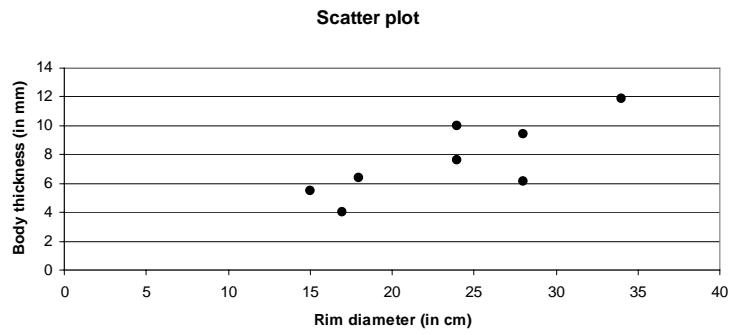
MODE: Bowl

TYPE: 09



MEDIUM (D. 15-19 CM)	LARGE (D. 23-35 CM)
Total 3: <b>WSH.30.C.31</b> , <b>WSG.13.C.05</b> , <b>WSL.19.C.05</b>	Total 5: <b>WSL.1.C.01</b> , <b>WSC3.12.C.01</b> , <b>WSH.02.C.05</b> , <b>WSH.07.C.01</b> , <b>WSH.40.C.21</b>

	MEDIUM (D. 15-19 CM)	LARGE (D. 23-35 CM)
INCLUSIONS	Fine, medium, and coarse sand	Medium and coarse sand
SORTING	Poorly or well sorted	Poorly sorted, medium sorted, or well sorted
HARDNESS	2-3	2-4
SURFACE TREATMENT (INT. & EXT.)	Slipped and polished	Slipped and smoothed or slipped and polished
COLORS (INT. & EXT.)	Exteriors and interiors are both red (Red 2.5YR 4/6) or both black.	Exteriors and interiors are red (Red 2.5YR 4/6) or browns (Brown 7.5YR 4/2, 7.5YR 5/4, Pale Brown 10YR 6/3, Dark grayish brown 10YR 4/2).



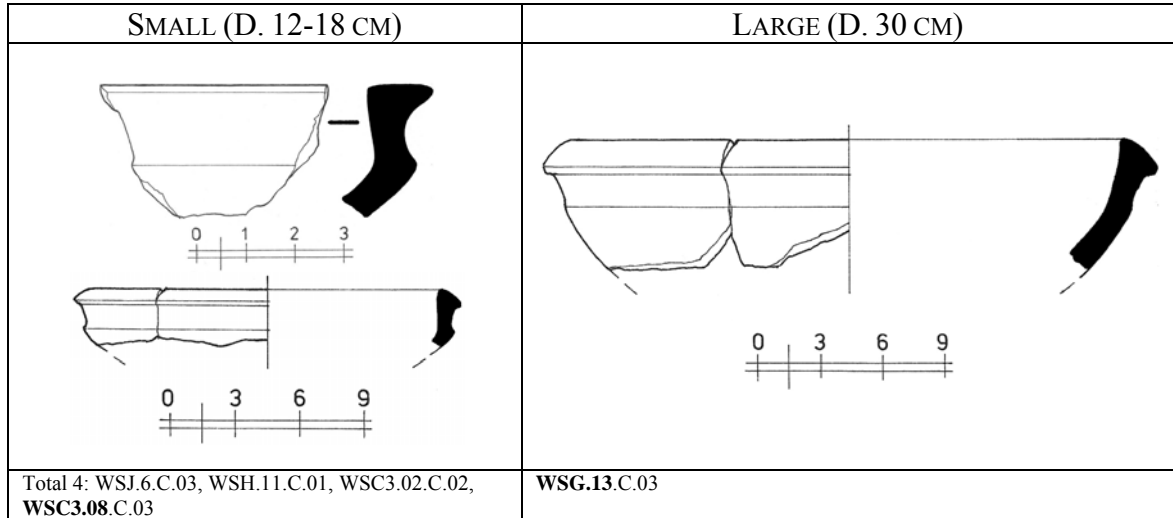
DESCRIPTION:

This type of bowl has an inward pointing rim with a concave neck whose axis is either a cylindrical or inverted cone. Inclusions, sorting, and hardness vary widely across the limited collection of nine sherds. This type of bowl tends to have polished red or polished brown surfaces.

VARIANT: Unrestricted

MODE: Bowl

TYPE: 10



	SMALL	LARGE
INCLUSIONS	Coarse sand	
SORTING	Well sorted	
HARDNESS	2-3	
SURFACE TREATMENT (INT. & EXT.)	Slipped and smoothed and slipped and polished	Slipped and polished
EXTERIOR COLOR	All are brown (Strong Brown 7.5YR 5/6, Brown 7.5YR 5/4, Reddish Brown 5YR 5/4, Grayish Brown 10YR 5/2).	Yellowish Red 5YR 5/6
INTERIOR COLOR	Same as exterior.	Same as exterior.

DESCRIPTION:

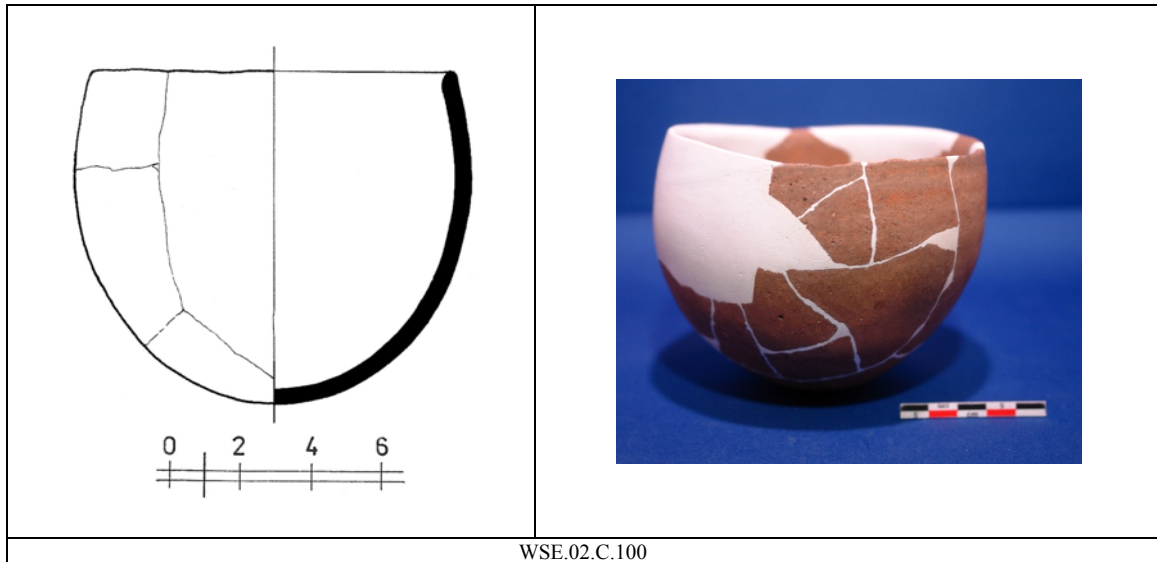
These bowls are notable for their triangular rims, which extend outward beyond the neck. These triangular rims are either straight or angled, a distinction that is shown by the two small bowls pictured above. The necks of these bowls are either cylindrical or inverted conical. Most bowls of this type occur in various shades of brown.



VARIANT: Unrestricted

MODE: Bowl

TYPE: 11



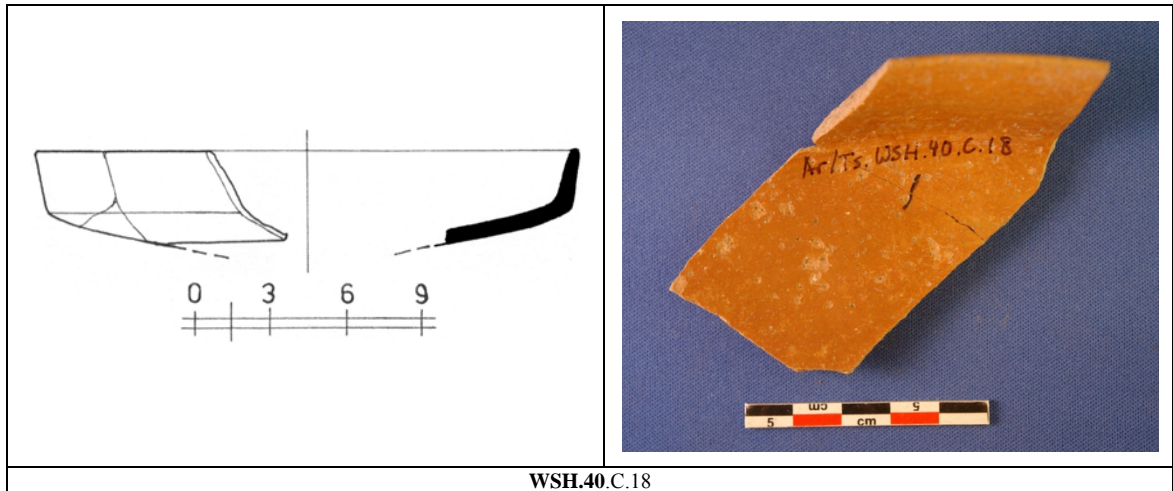
DESCRIPTION:

This is a deep, half-egg-shaped bowl with a rounded base and a continuous rim. The vessel cannot stand freely without tilting to one side. The bowl is 9.7 cm high and has a rim diameter of 11.5. The body is 6.0 mm thick. The surfaces are heavily abraded, but traces of polishing are visible in striations below the rim. The colors of both interior and exterior surfaces are Brown 7.5YR 5/4. The vessel has a hardness of 4 on the Mohs hardness scale. Vessels of this form are thought to date to the latter part of the Iron 3 period. Some vessels currently grouped in type 4 may be of this variety, but without a complete profile these egg-shaped vessels cannot be distinguished from other bowls with continuous rounded or pointed rims.

VARIANT: Unrestricted

MODE: Bowl

TYPE: 12



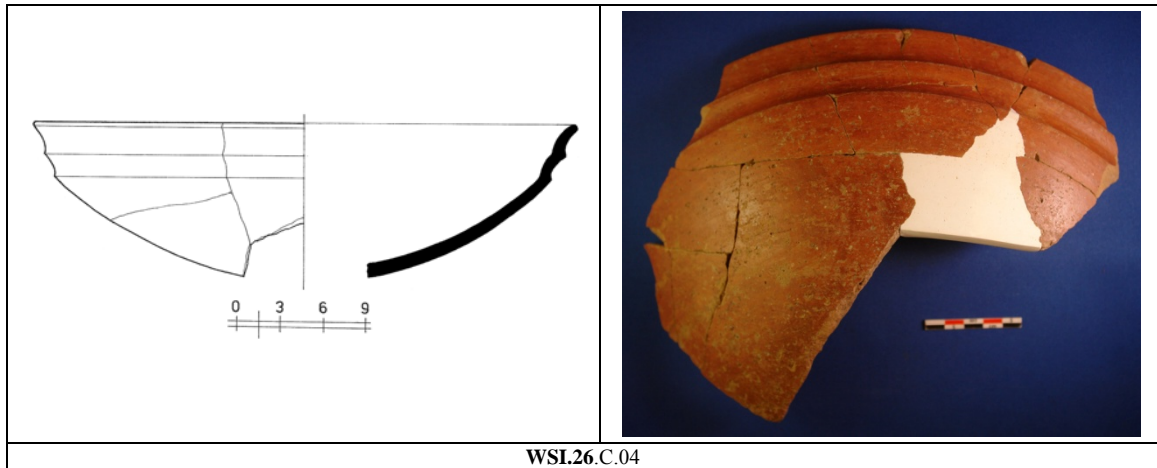
DESCRIPTION:

This is a shallow bowl whose body and neck are both straight in profile and both only slightly inverted cone in axis. The rim is continuous and pointed. The vessel is highly fired (4 on Mohs hardness scale), well sorted with medium sand inclusions, slipped and polished on both surfaces, and colored Strong Brown (7.5YR 5/6) on the exterior and Yellowish Red (5YR 4/6) on the interior. There is a yellowish-red band painted on the exterior of the rim/neck that reaches as far as the break between the neck and the body. This kind of decoration is also seen on **WSH.18.C.05** and **WSH.18.C.06** of type 2.

VARIANT: Unrestricted

MODE: Bowl

TYPE: 13



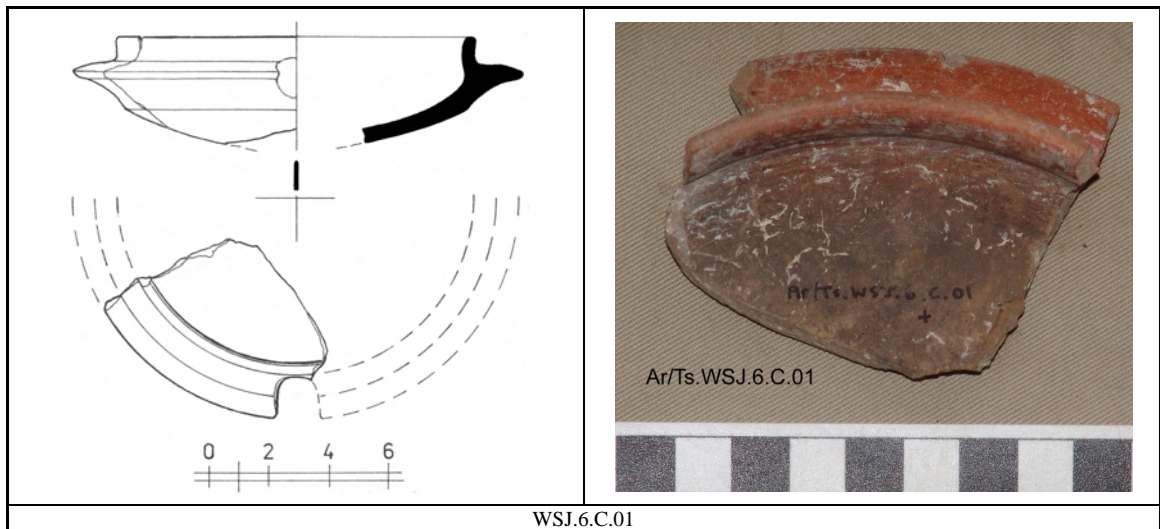
DESCRIPTION:

There are two vessels of this type in the collection, the one pictured above and **WSH.22.C.07**. This type of bowl can be described as having a double carination, or two, stacked inverted conical necks leading continuously to a rounded rim. The fine vessel pictured above is very large, with a diameter of 36 cm yet a thickness of only 8.13 mm. The other sample is half the size of this one—18 cm in diameter and 7.18 mm thick. Both specimens are slipped and polished. The one pictured above is Red (2.5YR 4/6) on both surfaces, and the other one is Brown (7.5YR 5/6) on both surfaces. **WSI.26.C.04** is included with well-sorted fine sand, **WSH.22.C.07** with well-sorted medium sand.

VARIANT: Unrestricted

MODE: Bowl

TYPE: 14



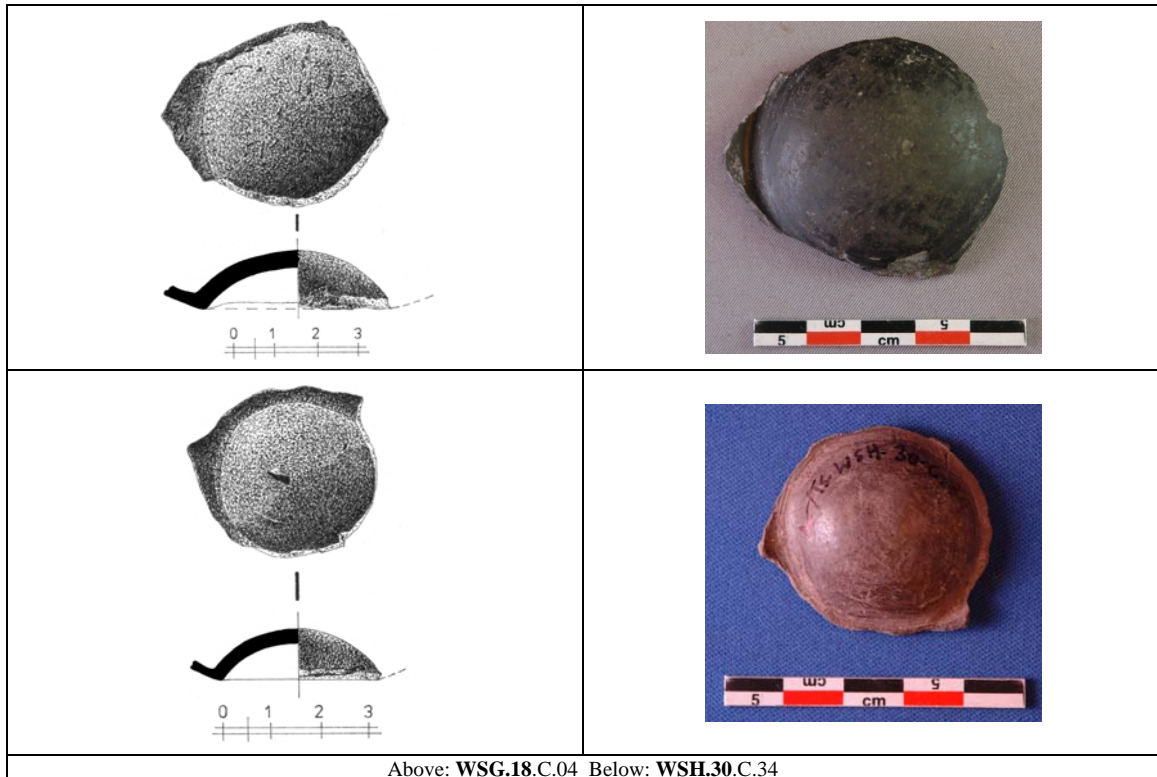
DESCRIPTION:

This shallow bowl has a grip handle and/or perhaps a lid ledge at the break between the body and the rim, which does not circumvent the entire vessel. Perhaps there were two such handles or ledges on either side. The small bowl is only 12 cm in rim diameter, with a body thickness of 5.86 mm. The fabric is poorly sorted and has medium sand inclusions. Both surfaces are slipped and polished. The interior color is a mottled red and dark grayish brown. The exterior is Red (2.5YR 5/6).

VARIANT: Unrestricted

MODE: Bowl

TYPE: 15



DESCRIPTION:

These black and dark gray polished sherds are the central depressions or *omphaloi* (in Greek) of a type of shallow, handle-less Achaemenid-era bowl that is known mostly from precious metal prototypes, often silver (Gunter and Root 1998). An example of one such silver bowl—an artifact without provenience said to be from near Erzincan, which is not far from Altintepe—is currently in the British Museum (Curtis and Tallis 2005: Fig. 104; Ter-Martirosov 1996: Fig. 194). Silver examples are also known from burials in southern Georgia and South Ossetia (Bill 2003: Pl. 16.11, 16.12, 31.6, 125.7, 125.8). In light of

their form and color, these sherds are probably ceramic copies of this distinctive metal form, although perhaps simplified, that is, without the surrounding raised lobes and lotus buds seen in the metal examples. No such ceramic lobes or buds have yet been uncovered at Tsaghkahovit. That said, a complete ceramic version of this type of vessel with the surrounding floral motif was found at the site of Djrarat, in Armenia (Karapetyan 2003: Fig. 26.7).

VARIANT: Unrestricted

MODE: Plate

TYPE: 16



DESCRIPTION:

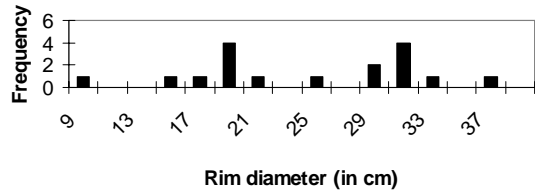
Plates in the Tsaghkahovit collection are marked by a shallow internal depression or concavity in the center of the plate, and in some cases, another furrowed band around this central depression. This then leads to a straight body that is nearly perpendicular in axis, or flat. There are three such plates. They are all red on the interior (Red 10R 4/8, 4/6, 2.5YR 5/6) and red or brown (Brown 10YR 5/3, Strong Brown 7.5YR 5/6) on the exterior. All are slipped and polished and included with very fine, fine, or medium sand.

VARIANT: Unrestricted

MODE: Pot

TYPE: 17

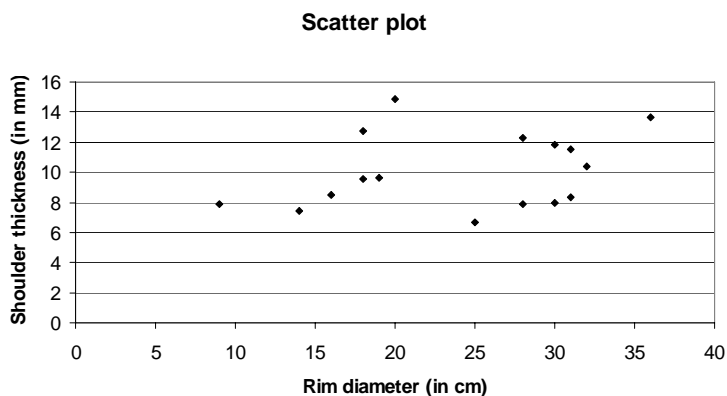
Histogram



SMALL (D. 9 CM)	MEDIUM (D. 14-20 CM)	LARGE (D. 25-36 CM)
<b>WSH.14.C.09</b>	Total 7: <b>WSG.16.C.04</b> , <b>WSE.3.C.04</b> , <b>WSL.13.C.11</b> (=WSJ.6.C.02), <b>WSC3.08.C.01</b> , <b>WSG.16.C.04</b> , <b>WSH.14.C.02</b> , <b>WSL.13.C.09</b>	Total 9: <b>WSH.22.C.03</b> , <b>WSL.05.C.04</b> , <b>WSC2.01C.01</b> , <b>C9.4.C.3</b> , <b>WSC3.02.C.05</b> , <b>WSE.03.C.25</b> , <b>WSG.09.C.01</b> , <b>WSH.16.C.03</b> , <b>WSH.18.C.05</b>

	SMALL	MEDIUM	LARGE
INCLUSIONS	Very coarse sand	Medium to coarse sand	Medium to very coarse sand
SORTING	Well sorted	Well sorted or poorly sorted	Well sorted or poorly sorted
HARDNESS	3	2-4	2-4
SURFACE TREATMENTS (INT. & EXT.)	Coarse (untreated)	Slipped and smoothed	Slipped and smoothed or slipped and polished
COLORS (INT. & EXT.)	Very dark gray exterior, black interior	Strong Brown (7.5YR 5/6), Dark Brown (7/5YR 3/2), Light Brownish Gray (2.5Y 6/2, 10YR 6/2), Dark Grayish Brown (10YR 4/2). One black, one dark gray.	Dark gray, very dark gray, and black exteriors. Dark grays and Yellowish Red (5YR 5/6) interiors.





DESCRIPTION:

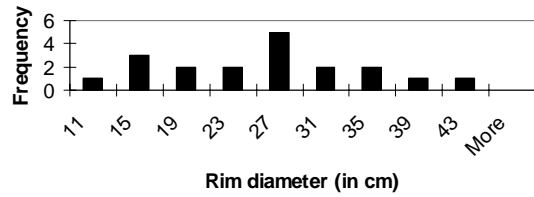
This type of pot is characterized by its drooping shoulders, which are straighter in profile than the convex shoulders of Type 18. The rims are either rounded or rectangular and are continuous in axis off the neck. Necks of these pots are short. On their exteriors, most of these pots are colored in shades of grays and browns. The surfaces are often mottled. Most have coarse sand inclusions and are poorly sorted. Surfaces are all slipped, but very rarely polished.

VARIANT: Unrestricted

MODE: Pot

TYPE: 18

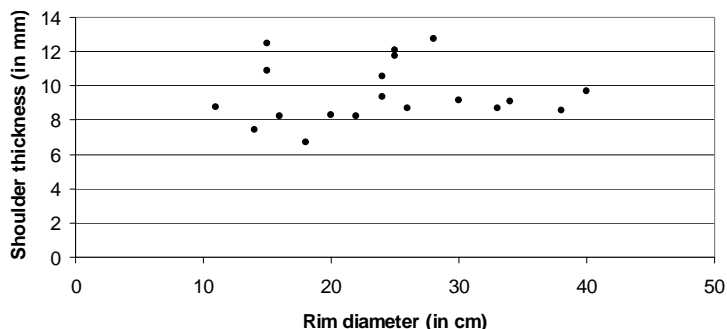
Histogram



SMALL (D. 11-19 CM)	MEDIUM (D. 20-31 CM)	LARGE (D. 32-40 CM)
<p>Total 6: WSI.18.C.01, WSC2.11.C.01, C5.1.C.9, WSH.22.C.08, WSL.07.C.03, WSL.22.C.02</p>	<p>Total 9: WSG.19.C.01, WSI.21.C.01, WSL.05.C.03, WSE.03.C.26, WSC3.01.C.01, SLT7.2.C.11, SS34.B5c.C.01, WSH.03.C.01, WSH.06.C.07</p>	<p>Total 4: C3.A3.C.3, SLT7.2.C.19/22, WSL.19.C.08, WSH.15.C.01</p>

	SMALL	MEDIUM	LARGE
INCLUSIONS	Medium to very coarse sand	Coarse or very coarse sand	Coarse or very coarse sand
SORTING	Well sorted or poorly sorted	Well sorted or poorly sorted	Two poorly sorted; two well sorted
HARDNESS	2-5	3-5	3-5
SURFACE TREATMENTS (INT. & EXT.)	Exteriors are slipped and smoothed.	All interior and exterior surfaces are slipped and smoothed. Two exteriors are slipped and polished.	Two are slipped and polished on the exterior, two are slipped and smoothed. Same on interior.
COLORS (INT. & EXT.)	Surfaces are black, very dark gray, Light Brownish Gray 2.5YR 6/2, Brown 7.5YR 5/4, Light Brown (7.5YR 6/3, 6/4 or Reddish Yellow 7.5YR 7/6.	Surfaces are dark and light grays and browns (Light Brown 7.5YR 6/4, Light Yellowish Brown 10YR 6/4, Brown 10YR 5/3).	Exteriors are reddish brown (5YR 5/4, 4/4). Interiors are reddish brown or black.

Scatter plot



DESCRIPTION:

These pots are marked by their globular form. Compared to the drooping shoulders of type 17, the shoulders are high and convex. Most rims are rounded, although some are slightly rectangular. The rims emerge continuously from the short or medium necks. As the drawings and the photographs above demonstrate, the bodies of these pots can be more or less squat or tapered, but not enough complete vessels are preserved to quantify

this distinction and class such pots separately. Most of these pots have coarse or very coarse sand inclusions and the overall hardness is higher than with other vessels in the catalog. Two of the pots have carbon traces and are burnt on the base and lower body. These are probably cooking pots. Six of the vessels have incised decorations on the shoulder, with motifs such as herringbone, dimples, and wavy lines. These vessels are rarely polished, but most are slipped.

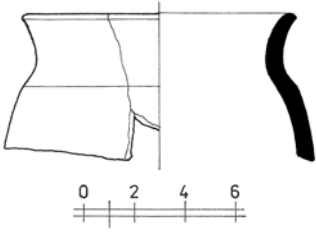
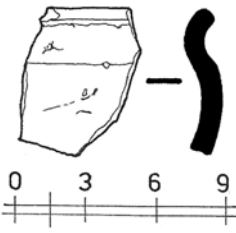
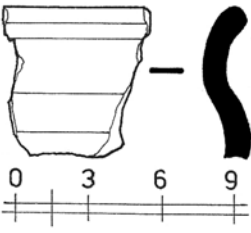
Only two vessels of this type are complete. WSI.18.C.01 was found on the floor of room I (pictured below, center). This vessel is 14.8 cm high and has a flat circular base. In the medium class, WSG.19.C.01 (pictured below, left) was found under the floor of room G, and may have contained a cremation burial. It is 29 cm high. Another near complete vessel (missing the rim) was found on the floor of room I (pictured below, right). The estimated height of this vessel is 23 cm. Both bases are circular, and one is slightly concave.



VARIANT: Unrestricted

MODE: Pot

TYPE: 19

SMALL (D. 10-14 CM)	MEDIUM (D. 18-20 CM)	LARGE (D. 28 CM)
		
Total 2: WSH.15.C.02, SS34.8a.C.05	Total 2: WSH.24.C.01, C9.5.C.7	WSH.22.C.01

	SMALL	MEDIUM	LARGE
INCLUSIONS	Coarse or very coarse sand	Coarse or very coarse sand	Very coarse sand
SORTING	Well sorted	Well sorted	Well sorted
HARDNESS	3	3-4	3
SURFACE TREATMENTS (INT. & EXT.)	Slipped and polished or slipped and smoothed	Coarse (untreated) or slipped and smoothed	Slipped and polished
COLORS (INT. & EXT.)	Yellowish Red 5YR 5/6	Surfaces too abraded	Reddish Brown 5YR 4/4 and Brown 7.5YR 4/3

Description:

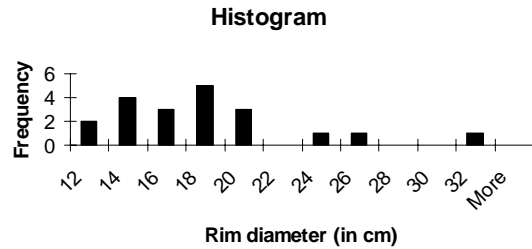
There are only five pots of this type in the Tsaghkahovit collection. They have convex shoulders whose axis is nearly parallel to the vertical axis of the pot and cylindrical concave necks that lead to rounded or pointed rims. In other words, the profile of these vessels is s-shaped. All are well-sorted with coarse or very coarse sand inclusions.

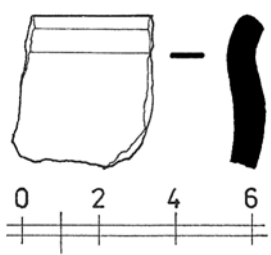
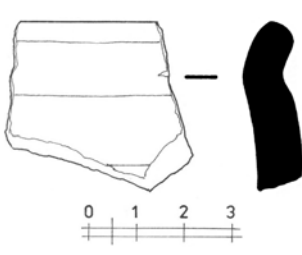
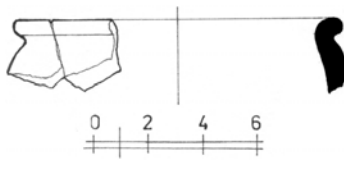

Where Munsell colors can be measured, colors tend toward red and browns.

VARIANT: Unrestricted

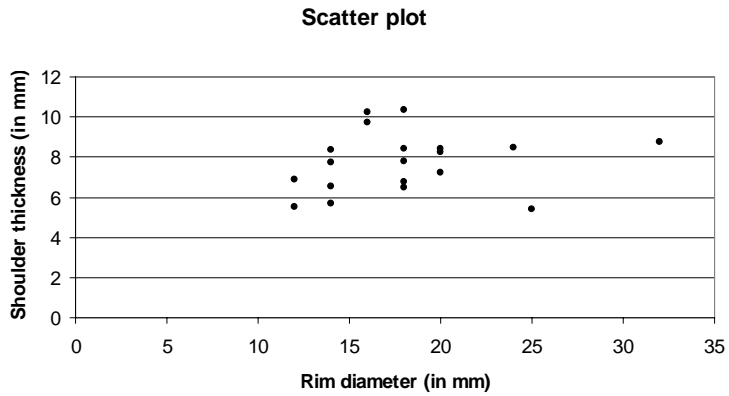
MODE: Pot

TYPE: 20



SMALL (D. 12-16 CM)	MEDIUM (D. 18-20 CM)	LARGE (> 24 CM)
		
		
Total 9: C7.1.C.1, WSG.09.C.19, C5.9.C.4, SLT7.4.C.4, TLSf06.01.C.22, WSG.03.C.08, WSG.12.C.10, WSH.30.C.49, WSJ.b2.C.01	Total 8: WSJ.b2.C.02, WSL.19.C.24, C3.A10.C.5, C5.3.C.1, C6.1.C.4, WSG.07.C.06, WSH.30.C.47, WSL.20.C.05	Total 3: C5.4.C.2, WSG.13.C.04, WSL.19.C.22

	SMALL	MEDIUM	LARGE
INCLUSIONS	Fine sand to very coarse sand	Fine sand to very coarse sand	Medium sand or coarse sand
SORTING	Well sorted	Well sorted, medium sorted, or poorly sorted	Well sorted, medium sorted, or poorly sorted
HARDNESS	2-4	2-4	3
SURFACE TREATMENTS (INT. & EXT.)	Slipped and polished or slipped and smoothed	Slipped and polished or slipped and smoothed	Slipped and smoothed
COLORS (INT. & EXT.)	Three are gray (Dark Gray 2.5Y 4/1, GY1 4/N, Light Gray 10YR 7/2), four are brown (Brown 7.5YR 5/4, Light Brown 7.5YR 6/3, Light Yellowish Brown 10YR 6/4) two are red (Yellowish Red 5YR 4/6, 5/6)	One is very dark gray. The rest are shades of brown (Grayish Brown 10YR 5/2, Brown 10YR 5/3, Light Yellowish Brown 10YR 6/4, Reddish Brown 5YR 5/4, Pale Brown 10YR 6/3)	Exteriors are Gray 10YR 5/1, Brown 10YR 5/3, and Very Pale Brown 10YR 7/3.



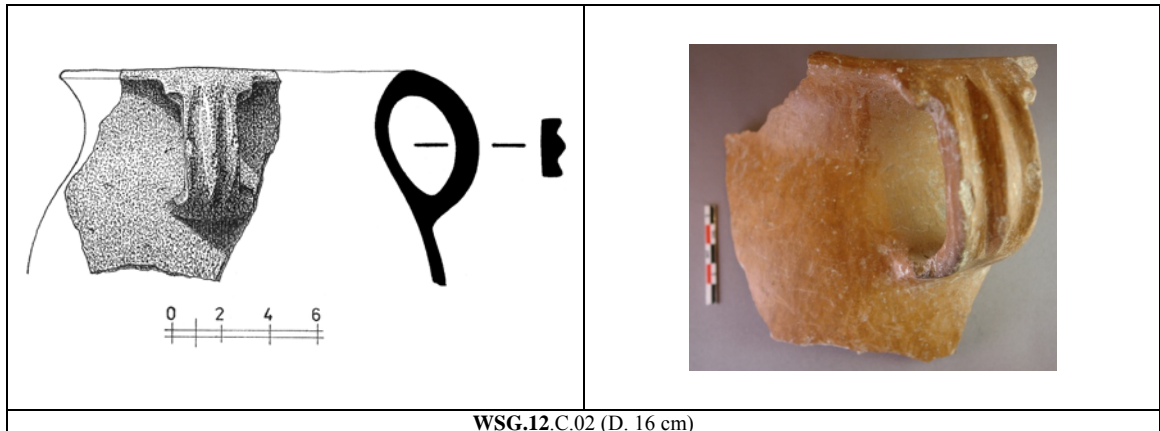
DESCRIPTION:

This type of pot has a gently convex shoulder that is oriented basically parallel to the vertical axis of the vessel. There is no neck on these pots. The rims either turn outward slightly and are rectangular (as in the upper row above) or turn more sharply outward and are rounded (as in the lower row above). Size classes within this type are somewhat arbitrary given the continuous frequency distribution seen in the histogram above. Most vessels of this type are various shades of brown.

VARIANT: Unrestricted

MODE: Pot

TYPE: 21



DESCRIPTION:

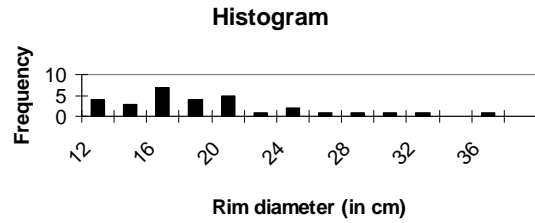
This pot, the only one of its kind in the Tsaghkahovit corpus, has a bowed rectilinear handle, which is decorated with two deep furrows. The handle attaches on the rim and on the shoulder. The vessel is Yellowish Red 5YR 5/6 on both interior and exterior. The exterior is slipped and polished.



VARIANT: Restricted

MODE: Jar

TYPE: 22



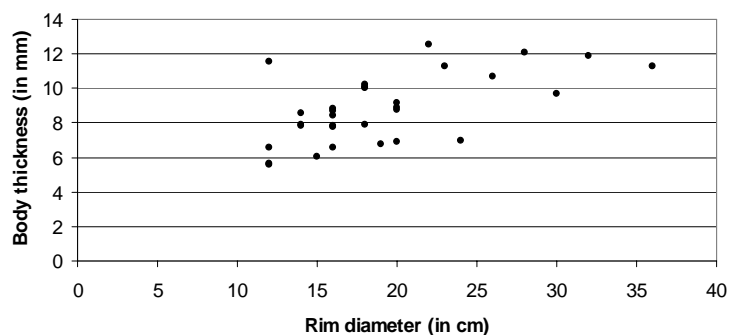
MEDIUM (D. 12-20 CM)	LARGE (D. 22-26 CM)

Total 22: **WSG.12.C.04**, **WSL.20.C.01**, **WSL.07.C.02**, **WSH.22.C.06**, **WSH.09.C.02**, **C3.A10.C.6**, **WSC3.11.C.01**, **WSE.03.C.15**, **WSG.12.C.05**, **WSG.12.C.15**, **WSG.12.C.17**, **WSG.13.C.07**, **WSH.08.C.19**, **WSH.12.C.11**, **WSH.30.C.52**, **WSH.30.C.53**, **WSI.02.C.03**, **WSI.13.C.07**, **WSJ.2.C.01**, **WSL.01.C.17**, **WSL.05.C.08**, **WSM.1.C.01**

Total 8: **WT03.1.C.1**, **WSC3.09.C.01**, **WSC.05.C.01**, **WSL.22.C.01**, **C5.14.C.2**, **C5.4.C.4**, **WSG.09.C.17**, **WSJ.7.C.02**

	MEDIUM	LARGE
INCLUSIONS	Coarse or very coarse sand	Coarse or very coarse sand
SORTING	Most are well sorted. Five are poorly sorted.	All but two are well sorted.
HARDNESS	3-4	4-6
SURFACE TREATMENTS (INT. & EXT.)	Most are slipped and smoothed. Three are slipped and polished on the exterior.	Most are slipped and smoothed. One is slipped and polished on the exterior.
COLORS (EXT.)	Most are shades of brown (Brown 7.5YR 5/3, 5/4, Very Pale Brown 10YR 7/4, Light Brown 7/5YR 6/3, 6/4, Light Reddish Brown 5YR 6/4, Dark Grayish Brown 10YR 4/2). Four are red (Yellowish Red 5YR 5/6, Reddish Yellow 5YR 6/6, 7.5YR 6/6). Six are black, dark gray, or gray. S	Most are shades of brown (Brown 7.5YR 5/2, Light Brown 7.5YR 6/4, Reddish Brown 5YR 5/4, Pale Brown 10YR 6/3). One is black.

Scatter plot



DESCRIPTION:

This type of restricted vessel is globular in form. The vessels either have very short necks or no necks at all, with the rim turning outward, more or less sharply, immediately off the shoulder. The rim shapes are usually either rounded or rectangular (although note the uniquely shaped rim of WSL.22.C.01 above). Five of the examples have an indentation on the inside of the rim, perhaps for a lid (see WSL.20.C.01 above left). Nearly all of the vessels in this type are well sorted with coarse or very coarse sand

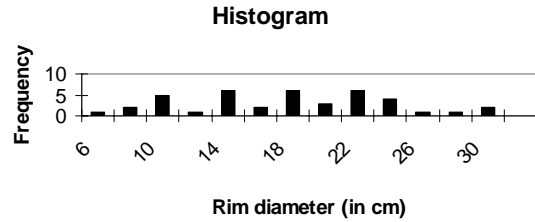
inclusions, and three are tempered with large chunks of a crushed black rock. They are also highly fired, judging by hardness testing. Surfaces tend to be slipped and smoothed, but not polished. Exterior surfaces are often mottled, but brown colors predominate. In one case, there are carbon traces on the exterior, in another, a different black substance, possible bitumen. Within size classes, vessels are usually fairly standard thicknesses, ranging two to three millimeters.

Often these vessels have an incised decoration on the shoulder and more rarely on the rim. This is the case for 16 of the 29 sherds. These decorative elements include lines, wavy lines, oblique hatches, seed incisions, chevrons, points, nail shaped depressions, and furrows, and are rendered with a pointed, linear or press tool. The precision of these decorations vary, with some strictly uniform and others irregular.

VARIANT: Restricted

MODE: Jar

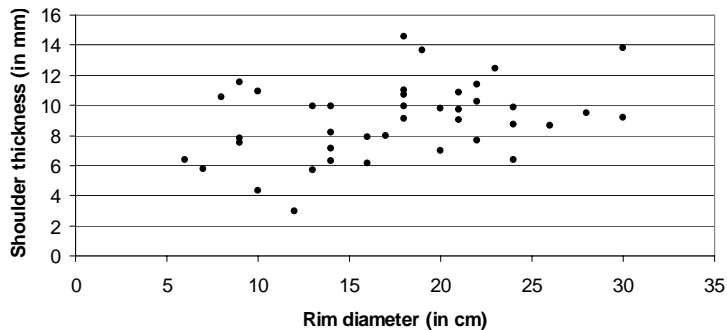
TYPE: 23



SMALL (D. 6-13 CM)	MEDIUM (D. 14-24 CM)	LARGE (D. 26-30 CM)
<p>Total 11: <b>WSC2.09.C.02</b>, SLT6.4.C.03, WSG.09.C.02, <b>WSI.27.C.01</b>, C6.1.C.6, C6.8.C.3, SLT6.4.C.08, SLT7.2.C.03, WSG.03.C.04, WSH.06.C.06, WSH.35.C.02</p>	<p>Total 26: <b>WSH.15.C.03</b>, WSH.30.C.53, SLT6.4.C.07, C10.1.C.2, C3.A3.C.5, C3.A4.C.5, C9.1.C.6, <b>C10.2.C.5</b>, SLT6.3.C.02, SLT7.2.C.12, SLT7.2.C.50, <b>WSAR.3.C.01</b>, WSC3.06.C.01, WSG.03.C.09, WSG.09.C.18, <b>WSG.13.C.02</b>, WSH.08.C.09, <b>WSH.30.C.42</b>, <b>WSH.40.C.08</b>, <b>WSL.19.C.01</b>, <b>WSL.19.C.21</b>, <b>WSL.19.C.28</b>, WSL.07.C.01, WSL.20.C.04, WSL.03.C.01, <b>WSL.33.C.03</b></p>	<p>Total 3: SLT7.3.C.01, <b>C11.4.C.2</b>, <b>WSH.40.C.20</b></p>

	SMALL	MEDIUM	LARGE
INCLUSIONS	Medium, coarse, or very coarse sand	Medium, coarse, or very coarse sand	Medium, coarse or very coarse sand
SORTING	Most are well sorted. One medium, one poorly sorted.	Well sorted or poorly sorted	Well sorted, medium sorted, or poorly sorted
HARDNESS	3-5	2-5	3-4
SURFACE TREATMENT (EXT.)	Most are slipped and smoothed. Three are slipped and polished. One is smoothed but not slipped.	Fourteen are slipped and smoothed. Ten are slipped and polished. Two are smoothed but not slipped.	Three are slipped and smoothed. One is slipped and polished.
COLORS (EXT.)	Surfaces are mottled. Most are black, dark gray, or light gray. Three are brown (Light Brown 7.5YR 6/3, Brown 10YR 5/3, Pale Brown 10YR 6/3). One is red (Yellowish Red 5YR 5/6).	Surfaces are mottled. Most are brown (Brown 7.5YR 5/4, Dark Brown 7.5YR 3/2, Strong Brown 7.5YR 4/6, Brown 10YR 5/3, Light Yellowish Brown 10YR 6/4, Very Pale Brown 10YR 7/3, 7/4, Light Brown 7.5YR 6/4). Several are black, dark gray, or gray. Two are red (Yellowish Red 5YR 5/6, Reddish Yellow 7.5YR 6/6).	Surfaces are mottled. Pale Browns and dark browns predominate.

Scatter plot



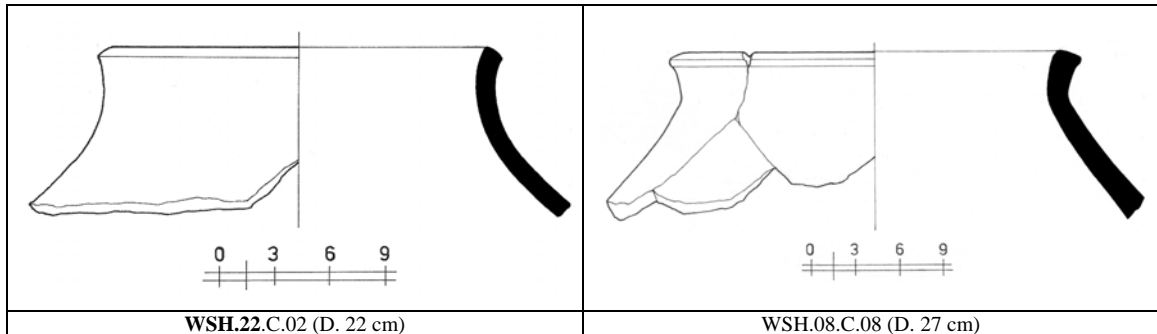
DESCRIPTION:

Jars of this type have necks that are either short or medium in length, in contrast to the nearly or completely neckless jars of type 21. The neck rises up off of a convex shoulder. Necks have various orientations and profiles, although they are generally cylindrical and concave (note **WSI.27.C.01** as an example of an inverted cone straight neck and **WSG.09.C.02** as an example of an inverted cone concave neck). Rims are rounded or rectangular, and in almost all cases continuous with the axis of the neck. There are traces of carbon on the exterior of two of these jars. Incised decoration occurs less frequently than on jars of type 21. But three vessels have wavy line, herringbone and line motifs on their shoulders. Thicknesses vary widely within size classes.

VARIANT: Restricted

MODE: Jar

TYPE: 24



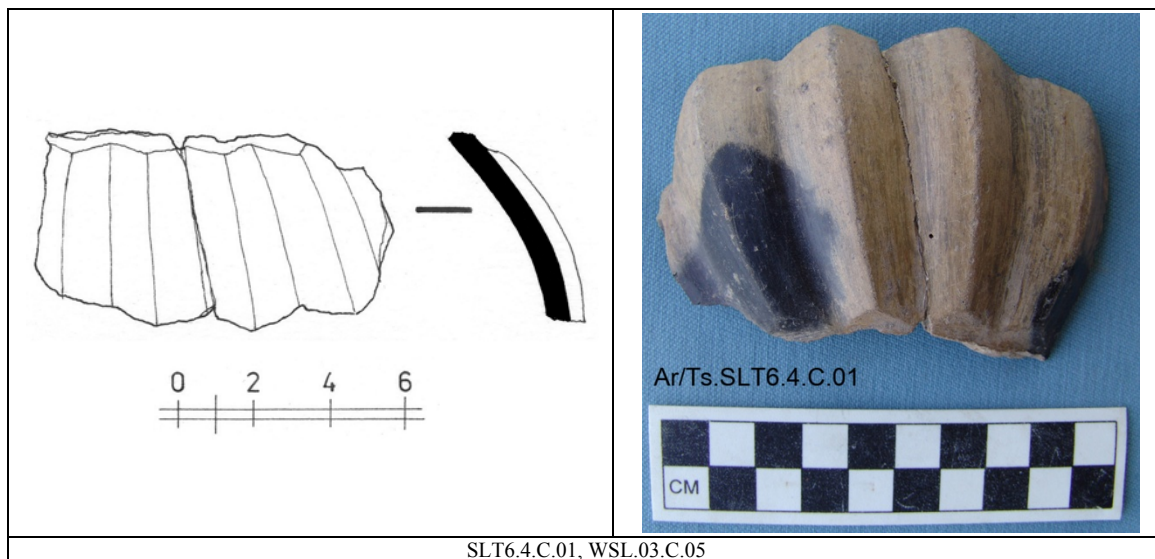
DESCRIPTION:

There are only two jars of this type in the Tsaghkahovit collection. These vessels are unique for their straight or concave shoulders. All other jars in the collection have convex shoulders. Both rims of these two are rectilinear. Both vessels are slipped and smoothed. The smaller one is Reddish Yellow (5YR 6/6) and the larger one is Very Dark Gray (10YR 3/1). Both are well sorted, one with coarse sand, the other with medium sand.

VARIANT: Restricted (?)

MODE: Jar (?)

TYPE: 25



DESCRIPTION:

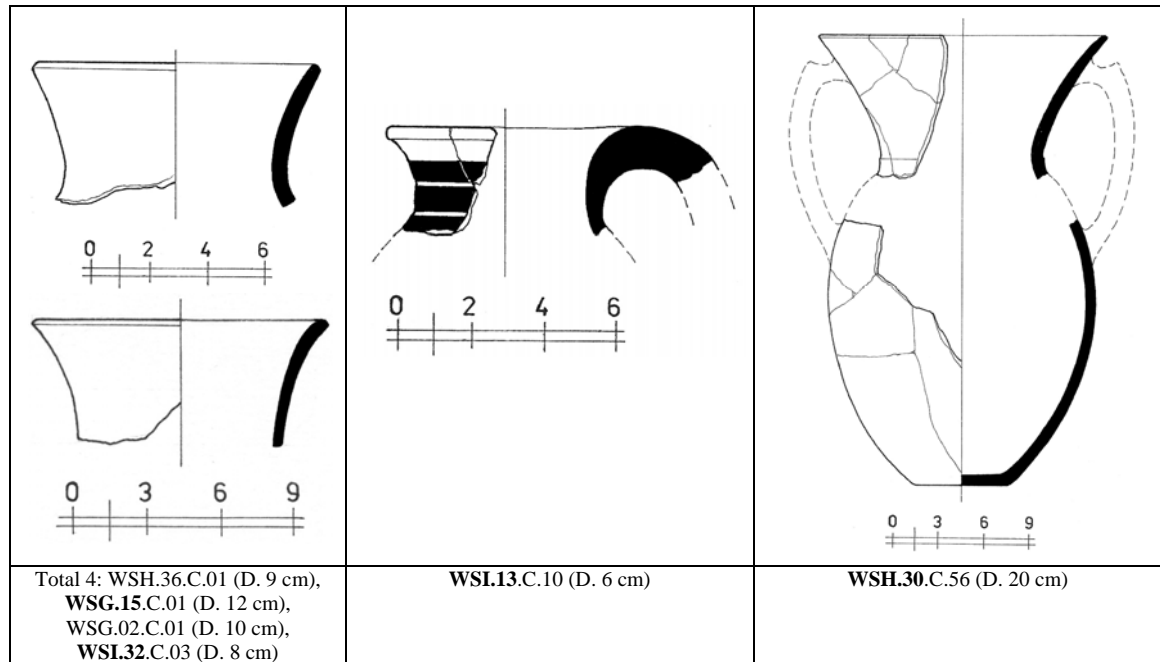
There are two vessels with cannellure decoration in the Tsaghkahovit collection but the overall form of these vessels is uncertain.



VARIANT: Restricted

MODE: Jug/Pitcher

TYPE: 26



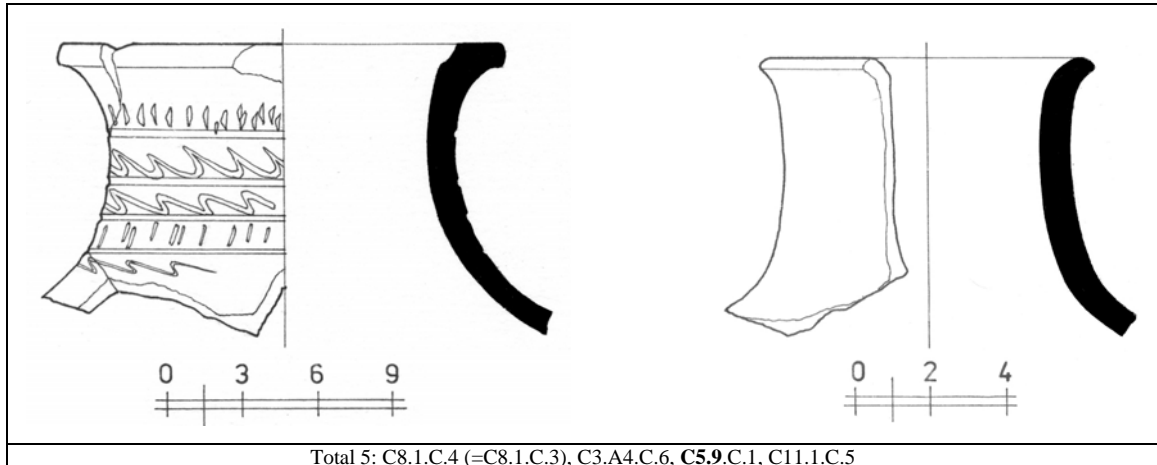
DESCRIPTION:

There are six jugs in the Tsaghkahovit collection with inverted cone necks. One is handled (**WSI.13.C.10**). In the remainder of cases not enough of the vessel is preserved to know whether or not they also had handles. In the case of **WSH.30.C.56**, the two handles have been reconstructed; however vessels like this, with and without handles, are known from other sites in Armenia dating to the Iron 3 period (Karapetyan 2003: Plate 14, 15, 16, 18, 19). These are thin-walled vessels. In all cases, the necks are between 3 and 6 mm thick. Most of the fabrics have medium sand inclusions and are well or medium sorted. Four of the five vessels are red on the exterior (Red 10R 4/6, Weak Red 10R 4/4, Reddish Yellow 5YR 6/6), and the fifth is black. Surfaces are slipped and polished.

VARIANT: Restricted

MODE: Jug/Pitcher

TYPE: 27



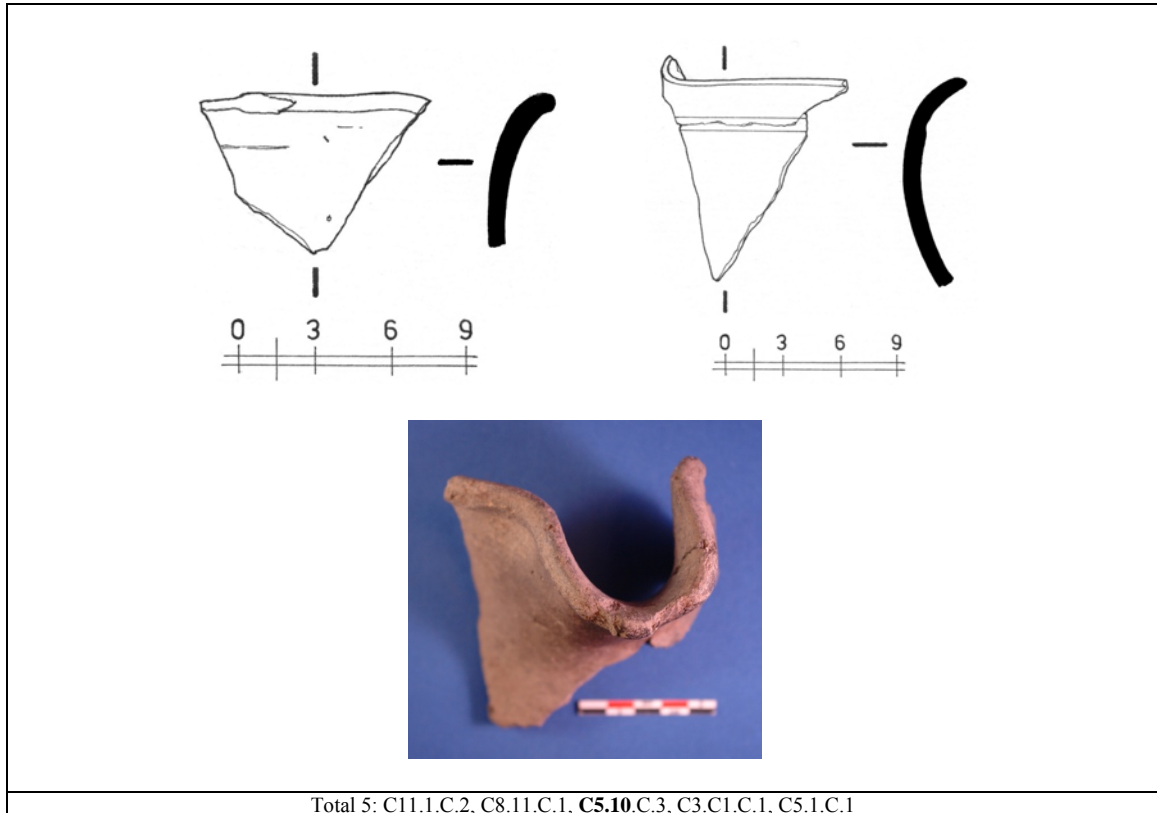
DESCRIPTION:

There are four jugs in the Tsaghkahovit collection that have long, cylindrical, concave or straight necks. Their rim diameters range between 8 and 16 cm. Their rims are either rounded or rectangular. All have coarse or very coarse sand inclusions that are well or medium sorted. Exterior colors are reds and browns (Reddish Brown 5YR 5/4, Red 2.5YR 5/6, Brown 10YR 5/3). Surfaces are slipped and smoothed, or in one case, slipped and polished. The example pictured above on the left has an elaborate decorative element, with multiple registers of incised decorations that include seed incisions, wavy lines and furrows.

VARIANT: Restricted

MODE: Jug/Pitcher

TYPE: 28



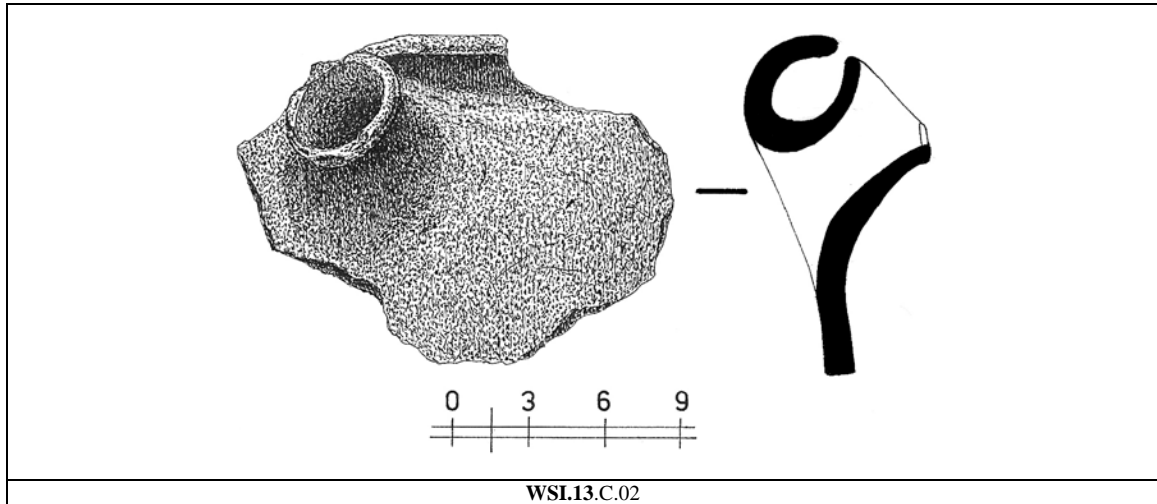
DESCRIPTION:

Jugs of this type have a trefoil opening similar to the so-called *oinochoe* of classical pottery. Similar vessels are also known in the archaeology of Iron 3 Armenia (Karapetyan 2003: Plate 17). Three of the five examples are colored dark gray on the exterior. One is Grayish Brown 10YR 5/2 and the one is Light Brown 7.5YR 6/4. All but one sherd of this type is slipped and smoothed, without any evidence of polishing.

VARIANT: Restricted

MODE: Jug/Pitcher

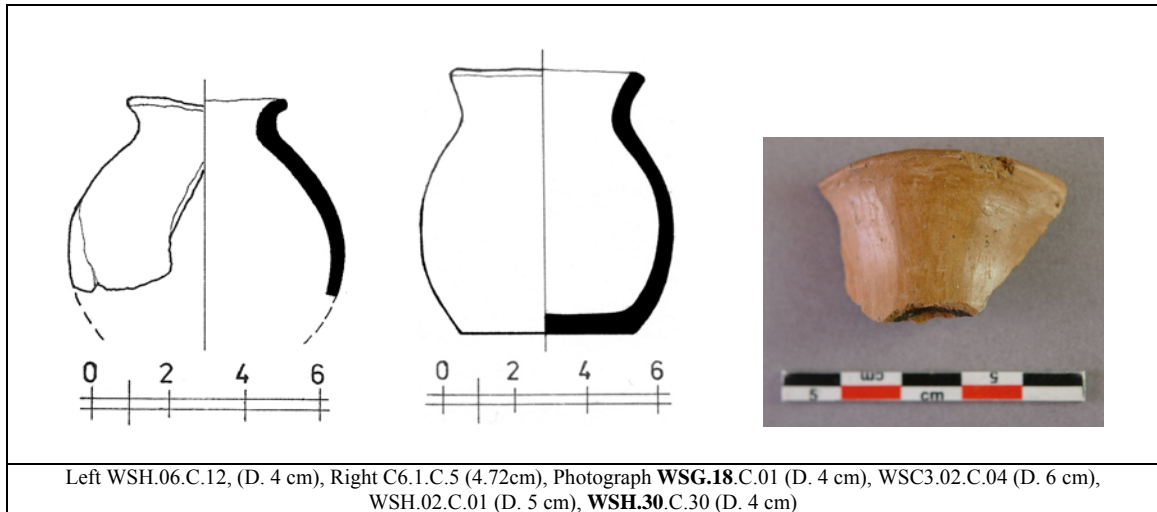
TYPE: 29



DESCRIPTION:

There are two spouted jugs in the Tsaghkahovit collection (and two separate spouts that are smaller in diameters than the spout pictured above). The spout of this vessel is at an oblique raised axis and joins at the neck and shoulder. The spout form is tubular and its outpour position is even with the neck. The diameter of the rim is 22 cm. The vessel is medium sorted with a very coarse sand inclusion. The exterior color of the slipped and smoothed surface is Dark Grayish Brown 10YR 4/2. Similar spouted jugs are known from Iron 3 sites in Armenia, such as Armavir, Karchakhbyur, and Djrarat (Karapetyan 2003: Plate 27).

VARIANT: Restricted  
MODE: “Perfume Jar”  
TYPE: 30



DESCRIPTION:

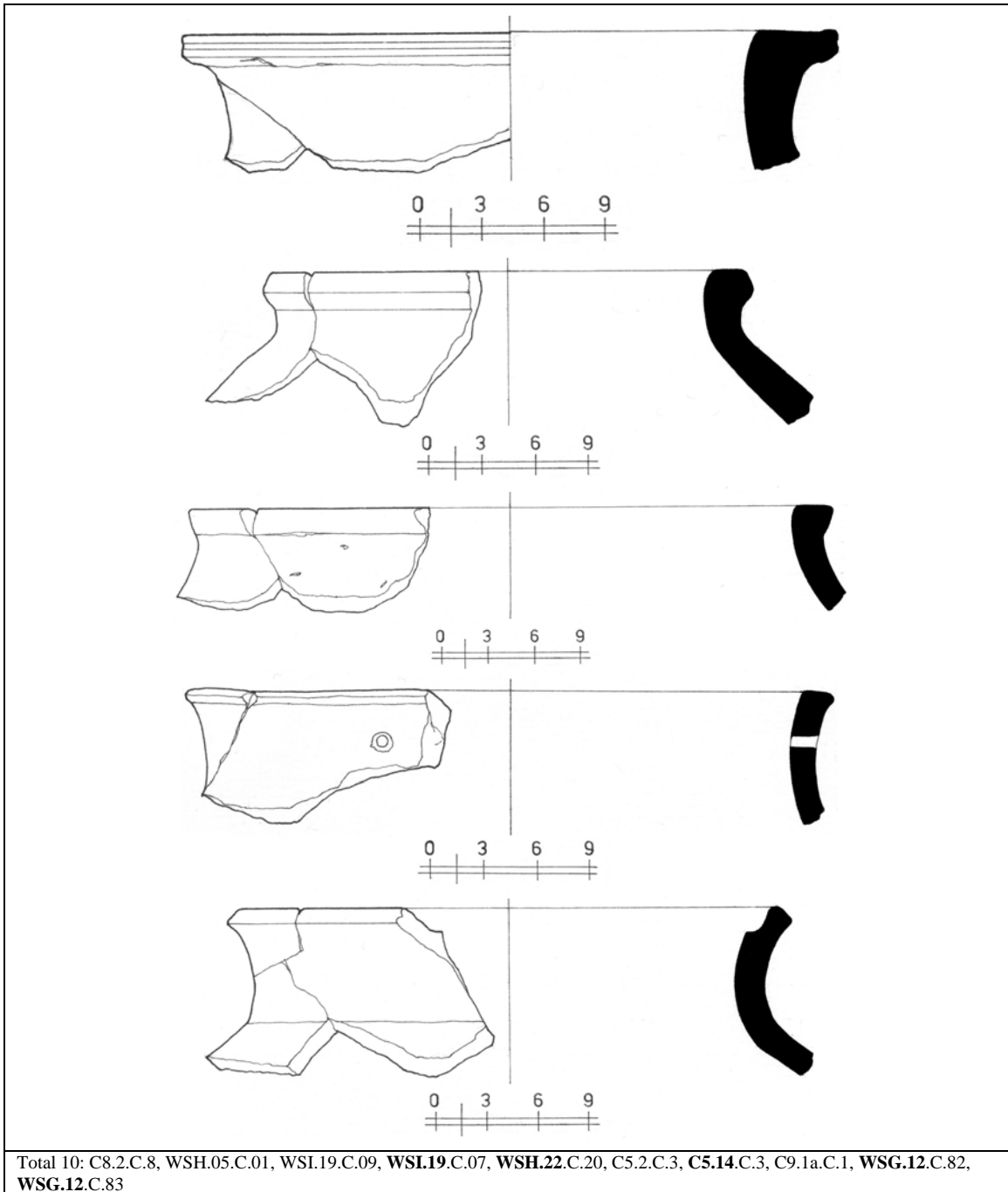
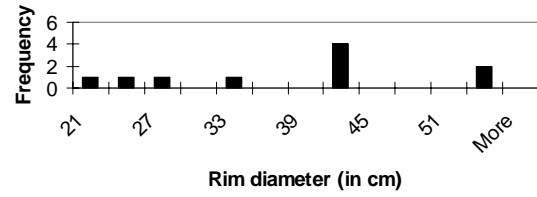
There are six small jars or “perfume jars” in the Tsaghkahovit collection. These vessels have rim diameters of between 4 and 6 cm. Neck lengths vary, as visible from two examples above. The necks of these vessels are concave and either cylindrical or inverted conical in axis. Rims are rounded or rectangular. The fabrics of these jars are either well or poorly sorted, with medium, coarse, or very coarse sand. Exterior colors are brown (Strong Brown 7.5YR 5/6, Grayish Brown 10YR 5/2), dark gray, and black. In all but one cases, exterior surfaces are slipped and polished.

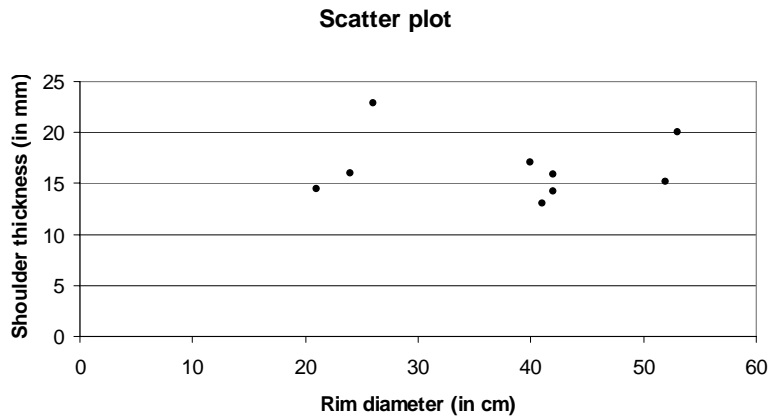
VARIANT: Restricted

MODE: "Pithos"

TYPE: 31

Histogram





**DESCRIPTION:**

These very large storage vessels differ from jars and pots on a matter of scale. Since complete vessels are not available, it is difficult to quantify the distinction between these very large storage vessels and other large vessels. Rim diameter alone does not capture the scalar difference between these and other vessels, although most of these vessels do have diameters that exceed 40 cm. The rim thickness of these storage vessels is also large, with an average and median measurement of 2.5 cm, as compared with an average rim thickness of less than 1 cm for pots and jars that are over 20 cm in rim diameter. Similarly, the average shoulder thickness of the pithoi exceeds that of large pots and jars (i.e., those with rim diameter greater than 20 cm): the shoulder thickness of pithoi averages 1.6 cm while the average shoulder thickness of large pots and jars is less than 1 cm.

Since there are only ten of these pithoi in the Tsaghakahovit collection and none are complete, I have not categorized them separately by form, but the drawings above

indicate the variety of rim shapes, in one case with an indentation for a lid. Although smaller and larger varieties are evident from the above histogram, with such a limited number of highly fragmentary examples, size classes would not be meaningful at present. Most of the fabrics are well sorted with coarse or very coarse sand. Hardness ranges from 2 to 3 on Mohs hardness scale. Surfaces are almost always slipped and smoothed, and in two cases polished. External colors are browns (Brown 10YR 5/3, Light Yellowish Brown 10YR 6/4, Strong Brown 7.5YR 5/6, Brown 7.5YR 5/4, Light Reddish Brown 5YR 6/4) and grays.

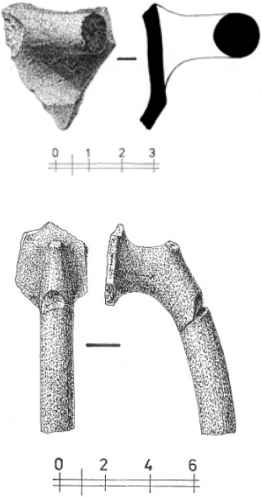
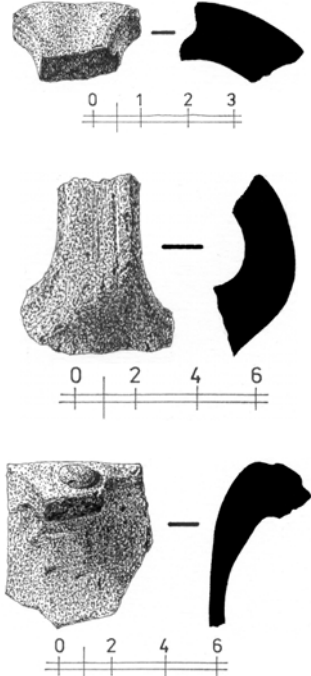
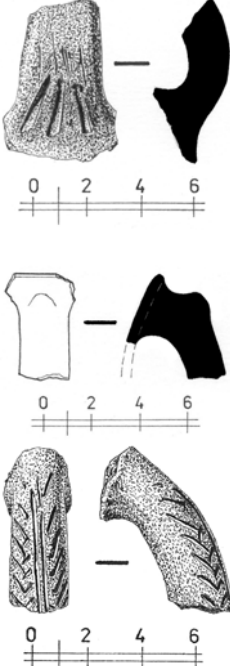
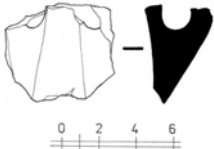
Several of these pithoi have a raised belt on the shoulder or on the shoulder body break that is decorated with incised oblique hatches.





VARIANT: Restricted

MODE: Jug/pitcher (?)

FRAGMENT: Handles and handle adornments

CIRCULAR	RECTANGULAR	OVOID	TRAPEZOID
			
<p>Total 13: WSH.08.C.21, <b>WSL.16.C.01</b>, C3.C19.C.1, C3.C5.C.4, C9.1.C.15, WSG.02.C.09, WSG.03.C.02, <b>WSH.40.C.04</b>, WSL.02.C.02, <b>WSL.15.C.01</b>, <b>WSL.16.C.01</b>, <b>WSL.19.C.15</b>, <b>WSL.27.C.03</b></p>	<p>Total 12: <b>WSH.40.C.15</b>, <b>WSL.33.C.8.2.C.10</b>, C.01, C3.A3.C.2, C3.D1.C.1, C5.2.C.5, , C9.5.C.5, HSP98.01.C.01, SLT7.2.C.13, WSC3.01.C.01, WSH.08.C.12, WSL.12.C.2</p>	<p>Total 12: <b>C10.50.C.01</b>, WSE.02.C.02, WSG.09.C.04, C3.B1.C.1, C5.1.C.5, C5.1.C.8, <b>C5.10.C.2</b>, <b>C7.6.C.3</b>, C8.1.C.2, C11.1.C.4, WSH.08.C.20, <b>WSL.19.C.03</b></p>	<p>Total 2: <b>WSJ.7.C.03</b>, WSL.01.C.04</p>

 <p data-bbox="500 1816 641 1837"><b>WSG.11.CO.01</b></p>	 <p data-bbox="1071 1816 1209 1837"><b>WSH.29.CO.01</b></p>
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DESCRIPTION:

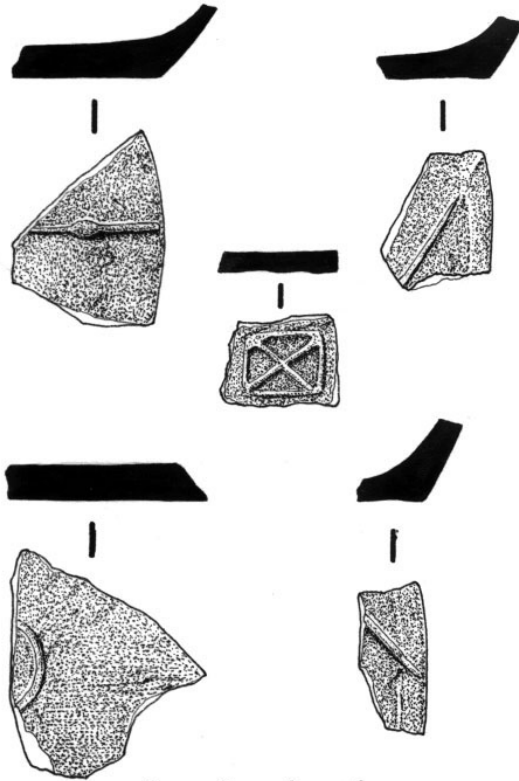
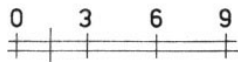
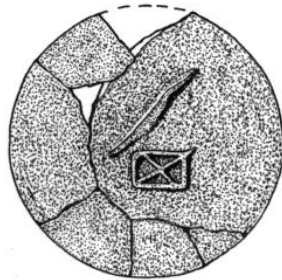
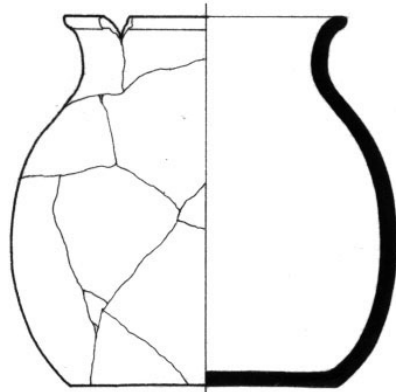
It is probable that most handled vessels are jugs or pitchers. Handles with a variety of cross sections, including circular, rectangular, ovoid, trapezoidal, and kidney-shaped, occur at Tsaghkahovit. Most are bowed in profile, although some are “elbowed”, as with WSL.16.C.01 and WSE.02.C.02, pictured above. Thicker handles often have incised or raised decoration on them.

There are two red-polished handle adornments, pictured above, which may be stylized zoomorphic or anthropomorphic representations.

VARIANT: Indeterminate

MODE: Indeterminate

FRAGMENT: Potter's marks



C5.6.C.2	C5.9.C.3	C5.1.C.13
	C5.7.C.6	
	C5.17.C.3	C5.14.C.4



Ar/Ts.C10

DESCRIPTION:

All of the maker's marks pictured above are on base sherds that were found on the Tsaghkahovit citadel. There are no known potter's marks on sherds found in Precinct A. Although the quantities are small, these marks nevertheless indicate that there were important individual or group (workshop?) distinctions within the potting industry.

Table A1.1 Project ArAGATS Pottery Coding Form

Place Id:	Number of Holes:
Object Id:	Hole Placement:
Period:	Hole Manufacture:
Era:	Lid Handle:
Variant:	Lid Shape:
Mode:	Manufacture:
Fragment:	
Location:	Height 1 (Base to Rim):
Coder:	Height 2 (Base to Body/Shoulder Break):
Date Coded:	Height 3 (Body/Shoulder Break to Neck/Shoulder Break):
	Height 4 (Neck/Shoulder Break to Rim):
Base Plan:	Diameter 1 (Rim):
Base Profile:	Diameter 2 (Neck):
Foot Plan:	Diameter 3 (Body/Shoulder Break):
Foot Profile:	Diameter 4 (Base):
Foot Fill:	Diameter Percent:
Foot Number:	Thickness 1 (Rim):
Leg Form:	Thickness 2 (Base):
Leg Structure:	Sherd Maximum Length:
Body Profile:	Sherd Maximum Width:
Body Axis:	Thickness 3 (Body):
Shoulder Profile:	
Shoulder Axis:	Number of Core Bands:
Neck Axis:	Core Band 1 Color:
Neck Profile:	Core Band 2 Color:
Rim Plan:	Core Band 3 Color:
Rim Shape:	Core Band 4 Color:
Grip Handle Number:	Core Dominant Band:
Grip Handle Axis:	Inclusions:
Grip Handle Profile:	Hardness:
Grip Handle Cross Section:	Sorting:
Grip Handle Form:	Exterior Munsell Color:
Grip Handle Join 1:	Interior Munsell Color:
Grip Handle Join 2:	Exterior Surface Treatment:
Pinch Handle Number:	Interior Surface Treatment:
Pinch Handle Axis:	Use Traces:
Pinch Handle Profile:	Decorative Elements:
Pinch Handle Form:	Decorative Technologies:
Pinch Handle Join Position:	
Pinch Handle Join Form:	
Spout Axis:	General Remarks
Spout Form:	
Outpour Position:	

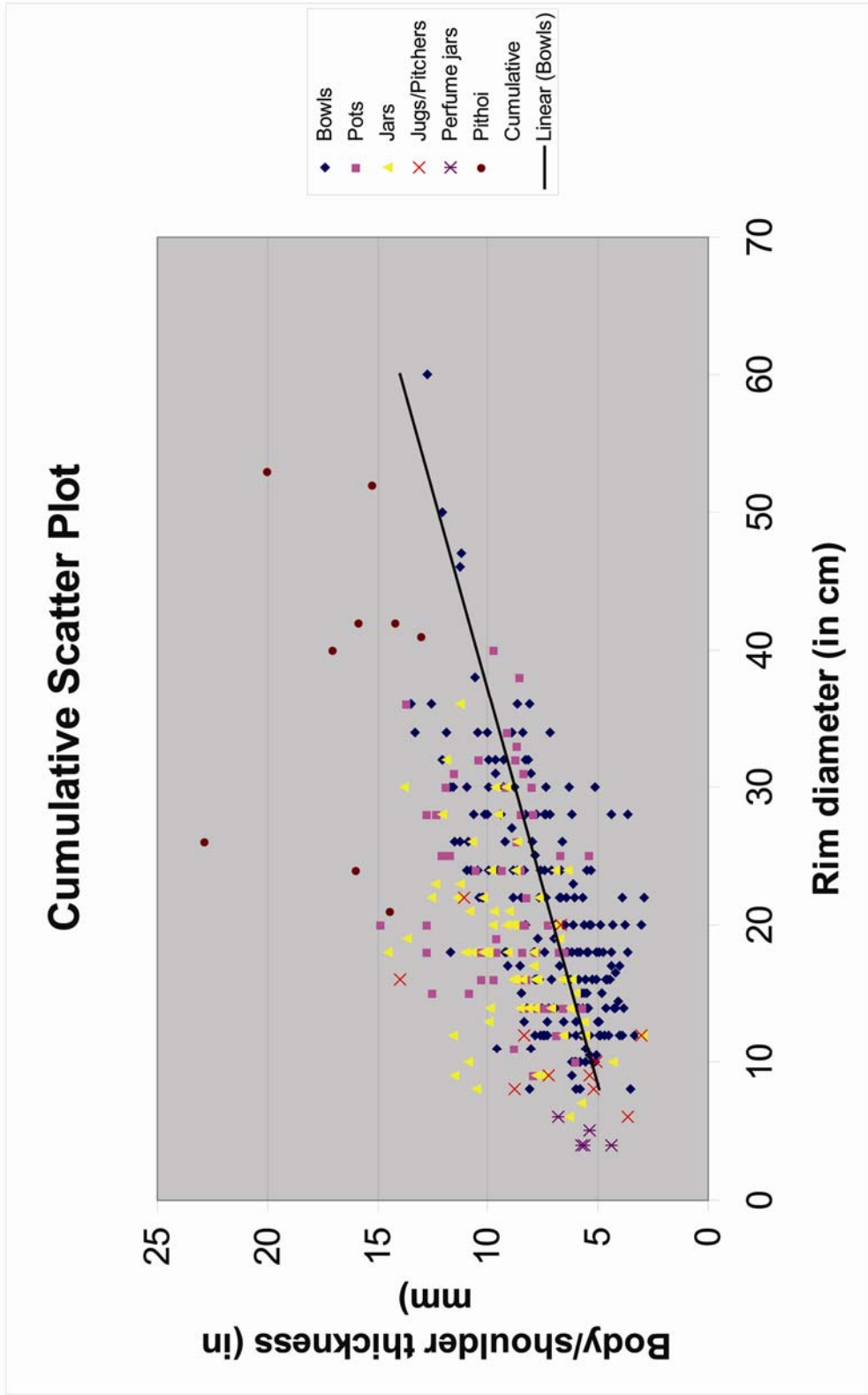


Figure A1.1 Cumulative scatter plot.

## APPENDIX 2

### REPORT ON FAUNAL REMAINS

Prepared by Dr. Belinda Monahan  
(edited by Lori Khatchadourian)

This appendix examines the results of the analysis of faunal remains from Precinct A at Tsaghkahovit. In addition, in order to facilitate intra-site comparison, we also present the fauna from Iron 3 deposits on the citadel, which have been published elsewhere (Badalyan, Smith *et al.* in press). Taken together, Monahan examined over fifteen thousand animal bones from Iron 3 strata from Tsaghkahovit: 6,606 from the citadel and 8,608 from Precinct A. This provides a substantial foundation for discussing a wide range of issues, including consumption practices, mobility and sedentarism, and political economy.

Between the two Iron 3 samples, which are temporally comparable but spatially distinct, a few broad comparisons can be made at the start. The fauna from the citadel is notably well-preserved, with only twenty eight percent of the bones unidentifiable (Badalyan, Smith *et al.* in press). This is a fairly high rate of identification when compared to analyzed bone samples of other periods in the Tsaghkahovit region (Early Bronze Age and Late Bronze Age), as well as in contrast to the forty one percent unidentifiable bones from Precinct A (see table A2.1 and A2.2). (This is a more typical percentage of unidentifiable bones for the region, although still lower than most Bronze Age samples.) Just over 25% of the sample from the citadel could be identified to the

level of genus (Badalyan, Smith *et al.* in press), compared with 20% from Precinct A. The citadel sample was surprisingly homogenous, with fewer taxa represented than would be expected, given the sample size (Badalyan, Smith *et al.* in press), and fewer taxa than were identified in Precinct A. Smaller mammals and small non-mammals account for some of the discrepancy in taxa diversity between the two areas of the site. While this may represent a meaningful variation between the two areas, it can also be explained by the low proportion of floated deposits on the citadel compared to Precinct A (Badalyan, Smith *et al.* in press). Greater use of screening with fine mesh in future excavations on the citadel can clarify the significance of this discrepancy in diversity.

A few caveats pertaining to sample size are in order. Although both sample sizes are sufficiently large to allow for comparison of percentages of identified species, and the number of identified specimens (NISP) in both samples is almost certainly a reliable indicator of animal use on the site, nevertheless the sample is not large enough for minimum number of individuals (MNI) to be reliable.<sup>264</sup> The sheep and goat sample from both Precinct A and the citadel were large enough to provide a reliable kill-off and, in the case of Precinct A, a fairly reliable minimum number of elements (MNE),<sup>265</sup> but this was not true of any other taxon, including cattle. Naturally, therefore, interpretation of some of the patterns discussed below remains tentative until sample size is increased.

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<sup>264</sup> MNI is a derived unit rather than an observed unit. It is “the minimum number of individual animals necessary to account for some set of identified faunal remains” (Lyman 1994: 38). Ordinarily, a sample of 5,000 specimens identified to the level of taxon is considered to be sufficiently large to calculate minimum number of individuals (MNI). In smaller samples, less common taxa tend to be overrepresented by MNI. Although there are considerably over 5,000 specimens in the Tsaghkahovit sample, the proportion of unidentified specimens makes it such that MNI would over-represent virtually every taxon except sheep/goats and cattle.

<sup>265</sup> “MNE is the minimum number of skeletal elements or portions necessary to account for the specimens representing that portion” (Lyman 1994: 52).



## Number of Identified Specimens

Focusing now on Precinct A, as stated above over forty percent (41.46%) of the sample was indeterminate (table A2.1), while another 36.95% was identifiable only to the level of body size. Just over 20% of the sample was identifiable to the level of genus. Compared to all other samples from the Tsaghkahovit plain (regardless of period), a high proportion of the sample from Precinct A was non-mammalian: thirteen birds (4 large, 4 medium, and 5 small), as well as four fish and one toad (probably intrusive). Although these non-mammalian specimens make up a very small proportion of the overall sample, their presence when compared to other samples is notable. As discussed below, this has very little to do with screening practices, but actually seems to be a reflection of Iron 3 animal use.

Among the specimens that are identified to the level of genus, it is also notable that the sample is surprisingly diverse. That is, there is a wider range of animals than would be expected given the sample size compared with other areas of the site and other time periods in the Tsaghkhovit plain. As is almost always the case for the faunal samples of the Tsaghkahovit plain regardless of period, sheep and goats are the most frequently represented taxa in Precinct A; together they make up just over half the sample. However, the proportion of sheep and goats is lower in this sample than in Bronze Age samples, and also lower than the Iron 3 citadel sample. After sheep and goat, cattle are the second most commonly represented taxon (though once again somewhat less well represented than on the citadel). Pigs are the only other taxon which

makes up over 5.00% of the Precinct A sample, and they are considerably more common on the citadel.

Several other ruminants are present in the assemblage in smaller proportions. For instance, equids make up just over 3.00% of the sample from precinct A (compared to 2.19% on the citadel), of which the only elements identifiable to the level of species were domesticated horses (*Equus caballus*). Bearing in mind matters of sample size, it is nevertheless notable that Precinct A has the highest proportion of *Equus* compared to any earlier period on the Tsaghkahovit plain, and the highest representation of domesticated horses in any period on the Tsaghkahovit plain. The lack of burning and butchery suggests that most of these animals were not being consumed as food, but were being raised for use as transportation. Domesticated horses were not identified on the citadel. Red deer (*Cervus*) and gazelles (*Gazella*) were present in high proportions in the Iron 3 samples relative to other samples from the Tsaghkahovit plain, and roe deer (*Dama*) is present only in Precinct A.

In this same precinct, more surprising is the presence of a fair number of carnivores. Both domesticated dog (*Canis familiaris*) and wolf (*Canis lupus*) were present (as well as a few specimens of indeterminate canids, along with fox (*Vulpes*), and single examples of marten (*Meles*) and bear (*Ursus*). Domesticated dog, fox, and bear are unrepresented on the citadel. In general, the variety of carnivores from Precinct A surpasses that of any other faunal sample from the Tsaghakhovit region. Since these animals are not commonly eaten, this diversity may indicate active defense of the settlement from predators. However, since several of these animals are small, and thus would pose no threat to humans and very little threat to their domesticated animals, their

presence may also indicate a group of inhabitants who pursued hunting as a leisure activity.

Table A2.3 shows the distribution of some of the less common taxa, some of which are identified to the level of genus. They are found primarily in rooms H, I, A, and C.

### **Preservation and Recovery Biases**

In this section I examine the degree to which the processes that occurred before the deposition of the bones into the archaeological record affected the composition of the sample, as well as the degree to which the excavation procedures, specifically screening, affected the composition of the sample. Predepositional activities, such as differential transport of body parts, butchery, and food preparation may also affect the composition of the sample. Differential transport of body parts can be controlled for by examining the body-part representation of each taxon. Unfortunately, in the sample from Precinct A, only sheep and goats have a sufficiently large sample to examine body part representation, as we shall see.

Butchery affected an extremely low proportion of the sample from Precinct A (0.80%) (table A2.4). Most of the elements that show evidence of butchery are ruminants, a finding that lends support to the idea that the carnivores were not being killed for consumption. Unidentified large and medium mammals show evidence for butchery, but, given the proportions in the original sample, these are much more likely to be ruminants than carnivores. It is difficult to be certain, given both the sample size and

the lack of comparative data, but with the evidence currently available there appears to be very little evidence for standardized butchery, particularly among medium mammals. This lack of evidence for standardized butchery can be observed in two ways: first, the proportion of elements that are present within each taxon which shows evidence for butchery; and second, the number of times each of these elements have evidence for butchery. Since both sheep/goat and cattle have fairly large samples of butchered bone, discussion will focus on these two taxa.

Among cattle, slightly less than one quarter (24.53%) of the elements show evidence of butchery. Slightly less than half (46.15%) of these elements show butchery less than 10% of the time, although over thirty percent (30.77%) of the elements do show butchery more than 25% of the time (Figure A2.1). Among sheep and goats a slightly lower proportion of the elements show evidence for butchery (21.54%), but half of these elements show evidence for butchery less than 10% of the time, while only 7.14% of the sample shows evidence for butchery more than 25% of the time (Figure 2A.2). This may indicate that while the cuts of meat that were considered edible were the same for all three types of animals, there was no standardized butchery practice. The implications of this are discussed below in the section on minimum number of elements. Where butchery marks exist, they consist of small cut marks. This suggests that butchery did not have much of an impact on the composition of the assemblage as a whole. There is very little chopping or intentional breakage of bones, which would indicate that portions of the sample were being destroyed by such processes.

Burning is another common indicator of food preparation. As with butchery, burning affects an extremely small portion of the sample from Precinct A (3.16%). Only

six taxa show evidence of burning. Among only four of these (indeterminate, large mammal, medium mammal, and pigs) does more than 1% of the sample show evidence of burning. This may suggest that bones which are being burnt become sufficiently degraded that they are unrecognizable or recognizable only to body size (pig has a fairly high proportion of burnt bone but only two specimens actually show evidence of burning. The proportion is high because the sample size of pig bones is small). Given the extremely low proportion of the assemblage which shows evidence of burning, however, this practice seems unlikely to have had a major impact on the composition of the assemblage. It is also interesting to note that all of the specimens identifiable to the level of genus which show evidence of burning are medium and large ruminants. This suggests that, as expected, these animals were being used as a food source. The butchery evidence supports this notion.

In looking at the contexts of burnt bone, several patterns emerge. Of the eighty-one loci from which bone was analyzed, 30 (32.97%) have burnt bone (table A2.5). Of these, only five had proportions of burnt bone greater than 10% (and all of these five loci were from rooms H, C, and I [table A2.6]). Just over 11% of the burnt bone came from these five loci, suggesting that these might be primary contexts of burning, possibly locations of food preparation. It is important to note, however, that the proportion of burnt bone is greater among the specimens recovered in flotation samples than in either screened or unscreened samples. Since places with evidence for burning are more likely to be floated, it is not clear whether the results above reflect loci of burning (and therefore possible cooking) of bone or simply the loci which were sent for flotation. It is also interesting to note that in no case did burnt bone comprise a majority of the faunal

sample from any locus. The single example for which burned bone made up 50% of the sample, the sample was composed of two specimens. This suggests that these areas were composed of mixed depositional events, rather than being primarily meat preparation areas.

Other factors that may affect the composition of a faunal assemblage include location and conditions of deposition. Most of the contexts from which these bones were recovered seem to be secondary contexts; nevertheless, the specimens appear to have been exposed to a variety of processes including animal gnawing. Gnawing by animals may differentially affect preservation of both specific body parts and specific animals. Evidence for gnawing on this sample, however, is minimal (3.59% of the entire assemblage). As with burning, although several classes show more evidence for gnawing than the others, the number of missing cases precludes the calculation of chi-square, so the significance of the differences cannot be articulated. It is, nevertheless, evident simply by looking at the sample that several of the classes that have higher proportions of gnawing are those in which the specimen was identifiable only to body-size. This suggests that gnawing may not be completely destroying the bone, but destroying it to the point at which it is no longer identifiable except to size class. Since the proportion of specimens with evidence of gnawing is so low, this effect seems to have been minimal.

Despite the fact that the visible evidence for such preservational biases as burning and gnawing is sufficiently low as to suggest that they affected the composition of the sample to a very small degree, there is some evidence that the sample was affected by unknown preservational biases to a significant degree. Comparison of sheep/goat MNE to measures of bulk density as calculated by Ioannidou (2003) (see table A4.7 for

sheep/goat MNE figures) indicates that the relationship between the two is positive and significant ( $p=0.02$ ), although not terribly strong ( $R^2=0.3481$ ). Density, then, played a significant role in the composition of the sheep/goat sample, and therefore almost certainly in the composition of the remaining sample. This suggests that post-depositional factors, including gnawing and trampling, as well as factors such as soil acidity, played a greater role in the composition of the assemblage than outlined above. Since the visible evidence of such factors is present in such low proportions, it is not possible to control for these preservational biases. It is important to note, however, that density accounts for just over 1/3 of the composition of the sheep/goat sample; other factors were playing important roles in the composition of this assemblage.

Screening is the major excavation procedure that can be examined to control for its effects on the faunal assemblage. Table A2.8 shows the proportions of identified bones according to the method through which they were recovered. In order to eliminate the problem of missing values that plague the other analyses, and because screening works on body size and we have no reason to think that screening would affect cattle more than horses, for mammals, the taxa have been collapsed into body size. The sample from flotation is the heavy fraction, which was wet-screened through 2mm mesh, and therefore is simply a sample screened through finer mesh than the ¼ inch mesh used for screening soil deposits during routine excavation. The difference between the screened, the unscreened, and the sample recovered in flotation is significant, but incredibly weak (chi-square  $p < 0.001$  Kramer's  $V=0.061$ ). Although one might expect recovery of small mammals to be increased by screening, in fact, medium mammals are the only taxon that are more common than expected in the screened sample. The quarter inch mesh may not

have been fine enough to increase recovery of the very small animals, and recovery in the unscreened sample of all but the smallest animals was excellent. Flotation increased recovery of amphibians and fish (although surprisingly, there is one fish vertebra in the unscreened sample) as well as increasing the proportion of indeterminate bone. Surprisingly, birds were recovered in roughly the same proportion in all three samples, and closer examination suggests that even recovery of the smallest birds was not increased by screening.

### **Sheep/goat Kill-off**

Sheep and goats were the only taxon with a sufficiently large sample to calculate reliable kill-off patterns. These kill-off curves were calculated using both epiphyseal fusion and tooth wear and eruption data. The cumulative kill-off curve (see Figure A2.3 and table A2.9) calculated using tooth wear and eruption suggests that well over fifty percent of the herd was dead before Stage E (approximately 3 years), which is the age of maturity for sheep and goats. This pattern, in which the majority of the herd was dead before this age, has been observed in other samples from the Tsaghkahovit plain, and I have interpreted it as suggesting that the occupants of the site were being provisioned with meat. Otherwise, a single herd subjected to such a kill-off pattern would be unsustainable. It may also be the case that the herd size was increasing over time, which could lead to a similar pattern. Examination of MNE below suggests that the occupants of Precinct A were probably not being supplied with meat, so the latter might be a more convincing explanation.



Comparison of the kill-off pattern from Precinct A to Payne's (1973) idealized patterns for the production of milk, meat, or wool suggests that the Precinct A evidence is significantly and strongly different from all three patterns. Pair-wise calculation of Cramer's V for each pair, supports this conclusion indicating that *none* of Payne's patterns are any closer to the Precinct A data. This suggests that the inhabitants of Precinct A were not engaged in specialized production of any of these commodities. Kill-off in Stage A, which in Payne's model accounts for peri-natal deaths, is lower than expected in the Precinct A data. Fetal and neonatal animals are rarely preserved or identified. Other than this stage, the significant differences between the Precinct A data and the models appear in the later stages (D-G). For Precinct A, these values are *higher* than expected; that is to say, there is a greater proportion of dead sheep and goats at these ages than expected according to these models, which would suggest that they are, in fact, living *longer* than predicted by these models. This may indicate a flaw in the models. Pursuing the strategy outlined by the models might well lead to the decimation of the herd within a few years, unless there was an external source of juvenile animals (Cribb 1984, 1985, 1987). An alternative explanation is that such a high proportion of juveniles, if we were to compare with human mortality profiles, may indicate an increasing population size. This may also be the case at Tsaghkahovit.

The kill-off pattern constructed using epiphyseal fusion data shows a similar pattern (see Figure A2.4 and table A2.9). Kill-off in the first two stages (6-10 months and 10-12 months respectively) is fairly low, while in the last two stages (18-24 months and 32-36 months), it is much higher. The kill-off appears to begin a bit earlier according to the epiphyseal fusion data, but this may in part be a function of the stages that are

measured by each method, rather than a phenomenon that needs explanation. It is interesting to note that at approximately 3 years, the proportion of the herd that is surviving hovers around 40% according to both sets of data. This similarity suggests that this key stage is reliable. As with the tooth wear data, epiphyseal fusion suggests that either the inhabitants of Precinct A at Tsaghkahovit were being supplied with at least a portion of their meat rather than producing it, or that the herd size was being increased very rapidly during this time period.

Comparison of sheep/goat MNE with theoretically generated utility indices (see Binford 1981) are extremely weak and non-significant ( $R^2=0.0035$ ,  $p=0.8153$ ). The correlation is not negative but very little relationship seems to exist between MNE and utility, as defined by the number and quality of calories available from any given body part. This is slightly surprising given the kill-off patterns, which suggest that the inhabitants of Precinct A may not have been the main producers of their own meat, but were instead receiving at least some of their meat from external sources. If this is the case, utility was not playing a role in determining which parts of the animals they received. Mandibles were overrepresented in the sample. Perhaps they played a significant role in the diet or other ritual that cannot be predicted by their utility. Even elimination of mandibles, however, does not make the comparison significant. No other body part is significantly over- or under-represented, so interpreting this pattern is extremely difficult. The lack of a relationship between MNE and utility is even more surprising, since it has been demonstrated that the relationship between density and utility is negative and strongly significant (Marean and Frey 1997). Given the positive and significant (albeit weak) relationship between density and MNE, it is all the more

surprising that there is no relationship between utility and MNE. Some other factors must have been at work determining the selection of sheep/goat body parts, but what these might have been remain obscure at present.

A comparison of the Precinct A kill-off pattern with the kill-off patterns of the Iron 3 citadel and the Late Bronze Age settlement at Tsaghkahovit indicates that there are significant ( $p=0.000258$ ) and moderate ( $V=0.220$ ) differences among these patterns, respectively (see Figure A2.5). The Precinct A kill-off pattern is different than expected at Stage B (compared to the Late Bronze Age), where kill-off is greater than expected compared to the other two samples, and at Stage D, where kill-off is less than expected compared to the other two samples. The same stage is greater than expected in the Iron 3 citadel sample. This seems to make it less likely that the inhabitants of Precinct A were being supplied directly with meat. Calculation of pair-wise Cramer's  $V$  supports this suggestion. The difference between Precinct A and the Iron 3 citadel is noticeably stronger than that between Precinct A and the Late Bronze Age lower town (for the former, Cramer's  $V=0.352$ , for the latter,  $V=0.275$ ), while the difference between the Iron 3 citadel and the LBA lower town is similar to that between Precinct A and the LBA lower town ( $V=0.339$ ). Given these similarities between the citadel and precinct A (and the differences with the Late Bronze lower town which was almost certainly *not* being supplied with meat), it seems likely, if one or both areas were being supplied with meat, the other area was not being the supplier. In other words, there does not appear to be a producer/consumer relationship between the citadel and Precinct A, in either direction.

With that said, the high proportion of juvenile kill-off in Precinct A still needs to be explained. It would be convenient to attribute it to differential preservation of fused

and, therefore denser, bone; but given that the survivorship curves calculated using tooth wear and eruption show similar patterns of high juvenile kill-off, this seems extremely unlikely. For the moment, we are left with the sense that for an as yet unknown reason, the herds tied to Precinct A do not appear to have been independently sustainable using the kill-off strategy as reconstructed from the faunal record. Whether that means that, for some reason, only a portion of the death assemblage, or whether there was a process of exchange which allowed such a strategy to function without decimating the herd will require both more excavation and better analytical tools.

## **Conclusions**

The faunal assemblage from Precinct A at Tsaghkahovit, as with most of the assemblages from the Tsaghkahovit plain, is dominated by sheep and goats, and then cattle. The Precinct A sample, however, is more diverse than expected, given its sample size, particularly in terms of the range of carnivores and non-mammalian species present. Whether this diversity represents dietary preferences or other cultural practices is not clear, although the latter seem likely to account for many of the novel mammalian species.

As with most of the Tsaghkahovit plain samples, direct evidence for preservational biases is low, but comparison of sheep/goat MNE with density figures suggests that such biases did play a role in the composition of the assemblage. Screening did not increase recovery of small animals as much as expected. It is likely that ¼ inch mesh is not sufficiently fine to increase recovery. Flotation and analysis of the heavy

fraction from flotation, however, did increase recovery of amphibians and fish, so either increasing flotation or using finer mesh for screening may help produce a more representative sample.

Interpretation of sheep/goat kill-off and MNE has proven difficult. Kill-off might be interpreted as a pattern in which the inhabitants of Precinct A were being supplied with at least some of their meat, but MNE suggests otherwise. It is, of course, possible that groups were supplying meat to the occupants of Precinct A, but in the absence of other evidence, it is necessary to suggest other interpretations for these patterns. For instance, it may also be the case that the slaughter of animals for purposes other than food took place off-site, and only food animals were being deposited in the excavated assemblage. But given the incongruence between MNE and utility, there seems to be no way to decide between this and the hypothesis of meat supply. The latter seems more parsimonious for the moment. Of course, increasing the sample size so that MNE is more reliable and similar analyses can be done on cattle will only make interpretation of the data that much more robust.

Table A2.1 Number of Identified Specimens (Tsaghkahovit, Precinct A).

TAXA	GENUS	NUMBER OF IDENTIFIED SPECIMENS (NISP)	% NISP	% NISP IDENTIFIED TO GENUS
<i>Bos</i>	Cattle	608	7.06%	34.18%
Bovid		15	0.17%	
<i>Bufo</i>	Toad	1	0.01%	
<i>Canis familiaris</i>	Domesticated dog	10	0.12%	0.56%
<i>C. lupus</i>	Wolf	5	0.06%	0.28%
Canid		1	0.01%	
<i>Capra</i>	Goat	19	0.22%	1.07%
Cervid		5	0.06%	
<i>Cervus</i>	Red deer	20	0.23%	1.12%
<i>Dama</i>	Roe deer	1	0.01%	0.06%
<i>Equus caballus</i>	Horse	22	0.26%	1.24%
<i>Equus</i>	Horse/Ass/Mule	44	0.51%	2.48%
Fish		4	0.05%	
<i>Gazella</i>	Gazelle	19	0.22%	1.07%
Indeterminate		3569	41.46%	
Large artiodactyl		6	0.07%	
Large bird		4	0.05%	
Large mammal		1485	17.25%	
Large rodent		3	0.03%	
Medium artiodactyl		3	0.03%	
Medium bird		4	0.05%	
Medium canid		1	0.01%	
Medium mammal		1623	18.85%	
Medium rodent		2	0.02%	
<i>Ovis/Capra/Gazella</i>		8	0.09%	
<i>Ovis/Capra</i>	Sheep/goat	877	10.19%	49.30%
<i>Ovis</i>	Sheep	56	0.65%	3.15%
Rodent		12	0.14%	
Small bird		5	0.06%	
Small canid		5	0.06%	
<i>Spermophilus</i>	Ground squirrel	1	0.01%	0.06%
Small mammal		73	0.85%	
<i>Sus</i>	Pig	90	1.05%	5.06%
<i>Meles</i>	Weasel	1	0.01%	0.06%
<i>Ursus</i>	Bear	1	0.01%	0.06%
<i>Vulpes</i>	Fox	5	0.06%	0.28%
<b>Total</b>		<b>8608</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

Table A2.2 Number of Identified Specimens (Tsaghkahovit, Iron 3 citadel).

TAXA	GENUS	NUMBER OF IDENTIFIED SPECIMENS (NISP)	% NISP	% NISP IDENTIFIED TO GENUS
<i>Bos</i>	Cattle	515	7.80%	30.44%
Bovid		8	0.12%	
<i>Canis lupus</i>	Wolf	1	0.02%	0.06%
<i>Capra</i>	Goat	30	0.45%	1.77%
<i>Capreolus</i>	Fallow deer	1	0.02%	0.06%
Cervid		11	0.17%	
<i>Cervus</i>	Red deer	9	0.14%	0.53%
<i>Equus</i>	Horse/ass/onager	37	0.56%	2.19%
<i>Gazella</i>	Gazelle	3	0.05%	0.18%
Homo		2	0.03%	
Indeterminate		1864	28.22%	
Large artiodactyls		1	0.02%	
Large bird		2	0.03%	
<i>Lepus</i>	Hare	1	0.02%	0.06%
Large mammal		1118	16.92%	
Medium artiodactyls		2	0.03%	
Medium bird		4	0.06%	
Medium mammal		1819	27.54%	
<i>Martes</i>	Marten	1	0.02%	0.06%
<i>Ovis/capra/gazelle</i>		1	0.02%	
<i>Ovis/capra</i>	Sheep/goat	817	12.37%	48.29%
<i>Ovis</i>	Sheep	115	1.74%	6.80%
Small bird		1	0.02%	
Small mammal		81	1.23%	
<i>Sus</i>	Pig	162	2.45%	9.57%
<b>Total</b>		<b>6606</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	

Table A2.3 Distribution of select taxa or geni (Tsaghkahovit, Precinct A).

TAXON OR GENUS	WSH		WSI	WSA	WSC	WSG
	UPPER FLOOR	LOWER FLOOR				
<i>Equus caballus</i> (Horse)	1	6	7	2	0	0
<i>Equus</i>	15	2	9	2	2	1
<b><i>Equus</i> total</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>
Fish	0	2	0	0	1	1
Large bird	1	3	0	1	0	0
Medium bird	2	1	0	1	0	0
Small bird	2	2	0	1	0	0
<b>Birds total</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<i>Cervus</i> (Red deer)	1	6	7	2	3	0
<i>Dama</i> (Roe deer)	0	0	1	0	0	0
<i>Gazella</i> (Gazelle)	0	0	2	17	0	0
<b>Cervid/Gazelle total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>
<i>Ursus</i> (Bear)	0	1	0	0	0	0
<i>Vulpes</i> (Fox)	0	4	1	0	0	0
<i>Meles</i> (Weasel)	1	0	0	0	0	0

Table A2.4 Evidence for pre-depositional biases (Tsaghkahovit, Precinct A).

	% PRESENT	% ABSENT
Burning	3.16%	96.84%
Gnawing	3.59%	96.41%
Butchery	0.80%	99.20%



Table A2.5 Burning by locus (Tsaghkahovit, Precinct A).

	<b>EVIDENCE OF BURNING PRESENT</b>	<b>NO EVIDENCE OF BURNING</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE BURNED</b>
<b>Ar/Ts.WSA.10</b>	1	14	15	6.67%
<b>Ar/Ts.WSA.11</b>	1	34	35	2.86%
<b>Ar/Ts.WSA.12</b>	1	39	40	2.50%
<b>Ar/Ts.WSA.5</b>	2	88	90	2.22%
<b>Ar/Ts.WSAR.3</b>	1	16	17	5.88%
<b>Ar/Ts.WSC.4</b>	1	17	18	5.56%
<b>Ar/Ts.WSC.5</b>	1	20	21	4.76%
<b>Ar/Ts.WSC2.05</b>	1	16	17	5.88%
<b>Ar/Ts.WSC2.12</b>	2	6	8	25.00%
<b>Ar/Ts.WSC3.8</b>	1	43	44	2.27%
<b>Ar/Ts.WSH.09</b>	2	27	29	6.90%
<b>Ar/Ts.WSH.12</b>	1	1	2	50.00%
<b>Ar/Ts.WSH.14</b>	2	93	95	2.11%
<b>Ar/Ts.WSH.15</b>	3	162	165	1.82%
<b>Ar/Ts.WSH.16</b>	3	82	85	3.53%
<b>Ar/Ts.WSH.20</b>	1	5	6	16.67%
<b>Ar/Ts.WSH.22</b>	7	187	194	3.61%
<b>Ar/Ts.WSH.23</b>	1	10	11	9.09%
<b>Ar/Ts.WSH.28</b>	2	9	11	18.18%
<b>Ar/Ts.WSH.30</b>	10	274	284	3.52%
<b>Ar/Ts.WSH.40</b>	3	92	95	3.16%
<b>Ar/Ts.WSI.20</b>	7	226	233	3.00%
<b>Ar/Ts.WSI.27</b>	1	41	42	2.38%
<b>Ar/Ts.WSI.28</b>	1	10	11	9.09%
<b>Ar/Ts.WSI.29</b>	3	5	8	37.50%
<b>Ar/Ts.WSJ.4</b>	1	30	31	3.23%
<b>Ar/Ts.WSL.07</b>	1	70	71	1.41%
<b>Ar/Ts.WSL.12</b>	9	210	219	4.11%
<b>Ar/Ts.WSL.13</b>	2	47	49	4.08%
<b>Ar/Ts.WSL.20</b>	5	142	147	3.40%

Table A4.6 Burning by select rooms (Tsaghkahovit, Precinct A).

	<b>EVIDENCE OF BURNING PRESENT</b>	<b>NO EVIDENCE OF BURNING IN LOCI WITH EVIDENCE OF BURNING</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE BURNED OF LOCI WITH EVIDENCE OF BURNING</b>
<b>Room A</b>	5	175	180	2.78%
<b>Room C</b>	6	102	108	5.56%
<b>Room H</b>	35	942	977	3.58%
<b>Room I</b>	12	282	294	4.08%

Table A4.7 Sheep/goat MNE (Tsaghkahovit, Precinct A).

<b>ELEMENT</b>	<b>MNE</b>	<b>% MNE</b>
1 Phalanx	6	17.65%
2 Phalanx	2	5.88%
Astragalus	13	3.23%
Femur distal	2	5.88%
Femur proximal	5	14.71%
Humerus distal	12	35.29%
Humerus proximal	6	17.65%
Innominate	12	35.29%
Metacarpal distal	3	8.82%
Metacarpal proximal	13	38.23%
Metatarsal distal	5	14.71%
Metatarsal proximal	15	44.12%
Radius distal	4	11.76%
Radius proximal	8	23.53%
Scapula	6	17.65%
Tibia distal	3	8.23%
Tibia proximal	5	14.71%
Mandible	34	100.00%
<b>Total</b>	<b>154</b>	

Table A2.8 Screening by body size (Tsaghkahovit, Precinct A).

	<b>FLOTATION</b>	<b>UNSCREENED</b>	<b>SCREENED</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Amphibians	1	0	0	1
Birds	1	3	5	9
Fish	3	1	0	4
Indeterminate	637	1520	1412	3569
Large mammal	1	1031	1159	2191
Medium mammal	11	1034	1655	2700
Small mammal	12	36	65	113
Unknown size mammal	0	13	8	21
<b>Total</b>	<b>666</b>	<b>3638</b>	<b>4304</b>	<b>8608</b>

Table A2.9 Cumulative survivorship, sheep and goats (Tsaghkahovit, Precinct A).

<b>STAGE</b>	<b>AGE</b>	<b>% KILL-OFF</b>	<b>CUMULATIVE KILL-OFF</b>	<b>PAYNE MEAT CUMULATIVE KILL-OFF</b>	<b>PAYNE MILK CUMULATIVE KILL OFF</b>	<b>PAYNE WOOL CUMULATIVE KILL-OFF</b>
<b>A</b>	0-2 mos	2.95%	97.05%	70.00%	40.00%	70.00%
<b>B</b>	2-6 mos	7.08%	89.97%	50.00%	37.50%	65.00%
<b>C</b>	6-12 mos	10.62%	79.35%	30.00%	30.00%	57.50%
<b>D</b>	1-2 year	32.15%	47.20%	25.00%	25.00%	50.00%
<b>E</b>	2-3 yrs	14.75%	32.45%	22.50%	22.50%	43.00%
<b>F</b>	3-4 yrs	11.80%	20.65%	20.00%	20.00%	40.00%
<b>G</b>	4-6 yrs	17.70%	2.95%	15.00%	15.00%	27.00%
<b>H</b>	6-8 yrs	2.95%	0.00%	10.00%	10.00%	14.00%
<b>I</b>	8-10 yrs	0.00%	0.00%	5.00%	5.00%	5.50%

Table A2.10 Epiphyseal fusion kill-off sheep and goats, Precinct A, Tsaghkahovit.

<b>STAGE</b>	<b>AGE</b>	<b>UNFUSED</b>	<b>FUSING</b>	<b>FUSED</b>	<b>% SURVIVORSHIP</b>	<b>% KILL-OFF</b>
<b>A</b>	6-10 months	13	1	50	78.13%	21.88%
<b>B</b>	10-12 months	10	8	33	64.71%	35.29%
<b>C</b>	18-24 months	28	1	15	34.09%	65.91%
<b>D</b>	32-36 months	18	2	13	39.39%	60.61%

Figure A2.1 Butchery by body part, cattle (Tsaghkahovit, Precinct A).

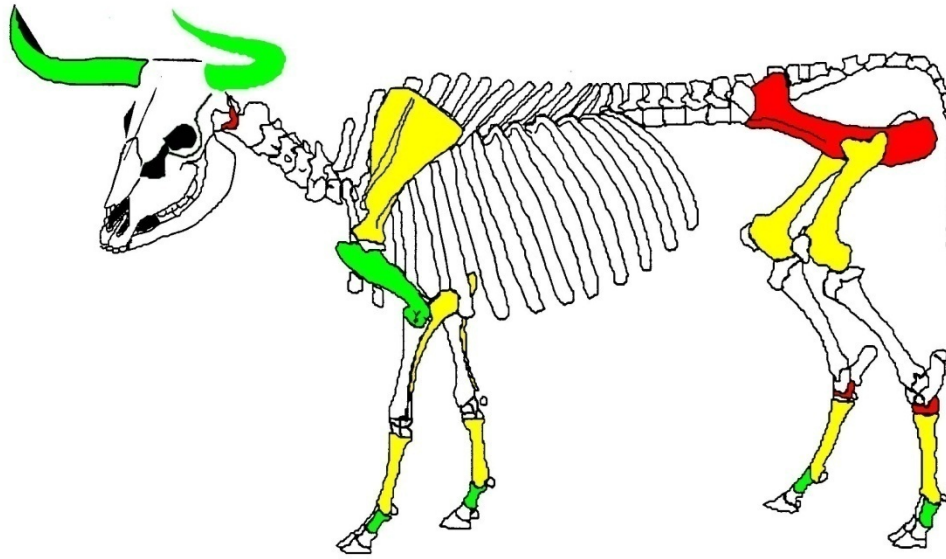


Figure A2.2 Butchery by body part, sheep and goats (Tsaghkahovit, Precinct A).

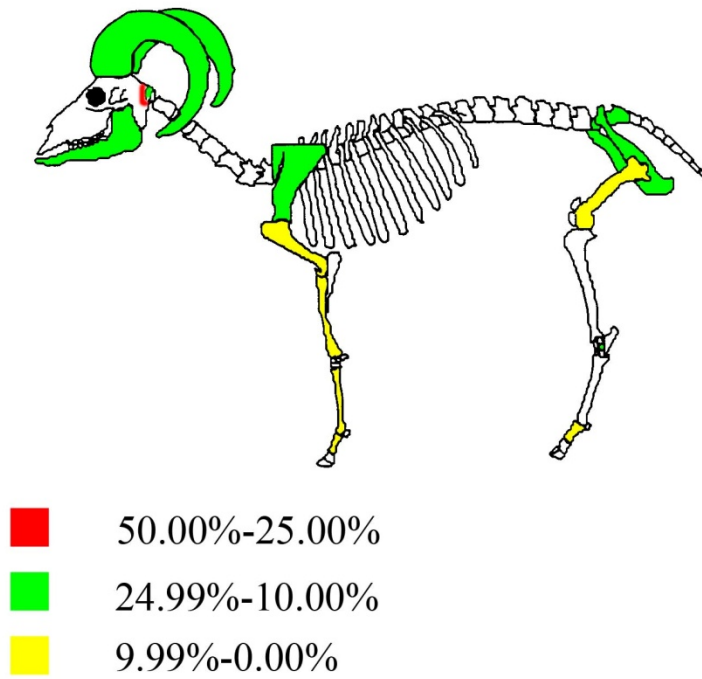


Figure A2.3 Cumulative survivorship, sheep and goats (Tsaghkahovit, Precinct A).

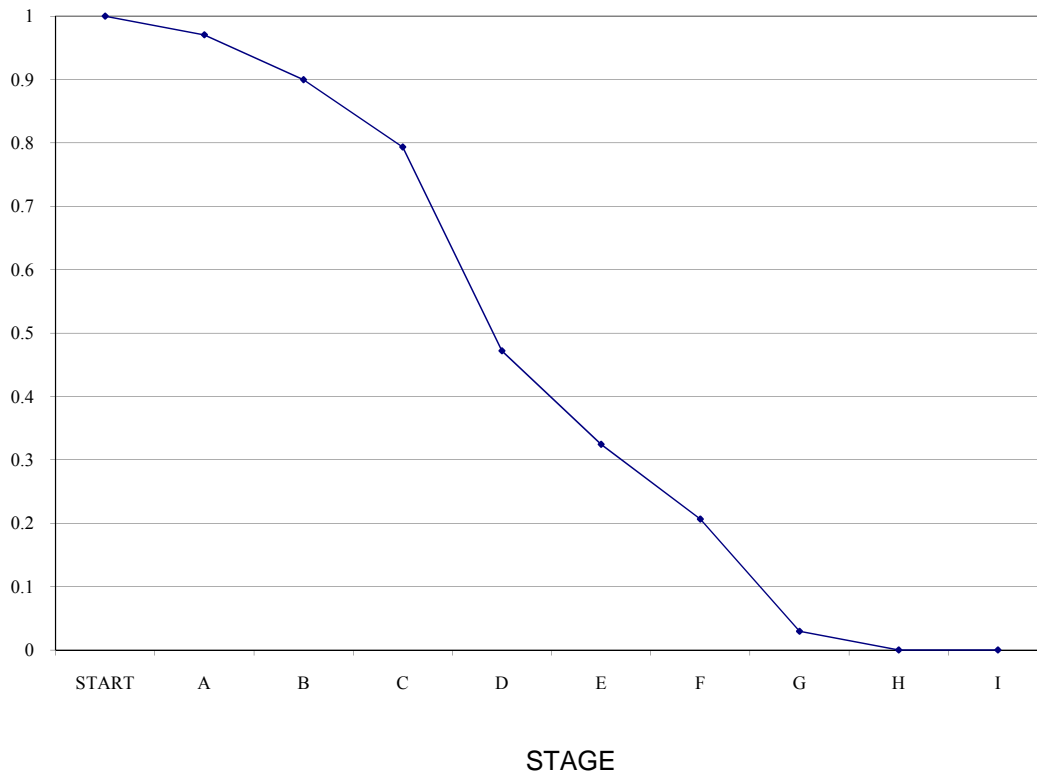


Figure A2.4 Kill-off according to epiphyseal fusion, sheep and goats (Tsaghkahovit, Precinct A).

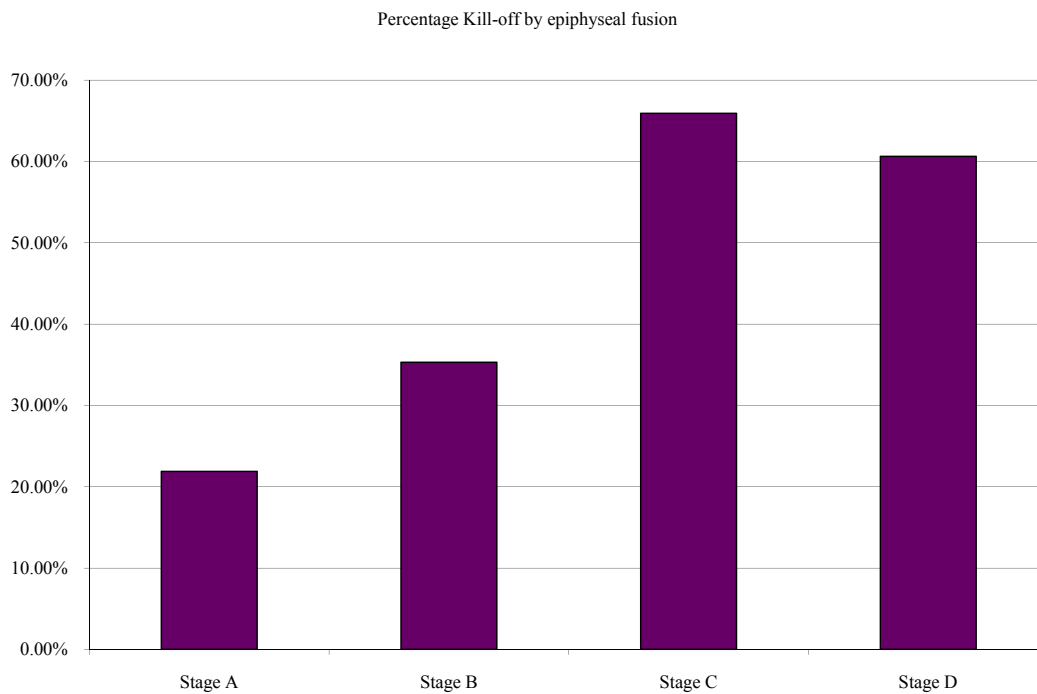


Figure A2.5 Comparison of sheep/goat kill-off among Precinct A, Iron 3 citadel, and LBA lower settlement.

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