ეგეოსური სამყარო და სამხრეთ კავკასია

კულტურული ურთიერთობები ბრინჯაოს ხანაში

AEGEAN WORLD AND SOUTH CAUCASUS

Cultural Relations in the Bronze Age

ეგეოსური სამყარო და სამხრეთ კავკასია: კულტურული ურთიერთობები ბრინჯაოს ხანაში

საერთაშორისო სემინარი

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სამხრეთ კავკასიისა და ეგეოსური სამყაროს ურთიერთობა უძველესი დროიდან იქცევდა ყურადღებას. ამ ორ რეგიონს შორის კავშირების ამსახველი პირველი წერილობითი ცნობები არგონავტების ლაშქრობის ციკლთან არის დაკავშირებული. ბერძენი გმირების კოლხეთში ლაშქრობას გამორჩეული ადგილი უკავია ძველ ბერძნულ ლიტერატურასა და მითოლოგიაში. ანტიკურ სამყაროში არგონავტებთან დაკავშირებული არაერთი მხატვრული ნაწარმოები შეიქმნა. თხზულებებში აღწერილია პონტოს სანაპიროზე მცხოვრები ხალხები და მათი არაერთგვაროვანი დამოკიდებულება არგონავტების მიმართ. პონტოს ზღვის სამხრეთ ნაპირებზე არგონავტებმა გაიარეს ამაძონების მიწა და ხალიბების ქვეყანას მიადგნენ, შემდეგ კოლხური ტომების, ტიბარენებისა და მოსინიკების ქვეყნების გასწვრივ გაცურეს, ჩაუარეს მაკრონების, ბექირების, საპეირების, ბიძერების მიწებს და კავკასიონის მთებს მიაღწიეს. კოლხიდაში ჩასულმა არგონავტებმა მდინარე ფასისში შეცურეს. ასე მიაღწიეს მათ მითიურ აიას, რომელიც მეფე აიეტის საბრძანებელი იყო.

არგონავტების მომდევნო თაობა ტროას ომის მონაწილეა. ამ ეპოქის ბერძნული სამყაროსა და იმდროინდელი ოიკუმენის გეოგრაფია, ისტორია და მითოლოგია ჰომეროსის ეპოსმა შემოგვინახა. ტროას ომი ბერძნების მიერ ჩამოყალიბებული მიკენური კულტურის აგრესიულობის გამომხატველია. ევროპისა და აზიის ამ დიდი დაპირისპირების თარიღი სადავოა. თუმცა მეცნიერთა უმეტესობა ამ მოვლენას ძვ.წ. XIII საუკუნის მწურულს ან ძვ.წ. XIII-XII საუკუნეების მიჯნას მიაკუთვნებს. წინა აზიაში შემოჭრილი ბერძნების წინააღმდეგ მრავალი ადგილობრივი ტომი იღებდა მონაწილეობას. ტროელთა მოკავშირეებს შორის ჰალიძონებიც არიან, რომლებსაც ჯერ კიდევ სტრაბონი აიგივებდა ხალიბებთან. წყაროთა ერთი ნაწილის მიხედვით ხალიბები ერთერთი კოლხური ტომია.

არგონავტების თქმულება და ჰომეროსის ეპოსი ძვ.წ. II ათასწლეულის მეორე ნახევრის ეგეოსურ სამყაროს და ამ სამყაროს მეზობლებთან ურთიერთობას წარმოაჩენს. სწორედ ამ ეპოქიდან ექცევა კავკასია ბერძნული კულტურის ყურადღების ცენტრში.

არგონავტების მითის რეალურ ისტორიად წარმოჩენაში მნიშვნელოვანი იყო ცნობილი მოგზაურის ტიმ სევერის ექსპერიმენტი. მან არგონავტების მარშრუტი გაიმეორა. 1984 წელს საბერძნეთიდან ოცნიჩბიანი ნავით გამოემგზავრა და კოლხეთში, მდ. რიონში ჩაუშვა ღუზა. სევერინის ამ ექსპერიმენტმა მიკენურ ხანაში ასეთი მოგზაურობის შესაძლებლობა დაადასტურა. მიკენელი მეზღვაურების შესაძლებლობები რომ დიდი იყო, ამას უკანასკნელი გამოკვლევებიც ადასტურებს. დადგენილია, რომ ეგეოსური გავლენის სფეროში იტალიაც ექცეოდა.

ჰომეროსის პოემების მითოლოგია რეალურ ისტორიად აქცია ჰაინრიხ შლიმანმა, რომელმაც 1871 წელს დაიწყო არქეოლოგიური გათხრები ჰისარლიკის ბორცვზე და ლეგენდარული ტროა აღმოაჩინა. ძველი ბერძენი გმირების კვალის ძებნაში ჰ. შლიმანმა კოლხეთსაც მიაპყრო ყურადღება. სამწუხაროდ მას ჩანაფიქრის განხორციელების საშუალება არ მიეცა.

ეგეოსური სამყაროსა და კავკასიის ურთიერთობის საკითხები განხილულია ქართველი ისტორიკოსების (ს. ყაუხჩიშვილი, აკ. ურუშაძე, გ. მელიქიშვილი, თ. ყაუხჩიშვილი, თ. მიქელაძე, რ. გორდეზიანი, და სხვ.) ნაშრომებში. სამხრეთ კავკასიისა და ეგეოსური სამყაროს ურთიერთობის კვლევისას არქეოლოგიური მასალა პირველად ბ. კუფტინმა გამოიყენა. ე. გოგაძე შუა ბრინჯაოს ხანის სამხრეთ კავკასიის არქეოლოგიის საკითხების კვლევისას ზოგადად შეეხო ეგეოსურ სამყაროსთან ურთიერთობის საკითხებს. არგონავტების თქმულებას, კოლხეთის ისტორიის და ბერძნულ სამყაროსთან მისი ურთიერთობის საკითხების კვლევას არაერთი ნაშრომი მიუძღვნა ოთ. ლორქიფანიძემ. სამხრეთ კავკასიაში აღმოჩენილი არქეოლოგიური მასალის ანალიზის საფუძველზე ცალკეული საკითხები განიხილეს მ. აბრამიშვილმა და ლ. ჭაბაშვილმა. არგონავტების კოლხეთში ლაშქრობასა და ტროას ომს მიუძღვნა რ. გორდეზიანმა რამდენიმე ფუნდამენტური ნაშრომი. ძველი ბერძნული ლიტერატურის ანალიზმა მას არაერთი საყურადღებო მოსაზრების გამოთქმის საშუალება მისცა. მისი კვლევები ძირითადად ძვ.წ. II ათასწლეულის შუა ხანებსა და მეორე ნახევარს ეხება.

უკანასკნელ წლებში სამხრეთ კავკასიასა და ხმელთაშუაზღვისპირეთში წარმოებული არქეოლოგიური გათხრების დროს გამოვლინდა არაერთი არტეფაქტი, რომლებიც სამხრეთ კავკასიისა და ეგეოსური სამყაროს ურთიერთობის ახლებურად წარმოჩენის საშუალებას იძლევა. ახლად აღმოჩენილი არქეოლოგიური მასალები აშკარად მიუთითებენ, რომ გარკვეული ურთიერთობას სამხრეთ კავკასიასა და ეგეოსურ სამყაროს შორის ჯერ კიდევ ადრებრინჯაოს ხანაში, სამხრეთ-კავკასიური მტკვარ-არაქსის კულტურის ხანაში ეყრება საფუძველი. აღსანიშნავია, რომ რ. გორდეზიანს შესაძლებლად მიაჩნია ძვ.წ. III-II ათასწლეულების მიჯნაზე კავკასიის ფარგლებიდან ქართველურ ტომთა ერთი ნაწილის ეგეიდაში გადასახლება, რაც აქ პელაზგური ეთნოსის ჩამოყალიბების საფუძველი გახდა. იგი ფიქრობს, რომ აქედან მოხდა ქართველიზებული ტომების ერთი ნაწილის კუნძულ კრეტაზე, ხოლო მეორე ნაწილის იტალიაში გადასახლება.

ეგეოსური სამყარო გვიანი ბრინჯაოს ხანის ადრეულ ეტაპზე უშუალოდ გაეცნო სამხრეთ კავკასიას. ჩანს, რომ ეგეოსური სამყარო კავკასიით განსაკუთრებით ტროას ომის წინამორბედ ეპოქაში დაინტერესდა და ეს ინტერესი აისახა არგონავტების კოლხეთში ლაშქრობის ისტორიაში. კვლევები გვიჩვენებს, რომ ეგეოსურ სამყაროსა და სამხრეთ კავკასიას შორის უშუალო კონტაქტებს გვიანი ბრინჯაოს ხანის ადრეულ ეტაპზე ჩაეყარა.

ტროას ომს განსაკუთრებული მნიშვნელობა ჰქონდა ამ ურთიერთობებში. ამ ომის შემდეგ ეგეოსური სამყაროსათვის პონტოს ზღვის კარი ფართოდ გაიღო, რამაც სამხრეთ-დასავლეთ კავკასიაში ბერძნული კულტურის გავრცელებას შეუწყო ხელი. შემდეგომში ამ ურთიერთობამ უფრო ინტენსიური ხასიათი შეიძინა. განსაკუთრებით რელიეფურად კი, ბერძნული კოლონიზაციის ეპოქაში წარმოჩნდა.

არგონავტების მოგზაურობისა და ტროას ომის ფონზე მნიშვნელოვანია სამხრეთ კავკასიის როლის და ადგილის განსაზღვრა. ძვ.წ. XIII საუკუნეში ფუნდამენტური ცვლილებები ხდება. საუკუნის დასაწყისშივე ერთმანეთს ორი უძლიერესი ქვეყანა - ეგვიპტე და ხეთების სამეფო დაუპირისპირდნენ, რაც ფარაონ რამსეს II-ის მმართველობის მეხუთე წელს (ძვ.წ. 1274 წ.) ქადეშის ბრძოლით დასრულდა. მეცნიერთა ნაწილი ტროას ომის თარიღს ძვ.წ. 1260 – 1230 წლებს შორის ათავსებს, რაც ამ ორ მოვლენას აახლოვებს. ამავე საუკუნეში იწყება ზღვის ხალხების მოძრაობა, რომლებმაც ანატოლიასა და ეგვიპტეში შეაღწიეს. მიუხედვად იმისა, რომ ეს ეპოქა ხეთების სამეფოს ძლიერების ხანაა და მათ დიდი სამხედრო-პოლიტიკური ინტერესები გააჩნიათ, ისინი აქეველებისა და ტროელების დაპირისპირებაში საერთოდ არ ჩანან. ხეთებთან კავშირზე არც სამხრეთ კავკასიაში მიკვლეული ძვ.წ. II ათასწლეულის მეორე ნახევრის არქეოლოგიური მასალები მიუთითებენ. ამდენად, სამხრეთ კავკასიის ისტორიის ის პლასტი, რომელიც ქადეშის ბრძოლასა და ტროას ომთან არის დაკავშირებული, ჯერ კიდევ ელის თავის მკვლევარს.

შოთა რუსთაველის სამეცნიერო ფონდისა და იტალიის სამეცნიერო კვლევების ფონდის ერთობლივი პროექტის „სამხრეთ კავკასია და ეგეოსური სამყარო“ ფარგლებში სიმპოზიუმის ჩატარება მრავალი საინტერესო და მნიშვნელოვანი საკითხის კიდევ ერთხელ დაყენების საშუალებას იძლევა და ახალ პერსპექტივებს სახავს.

წინამდებარე კრებულის მიზანს წარმოადგენს სიმპოზიუმზე წარდგენილი მოხსენებები გააცნოს ფართო საზოგადოებას.

ვფიქრობ, არქეოლოგიური მასალის შუქზე განხილული სამხრეთ კავკასიისა და ეგეოსური სამყაროს ურთიერთობის საკითხები ახლებურადაა დაყენებული და ეს სიახლეები მომავალში ფართო დისკუსიის საგანი გახდება.

გოდერძი ნარიმანიშვილი
თბილისი
ივნისი, 2016 წელი

PREFACE

The relationships between the Southern Caucasus and Aegean World have attracted attention since ancient times. The first written references describing the connection between these two regions are connected with the cycle of the Argonauts voyage. The voyage of Greek heroes to the Colchis has a distinctive place in ancient Greek literature and mythology. A number of literary fiction connected with the argonauts has been created in the ancient world. The peoples resided on Pontus coast and their different attitudes to the argonauts are described in these literary works. Along the southern coasts of Pontus Sea the argonauts passed through the land of Amazons tribe and reached the country of Khalybs. Then they sailed along the countries of Colchis tribes, the Tubaren, Mossyniks, passed the lands of Macrones, Becheirians, Sasperes, Bydzeres and reached the Caucasus mountains. Having arrived in Colchis, the argonauts swam into the river Phasis and thus they reached the mythical Aya, which was the kingdom of King Aeetes.

The next generation of the argonauts was the participant of Trojan war. The Homer's epic has preserved the geography, history and mythology of the Greek world in this era and Oikoumene of that time. Trojan war appears to be the expressive of Mycenaean culture aggression formed by Greeks. The date of this great confrontation between Europe and Asia is disputable. However, the majority of the scientists attributes this event to the end of 12^{th} c. B.C. or the eve of $13^{th} – 12^{th}$ cc. B.C. The numerous local tribes participated in the struggle against the Greeks invading the Asia Minor. Among the allies of the Trojans were also Halidzones who by Strabo were identified with the Khalibs. According to one part of the sources the Khalibs appear to be one of the Colchis tribes.

The legend of the argonauts and Homer's Epos represent the Aegean World of the second half of the 2^{nd} millennium B.C. and the relationships between the neighbors of this world. Just since this epoch the Caucasus has been in the center of Greek culture attention.

The experiment of well-known traveller Tim Severin was very important in the imagination of argonauts myth as a real story. He repeated the route of the argonauts. In 1984 he left Greece on a boat with 20 oars and dropped anchor in the river Rioni. This experiment has confirmed the possibility of such a voyage in Mycenaean era. The fact that the opportunities of Mycenaean sailors were great is corroborated by the recent investigations. It has been established that Italy also was under the influence of Aegean sphere.

Heinrich Schliemann turned the mythology of Homer's poems in the real story. In 1871 he began the archaeological excavations on the hill Hissarlik and discovered the legendary city of Troy. In the search of ancient Greek heroes H. Schliemann has also paid attention to Colchis, but, unfortunately, he did not get an opportunity to realize his plan.

The issues of the relationships between the Aegean world and the Caucasus are considered in the works of Georgian historians (S. Kaukhchishvili, A. Urushadze, G. Melikishvili, T. Kaukhchishvili, T. Mikeladze, R. Gordeziani, etc). During the research of the relationships between the Southern Caucasus and Aegean world the archaeological material was firstly used by B. Kuftin, while studying the archaelogical issues of the Southern Caucasus of the Middle Bronze Age. E. Gogadze in general referred to the issues of relationships with the Aegean world. Otar Lortkipanidze dedicated many works to the research of argonauts legend, Colchis history and the issues of its relationships with the Greek world. M. Abramishvili and L. Chabashvili discussed certain issues on the basis of the analysis of the archaeological material discovered in the Southern Caucasus. Several fundamental works of R. Gordeziani were dedicated to the voyage of argonauts to Colchis and Trojan war. The analysis of the ancient Greek literature gave him the opportunity to express more than one important consideration. His researches mainly deal with the middle period and the second half of 2nd millennium B.C.

Recently during the archaeological excavations in the Southern Caucasus and the Mediterranean more than one of the artifacts has been revealed, which give the opportunity to newly promote the relationships between the Southern Caucasus and Aegean world. The newly discovered archaelogical materials clearly indicate that definite relationships between the Southern Caucasus and the Aegean world were observed in the Early Bronze Age in the period of Southern Caucasian Kura-Araxes culture. It should be noted that R. Gordeziani believes it possible to migrate of one part of Kartvelian tribes from the Caucasian scopes to Aegean at the eve of 3rd – 2nd millenniums B.C. The latter became the basis of the formation of Pelasgian ethnos. He thinks that the migration of one part of the Kartvelian tribes to the island of Crete and of the other part to Italy has begun from here.

The Aegean world got directly acquainted with the Southern Caucasus at the early stage of the Late Bronze Age. As it seems the Aegean world got interested in the Caucasus especially in the epoch preceded the Trojan war and this interest was reflected in the history of the argounats voyage to Colchis. The researches have shown that the direct contacts between the Aegean world and the Southern Caucasus were established at the early stage of the Late Bronze Age.

The Trojan war has a particular importance in these relationships. After this war the door of Pontus Sea was widely open for the Aegean world, which promoted the distribution of Greek culture in the South-Western Caucasus. Subsequently, this relationship became more intensive, especially prominently in the epoch of Greek colonization. Against the background of the argonauts voyage and Trojan war it is very important to determine the role and place of the Southern Caucasus. The fundamental changes took place in the 13th millennium B.C. At the very beginning of the century the two strongest countries – Egypt and Hittite kingdom

opposed resulting in battle of Kadesh in the fifth year of Pharaoh Ramses II reign (in 1274 B.C). Some researchers place the Trojan war between 1260-1230 B.C., which makes closer these two phenomena. In the same century the movement of sea people began, which penetrated Anatolia and Egypt. Despite this epoch appears to be the epoch of Hittite kingdom strength and they had great military-political interests, they were not seen in the confrontation of Achaeans and Trojans. The connection with the Hittites is not found in the archaeological materials discovered in the 2nd millennium B.C. in the Southern Caucasus. Thus, the fragment of the Southern Caucasus history which is connected with battle of Kadesh and Trojan war, is still waiting for its researcher.

To conduct the symposium within the frames of the joint Project of Shota Rustaveli Scientific Fund and Italy Scientific Research Fund "The Southern Caucasus and Aegean world" gives the opportunity to raise many interesting and important issues once more and outline the new prospects.

The goal of the given collection is to get acquainted the wide society with the reports presented at the Symposium.

I think the issues of the relationships between the Southern Caucasus and Aegean world considered in the light of archaeological material are set in a new way and in future these innovations will be the subject of wide discussion.

Goderdzi Narinamanishvili
Tbilisi, June, 2016

DYNAMICS AND NATURE OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN SOUTH CAUCASUS AND AEGEAN WORLD IN THE BRONZE AGE

Nino Shanshashvili, Goderdzi Narimanishvili
Georgian National Museum

From the ancient times there used to be some kinds of relations between Caucasus and Aegean World. The ancient contacts are supposed to be started between Kura-Araxes and Aegean cultures in the Early Bronze Age. B. Kuftin believed that in the period of Kura-Araxes culture the territory of South Caucasus belonged to the Eastern Mediterranean cultural world, which, in his opinion, was proved by round architecture, spiral ornament and so-called horned altars discovered here [Куфтин,1948: 44]. This opinion was shared also by other scholars: T. Burton-Brown mentioned existence of Kura-Araxes type of pottery on Cyprus [Burton-Brown,1948: 38-40] and E. Gogadze, based of G. Child evidences, believed that the decor typical for ceramics of Kura-Araxes and Trialeti culture was discovered on Crete and Samos [Gogadze,1972: 84; Child, 1952: 66, 101].

Some direct and indirect contacts between Kura-Araxes Culture and Chalcolithic-Early Bronze Age cultures of Aegean basin existed from the beginning of the 3rd millennium BC. Kura-Araxes Culture did spread to the south for quite long distance. South Caucasian black polished pottery was spread in Amuq valley and Syria-Palestine region, where it is known as Khirbet Kerak ware. Some scholars do mention some kinds of influence of Khirbet Kerak ware on Cypriot ceramics of Chalcolithic-Early Bronze age period [Dikaios, Stewart, 1962: 200; Mellaart, 1966: 76; Amiran, 1970: 69; Negbi, 2003: 161; Protopsaltis, 2011: 63; Washbourne, 1998: 250-254].

Some innovations in Palestine as well as on some islands of Aegean basin, as manufacturing black and red polished ware, round planned storehouses, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic pot stands and so called horned altars could be explained By the influence of Kura-Araxes Culture. Although it must be mentioned that the typical shapes of Kura-Araxes/Khirbet Kerak pottery recessed ornament did not spread on Aegean islands [Washbourne, 1998: 254]. It is possible that the part of the population moved to Cyprus from Cilicia (Mersin, Tarsus) and Levantine coast (Ugarit) were looking for a copper ore.

Although, O. Negbi believed that this contact was a 'marginal' episode, which did not disturb urban life in Levant in the Early Bronze Age II and the Early Bronze Age III as well as did not leave any sign on the generation following the disappearance of Khirbet Kerak pottery (2400 BC). Despite it, this fact had a great impact on the Late Chalcolithic period Cyprus and was a bases for the beginning of the Early Bronze Age [Negbi, 2003: 161].

B. Kuftin has mentioned a similarity between Kura-Araxes horned clay pot stands and so- called Horns of consecration [Kuftin, 1948: 70-77]. The so-called horned pot stands (Kvatskhelebi, Khizanaant Gora, Kulbakebi, Arich, etc.), which are typical for Kura-Araxes culture are the clay objects decorated with small horn like ledges. They were discovered in living dwellings of Kura-Araxes culture, mainly inside or near the hearth. B. Kuftin believed them to be artifacts of unknown purpose, though did not except their usage as a hearth pot stands [Kuftin, 1948: 80]. Some scholars call them sacrifice altars [Diamant, Rutter, 1969: 148]. The pot stands had a flat bottom and two or four ledges, because of which these pot stands got their name. Almost all of these pot stands have a hole in a round edge.

Horned pot stands (pl. II-1-3, pl. IV-3) or altars were spread in Shida and Kvemo Kartli, Samtskhe-Javakheti, Armenia and Anatolia (Khizanaant Gora, Kvatskhelebi, Zemo Avchala, Ghrmakhevistavi, Ozni, Zveli "Rabati", Lodobana, Amiranis Gora, Arich, Karaz) [Kikvidze, 1972: 42; Javakhishvili, Ghlonti, 1962: 10, tab. IV – 336, 337; Pkhakadze, 1963: pic. 13-3; Abramishvili, Giguashvili, Khakhiani, 1980: 50, 71, pic. 207, 396, Orjonikidze, 1983: tab. 32; Zhorzhikashvili, Gogadze, 1974: 32-33, tab. 22-33; Khachatryan, 1975: 78, Fig. 38; Diamant, Rutter, 1969: Fig. 11-a-d].

The horned altars are typical for Minoan civilization. Along with the small and big horned altars in Aegean World there are widely spread their images on glyptic, reliefs and frescos [Diamant, Rutter, 1969: 171, Fig. 36-45]. Sacral horns or so-called horns of consecration were used to be the most widespread symbol in Minoan religion (pl. II, 5-7). 'Horns' were used to be raised on altars or buildings. This is proved by the iconography of sanctuaries. In cases when the horns were raised on an altar, there was a double axe stuck between the horns (pl. II-8). N. Marinatos believed that the horns were permanently raised on an altar or a building and the axe was fixed there just on festivals. The symbolic meaning of 'horns' in Minoan religion is unknown and the connection with a bull cult is conditional [Marinatos, 1993: 5].

The horns of consecration from Crete used to be of three sizes: monumental (more than 1 meter), middle (10-100 cm) and miniature (less than 10 cm) [Milisević Bradač, 2005: 187-192]. Middle and miniature hornlike artifacts were spread in the Middle East from the Neolithic period. Altars with hornlike ledges were discovered in Mersin from the Halaf period (4th millennium BC) [Diamant, Rutter, 1969: Fig. 18, 22]. In Ubeid and Early Uruk Periods (the end of the 5th millennium and the beginning of the 4th millennium BC) they were spread in Mersin, Tepe Gawra and Tell Brak [Diamant, Rutter, 1969: Figs 19-21, 23, 28], in the 3rd millennium BC are detected in Alishar [Diamant, Rutter 1969: Fig. 16, 29], and in the second half of the 2nd millennium BC in Nuzi and Beycesultan [Diamant, Rutter, 1969: Fig. 25-27, 31]. From the Uruk period (Tepe Gawra) they are also represented on glyptic [Diamant, Rutter, 1969: Fig. 35]. We meet horned pot stands as the small amulets as well. In Middle East they were spread from the Halaf period [Goff, 1963: 154]. Such amulets were discovered in Tepe Gawra layer XI [Goff, 1963: Fig. 562] and Tell Brak [Goff, 1963: Figs 667-668].

There are also many similar artifacts on the Neolith-Early Bronze Age sites in Central and South-Eastern Europe (Sesklo, Vučedol, Vinča, Vinkovci) [Milisević Bradač, 2005: 192].

The horned altars, as architectural details are represented in Minoan iconography. On the stone rhyton discovered in Zakros Palace (pl. III-2), a sanctuary on a top of a mountain is represented and the horns are raised on its walls [Marinatos, 1993: 119-121].

Monumental 'horns' were spread only in Minoan Culture. The monumental horned altar is situated on a southern wall of Knossos Palace (pl. III-1). The oldest horned altar on Crete (Mochlos) is known from the Early Minoan I or the Early Minoan II period [Banou, 2008: 32]. It is interesting that there is no symbol of horned altar lineal A script, it appears only in linear B script and its phonetic meaning is 'pte', which has no connection with horns and supposedly means a name of a subject [Milisević Bradač, 2005: 188].

The waste area spread of sacral horns and the chronological range raises lot of questions on their origins, meaning and purpose.

There are several opinions on purpose of horned pot stands discovered in South Caucasus. B. Kuftin compared the Kura-Araxes horned pot stand with the sacrifice altars from the Minoan World and believed that instead of a double axe on the Kura-Araxes pot stands some kind of "chichilaki" were placed (from Georgian ethnography – ritual subject of tree shape, made from thick branch of nut-tree [Kuftin, 1948: 70-77]. I. Kikvidze believed it possible that inside the horned pot stands a tree fetish or an alight splinter were placed [Kikvidze, 1976: 193].

Archaeological excavations conducted in the second half of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st centuries in South Caucasus and Aegean islands confirmed the theory of connections between these two regions. On the island Santorini (Thera) during the excavations of Akrotiri (existed from the boundary between the 4th and 3rd mill. BC till 1628 or 1520 BC when the eruption of a volcano took place) S.Marinatos discovered a zoomorphic (pl. IV-1) pot stand [Trantalidu, 2008: 49, Fig. 29-c] which had a similarity with the ones from the South Caucasus (pl. IV-4; V-7) found in Shengavit and Karnut [Badalyan, 1985:95, Fig. 2].

On Cyprus on Marki Alonia site (the second half of the 3rd mill. BC) was discovered an anthropomorphic (pl. V-5) hearth stand [Frankel, Webb, 2000: 763, Fig. 3], which was made from the red polished ceramic and was decorated with the scratched geometrical ornament [Washbourne, 1998: 140-141, Fig. 61]. This one is similar to the Kura-Araxes so-called horseshoe like pot stands. The stands of an anthropomorphic portable hearths and these hearths are typical artifacts for Kura-Araxes culture [Orjonikidze, 1999; Pkhakadze, 2000]. Anthropomorphic or horseshoe like stands are widespread in Northern and South Caucasus (pl. IV-3, V-2, 3), Anatolia (pl. V-1), Amuq valley (pl. V-6), Northern Syria (Tell Tayinat, Tabara el-Akrad) and Palestine (Beth Shan, Ai). The oldest one of this type of stands has been discovered on Khizanaant Gora layer E, so the upper chronological line is the middle of the 4th mill. BC and the lower one is the middle of the 3rd mill. BC. In Anatolia and

Syria-Palestine this kind of stands were spread from the beginning of the 3rd mill. BC till the end of the Late Bronze Age (Kusura C and Beycesultan III-II layers, which were dated from the second half of the 2nd mill. BC [Diamant, Rutter, 1969:148-153].

It must be mentioned that the artifacts from Anatolia (Pulur, Karaz, Kültepe), similar to the anthropomorphic portable stands and hearths from Caucasus and Syria-Palestine are fixed in the soil and are not portable (pl. IV-5, pl. V-4).

There are some similarities between one group of buildings discovered in the South Caucasus and Aegean World. In the Late Chalcolith period (2800-2400 BC) in Cyprus on Kissonerga site a warehouse or so-called Pithos house was excavated. The building is much bigger than a regular living dwelling and has a round shape. Many huge pots "pithos", as well as some smaller ones were found in "Pithose house". We believe that this building could be a central warehouse and a distribution place of products for a village or a community [Bolger, 2007: 168, Fig. 2]. This building is similar to the round warehouses in Bet Yerah and Yanik Tepe. Yet it is not clear where Kura-Araxians store the extra products. It seems that they did store cereals in pits in a ground. There is an opinion that cereals were stored also in an over ground buildings. In defense of this opinion here must be mentioned an architectural model discovered on Teghutdzor site. We would like to thank Prof. Dr. R. Badalyan who kindly hand us over the photo and graphical materials of this model. This model represents three round houses in a row with conical false arched roofs. R. Badalyan has mentioned that this model is very similar to big cereal storehouses discovered in Israel on Bet Yerah settlement of the Early Bronze Age III period. In these storehouses there was also a place for sacred rituals [Mazar, 2001: 449-452]. R. Amiran mentioned a similarity between storehouses from Bet Yerah and Kura-Araxes round buildings from Yanik Tepe, Shengavit, etc. [Amiran, 1965: 165-167].

In the middle of the 3rd millennium BC on sites of the South Caucasus and Aegean Cultures the spread of similar types of ceramics has begun which basically are typical for the South and South-Western Anatolia.

In the South Caucasus, on the territory of Eastern Georgia, on the sites of the Early Bronze Age IV and the Middle Bronze Age I (middle of the 3rd millennium BC) the big, double handled jars with handles fixed under the mouth were spread. Such jars were discovered on Khashuri Natsargora (pl. VI-6) in the pit N5 [Shanshashvili, Ramishvili, 2010: pl. V-27], Tsikhiagora [Makharadze, 1994: Tab. XVIII-1; XIII-2, 3], Bedeni (pl. VI-3, 4), kurgan N2 [Gobejishvili, 1981: Fig. 4-5], Berikldeebi [Jalabadze, 1998: Tab. $I_{8,12,15}$, III-10]. The similar type of ceramics (pl. VI-8) was spread on Cyprus in the early period of the Early Bronze Age [Webb, Frankel, 1999: 16, Fig. 3_{14}; Webb, Frankel, 2012: 51, Fig. 7,2], in Philia culture (second half of the 3rd millennium BC). The red polished big vessels were discovered in Philia-Laksa Kasinou cemetery [Webb, Frankel, 1999:15, Fig.3]. This type of ceramics is typical for Western and South-Western Anatolia in the beginning of the Early Bronze Age. It

is spread in Demirci Huyuk in layers D, E [Seeher, 1987: Tab. 31-9; 42-4, 9; 48-3, 4], Troy I and II, Yortan Tepe [Seeher, 1987: 158-159], as well as in Beycesultan, Karataş-Semahüyük. J. Seeher believes that these are West Anatolian traditions, which is spread in South-Western Anatolia [Seeher, 1987: 160].

There are some similarities between the double handled pots discovered in the South Caucasus and Aegean World with handle fixed on a rim and side. Such pots were discovered in Kura-Araxes (pl. VI-2) and Bedeni Culture layers: Khizanaant Gora [Kikvidze, 1972: pic. 112,5]; Ozni, Tash-Bash [Jhorjhikashvili, Gogadze, 1974: Tab. 30_{138}, $37_{272,273}$]; Ghrmakhevistavi [Abramishvili et al., 1980: pic. 10-95, pic. $37_{272,273}$]; Kvatskhelebi [Javakhishvili, Ghlonti, 1962: Tab. $IV_{312, 392, 426, 427}$]; Tsikhiagora [Makharadze, 1994: Tab. [Makharadze, 1994: Tab. $XXX_{1,3}$, $XXIX_{2}$, $XXXIV_{3}$, $_{2,7,}$ X II-1]; Amiranis Gora, Zveli [Chubinishvili, 1963: pic. 7_{4}; Orjonikidze, 1983: Tab. 4_{1}, 5_{1}, 28_{2}]; Nacherqezevi kurgan N2, Argveti [Pkhakadze, 1993: Tab. XI, XVI_{2},]; Kaitmazi, Dangreuli Gora [Ghlonti, 1975: pic. 55_{10}, 56_{13}]; Dzaghina, Sachkhere [Japaridze, 1955: Tab. XV_{6}, XVI_{3}]; Treli [Abramishvili, Gotsiridze, 1978: Fig. 14-10]; Sveneti [Mindiashvili, Chikovani, 1991: Tab. 26-$_{3}$]; Berikldeebi [Jalabadze, 1998: Tab. I_{1-7}, $II_{2-4,6}$], Natsargora (Khashuri) [Shanshashvili, Ramishvili, 2010: pl. IV-1]. The ceramics of this type are well represented on the sites of the Neolithic and the Early Bronze Age period in South and Western Europe [Alram-Stern, 1996: Figs 34-43, 44; Machnik, 1974: Tab. $V_{6,8,12,14}$, VI_{15}; Treinen-Clausre, 1986: Fig. 1-$_{9}$]. We have found such pottery in Western and Central Anatolia. They were discovered on Demircihüyük and Sivas settlements [Seeher, 1987: pl. 12; Ökse, 1993: Fig. $1b_{50}$].

The big pots/amphoras of analogical type start to spread on Cyprus from the second half of the 3rd mill. BC in the Early Cypriot period I and II. J. Webb and D. Frankel believe them to be an innovation [Webb, Frankel, 2008: 290]. Such pottery was discovered in south and central regions (pl. VI-9) on cemeteries and settlements: in grave N15 of Sotira-Kaminudia, Philia-Vasiliko and Marki-Alonia [Webb, Frankel, 2011: pic. 5-a, b, c]. It must be mentioned that we have found the vessels of this type in Luwian hieroglyphic scrip and this sign has a phonetic meaning [Dunaevskaya, 1969: 103]. Signs N334, 342 and 343 of Luwian hierogliphic script represent the type of ceramics we are interested in. It must be mentioned that in the 2nd mill. BC, when the Luwian script was used in Anatolia, Hittites and Luwians did not use such pottery in everyday life more. As it seems the sign of this vessel has entered the script, when it was in use, i.e in the period of the first appearance of the people of Anatolian language group in Anatolia.

The double vessels which are not typical for Kura-Araxes culture have the similarities with Aegean products. The black polished vessel discovered on Trialeti plateau is small sized (6-7 cm high). Those are two vessels connected with each other with sides and have one semispherical handle [Kuftin, 1941: tab. CXXIV; Jhorjhikashvili, Gogadze, 1974: 46, Tab. 34-211]. The similar vessel was discovered in Western Georgia on Pichori settlement [Pkhakadze, 2002: 29], in Bedeni kurgan N5 [Gobejishvili, 1981: 75, 87] and on the settlements of

the Early Bronze Age in Northern Caucasus [Pkhakadze, 2002: 29]. The different variations of these vessels (three or four connected ones) were discovered on a Mediterranean coastline from Palestine to Iberian Peninsula (Bet Yerah [Esse,1991: Tab. 9-A], Mersin, Tarsus, Karatas [Garstang, 1953: 2; Huot, 1982: pic. 64], Byblos, Balkans [Pkhakadze, 2002: 30], El Argar, [Menendez Pidal, 1954: Fig. 480]). Also, there are several examples in Iran (Susa, Sialk, Hisar I) [Pkhakadze, 2002: 30]. The similar ceramics were discovered on the Cyprus on the site of the Early Bronze Age Belapays-Vunus and Lypathos cemetery. It is possible that these vessels were used only for ritual purposes [Dikaios, 1932, Tab. XXIII-3; Washbourne, 1998: 63, Fig. 11-e, f, g, h].

There are some similarities between the so-called protruding handles which were discovered in the South Caucasus and Cyprus. Such pottery was discovered in Pasieti kurgan N1 [Pkhakadze, 1993: Tab. XVI], Ilto [Dedabrishvili, 1969: Fig. $13_{2,3,4}$] and Berikldeebi [Jalabadze, 1998: Tab. VI_{1-19}, $VII_{1-4,15,18,24,25}$]. The fragment of such handle was discovered on Natsargora pit N5 [Шаншашвили, Рамишвили, 2010: pl. V-30]. This type of handle is typical for ceramics from Western and South-Western Anatolia in Chalcolithic and the Early Bronze Age (Büyük Güllücek, Kan Hassan, Yanik, Toprak-Tepe, Yazir, Poliochni, Polatli [Huot, 1982: 283, 284; French, 1963: 38, Fig. 5-8]). J. Seeher believes that in Western Anatolia these ceramics are not local and appear there from north-western [Seeher, 1987: 161]. In Western and South-Western Anatolia this type of ceramics starts to spread from the first half of the 3rd mill. BC [Huot, 1982: 1073]. According to the materials from the stratified sites, in the South Caucasus these ceramics are dated from the end of the Early Bronze Age, the middle of the 3rd mill. BC.

The ceramics with such handles were discovered in Cyprus on the Early Bronze Age sites. These are red polished vessels from Pargos and Bellapaise-Vounous cemeteries [Washbourne, 1998: 58, Fig. 5; Webb, Frankel, 2010: Fig. 12]. The plank figures from Vounous cemetery [Washbourne, 1998: **F**ig. 11, 21, 26, 34] are also very similar to Early Bronze Age highrelief (pl. VII-3, 4) from Natsargora [Shanshashvili, Ramishvili, 2010: pl. II-4, III-3].

The so-called **anthropomorphic ceramics** should be mentioned here. The ceramics decorated with high relief ornament discovered in Ananauri Kurgan N3, Badaani (pl. VII-1,2) [Mirtskhulava, 2005: pl. IV-1,2] have some similarities with "Die Gesichtvasen", the so-called faced ceramics from Troy [Schmidt, 1902: Fig. 33]. This type of ceramics was also spread in North-Eastrn Anatolia (pl. VII-4,5) in Pulur-sakyol [Koşay, 1976: 128-132, pl. 83, 85], South-Western Anatolia (Heraion, Karatas, Aphrodisia, Qizil-Viran, Qizlar, Kerhanei, Kanach, Sarlak, Akcahir), also it was discovered in the southern region of the Black Sea [Huot, 1982: map 60]. The only example of such ceramics was discovered on Cyprus on Lemba-Lakus settlement, which was dated from the first half of the 3rd mill. BC [Peltenburg, 2007: Fig. 5-4]. E. Peltenburg believes that the appearance of this type of ceramics is a result of West Anatolian influence [Peltenburg, 2007:150].

In the South Caucasus and Aegean World such décors of ceramics used to be popular. First, here must be mentioned the so-called medallions. The ceramics decorated with big relief concentrated circles, sometimes with dots inserted inside, is very rare in the South Caucasus. The ceramics from Tsnori (pl. VI-1, 5) kurgan I [Dedabrishvili 1979: Tab. XX-1, Tab. XX-VIII-1] and Trialeti kurgan L [Narimanishvili 2009: 32, Tab. XXVIII-1] are decorated with such an ornament. The ceramics decorated with medallions were discovered on Lori Berd cemetery [Devedjian, 2006: 170,171, Tab. 92 -5, Tab. 93-1, 2]. The ceramics decorated with relief medallions were spread in South-Western Anatolia, on Karataş cemetery, which are dated from the first half of the 3rd mill. BC. There is a special term for such kind of ceramics "Medallion jar" [Mellink, Angel, 1966: 253-254].

The red polished vessel with high-relief decoration and two relief medallions, the so-called "The Oxford Bowl" (pl. VI-7) from Desmond Morris collection dated from the 2000-1900 BC was discovered on the Cyprus. It is stored in P. Getty Museum in Los Angeles [Getty Museum acquisitions 2002: 68]. On one side of the vessel there are represented eight high-relief figurines, who, as it seems, are making bread, on the other side there are a dear, small animal and four persons, who, as it seems, are looking for copper mine [Wight, 2006: 40]. At the both scenes there is a high relief circle with dots inside. As it seems, the vessel was used for ritual practices [Wight, 2006: 40]. We have found the similar ornament on the stone and metal artifacts from the South Caucasus [Shanshashvili, Sherazadishvili, 2013:11, pl. VII; Gobejishvili, 1981: 99, Fig. 39; Dedabrishvili, Rusishvili, 1984: 59, Tab. XXXI-1, 2, 3]. We have found the clay vessels decorated with "medallions" on the paintings of Trialeti Culture ceramics [Kuftin, 1941: Tab. XXVIII-1; Jhorjhikashvili, Gogadze, 1974: Tab. 65-568; Japaridze, 1969: 131, Fig. 64-1].

The high-relief zoomorphic ornament must be mentioned here, which we have discovered on Kura-Araxes sites of the early period [Chubinishvili, 1963: Fig. 3], which was also spread on the sites dated from the second half of the 3rd mill. BC, like Akhali Zhinvali and Badaani [Ghlonti, 2006: pl. I-III; Mirtskhulava, 2005: pl. IV-1]. This type of ornament is also spread on the Early Bronze Age sites on the Cyprus on the so-called red polished ceramics from Vounous cemetery and Karmi-Lapaca [Washbourne, 1998: 179,184, Figs 86, 90, 91]. The "Oxford Bowl" [Wight, 2006: 40] is ornamented with high relief.

The numerous metal artifacts from Aegean World have lot of parallels in Anatolia, Caucasus and Palestine. Some scientists (S. Swin, J. Webb and D. Frankel) believe that the development of metallurgy on the Cyprus is a result of Anatolian influence. Some artifacts are made from copper from Ergani-Maden mine [Webb et al., 2006: 271, Tab. 5]. On the Cyprus in the Early Bronze Age the copper and bronze battle and labor artifacts (knifes, axes, needles, chisels, razors, pins, spearheads, swords), as well as jewelry (pins, earrings) were very widely used. Double spiraled pins, which are widely spread in Kura-Araxes culture were discovered in the Early Bronze Age in Chalandriani, Naxos and Zygouries. In the second period of the Early Bronze Age the distribution of bronze with tin starts in Anatolia, in the Early

and the Middle Bronze Ages - in Cyprus, as well as in Caucasus. There are mainly artifacts made from arsenical bronze. Several subjects made from bronze with copper discovered on the Cyprus, supposedly are imported from Anatolia [Keswani, 2005:385]. On the Cyprus we only meet mines of copper with arsenic [Webb et al., 2006: 274].

In the second half of the 4th mill. BC on the sites of Kura-Araxes culture (Kvatskhela, Gudabertka) appear metal diadems (pl. VIII-4, 5, 6] with images of horned animals, birds, astral and geometrical figurines [Mindiashvili, 2012: pl. I]. Three similar diadems were discovered in Arslantepe in the so-called "Royal Tomb", which, as the excavators believe, belongs to the Caucasians [Frangipane, 2008:181; Palumbi, 2011: 53-54]. G. Kavtaradze believes that the closest parallel of Kura-Araxes diadems is a silver diadem (pl. VIII-1) dated from the Cycladic II phase, discovered in Chalandriani (island Syros) [Kavtaradze, 1981: 100-101]. According to R. Higgins, similar to the Chalandriani diadem are the ones discovered in Zygouries and Apeyrnathos (Naxos islansd) [Higgins, 198:48]. It should be mentioned that the four lions, represented on diadem from the Crete, Mochlos tomb N 2 (pl. VIII-3), which are dated from the 2200 BC, have the similarities to the ones represented on gold subjects of Trialeti Culture: gold goblet from Vanadzor/Kirovakan (pl. IX-2) big kurgan [Martirosyan, 1964: 66, fig .32; Khanzadyan, Devejyan, 2007: pl. IV] and gold standard (pl. IX-3) from Trialeti kurgan XV [Kuftin. 1941: 98, pl. CII]).

In the middle and the second half of the 3rd mill. BC in the South Caucasus and Cyprus some socio-economic changes had happened. At this time in the South Caucasus appears "Royal tomb", where some symbols of authority, made from the precious metals were discovered, in some cases the deceased was buried on a chariot. There are grand ritual-procession roads connected to the burials. In some cases the surface of kurgans and ritual roads was covered with spalls of obsidian. On kurgans or nearby there are placed menhirs – vertically raised stones; the type of ceramics and ornaments change; the new type of sanctuaries appears. All these novelties are in direct connection and indicate the social, political and may be ethnical changes.

Such innovations are observed also on the Cyprus. D. Frenkel, J. Webb and U. Kouka believe that the early phase of the Early Bronze Age on the Cyprus (2500/2400 – 2300 BC) is distinguished with the important social and economic changes. There are some innovations in the architecture of dwellings and technology (specialties of food preparation and textile production), the increase of number of cattle and donkeys. The usage of plough in agriculture begins and there appears a new practice of burial. All these, as they believe, is connected to a migration of group of people from South-Western Anatolia or Cilicia [Webb, Frankel, 2011: 29-30]. The authors believe that this type of migration to be a colonization. The people who came there were well organized with good resources and knowledge. They brought with them conformable transportation means for the landscape. The migrants knew how to use the pushing force (cattle, donkeys). The main purpose of the colonists was the copper and they knew about the existence of this mineral on the island. The newcomers built the new type of villages, which were distinguished with the homogenous materials. The villages were

located near the deposits and along the roads [Webb, Frankel, 2011: 30]. D. Frankel and J. Webb have believed that the copper deposits were the main purpose of the colonists. It is believed that the colonization is typical for the developed societies, who are looking for new sources of rare minerals to produce "prestigious products"'. In the second half of the 3rd mill. BC it concerned to such long distance exchange systems like South-Eastern Anatolia and North-Eastern Aegean cultures, Cyclades and hinterland Greece [Webb, Frankel, 2011: 30]. U. Kouka believes that the permanent contacts between Anatolia and Cyprus started in the 4th mill. BC. and that was a basis for the creation of the so-called "Philia Phenomenon" in the second half of the 3rd mill. BC. "Philia Phenomenon" is the establishment of a new lifestyle in the second half of the 3rd mill. BC as a result of the innovations from Anatolia. The adaptation of Anatolian people with local Cypriot elite took place and it resulted in the creation of Aegean/Western Anatolian economic elite, the unity of trader-metallurgists [Kouka, 2011: 43]. In the second half of the 3rd mill. BC the migrants from South and South-Western Anatolia brought with them the whole package of their material culture and socio-economic life. Anatolian ethnicity is well documented in architecture, everyday life activities, technology of ceramics, textile, metallurgy and burial rituals of the so-called Philia culture.

The personal symbolism of the Anatolian migrants is represented in jewelry products, such as hear scrolls, earrings, pendants, specific types of ceramics, etc. Jewelry products discovered on Cyprus (Marki, Sotiara, Kisonerga) are similar to the artifacts discovered in Troy II, Karataş-Semahüyük and other sites in Western Anatolia. There are some similarities between the human and animal figurines discovered on the Cyprus and the metal ones from Troy II and Hasanoghlan tombs [Kouka, 2011: 49-50].

J. Webb and D. Frankel believed that colonists, as a rule, were trying to arrange life according to their rules and preserve their homeland lifestyle [Webb, Frankel, 2011: 30]. The anthropomorphic portable hearth stand discovered in Marki-Alonia is unlike the hearths discovered on other sites and is the only one of this style in Early Cypriot I period [Webb, Frankel, 2011: 31]. Here must be mentioned the appearance of Khirbet-Kerak like black and red polished ceramics in the second half of the 3rd mill. BC along with the so-called traditional Cypriot ceramics of the Philia Culture [Protopsaltis, 2011: 63].

We believe that the group of Kura-Araxes culture (Khirbet-Kerak culture) people together with the Anatolian migrants reached the Cyprus looking for he new copper deposits. Only thus could be explained the discovery of the artifacts typical for Kura-Araxes culture on the Early Bronze Age sites on the Cyprus. We can suppose that in the 4th and 3rd mill. BC there were two streams of migration for Cilicia or Syria to Aegean islands. The first one supposedly took place in the end of the 4th mill. BC or in the beginning of the 3rd mill. BC and influenced the ideology of the local population. As it seems, the second one happened in the middle of the 3rd mill. BC. It must be mentioned that the migrants of the second stream knew well natural wealth of the Cyprus and the traditions of the local population.

The relations between the South Caucasus and Aegean world were changed in the end of the 3rd mill. BC. According to the archaeological materials, these changes appears well on the sites of Trialeti Culture dated from the Middle Bronze Age. The discoverer of this culture B. Kuftin believed that there were some similarities between Trialeti Culture and Eastern Mediterranean Bronze Age and Mycenaean cultures [Kuftin, 1948: 18].

In the context of relations with Aegean world the jewelry must first be mentioned. More than once was mentioned that there were the similarities between the jewelry artifacts of Trialeti Culture and the ones of Mycenaean Culture (pl. X). The polychromic bead from VIII kurgan (pl. X-23) is similar to the one from Vapheio (Greece), which is dated from 1500 BC [Kuftin, 1941:93]. The beads similar to the Vapheio one were discovered in Dendra (pl. X-24) and Prosymna (pl. X-25) [Konstantinidi-Syvridi et al., 2014: pic. 13, 14]. In jewelry art of Mycenaean Culture filigree appears not earlier than 1550 BC [Rosenberg, 1915: 33]. The golden pin from Crete, Agios Onouphrios cemetery, dated from the end of the 3rd mill. BC is also decorated with several filigree dots [Kuftin, 1941: 93]. Some scientists believe that the early technique of granulation and filigree in Aegean jewelry art have entered from Asia Minor or Syria and the original source of granulation is Mesopotamia [Higgins, 1961: 22].

The filigree objects of Trialeti Culture are excellent from the artistic point of view, filigree dotes are creating faces inside the ornament [Gogadze, 1972: 71]. The filigree ornament of Trialeti type, which is represented on one artifact of Mycenaean period (ring from Vurlia, Crete), Rosenberg believes to be foreign for Mycenae and Aegean [Rosenberg, 1915: 34, pic. 49-14].

M. Puturidze believes that "the formation of an ornamental face using filigree is often used on Trialeti jewelry. This is very typical for Trialeti Culture and is often used on different objects: beads, pin heads, precious ware and standard parts. This technique is well known from the jewelry of the Middle East of the synchronic Period [Puturidze, 2006: 68].

The special type of jewelry are the ornamented golden disks (buttons), which are widely spread in Aegean World and especially in Mycenae [Hampe, Simon, 1980: 198, Fig. 312] and are dated from the 16th c. BC [Hampe, Simon, 1980:198]. This type of Aegean jewelry is distinguished with more various ornaments and quantity (pl. X-15, 16, 22). The closest similarities to these have gold medallions (pl. X-18, 21) from Trialeti kurgan (Top-Kar N2) [Kuftin, 1948: 16, Tab. XIII, XVI, XVIII, XIX].

M. Puturidze paid a special attention to the artifacts, which indicate a relation between Aegean World and the South Caucasus from the boundary of the 3rd and 2nd mill. BC to the middle of the 2nd mill. BC. In this context the special attention should be paid to the silver pins with gold heads, which were discovered only in Trialeti XVII, XXXVI and Gareji (Udabno) kurgans. These incrusted pins have analogues in Greece, from Aidonia treasure dated from the end of the Middle Bronze Age and the beginning of the Late Bronze Age. M. Puturidze

believes that these are products of one school or at least one style. The ones are so similar that their belonging to one school or a style is unquestionable [Puturidze, 2006: 68- 69].

In the context of relations with Aegean World here also must be mentioned the golden beads decorated with granulation technique from Aidonia treasure. They are close analogues of golden spherical beads from Trialeti [Puturidze, 2006: 69]. The jewelry object of the 16th-15th cc. BC from Armenia, Lchashen [Petrosyan, 2007: pl. XLI], Lori-Berd [Devejyan, 2007: pl. XLIX], and Metsamor (pl. IX-4) and Tagarovanist [Devejyan, 2007a**;** Khanzadyan, 2007: pl. LXIX] indicate that the tradition of jewelry art of "Brilliant Stage" of the Trialeti culture was continued. The shapes of ornament, composition and style were kept. Also granulation and filigree were typical for this period. The discovery of precious jewelry objects, golden artifacts, bronze copies and moulds for jewelry objects indicates that the jewelry art continued to develop and was localized on Armenian Plateau, where, supposedly, was established local area of fine arts [Devejyan, 2007: 108-114; Petrosyan, 2007: 102-107].

One part of the South Caucasian toreutic artifacts are similar to those discovered in Middle East and Aegean World. The bronze semi-spherical vessel (basket?) was discovered In Trialeti kurgan XV which had a hollow conical heel [Kuftin, 1941: tab. CVI]. The Keftiu people (Cretans) who are represented on Rekhmir (pharaoh Thutmos III) tomb images from Thebes, Egypt are holding vessels of this type [Kuftin, 1948: 21]. The one similar to the bronze "basket" from Trialeti was discovered in Mycenae in pit grave N5 [Collon, 1982: 99, Fig. 2]. The similarity is shown in the size as well as in the double axe shape detail at the attachment of the handle [Collon, 1982: 100, Fig. 2].

In case of relations between different peoples, first, the exchange of weapon were used. In the period of Trialeti Culture, along with many innovations, a special attention must be paid to the weapons. New technologies were developed and new types of perfected and improved military and ceremonial weapons were spread.

The socketed spearhead decorated with silver ring and with flutes on its surface indicates that this spearhead was a ceremonial weapon [Kushnareva, Risin, 2001: 104]. Later such ceremonial and military spearheads were discovered on other sites of the Middle Bronze Age: ceremonial ones in noble graves in Meskheti, ones decorated with gold ring in Kirovakan, Aritch and the military ones in graves of ordinary soldiers: Nuli, Kvasatali, Tsaghvli, Metekhi, Kistauri, etc. [Pitskhelauri, 1997**:** 70]. B. Kuftin found some parallels to this kind of weapons in Prosymna grave X [Kuftin, 1941: 96]. While comparing the details of the spearheads from the South Caucasus and Aegean World the scientists conclude that those from Trialeti have more archaic shape and therefore are older than the Aegean ones [Kushnareva, Risin, 2001: 105]. As a result of comparative analysis it became clear that Trialeti kind spearheads were produced in Middle East in the boundary of the 3rd and 2nd millenniums BC and so, appear in

the South Caucasus in the beginning of the 2nd mill. BC and in Aegean the ones appear from the 18th c. BC [Kushnareva, Risin, 2001: 105-107].

The spread of rapiers in the South Caucasus is connected to the Aegean World. But first thrust-cutting weapons in the South Caucasus appear in the period of Trialeti Culture (Dilicha N1 kurgan and Sadugha N2 kurgan). We have found this kind of weapons on sites of the Middle Bronze Age in Georgia (Samtavro grave N243 and Lilo, Mravaltskali, Tetri Kvebi and Sadugha kurgans) and Armenia (Dzoraget, Kachaghan and Maisian kurgans). Some scientist believed that the Caucasian "rapiers" were imported from Aegean World [Martirosyan, 1964: 70-71; Esayan, 1966: 78]. The oldest rapier from Crete, Malia is dated from the Minoan II period (1800-1700 BC). The typical detail of rapiers, a central grooveis not represented on thrust-cutting weapons from the South Caucasus. This detail first appears on the 3rd mill. weapons from central Anatolia (Alaca Huyuk, Horoztepe), Palestine (Gaza, Gideon) and Syria (Byblos). Kushnareva and Risin believe that exactly Anatolian and Syrian weapons were a prototype of the South Caucasian "rapiers" and A. Sanders believes that the first "rapiers" discovered on Crete have a Middle Eastern prototype [Kushnareva, Risin, 2001: 109]. The same opinion has M. Abramishvili [Abramišvili, 2001: 1-4]. M Abramishvili believes that "rapiers" in the South Caucasus and Aegean World appears at the same time and this fact indicates the relation between these two regions. In M. Abramishvili's opinion the Caucasian "rapiers" are of more archaic type. He believes it to be possible that this type of weapon from the South Caucasus and Aegean World has a same prototype – long swords from Royal Tombs in Central Anatolia: Alaca Huyuk, Horoztepe and Mahmatlar [Abramišvili, 2001: 3-4].

Relations between the South Caucasus and Aegean World also could be mentioned in ceramics. In the Middle Bronze kurgans of Trialeti culture (Top Kari N2) several big black polished vessels with one line of small handles around the neck were discovered. This style of décor is similar to the ornaments on pithoses from Knossos Palace and Phaistos ceramics [Evans, 1921**:** 231-233, Fig. 174-175]. B. Kuftin mentions that the multi-handled vessels of this kind were discovered also in kurgan XV, where bronze socketed spearhead, with a detail, – the silver ring, typical for the Aegean ones of the 2nd mill. BC was found [Kuftin, 1948: 21].

The obsidian discos discovered in the South Caucasus are similar to the crystal plates from Aegean World. In Trialeti kurgan (Top-Kar N2) the dark, geometrical shaped several figurines made from clear obsidian were discovered: one oblong, one semi-oval and two right-angled [Kuftin, 1948: 17, Tab. XVI, XX]. On the other kurgans the artifacts of similar type of Trialeti Culture were also discovered: semi-oval "window" from Top-Kar N1 and flat, lens like discs from V kurgan. In B. Kuftin's opinion, these obsidian objects are: "replicas of Crete-Mycenaean crystal", "windows" like assortment: numerous plates from Mycenaean pit graves and bulging lenses from "Knossos palace". Disc like, crystal "windows" were discovered also in Elide and Kakovatos graves and Troy II, where in one complex more than 40 ones were discovered [Куфтин, 1948: 17-18 Antonova et al., 1996: Fig. 176-216]. The brief review showed us that there are a lot of technological, form and stylistic similari-

ties between the artifacts of the Middle Bronze Age from the Caucasus and Aegean World. B. Kuftin mentioned that it is doubtful that the similarities of typical details of the synchronic sites used to be just accidental. He believes that the parallels indicate a frequent relation between the South Caucasus and Aegean World.

Despite this, nowadays it is hard to represent the real character of the relations between these two regions. We can suppose that the relations with Aegean world were conducted with the help of South-Western Anatolia. This theory seems to be real, as the North-Eastern part of Anatolia in this period was under the control of Trialeti and its relative cultures. From the second half of the 3rd mill. BC the Cyprus was the part of metal trade interregional system. Tin bronze artifacts spread on the Cyprus from 2000 BC and, supposedly, this fact was connected to the activities of Assyrian trade colony Kültepe-Karum/Kanesh. This colony established the new regional interactive systems and with the help of these systems a tin bonze was spread in the Cyprus [Webb et al., 2006: 282]. It is not impossible that in the first half of the 2nd mill. BC the relations between the South Caucasus and Aegean World were conducted by the help of the traders from Karum/Kanesh.

A. Podany believes that the cities of Syria and Palestine (Mari, Qatna, Alalakh), along with the trade relations with Mediterranean islands (Crete, Cyprus) had also diplomatic relations with them. It is known that palaces in Alalakh, Tel-Kabri and Qatna were painted by artists from the Crete. The Cyprus was the trade partner of kingdoms in Syria and Mesopotamia from times of Hammurabi and Zimri-Lim [Podany: 108]. It is possible that exactly in these cities of Syria and Mesopotamia were established the relations between ancient population of Caucasus and Aegean basin. It must be mentioned that according to the texts from Mari and Babylon in the beginning of the 2nd mill. BC one of the exporters of copper was Cyprus (Alashia). Though, P. Keswani believed that the long travels of Cyprian traders were more sporadic than systematic [Keswani, 2005: 387].

The new stage of relations between the South Caucasus and Aegean World starts at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age. This stage is characterized by the intensive international interaction between Egypt, Mesopotamia, Levant, Anatolia, Cyprus, and Aegean World. This interaction appears in different forms: trade, royal marriages, military conflicts, etc. The international character of this period appears in such details of works of art which are understandable and acceptable in all the regions. In Mediterranean art of the 14th-13th cc. BC the scientists differ the so-called International Style, which was distinguished by M. Feldman, basing in precious works of art [Feldman, 2002].

The International relations, long travels by sea and land, written communication - all these started the spread of brilliant pieces of art and luxuries in the Mediterranean region and inner parts of Near East. The art pieces of International Style have such typical criteria, which crosses geopolitical and cultural borders. It concerns the luxuries, which are made from ivo-

ry, gold, alabaster and faience, these do not follow the rules of one or another cultural region, because they are mix of motives common for different regions [Feldman, 2002].

The area of spread of International Style covers also the South Caucasus. On the archaeological sites of the Middle of the 2nd mill. BC appears many artifacts (Mitannian cylinder seals, glass and faience beads, scarabs and scaraboids, Levantine style women figurines) which were imported from Egypt and Levant or are the copies of those [Piliposyan, 1998: Tab. 41,42; Narimanishvili, 2006: 22-23, pic. 27].

Seals. Today we can find about twenty seals of Mitannian style in Caucasus. The style is indicated by the images on the seals – topic, composition, and iconography, as well as technical methods – the combination of round cutter with drill [Pogrebova, 2000: 145-150].
Mitannian seals from Caucasus are also of two types. One cylinder seal of the so-called "Elaborate Style" – well developed – was discovered in Northern Caucasus [Uvarova, 1900: 324, Tab. 127, 47] and the rest – "Common Style" - ordinary cylinder seals - were discovered in Armenia: Lchashen, Artik, Parni-Geh, Shamiram, Lori-Berd, Metsamor and Gegharot (two seals) and Azerbaijan: Khanlari, Shahtaht, Mingechaur (two seals) Kharaba-Gilan (three seals) and Talish (two seals) [Japarova, 1984: Tab. III; Karakhmedova, 1990: pic. 40, 41; Piotrovski, 1992: pic. 5; Khachatryan, 1975: pic. 77- 1,2,3; Devedjian, 1981: 137, Tab. IX-3; Badalyan, Smith, 2007: 41; Narimanishvili, 2004: 105-106; Piliposyan, 1998: Tab. 41; Shanshashvili, Narimanishvili, 2015].

In the last years in in Trialeti in South Caucasus on Sapar-Kharaba cemetery nine cylinder seals were discovered, seven of them had geometrical ornament and two ones had some kind of scene [Narimanishvili, 2010:322-323, pl. XXII]. On the cylinder seal discovered in grave N5 a figure of kneeled man in profile, holding a standard with six rayed stars on the top is represented. In front of the figure on a pedestal, which is ornamented with two slanting crosses, stands a horned (antelope like) animal. B. Salje united this kind of seals in the so-called anthropomorphic/zoomorphic/floral 2.1.8 group. Seals from this group, for the most part, were spread in Eastern Mediterranean and chronologically covers 16th-13th cc. BC. They have the closest parallels in Bet-Shan and Ras-Shamra layers dated from the 15th – 14th cc. BC [Salje, 1990: 211].

The seal almost similar to the Sapar-Kharaba one was discovered on Cyprus, on the Late Bronze Age settlement Hala Sultan Teke. On the Cyprian seal a kneeled figure with a plant (rod?) in his hand is represented. He is standing in front of the horned animal on a pedestal [Fischer, Burge, 2014: 76, Fig. 21 a-c]. According to P. Fischer and T. Burge, this seal belongs to the Mitannian repertory [Fischer, Burge, 2014: 76; Kuhne, Salje, 1996: 56-59]. On the Hala Sultan Teke settlement an active metallurgical production, copper processing, trade and exchange on Cyprus and Eastern Mediterranean are mentioned [Fischer, Burge, 2014: 75].

Beads. In the Late Bronze Age in the South Caucasus we find numerous and various beads. Here are glass like paste ones, white – transparent and semitransparent - and colored glass ones. We discovered numerous and various beads on the 2nd mill. BC cemetery of Sapar-Kharaba. Most numerous were glass like paste ones (1030 ones). These beads extend also by variety. We have found white, black, red, blue, green, brown, and yellow ones. Typologically we can distinguish the following types: cylinder, wheel like, wheat seed like, biconical, etc.

The Late Bronze Age beads from the South Caucasus are similar to those discovered on Uluburun ship. The big part of glass and glass like paste beads discovered on Sapar-Kharaba, Artik, Lori-Berd and other cemeteries enter into the typological classification introduced by R. Ingram. It is known that the artifacts discovered on this ship belong to the Eastern Mediterranean production. Along with other precious products, traders brought to Aegean islands and Greece, faience and glass products with them. In the Late Bronze Age in Egypt and Levant production of glass and faience was developed. In Greek World these products were rare. That's why Mycenaean handicraft smen were supplied with glass production from Levant [Ingram, 2005: 121].

On the Uluburun ship 75 000 faience beads were discovered, which, according to R. Ingram's classification, are divided into eight categories [Ingram, 2005: 121]. There were discovered just 198 wheat seed like beads on the ship. 18 beads of this shape were discovered in Trialeti, on Sapar-Kharaba and Imera cemeteries. The part of beads discovered in Mycenaean Greece and Aegean islands are similar to the South Caucasian ones. The beads of various forms from Sapar-Karaba cemetery are similar to those discovered by J. Nightingale in Elateia-Aloniki and Mycenae cemeteries [Nightingale, 2008: 66, Figs 1-3, 5, 7]. The wheat seed like beads were widely distributed in Mycenaean World in the Late Helladic III period (1400 – 1060 BC). The wheat seed like beads of various types were widely spread in Late Helladic III period throughout Greece. Those were discovered in Dendra, Perati, Prosymna, Pylos, Tiryns, Mycenae, Crete and Hala Sultan Teke Cyprus [Ingram, 2005**:** 40-41].

4 biconical radially decoraded biconical beads were discovered on Sapar-Kharaba cemetery. 54 biconical beads were discovered on the Uluburin ship [Ingram, 2005: 39]. Similar beads were widely spread in Aegean basin and Middle East, they are not rare on Mycenaean cemeteries and are well known from Crete and Cyprus sites [Ingram, 2005: 40-41].

15th-13th cc. BC is known as the "period of innovations and experiments" in glass production. In this period technology of glass production develops and new forms appear **[**Ingram, 2005**:** 108-109]. Colored glass beads appear from the 16th c. BC [Ingram, 2005: 116]. On Sapar-Kharaba cemetery 28 glass beads were discovered (most of them are made from white transparent glass and a part from greenish transparent glass) and 1030 glass like paste beads. The big quantity of glass and glass like paste beads were discovered in graves where Mitannian style seals were found.

The materials discovered in South Caucasus indicate that the discovered glass, glass like paste and faience beads are imported. Typologically they are similar to Egyptian, Aegean and Levantine glass and glass like paste beads. We cannot say if these beads are brought here by direct or indirect means. According to archaeological materials in the Late Bronze Age there are no glass workshops in the South Caucasus. It is not impossible that these beads indicate a fact of direct trade with Levant and Egypt. Though, it is more possible that the products of such type have been brought to South Caucasus as a result of contacts with Mitanni Kingdom. The fact, which allows us to have such opinion, is that on the cemeteries of South Caucasus, where the big quantity of glass and glass like paste beads were discovered, we also found Mitannian cylindrical shape seals. It should be mentioned that the Mitannian seals discovered in the South Caucasus are united in Mitannian-Syrian-Palestinian group by the scientists. The similar seals were discovered on Aegean islands. Supposedly, there existed some kinds of trade clans, who had business interests in Levant and Aegean islands, as well as in the South Caucasus. The main export product from South Caucasus and Cyprus, supposedly, used to be a copper. The fact of spread of such seals and beads makes us believe that in the beginning of the Late Bronze Age the South Caucasus appear to be the part of Mediterranean trade network of Mitannian traders.

One of the indicators of the relations with the Eastern Mediterranean is the remnant of a purple textile, discovered on Sapar-Kharaba cemetery. The production of purple textiles and their spread in the middle of the 2nd mill. BC was the monopoly of the Eastern Mediterranean cities. Purple paint was produced from the special kind of mollusks (murex), which inhabit at the eastern shores of Mediterranean Sea. Phoenicians started to paint wool and flax textiles in purple-red and ruby-blue color using the dye produced from these mollusks. As a result of this, the economic importance of cheap uncolored textiles import from Middle East have increased. From Phoenicia red and blue painted textiles were exported in very expensive prices (the dye could not be preserved for a long time so it was not a product for export). The exporter of red painted products to Middle East and Aegean World was a city-state Ugarit. Red dye produced in Ugarit was known as a royal color. The ships from different countries were standing in the port of Ugarit. Along with sea trade, the caravans were going to Mitanni, Hatti and Babylon. In the archives of Ugarit along with Ugaritic, the documents written in Hittite, Hurrian, Akkadian, Egyptian and Cypro-Minoan languages were discovered. Supposedly, in the Eastern Mediterranean trade network, directly or indirectly, participated the population of South Caucasus and in our opinion the products of export from South Caucasus were metal, wool, leather, woods and horses [Shanshashvili, Narimanishvili, 2015: 78].

Conclusion

In the beginning of **the Early Bronze Age** the South Caucasians (Kura-Araxes Culture people) settled in the central and eastern parts of Anatolia and then enter Levant. From there, with other peoples, on a first stage, move to Aegean islands looking for the metals. Later, when the migration of big masses of peoples to Cyprus took place, they knew lot of things about the island. As it seems, in this period the South Caucasians directly participated in the relations between Aegean World and Middle East.

We believe that with the Anatolian migrants the group of Kura-Araxes culture (Khirbet-Kerak culture) people have reached Cyprus looking for the new copper deposits. Only thus could be explained the discovery of the artifacts of typical for Kura-Araxes culture on the Early Bronze Age sites on Cyprus. We can suppose that in the 4th and 3rd mill. BC there were two streams of migration for Cilicia or Syria to Aegean islands. The first one supposedly took place in the end of the 4th mill. BC or in the beginning of the 3rd mill. BC and influenced the ideology of the local population. As it seems the second one happened in the middle of the 3rd mill. BC. It should be mentioned that the migrants of the second stream knew well the natural wealth of Cyprus and traditions of the local population.

In the **Middle Bronze Age** there seems to be close contacts between South Caucasus and Aegean World. As it seems, the population, which belongs to Trialeti Culture actively participated in Middle Eastern military campaigns. We believe that this fact is indicated by discovery of rapiers in South Caucasus. In our opinion the contacts between South Caucasus and Aegean World, in general, were conducted with the help of Assyrian trade colonies (Karum Kanesh).

In the beginning of the **Late Bronze Age** (15th-14th cc. B C) in the South Caucasus the so-called "swords of Middle Eastern type", Syrian and Egyptian beads and jewelry were widely spread, the artifacts appear – cylinder seals – which indicate the intensive trade. Mitannian seals discovered in South Caucasus have indicated that the Kingdom of Mitanni played an important role in the inclusion of South Caucasus in the international relations. We believe that along with trade and economic cooperation, the South Caucasians directly participated in Middle Eastern military campaigns [Shanshashvili, Narimanishvili, 2014: 80-81].

Later, the relations between South Caucasus and Aegean World became more intensive. Exactly in the beginning of the Late Bronze Age the Aegean World made a direct acquaintance with South Caucasus. The Caucasus played an important role in Greek sacral geography and mythology. It seems that the Aegean World started to be of special interest in Caucasus in the period previous to the Trojan War. This interest was well represented in the history of Argonauts travel to Colchis. This travel used to be very important subject. That is why it is well described in ancient Greek sources and Literature. The bases of the relations between the Aegean World and South Caucasus were established in the early period of the Late Bronze Age and later these relations used to be very intensive during the centuries.

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Description of the plates:

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Pl. II. 1-4. The EBA horned objects from South Caucasus: 1. Zveli [after Orjonikidze 1983: pl. 30-4]; 2. Zemo Avchala [after Pkhakadze 1963: fig. 13-3]; 3. Khizanaant Gora [after Kikvidze 1972: fig. 8]; 4. Abelia [after Chubinishvili 1971: pl. XXIII-2,3], 5. Cristal lentoid, Idaean cave [after Evans 1928: fig. 167]; 6. Onix bead-seal, Vaphio [after Evans 1935: fig. 378]; 7. Golden model of a Temple, Mycenae [after Schliemann 1878: 267, fig. 423]; 8.Mycenaean crater, Salamis, Cyprus [after Gimbutas 1982: fig. 151].

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Pl. V. 1. Cinis Huyuk [after Takaoglu 2000: fig. 2-a]; 1. Amiranis Gora [after Orjonikidze 1983: pl. 13-1; drawing of I. Esvanjia]; 3. 4. Pulur (Sakyol) [after Koşay 1976: pl. 21]; 5. Marki Alonia [after Washbourne 1998: 141, fig. 61]; 6. Tabara el Akrad [after Hood 1951: fig. 9]; 7. Karnut [after Badalyan 1985: pl. 2].

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Pl. XI. 1. Golden necklace, Ananauri, kurgan #2, detail [after Gambashidze et all 2012: pl. G-I]; 2-4. Bronze necklace, Kviratskhoveli cemetery [after Lortkipanidze 2015: 113-115]; 5-7. Golden hair-holders, Mycenaean shaft graves [after Schlimann 1878: fig. 297-299]; 8. Golden necklace from Lchashen #2 kurgan [after Petrosyan 2007: pl. XXXVI]; 9. Golden necklace, Ananauri, kurgan #2 [after Gambashidze et all 2012: pl. G-I, fig. 13].

Pl. XII. 1. Tombstone, Mycenae [after Schlimann 1878: 81, fig. 140]; 2. Kamares style ceramics, Phaistos [after Sokolov 1972:fig. 38].

Pl. XIII. Mitannian seals from Cuprus and Trialeti: 1. Sala Sultan Teke [after Fischer, Burge 2014: 76, fig. 21 a-c]; 2. Sapar-Kharaba cemetery [after Narimanishvili 2004: 105-106; Shanshashvili, Narimanishvili 2015: pl. II-12].

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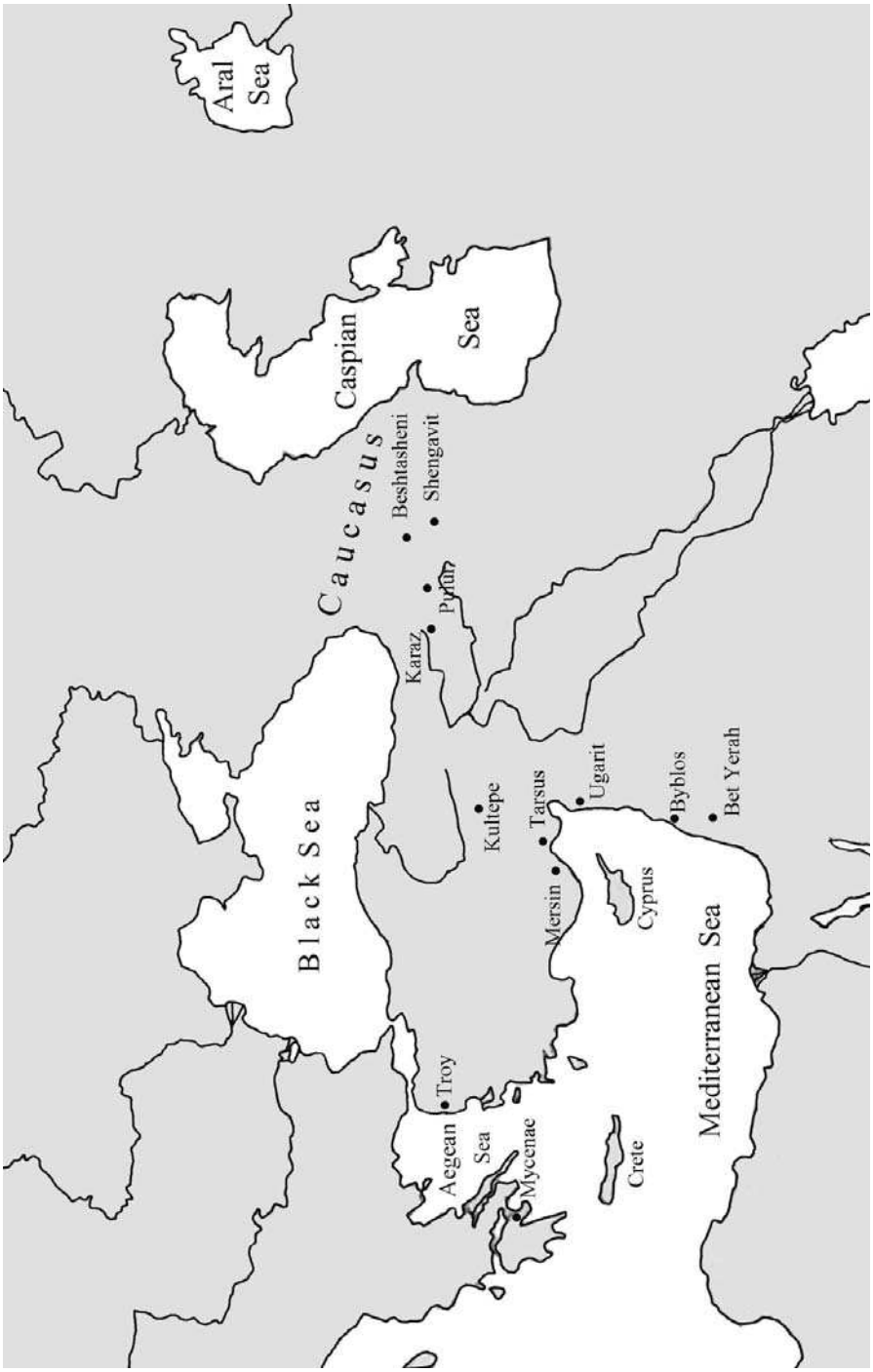
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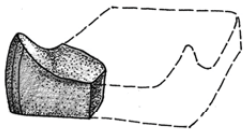

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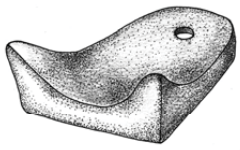

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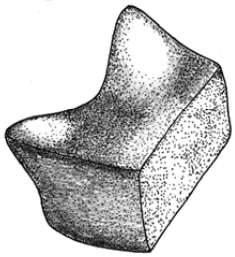

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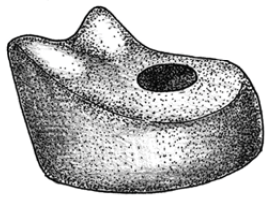

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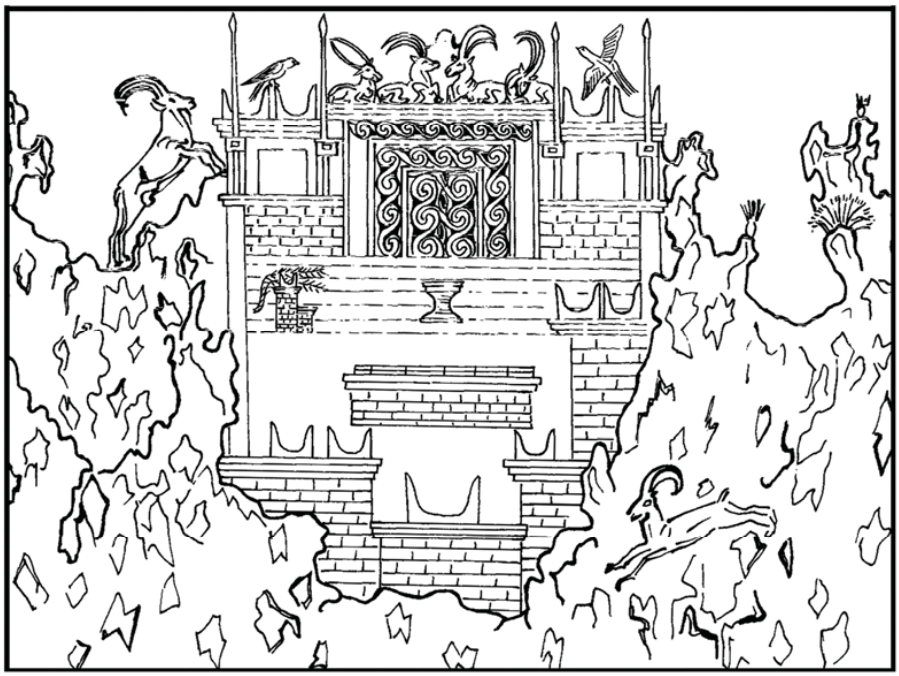

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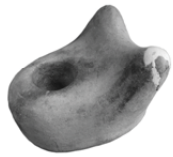

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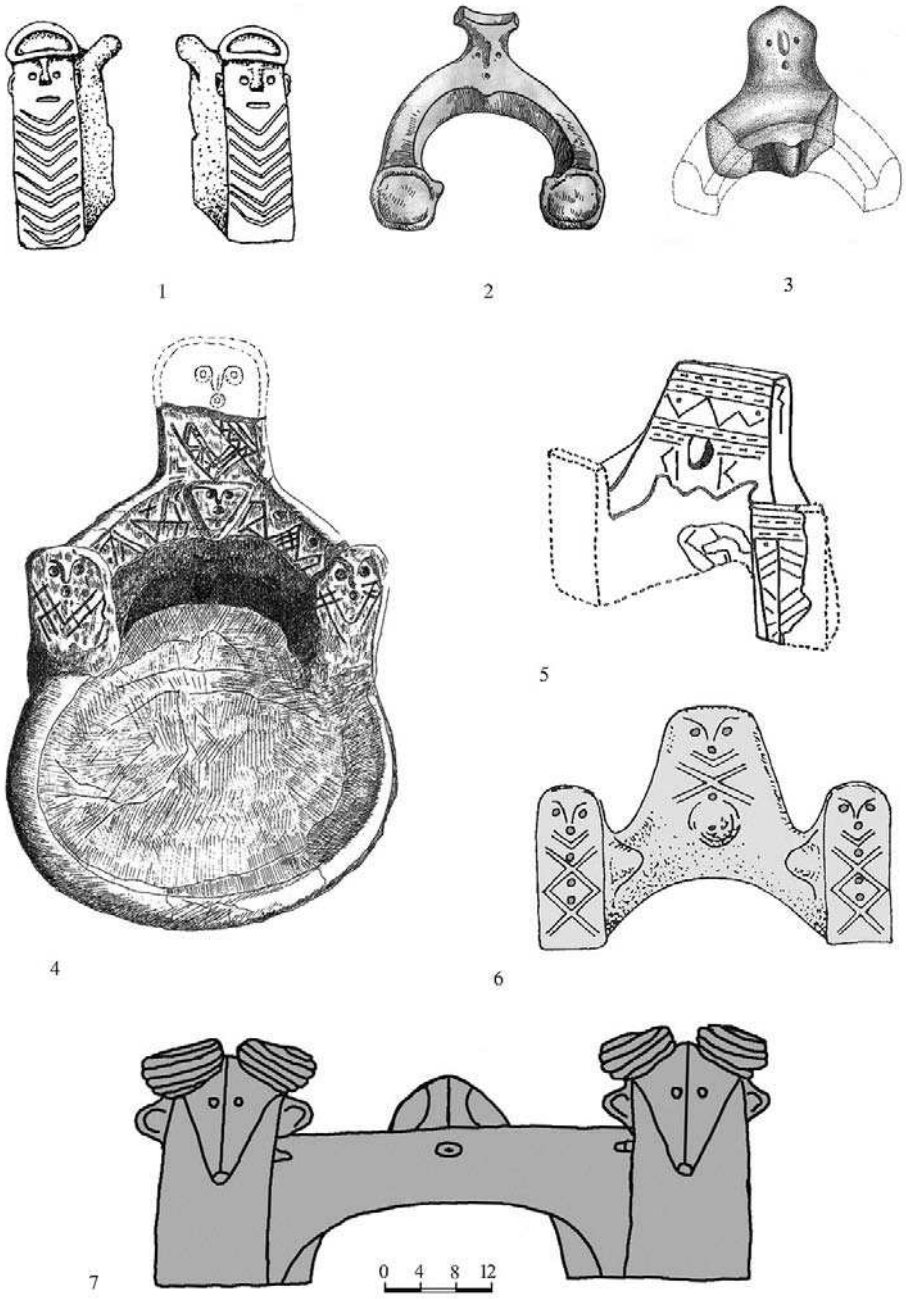

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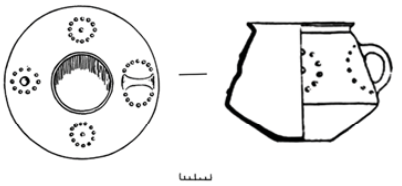

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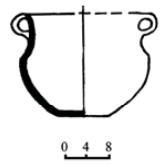

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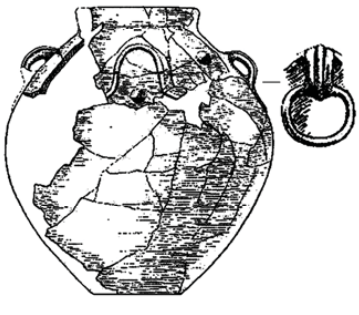

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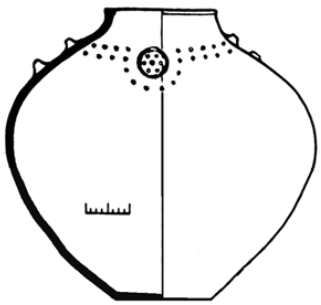

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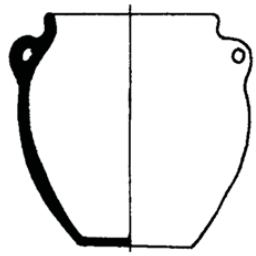

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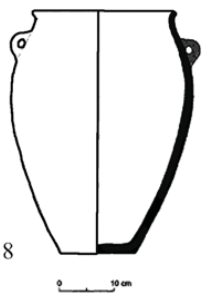

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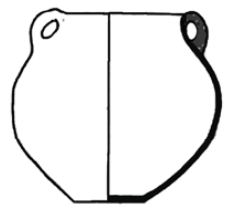

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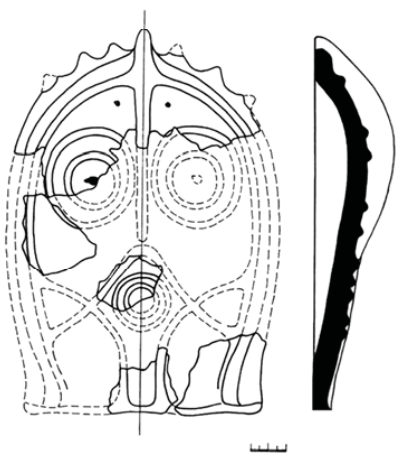

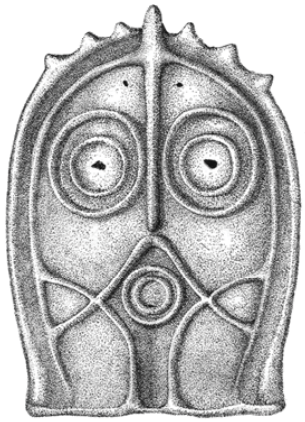

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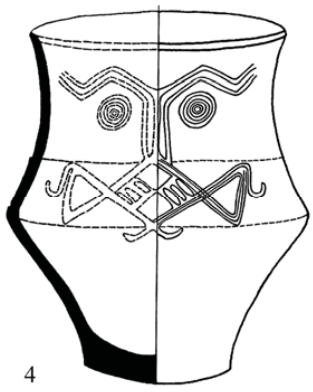

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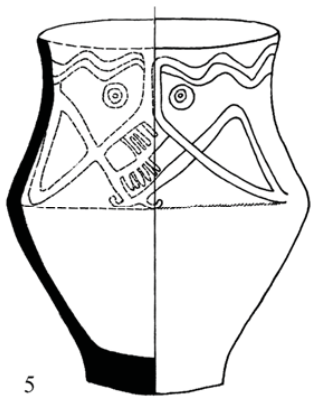

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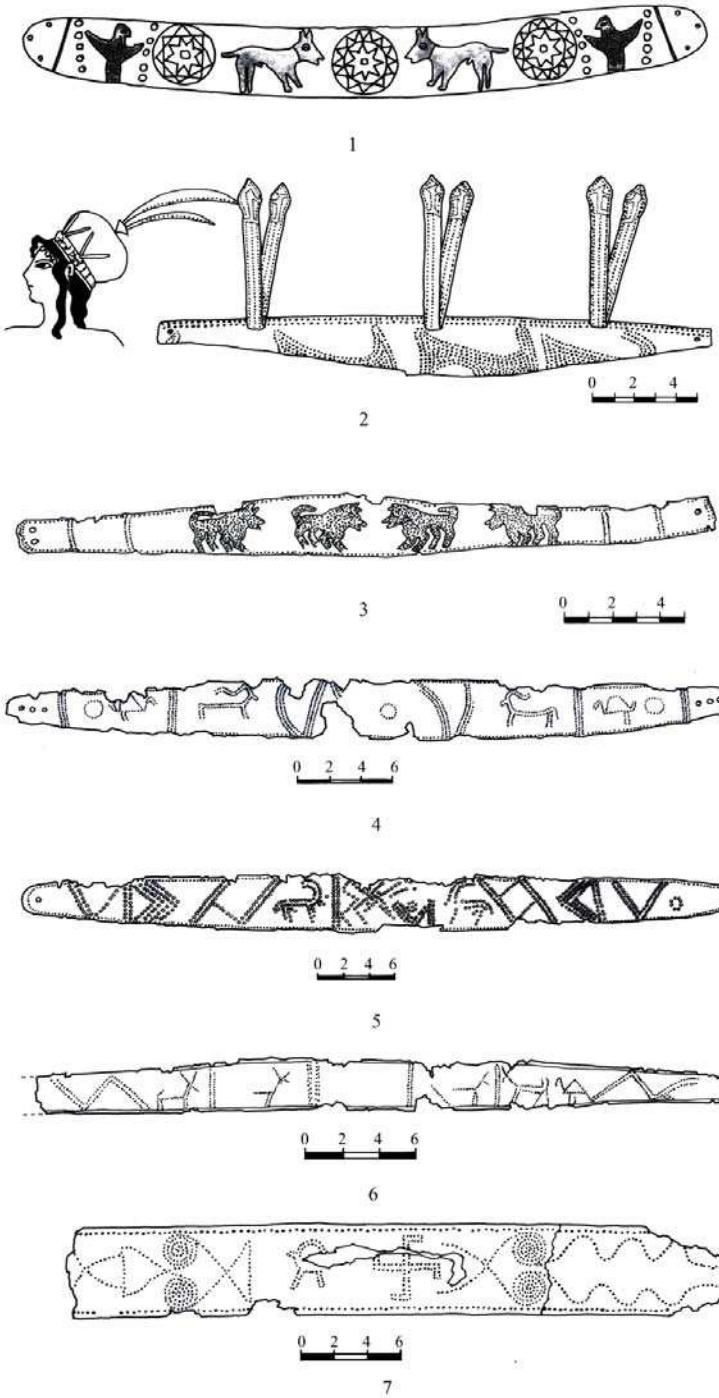

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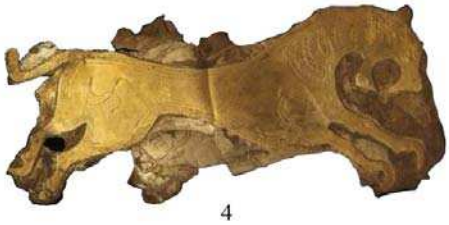

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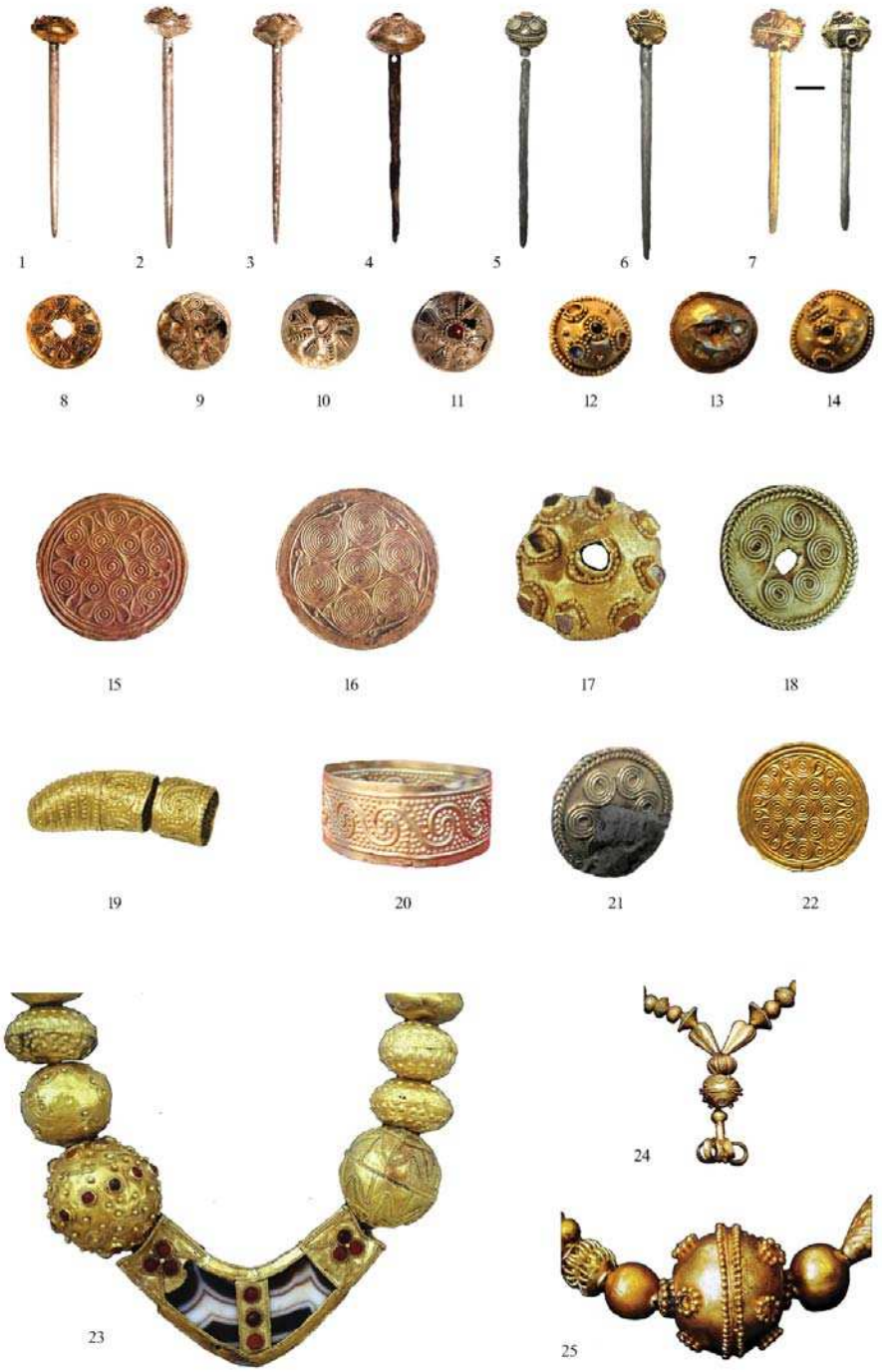

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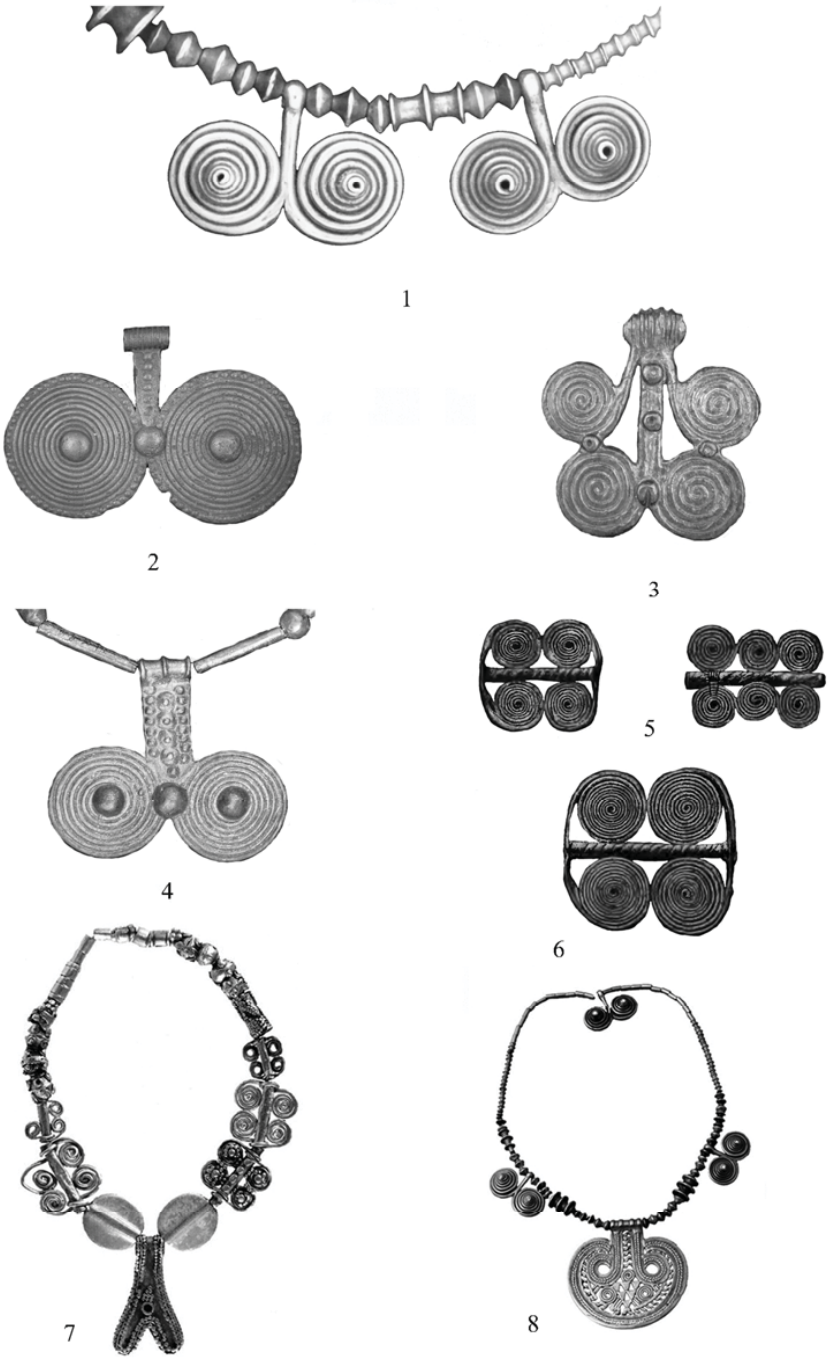

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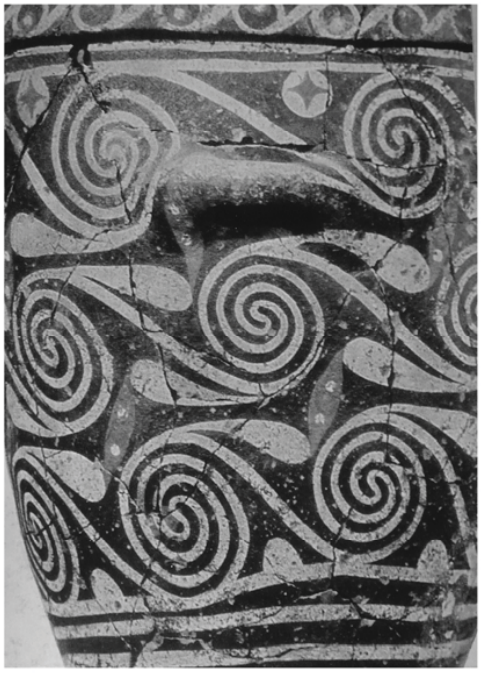

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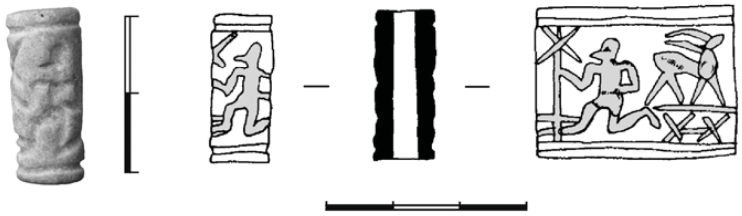

2

UNDERCURRENTS: CULTURAL INTERACTIONS BETWEEN SOUTHERN CAUCASUS AND NORTHERN AEGEAN DURING THE EARLY AND MIDDLE BRONZE AGE

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Problems of Interpretation: Connectivity and Chronology

Much has changed in the last 20 years in our knowledge of the long-distance connections between the Bronze Age cultures of Northern Aegean and neighbouring regions, in particular Western Anatolia and Black Sea. Many remarkable new finds give us the opportunity to elaborate new interpretative and analytical models and to change the traditional picture that prevailed under the common label as 'Pontic-Aegean Connections' (Rubinson 1991).

Some of these finds will be investigated here, but in general the aim of my contribution is to consider the broader picture with a specific reference to the nature and meaning of these contacts in terms of trade and exchange.

The main sources of evidence are those where goods (i.e. raw materials, finished or half-finished items) are found in places removed from native areas they were extracted or manufactured. In a broader methodological perspective, it is difficult to identify the movement of these goods over land, whereas one can hardly doubt that a shipwreck is the better archaeological context for exploring and reconstructing a mercantile activity. Following A.Harding (2013: 371), in the case of collections of objects, suspected as imports or inspired by 'foreign' cultures, it is less easy to identify the meaning of these goods for which we can have many explanations.

The aim of this contribution is not to attempt a general and exhaustive framework of the inter-regional relations between South Caucasus and North Aegean, but to identify some sources of evidence expressed archaeologically in the distribution of such objects, as bronze tools and weapons, certain pottery types, and jewellery of gold, amber and other materials, traded and exchanged over long distances.

Some questions have to be much more explained. First of all, it of relevant importance to propose a comprehensive, coherent, and transparent chronological framework for South Caucasus and North Aegean-North-Western Anatolia. The chronology of the Bronze Age in both areas remains a patchwork of relative metalwork phases, ceramic traditions, and archaeological cultures. This complexity in dating, which continues to be a significant challenge

to understand the different terminologies and sequences, is merely related to the historical development stretching over a century of scholarship and debate among specialists.
According a new proposal of synchronization (Rahmstorf 2010: 264), one can note how it is still hardly possible to propose a coherent articulation of the Caucasian Early Bronze Age (Kaiser 2003: fig. 95; Rassamakin 2004: 205, fig. 136) (Fig. 1). In despite of this picture, the time-scale for the Aegean now seems to be more or less settled and evaluated through new radiocarbon and dendrochronological dating (Tsirtsoni 2016).

The bulk of these interconnections over long distances involves the entire third millennium BC, with reference to the end of Maikop culture, which seems to cover the transitional phase from EBA II to EBA III in Central Anatolia (Rassamakin 2004: 205, fig. 136). In general, the key arguments remain the origin and the expansion of the Kura-Araxes phenomenon in Northeastern Anatolia (Kiguradze-Sagona 2003), where the new data from the Erzurum region confirm to date this process in the second half of the fourth millennium BC (Işkli 2015: 56, fig. 4).

Some scholars argue that some EBA Caucasian cultural elements can be identified among the contemporaneous cultures of Insular Aegean or Mainland Greece (Abramishvili 2010; Shanshashvili-Narimanishvili 2015). They are three main problems with traditional approaches of this kind. The first is self-evident. What does this evidence for contact and exchange signify? Can we envisage regular and long-distance movements of traders from South Caucasus towards Aegean Sea, bearing good of various kind? Or do we rather image that individual travellers moved from their native places, carrying objects to impress hosts?

The second question is addressed to reconstruct the presence, in statistical terms and spanning into times, of these 'intrusive' elements within the cultural material assemblage of EBA Aegean cultures. It is easy to identify such isolated features, but we have to explained them into a wider picture including different categories of goods. The wide variability of material combinations can be interpreted in different ways, as the diversity of some features, i.e., prestigious goods (gold jewellery), whose is of relevant importance to explain this diversity in relation to the symbolic contexts of expression. In this perspective, we can interpret one of the key factors in explaining the wide mobility of Aegean communities during the EBA, where the markers of this new exchange culture were the stylistic interactions and the adaptation of external elements into local culture (Broodbank 2000: 160-165).

Thirdly, it is hard to understand some long-distance contacts among South Caucasus and North Aegean without involving the role played by Central Anatolia in the transmission of these objects. From this point of view, in particular investigating the tin-metallurgy, some objects, materials and ideas originating in Anatolia and reached the Aegean during the EBA II is hardly deniable (Muhly 1985). (Fig. 2).

Metallurgy and prestigious goods

During the EBA more impressive is the evidence for Aegean adoptions of external innovations, in particular non-local metals, technologies whose ultimate South Caucasian origin is likely (Cultraro 2014). Stone polished hammer-axes largely distributed in Northern Aegean since later Third millennium BC, as well as a clay mould for casting a metal shaft-hole axe from Megaron 605 at Poliochni, Lemnos (Cultraro 2014: 126, fig.2) suggest the circulation of technological know-how and specialized metalworking of the Caucasian metallurgical province. Copper composition may pint towards ongoing exchange with the South Caucasus instead and indicate the exploitation of ore deposits and metallogenic provinces in Armenia (Meliksetyan, Pernicka 2010).

Similarly, neither the gold metallurgy in Western Anatolia/North Aegean, nor in its Caucasian counterparts during the early third millennium BC, developed independently. Rather, the study of some gold items found in EBA Greece suggests to propose a possible origin from Anatolia or from Black Sea.

This paper does not attempt to give a global picture about the gold and silver jewellery found in different contexts of EBA insular Greece, as well as Mainland too. It is enough to give two examples, in order to clarify some aspects of the gold-working and its connections with the Caucasian gold metallurgy.

The first group includes a category of diadems. One sample of beaten silver, found in the Early Cycladic II cemetery at Dokathismata, on Amorgos island, is decorated with openwork zig-zag made by punching holes (Renfrew 1972: 333, fig. 18.1.2) (Fig. 3.1).

The fine silver diadem from Chalandriani on Syros island, which is dated to the same period; is decorated with a series of *repoussé* dots, which form a design showing two quadrupeds arranged symmetrically one on each side of, and facing, a central disc. Outside each is a further disc and outside this again a human figure with upraised arms (Renfrew 1972: 333, fig. 18.1.1) (Fig. 3.2).

Both diadems can be compared with a group of gold diadems found in the Early Minoan II cemetery at Mochlos, Crete. They are decorated in the same *repoussé* technique and show the same symmetrical arrangement in the decorative design. One of them is decorated with two eyes, another with four animals, apparently dogs (Seager 1912, fig. 9; Davaras 1975, 103, fig. 3) (Fig.3.3).

Diadems and ornaments of this category are both categories which seem to be foreign to EBA Anatolia. However, three copper examples are known from the cemetery at Arslantepe, two from the Collective Burial S150 and one from the Cist Tomb T1 (Palumbi 2008: 111, fig. 4.3.1; 115, fig. 4.8.1) (Fig. 3.4-5).

Despite the scarce documentation in Anatolia and North Syria, metal diadems with *repoussé* decoration have close parallels in South Caucasus. The better available example is the copper diadem found in the rich tomb 2 at Kvatskhelebi (Shida Kartli, central Georgia) (Glonti *et alii* 2008: 157, fig. 5.1) (Fig. 6). Form and decoration are similar to examples from Aegean Sea, but the main difference is the kind of metal. In the case of the cooper diadem from Kvatskhelebi, we can note a similar decoration which consists of three vertical rows of dots symmetrically separated by a circular motif (representation of sun or moon?), a bird and a goat.

The map of distribution confirms the evidence of metal diadems of this kind, either by copper or silver, in Eastern Anatolia during the early Third Millennium BC, in a wide area where the diffusion of the Kura-Araxes culture shows a solid archaeological documentation. The typological and decorative model of these metal diadems could have a Caucasian origin and from this area reached the Eastern Anatolia and, then, Southern Aegean.

The second group of prestigious group is connected to the Kura-Araxes culture too. The copper pin belonging to the well-known category of double volute- or double spiral –headed pins, represents one of the most popular production of the Transcaucasian area between the late 4th and 3nd millennium BC (Tonussi 2012: 49-50, figs. 5b, 7.3, pls 29.1.8) (Fig. 4.1). This category has a wide distribution including the area around the Lower Donau River, modern East Bulgaria (Huot 1969) and the Upper Euphrates district (Palumbi 2008: 128-129, fig. 4.19). A silver example of this category is well-known at Poliochni, Lemnos, in levels of Blue Period (Bernabò Brea 1964: 591-592, fig. 320, pl. 86.e) (Fig. 4.2). The provenance from the Building 28 strongly confirms the date to the early phase of the Blue Period (2800-2700 cal. BC). This sample is the oldest of the category found in Western Anatolia and North Aegean. The hypothesis that the sample from Poliochni and other similar pins from Troy IIg belonged to the same metallurgical workshop (Lazzari 1986: 147-153, fig. 16) is unfounded. The sample from Poliochni is the object of whom close parallels are available with the double-volute pins of the Kura-Araxes cultural assemblage.

Another long-range trade: amber in Caucasus

The circulation of amber items in EBA South Caucasus is a recent finding. Three amber beads come from the Kurgan XIV at Trialeti (Abramishvili 2010: 171). Amber also is well-documented in Trialeti too, among the burial goods of the Kurgan XVII. The famous gold goblet is decorated with many imported stones (sardonyx, carnelian and lapis lazuli), and in one case an amber disc occurs (Abramishvili 2010: 171, fig. 1.2). New evidence of amber items in Georgia is recently given by the ongoing excavations in the 3 Big Kurgan at Ananauri (eastern Georgia). In the tumulus, which is dated to the Bedeni culture, a rich grave assemblage was identified and among the main prestigious items, an amber necklace also occurs (Makharadze 2014: 228, pl. III.1).

The evidence of Ananauri is of important relevance because there is a necklace made of variously shaped perforated beads which were combined with different ornaments, as bronze spiral, stone and gold beads.

In absence of chemical analyses, it is hard to define the origin of amber in Trialeti-Bedeni cultures. However, it is likely that the amber, may be as finished items, come from Ukraina or Baltic Sea, reaching the eastern region of South Caucasus and, from this area, toward the Northern Aegean-Western Anatolia, where amber of Baltic origin was found in the Treasure L at Troy III (Cultraro 2007: 54). This latter Is the oldest evidence of Baltic amber in the Western Anatolia-North Aegean district before the emergence of the Mycenaean civilization.

A look to the Future

I want to conclude my examination with a look ahead and to return to the first question about the nature and meaning of the Kura-Araxe 'package' in the Insular Aegean during the Third millennium BC. Whether these aspects investigated above can be connected to the activity of migrants alone or were emulated or adopted by local groups, remains a point of contention. The high percentage of South Caucasian elements in the EBA North-East Greece, as well as in Western Anatolia, is located in the production and consumption of prestigious items. The early centuries of the Third millennium BC corresponds to the emergence of new advanced models of large fortified settlements, as Liman tepe, Troy, Samos, Poliochni, which are explained in terms of long-distance connections with the Levant and Eastern Anatolia (Mellink 1993). The metallurgy shows the evidence for Aegean of the inflow of non-local metals. It is suffice to state that tin, the only one unobtainable within the Aegean, first appeared in North-Eastern islands, as Lemnos and Lesbos, from where its incidence reaches the other regions of Greece by late EB II (Cultraro 2008). Several are the cases of transferred technologies, notably the adaptation of the tanged spearheads of Levantine type into EBA Cyclades (Nakou 1997: 638, fig.4), or transportable moulds for casting prestigious items of Near Eastern origin, found at Troy and Poliochni (Canby 1965).

The circulation of South Caucasian features into the Aegean metallurgy can be explained as results of 'international contacts' or, better, of a world-systemic perspective (Broodbank 2000: 283), where this juncture Aegean societies and economies had be promoted by the activities and demands of an expanding Near Eastern core (Early Dynastic city-states) and a dynamic periphery on the Anatolian plateau.

In this light, we can understand the role played by Troy and other north-eastern centres, which exploited their proximity to the Balkans and Black Sea area, from where occasional finished objects, metal-working technologies and perhaps metals filtered into the Aegean. One terminus for may maritime chain that linked the North Aegean and Anatolia was geographical position of Cyclades, which could intercept and control exotica coming from different areas of Mediterranean.

The feasibility of transfer by down-the-line passage between local communities and large-scale changes, contributes to explain the adoption, by EBA Cycladic elites, of prestigious items, as the metal diadems (Fig. 3), interacting with the fact that people on the Anatolian plateau were adopting large quantities of 'core culture', mostly from the Kura-Araxes 'package', by this time.

Further researches will focused attention not so much on whether external stimuli were working on Aegean societies during the EBA, but rather on how they were transferred and what impact they had in the symbolic world of the local communities.

Acknowledgments

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Figures

1. Chronological table of Southern Mainland Greece**,** North and central Caucasus, and eastern Georgia between 3500-200 cal BC (adapted by Rahmstorf 2010).
2. Aegean Sea and Eastern Mediterranean during the EBA II, as a margin of the Near Eastern world system (adapted by Broodbank 2000).
3. Metal Diadems in EBA contexts: 1. Amorgos; 2. Syros; 3. Mochlos (Crete); 4. Aslantepe –Burial S150; 5. Aslantepe Burial T1; 6. Kvatskhelebi (central Georgia); 1-2 (by Renfrew 1973); 3 (by Davaras 1975); 4-6 (by Palumbi 2008).
4. Double spiral heated pins: 1. Copper pin from Burial 375 at Khashuri Natsargora (Georgia); 2. Silver pin from Poliochni, Lemnos island; 1 adapted from Tonussi 2012; 2. From Bernabò Brea 1964.

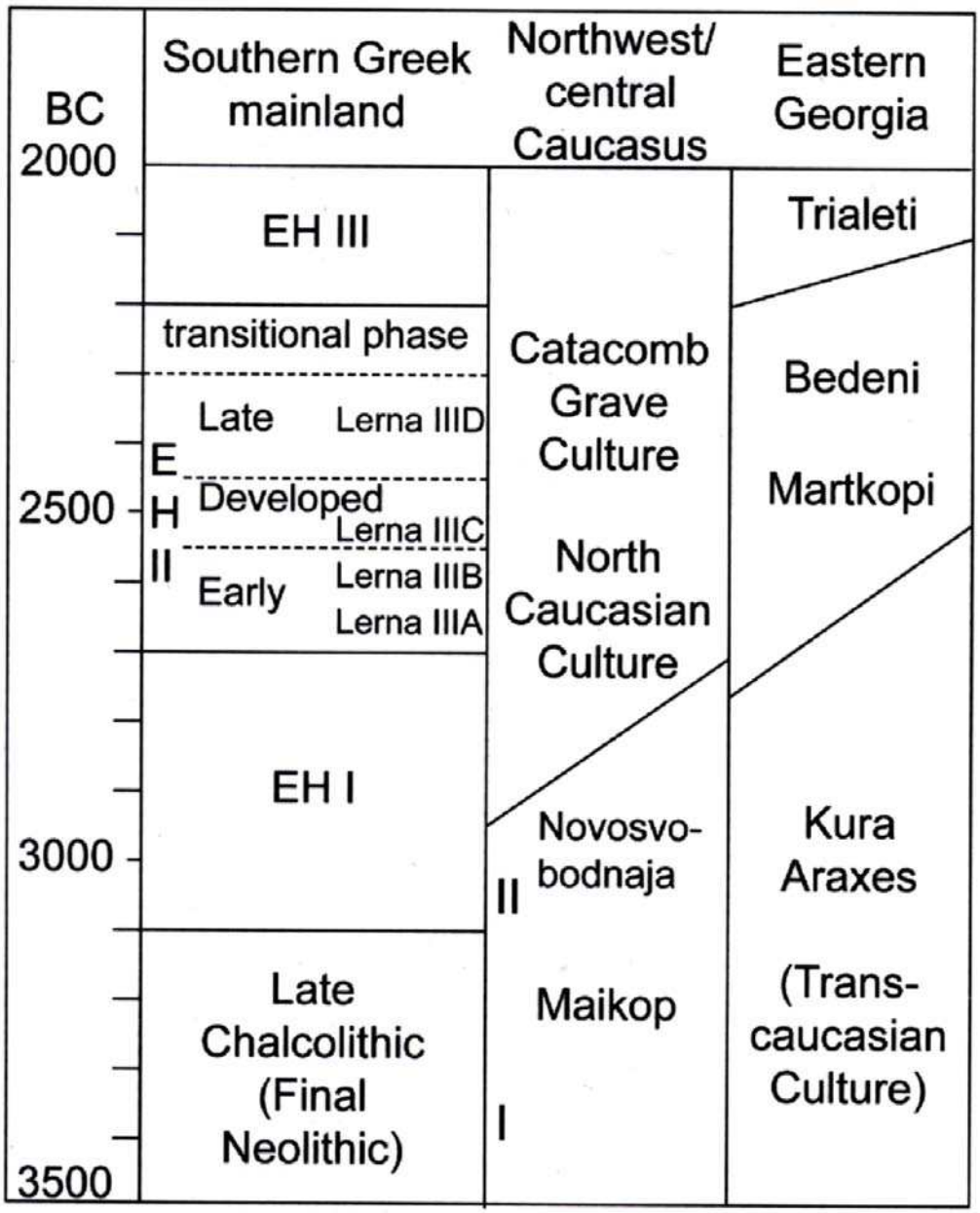

BC
2000
2500
3000
3500
Southern Greek mainland
Northwest/ central Caucasus
Eastern Georgia
EH III
transitional phase
Late
Lerna IIID
EH II
Developed
Lerna IIIC
Early
Lerna IIIB
Lerna IIIA
EH I
Late Chalcolithic (Final Neolithic)
Catacomb Grave Culture
North Caucasian Culture
II
Novosvo-bodnaja
Maikop
I
Trialeti
Bedeni
Martkopi
Kura Araxes
(Trans-caucasian Culture)

FIG. 1

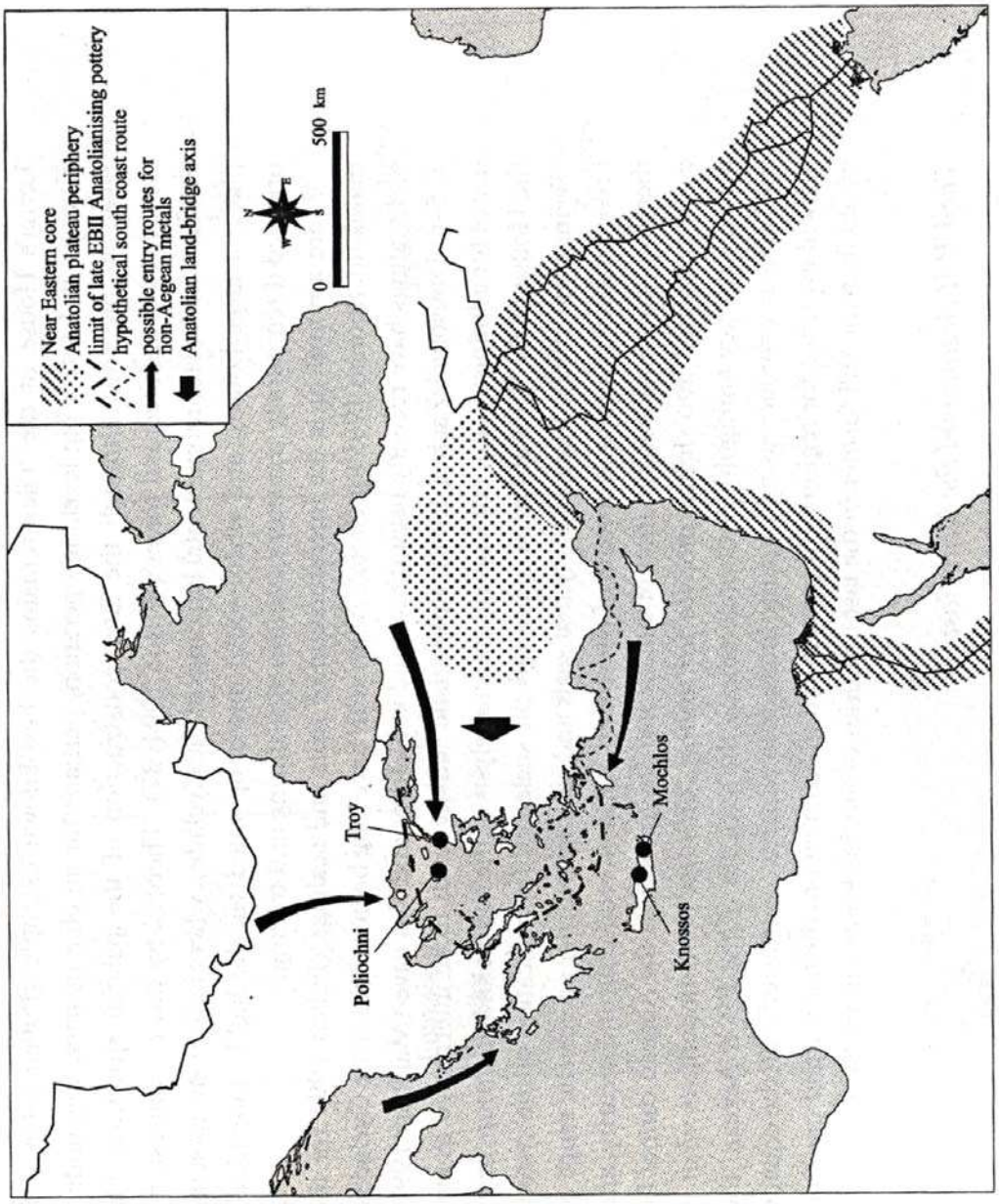
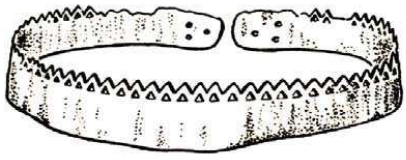
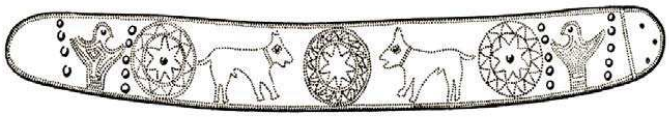

Near Eastern core
Anatolian plateau periphery
limit of late EBII Anatolianising pottery
hypothetical south coast route
possible entry routes for non-Aegean metals
Anatolian land-bridge axis
0
500 km
Troy
Poliochni
Mochlos
Knossos

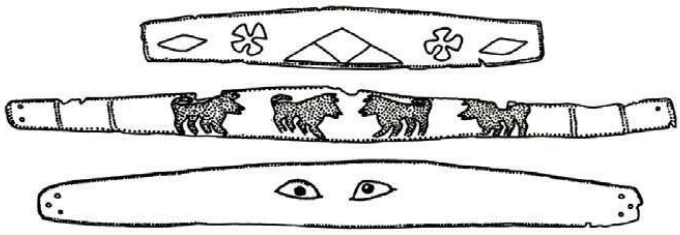
FIG. 2



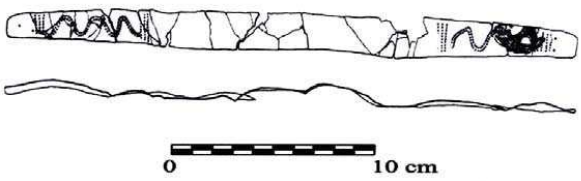
1



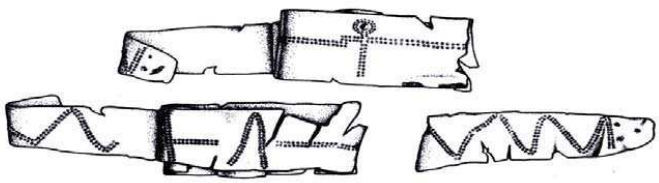
2



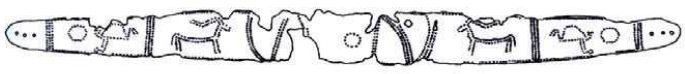
3



4



5



6

FIG. 3

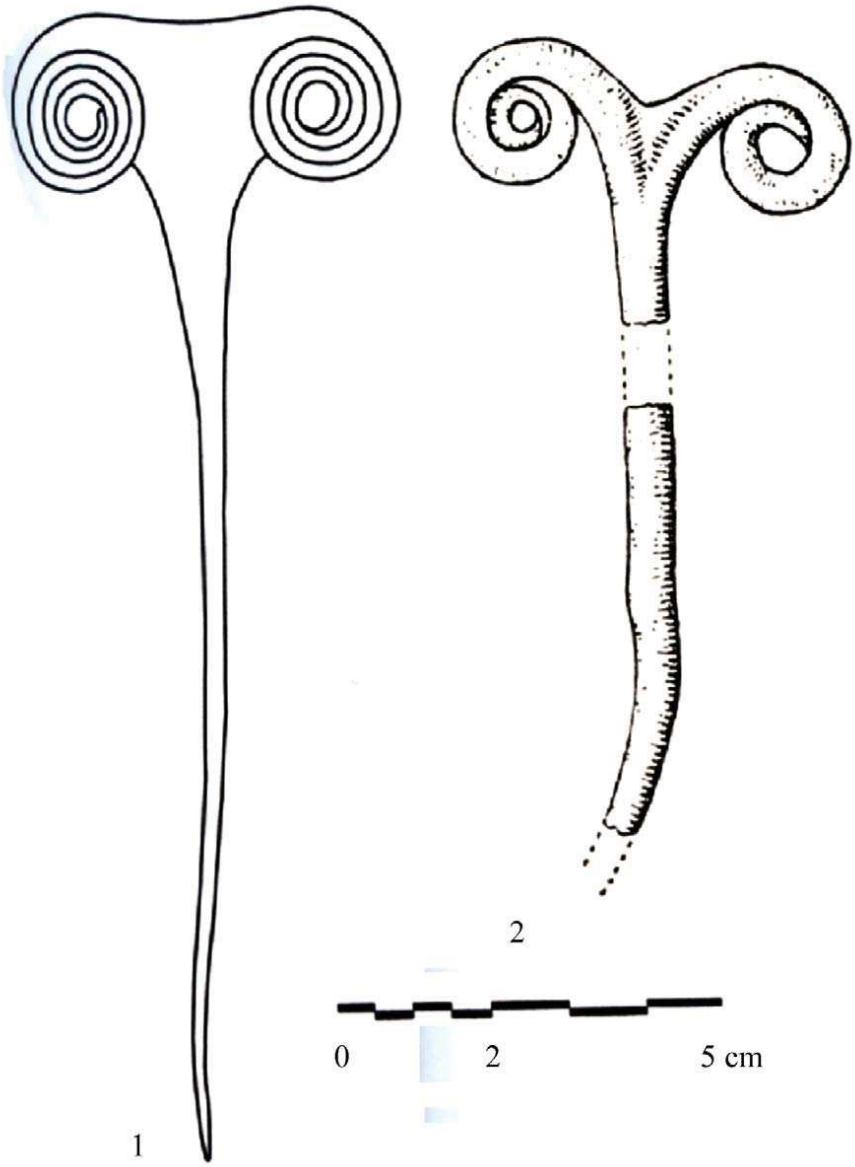


FIG. 4

MAKING DISTANCE APPROACHABLE. THE MIGRATION OF IMEGES BETWEEN ANCIENT NEAR EAST AND CAUCASUS IN THE II MILLENNIUM BC.

Silvana Di Paolo
Istituto di Studi sul Mediterraneo antico
(Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche)

Moving Peoples, Moving Culture

This paper provides an introduction to some preliminary tenets concerning the transmission of culture in antiquity, with particular reference to the Ancient Near East and South Caucasus during the III-II millennium BCE. This topic is part of a two-year joint-research program started in 2016 on "*Transmission of Knowledge and Culture in Antiquity: the Concept of Translation in Arts and Crafts. A Case-Study: Ancient Near East and South Caucasus in III-II millennium BC*.". It, headed by Marina Puturidze and myself, is funded by the Italian National Council of Research and Shota Rustaveli National Science Foundation.

First of all, I would like to thank Goderdzi Narimanishvili for inviting me to the interesting Workshop promoted by him and Massimo Cultraro and for giving me the opportunity to talk. This Workshop, organised to reflect the latest state of research as well as the future perspectives concerning metal trade between Aegean area and Caucasus[1] can offer some insights to our topic. The basis of the economic development of the cultures of South Caucasus in Early and Middle Bronze Ages was, in fact, an intense exploitation of metals that produced the increase of overall interrelation between South Caucasus, Anatolia, Eastern Mediterranean and inner regions of Near East.

Claude F.A. Schaeffer who directed the excavations of the ancient city of Ugarit in Ras Shamra (Syria) and Enkomi (Cyprus), published in 1948 a comprehensive archaeological survey of numerous sites providing evidence for a series of catastrophic destructions which affected large parts of the Eastern Mediterranean, the Levant, Anatolia and the Caucasus between the Early Bronze Age and the end of the Late Bronze Age (Schaeffer 1948). This work provided, both in a positive and negative way, an important contribution for the understanding of cultural contacts between Caucasus and the Near East during the Bronze Age. The hypotheses expressed by Claude Schaeffer were associated with pionerering theories regarding the effects of earthquakes on ancient societies. His premise was that catastrophic earthquakes were simultaneously recorded in archaeological sites as destruction layers. These events also had the potential of causing political upheavals and migratory flows (Robinson 2008: 689-

1 This topic has also been the *subject* of a Conference that was held on November 19-23, 2014 in Georgia (Narimanishvili ed. 2014).

690). Thus, Schaeffer considered earthquakes as both 'an interpretive tool and a catalyst for cultural change' (Jusseret-Sintubin 2013: 94).

According to his method called *stratigraphie sismologique*, destruction layers (of supposed seismic origin) were used as fundamental markers for the chronological correlation of archaeological sites throughout the Ancient Near East, dismantling the idea of a supposed contemporaneity of 'cultural indicators' coming from sites very distant one from the other.

In this framework, for instance, the supposed chronological correlation between metal 'torques' (Fig. 1) discovered in the North Caucasus (Kuban region) and in the so-called 'Montet Jar' at Byblos (Montet 1928: 132; Dunand 1939: 271, 318; Dunand 1945: 6, 15 and note 1) is denied by Schaeffer who, conversely, interpret them as unrelated artefacts deposited at different times although apparently similar from a typological point of view (Schaeffer 1948: 58-59, 528-530)[2]. Thus, the hypothesis of a supposed northern origin of the Byblite 'torques', imported in the Levant (Hubert 1925: 16) as a result of population movements from Caucasus after seismic events is no longer retained. This case-study shows – at a paradigmatic level - the level of discussion on cultural contacts between Caucasus region and Ancient Near East during the first half of the 20th century. Another famous example concerns the Early Bronze age Khirbet Kerak cultural complex at Tel Beth Yerah, an important site on the shores of the Sea of Galilee (northern Israel). The archaeological horizon, based on Red/Black burnished pottery with a striking metallic appearance (Fig. 2), has established links to contemporaneous sites in central Anatolia, the Caucasus (Kura-Araxes culture), and Western Iran (Philip 200: 26-27; Palumbi 2003: 71-88; Kohl 2007: 96-99). Although current research on Khirbet Kerak ware focuses on the analysis of the procedures used to produce it and mechanisms for the transmission of cultural practices over large distances, the 'old' migration hypothesis, criticized and refused in other cases, seems to have found a confirmation at Tell Beth Yerah: the presence of groups of northern migrants is revealed by many features, including food processing, domestic ritual, and so on (Paz 2009: 196-217).

Moving Objects, Moving Signs

Objects are able to change human identities as well as social relationships. In exploring the different meanings that objects help to construct, we may understand the individuals and societies through which the objects circulate. They can move in and out of the commodity state, and such movements can be slow/fast, reversible/terminal. As evidenced by A. Appadurai (1986: 3-63) goods whose principal use is rethorical and social are characterised by: A) restriction to elites; B) a high degree of linkage to body, person and personality; C)

2 Metal 'torques' were a type of Middle Bronze Age necklace that, in the Levantine area, has been found at a number of sites, including Ugarit and Byblos (Schaeffer 1949: 48-128; Tufnell and Ward 1966: 208-211). They appear to have been worn by both sexes, although, in some cases, seem specifically related to women (Sparks 2004: 34).

complexity of acquisition (because scarce or not easy to obtain, and so on); D) capacity to transfer social messages.

Thus, artefacts, when consumed, become 'dispensers' of knowledge. A special category is represented by earlier objects that are also in use or visible in later periods (Di Paolo 2013: 79-90). Examples of ancient cylinder seals reused in later times have been studied and small lists of these objects have been made (Collon 1987: 120–22; Roaf 2000: 1450–1451).

The explanation of this phenomenon is not always clear. Sometimes, the difficulty to obtain some stones combined with their attractive qualities (colour, shine, etc.) made these small objects special articles that were reused by later generations as talismans (Collon 1987: 122). Another explanation is that a strong association with the past, with the tradition, may convey legitimacy. The possession of an older object mediated the acquisition, legitimization, and maintenance of an identity (Auerbach 1991; Roaf 2000: 1456).

Ancient Near Eastern artefacts discovered in the Caucasus region are still only partially known, while the question of the influence of Caucasian cultures on those of the Near East has not been worked out. But, there is some evidence of it: it has been hypothesized that the composition of the Mesopotamian artefacts of antimony is close to that of ancient Caucasian objects (Tavadze-Sakvarelidze 1959: 40).

Single artefacts can be removed from their cultural settings and transferred for unknown reasons, in another context. This allows them to be inserted into a renovated life-cycle: they must be chosen, well preserved, and readapted for a new use, because they must support a new identity, the personality of a new owner.

Each object is the bearer of specialized knowledge that is the fundamental requirement for a new, right use. In order to assign a 'cultural' significance to how an artefact was used, it needs to be found in association with other culturally charged artefacts types. It is this 'package' of informations that ultimately provides convincing arguments for detecting reuse and new meanings of single artefacts. But the evidence is, unfortunately, different. The secondary deposition of single valuable artefacts is often unknown.

The Syrian cylinder seal (**Fig. 2**) now at the Hermitage State Museum (St. Petersburg) is a good example of this.discouraging situation. Belonging to a burial equipment of a tomb in Kumbulta, this object was first published and illustrated in 1900 by the Russian Countess Praskov'ia Sergeevna Uvarova, who, together with her husband, carried out some archaeological expeditions in the southern Russia, also making valuable contributions to the study of the Koban culture in northern Caucasus (Ogilvie, Harvey and Rossiter 2003: 1314-1316).

The cylinder seal shows two different scenes. On the left side, a series of animals and mythological creatures are faced to a central palmette; on the right side a composition formed by a

genius with interwined legs supporting a winged sun disc and two acolytes. This seal belongs to a later phase of the Syrian glyptics, following the rapid decline of this excellent production in the XVII century BC.: the style which becomes apparent in levels VI-V at Alalakh is classified as 'Mittanian', although not strictly linked to the political expansion of Mittani. The political transformations accompanying the rise of the Mittani kingdom also produced some changes in the glyptic style. The presence of seals produced in the phase dominated by Mittani in many areas of the Ancient Near East, including the Caucasus region, is a typical phenomenon of the XV-XIV centuries BC. In the major part of cases, the Mittani Common style, first defined by E. Porada in her pioneering publication of seal impressions from Nuzi (Porada 1947), is characterised by compositions and iconographical motives whose origin remain uncertain, although as suggested by D. Stein, they show the early dependance on North Mesopotamian, Elamite and Syrian prototypes (Stein 1993). This production had a range of high quality, ordinary and crude styles, which were the consequence of place of manufacture and demand. Stone Mittani style seals were, probably, made in the west where they influenced local glyptic. This can be inferred from Syro-Mittanian seals (for instance, the cylinder in the Hermitage Museum) that show a combination of Syrian and Mittanian characteristics. The Common style seals discovered in the South Caucasus (c. twenty) have been classified in a recent article (Shanshashvili-Narimanishvili 2015: 72-89): they have been discovered in many archaeological sites in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia. Made in vitreous paste, they have been found in various contexts: tombs (for the most part), settlements (Gegharot) but also accidentally.

A rectangular grave (No. 5) belonging to the vast necropolis with more than 100 burial chambers excavated at Saphar-Kharaba in the Trialeti region (Georgia) and used, probably, in the 15th-14th centuries, contained a skeleton in crouched position oriented north to south: the funerary goods included many artefacts, among which a Common style seal and weapons apparently uncommon in the Caucasus region. The seal in light blue vitreous paste depicts a semi-kneeling male figure in profile associated to a standard (Taylor *et alii* 2011: 153-155; **Fig. 3a-b**). This subject is shared by several cylinder seals discovered in South Caucasus (Shanshashvili-Narimanishvili 2015: 74).

This fact suggests some remarks. On the one hand, I wonder if with objects, both visual forms and symbolic values were also distributed. In this case, the circulation of specific 'classes' of objects could be correlated to choises, taste, beliefs of recipients. On the other hand, some features only shared by North Syrian and Caucasian Common style seals (materials, dimensions, motives, style etc.) and measured with statistical methods (McCarthy-Hill 2009: 299-322) suggest that Northern Syria represented the area of production and initial diffusion of these objects, probably included in various forms of direct or indirect exchange and trade between north and south.

Moving Images, Moving Cultural Assets

In the last decades, the economic and cultural globalisation producing a decline in the importance of national boundaries, emphasized instead cosmopolitan values and a revival of comparative studies also in the domain of the art historical studies.

Images represent the first source for making distance approachable. Thus, an important field of enquiry is represented by transmission and translation processes in the communication of knowledge and transfer of meaning in between imaging cultures (Mersmann-Schneider 2009: 2). Both terms transmission and translation emphasize the transfer of knowledge across social, cultural, or material divide, involving a process of decontextualization and recontextualization in different ways, places and times. The transmission process doesn't means only transportation of images with their material supports through space and time: this action is always accompanied by an intention. Through the circulation of objects bearing images, it is also possible disseminate what images contain. They bring something with them, they pass it on and disseminate something, permitting the migration (and, consequently, the immigration) of ideas, beliefs, cultural symbols, identity elements (*ibid*: 1-2). Furthermore, transmission is neither immediate (it needs a series of actions to perform in order to transfer image and his content) nor impersonal (often this transfer is associated to a display of authority/power). It contains signs vehiculated through what, in the domain of media studies, we might call 'a machine interface' (Debray 2000: 9), i.e. the artefact in archaeology.

As regards the translation processes, a first order of problems affects the existence or absence of a formal code in the translation or the creation of a third 'hybrid' language produced by the translation. This depends on social and cultural contexts.

Another order of problems concerns the material properties of artefacts undergoing translation. In a diachronic perspective, artefacts are able to be altered for adaptation and repurposing: this process also contemplate a change in form and/or material. In this case, intentionality and not merely a need depending on the available resources and raw materials represents a key-factor in the material transformation. If and when this process is conceived like a displacement, it also indicates the transfer of artefacts (and their visual content) across some kind of boundary (geographical, but also historical, social and cultural) with a change (implicit or explicit) change in status, including mistakes, misunderstanding or conscious strategies of re-elaboration.

Although cultural contacts between South Caucasus and Ancient Near East are attested since, at least, the Neolithic period, they significantly increase with the apparition of the Trialeti/Vanadzor culture towards the end of III millennium BC.

This phase, characterised by an evolution of metal technology and an exponential growth of luxury objects discovered in burial mounds (kurgans) is the result of a radical shift in the socioeconomic organisation of communities living in this region. The Early Bronze age Kura-Araxes culture defined by a settled but nonhierarchical society is, nearly abrubtly, substituted by another culture that strongly emphasized hierarchy through the exhibition of wealth concentrated in impressive burial mounds, because settlements are substantially 'absent'.

On this point, different hypotheses have been made. On the one hand, it was suggested that the Trialeti culture was characterised by strong social differentiation but fugitive settlements (Rubinson 2013: 12); on the other hand, it is also probable that kurgans were erected in specific areas for ritual reasons, while settlements are elsewhere3.

The impetus for all these radical changes has yet to be explained, although it seems probable that southern trading systems, through the search for metal and other primary goods, as well as phenomena of 'globalisation' that reduced or cancel geographical and political borders have had a fundamental role in giving an impulse to the development of social stratification among the communities in Southern Caucasus and commercial/cultural interaction between southern and northern communities.

The mechanisms of these phenomena are still unclear. During the Middle Bronze Age, the Assyrian trading colony on the Anatolian plateau placed Kanesh at the 'centre' of the broad trade network. Scholars have variously interpreted it (as result of the Assyrian military imperialism, an administered trade, or a private entrepreneurship), although none of these models is enough to analyse this economic system. Probably it was organised according a principle of inequality that allowed the Assyrians to involve and control the Anatolian elites coopted in the trade system. In turn and, perhaps, through intermediaires, Anatolian traders could have 'coopted' other communities involving them in a broader structure.

In this period, there is, in Southern Caucasus, an increase of imported objects among the grave goods of burial mounds as well as a sharing of motives, images, and styles with the Anatolian art and other regions of the Ancient Near East.

Many studies have explained the cultural relationships between these regions in terms of asymmetry and dependance and have reconstructed phenomena of cultural transmission in only one direction: from south to north. In the last few decades, new projects and archaeological excavations opened unexpected areas of investigation.

3 This suggestion has been taken into consideration by E. Carminati, 'Re-Searching' into Past Archaeological Data: the 'Early Kurgan Archaeological Survey' Attempt. Paper presented within the program of the Workshop 'Finding Common Ground in Diverse Environments: Survey Archaeology in the South Caucasus' organised by W. Anderson, G. Khaburzania, K. Hopper and A. Robinson. 10th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, Austria, 28 April, 2016.

In particular, the evidence of the movement of Caucasian metals towards Anatolia and other region of the Near East during the III millennium BC has a counterpart in the adoption, in the South Caucasus sites (Koreti, Lori Berd, Karashamb etc.) of different kinds of jewelry made from sea shells (Arcularia and Conus sp.) coming from Persian Gulf or from the southern shore of Iran.

These *contacts* for *trade* in *both directions* suggest the necessity to explain ex novo the cultural similarities between these regions and to analyse the mechanisms of the transmission and communication of the culture (Puturidze 2005). In the first half of the II millennium BC, metallic vessels from Trialeti and Karashamb (Middle Bronze II) show a distinctive local imagery translating and domesticating the banquet theme, a powerful visual 'tool' used to strenghten social relations and celebrate the inequalites (Bassnett and Lefevre 1990; Bal 2007: 109-124; Apter 2007: 149-156).

Although many mechanisms concerning these cultural and artistic contacts must be still explained, nevertheless it is possible to give some indications about the transmission and translation processes. This subject is represented on two silver goblets from the Karashamb (Armenia) and Trialeti kurgans (Rubinson 2003; Rubinson 2013; Fig. 4): it shows the performing of social events disclosing significant details about the cultural milieu and the status of participants. In particular, the juxtaposition of battle and ritual scenes, seems to refer to ritual offerings and/or processions following victory (enemies heads, fallen bodies). The figure on the chair could be a king or important political figure. This imagery exemplifies the two souces of political power and sovereignity: military conquest and religious rituals. Both of them are sources of authority. They have become a code perfectly inserted in own figurative language.

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Captions:

Fig. 1a-b: Dissemination of Culture as conceptualized in the 20th century. 1a: Metal 'Torques' from 'Montet Jar'. Votive Deposit from the Baalat Gebal Temple, Byblos. Middle Bronze Age (after Schaeffer 1948: pl. XVI:2); 1b: Khirbet Kerak Ware bowl. Tel Beth Yerah. Mid-Third Millennium BC (after Wengrow 2008-2009, 33, fig. 4.

Fig. 2: Syro-Mittanian Seal from Kumbulta (North Caucasus). XV century BC. (after Ward 1900: no. 955).

Fig 3a-b: Common style seal from Tomb 5 at Saphar-Kharaba.XV-XIV century (after Taylor *et alii* 2011: 155 top and bottom).

Fig. 4: Particular of the goblet from Karashamb (Armenia). Middle Bronze II (after Rubinson 2003: fig. 6.3)

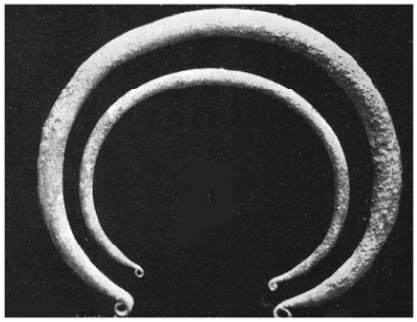

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

a

b

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

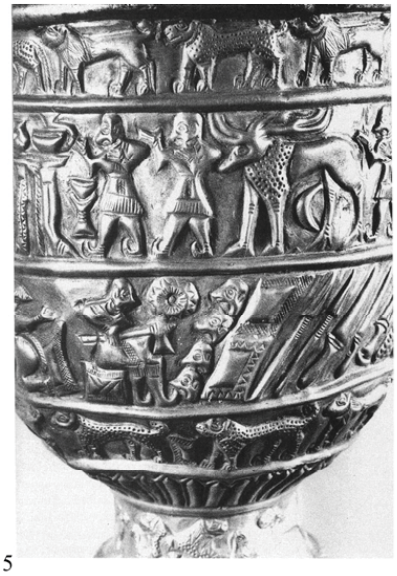

Fig. 5

ROUND ABOUT THE *EYA* TREE: TOWARDS SOUTH CAUCASIAN-AEGEAN INTERACTIONS IN THE 2ND MILLENIUM BC

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Introduction

The present South Caucasian region is remarkable for its intensive cultural relations to the Aegean world during the Middle (ca. 23rd-16th centuries BC) but also the Late (ca. 16th-13th centuries BC) Bronze Ages, in which the Central Asia Minor apparently played the role of mediator. Looking for historical and economical backgrounds in ancient myths, some specialists have suggested that the mentioned relations are to be traced among others also in the myth of the Golden Fleece, which could be an abstract reflection of actual economic ties (specifically in context of gold and wool trades), while the fleece symbolizes the method of alluvial gold panning with the sheep hide (e.g. Williams 1972: 214-216; Haas 1982: 20; Sagona 1989: 425; Rubinson 1991: 283; Lordkipanidze 2001). The possibility of such economic relationships can be proved only when comparisons also from other contexts occur. This article aims at presenting such a case however from the spiritual sphere.

The *Eya* Tree

In his interpretation of iconography of the Middle Bronze Age silver goblet of Trialeti the prominent archaeologist Boris Kuftin noticed that the central image of the tree on its upper freeze (Pl. I/1) could be compared to the *Eya* tree of the Hittite texts and homonymous land Aya of Greek sources, where the Golden Fleece was at home (Kuftin 1941: 89). This supposition finds its proof in Hattian-Hittite and Aegean traditions.

So, in Hattian-Hittite sources the story of Golden Fleece is clearly reflected in the myth of Telepinu, where the sacred fleece appears as hung on the *Eya* tree (cf. for details Popko 1974; Haas 1975; 1978). During the *Antahšum* festival the Hittite royal family travelled to various sanctuaries with *huwaši* stelae situated in and beyond the settlements (in cities, groves, mountains) for making rites and sacrifices. Within the program of the mentioned festival was also visiting the *Piskurunuwa* mountain, where sacrifices were realized in front of the *Eya* tree of the god Hasamili dedicated to the hearth and to the fleece (Ardzinba 1982: 9-10, 13-14, 15-17)[1]. In the context of the silver goblet of Trialeti it is noteworthy, that during the

1 Hearth was the ritual centre for the Hittites, in front of which was situated the *Eya* tree with fleece on it. The god Telepinu gathered all goods in the fleece, afterwards passing it to the king (Hmayakyan 2014: 59-61). For *huwaši* stelae cf. Cammarosano 2015. For Caucasian reminiscence towards Telepinu (Telepiya) and perhaps the sacred *Eya* (Aya) cf. Svanidze 1937: 89-90.

mentioned ritual the cup-bearer used to give to the king just a silver vessel filled with wine after which reciting the story of the Hurrian dragon Ulikummi (Ardzinba 1982: 115)[2]. This same type of evidence is present among the archaeological data. So, in the iconography of the Early Hittite silver rhyton from Shimmel Collection, the object hanging on the right side of the tree is interpreted as a fleece. A dragon-like animal is depicted under the tree, two hoofed extremities and, probably, a bull or a sheep head to the right of the dragon (Pl. I/2). On an impression of an Early Hittite cylinder seal, there is an image of *Eya* tree along with a trident, a dagger, and people, who wore shoes with a bootleg - attributes of royal power typical also for the South Caucasian cultural world of the same period (the iconography of Trialeti and Karashamb goblets) (in detail, see Alp 1983: 98-101)[3].

These data appear to be consistent with the Greek myth of the Golden Fleece, when the Argonauts set sail to the land Aya in order to obtain the Golden Fleece, described as hung from a tree and to be guarded by the dragon. Moreover, the origin of such stories could go back to the Minoan and Mycenaen period. Particularly, another prominent archaeologist – Sir Arthur Evans a century ago demonstrated very well that the tree = pillar cult was essential to the Aegean world of the 2nd millennium BC: it appears as central object of Aegean cult procedures with specific symbols (birds, bulls, goats, daemons, horns of consecrations, labrys) on the tree = pillar or in its surroundings. He underlined also the connection of such pillars to the megalithic world (Evans 1991). From the other hand A. Evans noticed in this context parallels to Caucasia (Evans 1901: 134, 181).

Taking into consideration the mentioned data on connection of *Eya* tree to fleece, to stelae, on mentioning of silver vessels as well as the dragon Ulikkumi story during the rituals in Hittite sources and iconography from the one hand, and the data on Greek story of Golden Fleece (described as hung from a tree and guarded by the dragon) and its Minoan and Mycenaen background (in connection to tree = pillar cult and corresponding symbols - birds, bulls, goats, daemons, horns of consecrations, labrys) and ties to megalithic world, we consider possible to widen comparisons in the context of the sacred tree = pillar in direction of an important phenomenon of the South Caucasian world - the vishap/veshap (dragon) stones, megalithic monumental stelae appearing in lowland and mountainous sanctuaries mainly during the 2nd millennium BC (Pl. I/4: for details cf. Gilibert et al. 2012). The iconography of these stelae finds parallels in the abovementioned Hittite and Greek contexts: specifically,

2 For silver vessels in Hittite rituals cf. also Ardsinba 1982: 193.

3 Similar tree/trees are depicted on the famous Maykop silver vessel of Early Bronze Age (Pl. I/3). This comparison could be considered logical, if we take into account the fact that the environment (mountains, rivers, trees) in the iconography of the Maykop silver vessel is interpreted as reproduction of the region around Tigris and Euphrates river sources (Munchaev 1975: 218). In this context, it would be also logical to consider the object under the tree as a fleece, and two coiling snake images beneath it - as a dragon. Additionally, let us not forget the Maykop-Alacahüyük evident generalities (gold, burial custom, etc.) (Mellink 1991), which is observable in the system of Caucasian-Hattian historical-cultural generalities, in which the south-eastern corner of the Black Sea and, in particular, Chorokh(i) river basin should have played an intermediate role (towards possible Hattian origin of the bearers of Maykop culture, see Munchaev 1975: 413; Bilgi 2001: 43).

we mean the case of depiction of a hanging animal (sheep in the Greek myth and bull or ram/sheep[4] in the case of vishaps) fleece/hide on the stela as a kind of tree of life (Petrosyan 2015; Martirosyan 2015; Bobokhyan-Gevorgyan 2015)[5]. This parallel is justified not only by the fact that B. Kuftin found a vishap-like menhir on the kurgan, where the silver goblet was unearthed (cf. Narimanishvili *et all*. 2015: 178), but also by the circumstance that the Trialeti epoch coincides with the flourishing period of existence of vishap stones, as well as with the most active period of South Caucasian-Aegean interactions.

The Land of Aya

Another remark of B. Kuftin was towards the land Aya mentioned in the Greek sources to be identified as a rule with Colchis. There is an opinion that this land could be stretched further to the south of Colchis till the upper streams of the Chorokh(i) river (Mikeladze 1973: 138) partly corresponding with the land Hayasa of Hittite sources (Petrosyan 1997: 69) and Dayaeni/Diauekhi of Assyrian and Urartian sources (Melikishvili-Lordkipanidze 1989: 201-205; Kavtaradze 2011).

In this context the ideas of another well known archaeologist James Mellaart are noteworthy. Speaking on metal trade of the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC he noticed the importance of Trialeti culture, considering it in the context of Cappadocian trade system. Furthermore speaking on the situation of the mid 2nd millennium BC J. Mellaart underlined that the country Hayasa could have spread its influence not only in the river Chorokh(i) basin, but probably was able to extend its borders up to the South Caucasus. This political unit most likely supervised the main east-west route, stretching to the Iran and the Caucasus, hence the Hittites always aimed to control Hayasa. Similar to the "Trialeti kings", who managed the political situation after the Assyrians, the "Lchashen dynasties" were able to control the situation after the decay of the Hittite power (Mellaart 1968: 199-201).

This viewpoint of the famous archaeologist, which seemed a priori for its time, has been completely proved now through archaeological data. Chorokh(i) basin, the region between Erzurum and Kars, is a world of cyclopean fortresses, burials with cromlechs and kurgans, paralleling the Bronze and Iron Age archaeological patterns of the present South Caucasus (Köroğlu 2000; Sagona, Sagona 2004; cf. Melikishvili 1959: 209; Melikishvili-Lordkipanidze 1989: 203, 246; Kavtaradze 2011: 143). It confirms that archaeologically the "Hayasa cultural sphere" is very much similar to that of the region between Kura and Araxes rivers. In this specific case Hayasa, by its geographical extension and historical-cultural comprehension partly overlaps Etiuni of a later period, which was a union of various administrative-po-

4 As a rule bull is supposed to be depicted on the vishaps, however sheep/ram images are also possible (Marr-Smirnov 1931: 63; 146; Xnkikyan 1997: 149; Xnkikyan 2002: 114).

5 Tree = stella (*huwaši*) also by the Hittites (Cammarosano 2015: 228). Some of *huwaši*-s are mentioned in mountains (by the town Kammahu) and groves (by the town Sammuha) (Cammarosano 2015: 230) of the nearest neighbourhood to the South Caucasian cultural zone.

litical units and "included the territory from Kars-Erzurum in the west to Sevan Lake in the east" (Melikishvili 1959: 213).

It is not accidental that one of the most important epicenters of discovery of vishap stones is the Chorokh(i) river basin, specifically the regionof Tao/Tayk, from where around 30 vishaps are reported (Ziaret, Aighr, Srbahan, Orgot, Paghakatsis, Oltu) (Atrpet 1926: 38-62; Belli 2005a; 2005b). It is noteworthy that in both the South Caucasus and the regions between Erzurum and Kars, the vishap stones have been found in the common environment with cyclopean fortresses, cromlechs and kurgans. So the spreading of vishaps in modern Erzurum-Kars, Trialeti-Javakheti, Aragats-Geghama mountainous regions essentially coincides with area of spreading of mythological and real lands known differently as Aya, Hayasa, Dayaeni/Diauekhi.

It is the place here to mention the point of the Georgian well known historian Georgi Melikishvili stating that the linguistic-cultural contact between the South Caucasian peoples and the bearers of the Hurrian language occurred first of all in the Chorokh(i) river basin: these contacts influenced also the spiritual perceptions of those peoples[6].

The Gold and the Wool

For location of the story of the Golden Fleece the issue of gold plays a key role. In Greek sources is mentioned that Aya was a land with abundant gold resources. Additionally, beginning with the ancient Greek authors (Strabo, Plinius, Appianus) up to recent period travelers, the Golden Fleece story has been connected to alluvial gold panning using the sheep hide (Gibbon 1909: 398; Scott 1927: 541; Gambaschidze *et all*. 2001: 204). Gold mines in Colchis itself do not exist (cf. Gambaschidze *et all*. 2001: 80, 120). But if we take into account the fact that the Kulkha of Urartian sources is correlated to Colchis and is located in the upper streams of the Chorokh(i) river, on the southeastern shores of the Black Sea, and the land Kulkha constitutes a part or the influence zone of Diauekhi (Melikishvili 1959: 118; cf. Hmayakyan 2007: 156), then this contraposition seems to be logical, because, as evidenced by Urartian sources, Dayaeni-Diauekhi was a region rich in gold with famous gold mines in Sper(i), modern Ispir on Chorokh(i) river (Melikishvili 1959: 80, 207, 233; Melikishvili-Lordkipanidze 1989: 201; Hmayakyan 2007: 155-158), and with evidence of ancient gold processing (Brayley Hodgetts 1896: 119; Atrpet 1926: 51). The gold was most probably the main economic reason why the Hittite, Assyrian, Urartian and Greek (Alexander the Great) kings were eager to conquer these territories[7]. In this case, it is not an accident that many scholars connect Chorokh(i) river basin's abundant metal ores with the myth of Golden Fleece (Hakobyan *et all*. 1991: 618)[8].

6 In particular, there is an opinion that Armenian *vishap*, Georgian *veshap*, Hurrian *vishaishap* could have common origin (Melikishvili 1954: 113-114; 1959: 178).

7 E. Gibbon suggests that these gold mines were the apple of discord between Byzantine Empire and Persia, especially at the time of Justinian (Gibbon 1909: 398).

8 The significance of these regions for gold is reflected also in the Bible (Genesis 2, 11-12) where the gold is at home in Tigris and Euphrates rivers' sources. In this case, another tradition is not surprising, according to which the king Solomon imported gold from Erzurum and Trabzon regions (Brayley Hodgetts 1896: 119).

The issue of the Golden Fleece makes sense also in another context. Particularly gold dust is mentioned in cuneiform inscriptions of the 3rd and early 2nd millennium BC, as brought to Mesopotamia from two main locations: the land Harali (Haldar 1971: 73) and the town Hahhum (Limet 1960: 90, 93).

Harali was a partially mythical and partially historical territory, which is often identified with the mountainous regions of the South Caucasus, "where Khalybs were engaged in gold mining industry" (Haldar 1971: 73). It is noteworthy that the authors connect the gold-bearing Harali with the land of Khalybs living just in the basin of the Chorokh(i) river. How relevant is this approach? Harali is mentioned as a mountainous country in Sumerian texts, as "the door of Subartu" to be located to the north of Subartu. It is a sacral territory with the main attribute gold (Komoroczy 1972). In the Armenian and Georgian literature Harali has been also often connected to the South Caucasian cultural world (Svanidze 1937: 88; Kapantsyan 1945: 10-12).

Nevertheless what is the connection between these mentioned references and the vishap stones? Primarily, in Sumerian-Akkadian magical texts, Harali is mentioned also as Kuara (Dijk 1978: 97). Here, we should remember the deity Kuera, which appears in the Urartian sources and seems to be preserved in Georgian and Armenian memory (as Kvira, Kuar). The latter was mainly a dragon-like deity of aqua and sources, and its worship was already known before the Urartian invasions (Bardavelidze 1957: 2; Svanidze 1937: 92; Hmayakyan 1980). Thus, if there is a positive interaction between vishaps and gold that are connected to Harali, Kuera and aquatic cult, then another causal connection is created. The question arises, whether Harali is a Mesopotamian variant of Aya?

The case of the town Hahhum is also noteworthy in this context. In contrast to Harali, the evidence on Hahhum is very concrete. In particular, this prominent trade center is mentioned in Akkadian, Ur III, Cappadocian, Mari and Early Hittite texts of the end of the 3rd and early 2nd millennium BC. It was a *karum*, with its palace, market and governor, who was called "king". Some hypotheses about the location of Hahhum town exist: according to one of these, Hahhum should be in upper Chorokh(i) basin (towards all viewpoints, see Bobokhyan 2008: 151, 176, 298). If so, than another causal connection is traced especially tied to the gold dust. Is it just the dust, which is produced due to gold prospecting by the means of fleece? If there is logic in our observation, than in case of Hahhum (or Harali) we see the oldest commemoration of gold panning with fleece in the Chorokh(i) basin, where centuries later the Greeks had to search for the Golden Fleece. Another argument could be added here, this time in the context of the wool. Hahhum was engaged in the trade of various goods (besides gold, also silver, tin, slaves, clothing, ointments, cornelian and rhyta), among which the wool is noteworthy. The Hahhum wool was so famous, that there was a type of wool called *hahha* (Bobokhyan 2008: 315, 326)[9]. Thus, the succession gold - gold dust - wool, and the Chorokh(i) basin is again represents a kind of system.

9 The wool as an aspect in relations between the Aegean and the Caucasus could be important also in earlier periods (Rahmstorf 2010: 271).

The Issue of South Caucasian-Aegean Interactions

The most essential argument which can ground the comparisons mentioned above is the context of common cultural relations during the 2nd millennium BC.

The Aegean-South Caucasian interactions during the Middle Bronze Age were pretty active and are reflected in almost all spheres of material culture. This has been demonstrated in numerous works by Georgian and Armenian scholars (cf. Abramishvili 2001; Puturidze 2002; Areshian 2008; cf. Bouzek 1985)[10]. These interactions have been reconstructed based primarily on metal and ceramic artifacts and corresponding iconographic data. Parallels are seen in weapons (daggers, swords, spears, pole-axes, helmets, flat axes), metal (cauldrons) and ceramic (bowls, goblets, ladles, footed jugs, buckets, kyaphoi) vessels, their ornamentations (labris, waves) as well as in clothing, which reveal the existence of a cultural network that included the Aegean, Asia Minor and South Caucasus in late 3rd - early 2nd millennium BC (named "Aegean-Caspian" by Areshian 2008).

The interactions seem to be less active during the Late Bronze Age and are mostly expressed in general cultural occurrences rather than on the level of separate artifacts (Martirosyan 1964: 93; cf. Bobokhyan 2008: 201). So, for example, ceramic parallels are rare[11]. On the other hand, the Late Bronze Age shipwrecks of Uluburun and Gelidonia by the southern shores of Asia Minor reflect the main pathway by which Aegean influences reached the Near East and Asia Minor and then to the South Caucasus[12]. Cylinder seals, Near Eastern daggers, flat axes, tweezers, weights recovered from the sunken ships demonstrate similarities with the materials from the sites in Armenia and the South Caucasus (Yalçın *et all*. 2005). Amber was also found in these ships: Minoan and Mycenaean traders were engaged in its trade, sourcing it from the Baltic countries (Yalçın *et all*. 2005: 82, 467; on amber route see Bouzek 2007: 25-26; for Armenian evidence cf. Martirosyan 1964: 91).

If we summarize the issue concerning the interactions between the South Caucasian regions and the Aegean world during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, an interesting picture emerges. During the Middle Bronze Age, the Western, i.e. Asia-Minor-Aegean orientation of cultural interactions of the South Caucasian zone is apparent. In this case, it is appropriate to search for considerable parallels between the developments of South Caucasian and the Minoan and Mycenaean societies (such as by Kuftin 1941: 92). A paradoxical situation is noted during the Late Bronze Age: the archaeological data demonstrate interactions mainly

10 For possibilities of earlier contacts cf. Rahmstorf 2010.

11 Separate fragments of Mycenaean pottery are known in the neighbourhood to the South Caucasian region in such sites as Kuşaklı/Sarisa (Müller-Karpe 2004: 155, Fig. 13; Mielke 2004: Fig. 8), Tile (Summers 1993: 14, 45) and, probably, Van (Frankfort 1927 : 177). Appearance of Mycenaean ceramics in Northern Syrian sites like Emar and Karkemish (Summers 1993: 45) demonstrate the route of spreading of those ceramics to the north.

12 Towards navigation roots from the Black Sea to the Caucasus, see Höckmann 2003.

in southern i.e. eastern Mediterranean direction, whereas on the level of inner development these interactions were oriented not to the eastern Mediterranean, with its Semitic population, but again to Asia Minor and the Aegean. Thus, if the interactions with eastern Mediterranean regions could be considered as a result of trade relations, then the outcome of the relations with Asia Minor and the Aegean are a result of cultural affinity reflected in social and landscape organization patterns. This correlation is visible on the landscape organization patterns or in burial rites (for settlements cf. Claire Loader 1998; for other details cf. Bobokhyan 2012).

The history of the Golden Fleece is more probably the mythical reflection of Aegean-South Caucasian early interactions. According to corresponding data, these relations could be essential since the border of 3rd and 2nd millennia BC, which should be also the "flourishing" period of the Trialeti culture and the vishap stone stelae.

Back to the *Eya* Tree: Domains of the Sacred

Above mentioned contacts between the Aegean, Central Anatolia and the South Caucasus essentially reveal in the sphere of sacred landscape organization. The *Table 1* demonstrates main types of cult-places in those regions (cf. Hägg 1981; Renfrew 1981; Rutkowski 1986; Marinatos 1993; Zimmer-Vorhaus 2011; Tuba Ökse 2011; Pizchelauri 1984; Shanshanshvili-Narimanishvili 2014: 250-252; Avetisyan-Bobokhyan, in press) from which we can imply the prevalence of the common traits against the alien ones.

The parallels are visible not only in formal (natural, built and shaped cult-places) and spatial (intra-, sub-, extraurban cult-places) but also in social, temporal, functional and behavioral patterns. So, in all three regions the border of the 3rd and 2nd millennia BC is the period of established complexity and rise of elite with its strict ceremonial behavior: this process begins with the Middle Bronze Age and develops into complex state structures during the Late Bronze Age. During this period the sacred landscapes essentially widen their space into the high altitude zones. Economies of those societies seem to be stimulated by production of workshops within sanctuaries. Cult-places are used both for domestic and public services. From behavioral point of view we see cult objects which were treated as areas of concrete ritualistic actions (adoring, sacrifice/offering/libation, divination, feasting, procession, pilgrimage), of memorizing (i.e. transferring information for the living and the dead) and of syncretic actions (where cult was accompanied by production, storing and trading).

Most essentially those parallels deal with the common organization of landscape. The *Table 1* shows almost complete coincidence in using of natural cult-places (mountains, springs, grooves, etc.). As to the built ones two important types should be mentioned here - the peak sanctuaries and sacred enclosures, which were extra-urban open-air places on mountains and their slopes, with minimal constructions or even without them, and were characterized by depositions of votive objects (mainly of metal and clay - human and animal terracotta figurines, terracotta votive limbs, miniature pots, etc.).

	Cult-unit	Aegean	C. Anatolia	S. Caucasus
Natural	Mountain	X[2, 3]	X[2, 3]	X[1]
	Rock		X[2, 3]	X[2, 3]
	Spring	X[1, 2, 3]	X[1, 2, 3]	X[1, 2, 3]
	Grove	X[2, 3]	X[2, 3]	X[2, 3]
	Cave	X[2, 3]	X[2, 3]	X[2, 3]
Built	Temple	X[1]	X[1]	
	Shrine	X[1, 2]	X[1, 2]	X[1, 2]
	Tomb	X[1, 2]	X[2, 3]	X[2, 3]
	Pond		X[1, 3]	X[1, 3]
	Road	X[1, 2]	X[1, 2]	X[1, 2]
	Enclosure	X[3]		X[3]
	Lustral basin	X[1]		
Shaped	Stela	X[1]	X[2,3]	X[1, 2,3]
	Rock-cuts	X[2,3]	X[2,3]	X[2,3]
	Rock-carving			X[2,3]

Table 1. Common typology of cult-places in the 2nd millennium BC Aegean, Central Anatolia and South Caucasus based on archaeological and written sources: 1. intraurban, 2. suburban; 3. extraurban

In Minoan and Mycenaean traditions the palace-temple, bearing also productive and redistributive functions[13], was situated in a plateau closed from all sides and with its architecture repeating the landscape: V. Scully calls such landscape a "natural megaron". On the axial line of the palace-temple one can see a hill, and on certain distance a mountain, on which are situated the peak-sanctuaries such of Juktas on the mountain which is on the axes of the Knossos palace, or Ida on the same axes of Phaistos palace (Scully 1962: 11). The first peak-sanctuaries appear in the period of Old Palaces, perhaps a bit earlier. In New Palatial period royal powers begin to be interested in local cult centres. During the time this tendency results in appointment of royal priests in rural sanctuaries[14]. So, among peak-sanctuaries appear such

13 Direct association of workshop with temples/shrines is attested both archaeologically (Knossos, Phaistos, Malia, Zakros, Akrotiri, Arkalochori, Mycenae) and in Linear B texts, where the term *oikos* implies a sacred industry connected to shrines. In this regards, the economy of both Minoan and Mycenaean societies must have been stimulated by the production of the "shrine workshops", and it may well be the case that these societies had "sacred economies" (Hägg, Marinatos 1981: 217).

14 The priesthood appears in the Aegean in Neopalatial period (Marinatos 1993: 127). Just since this time one can speak about clear distinction between official religion (represented by the elite and practicing in palaces) and popular cult (represented by ongoing house shrines and natural sanctuaries) (Hägg 1981: 38-39).

units which turn to be very reach and fortified like the mentioned Juktas or Petsof (by Paleokastro) and Traostalos (by Cato Zakro). In all these sanctuaries the process of transformation of the local cult-centre into public one takes place during the Middle Minoan III period. This is also the period of ripening of palatial architecture, which means that the appearance of peak-sanctuaries and palaces can be considered in the same context, which symbolizes a religious "revolution" the main result of which was the transformation of old public cult into institutionalized and common state cult (Andreev 1989: 127-137; cf. Renfrew 1981: 30). The peak sanctuaries seem to be connected to Mountain and Mountain Goddess cult, sometimes appearing with cyclopean masonry buildings and procession roads over terraces (Karetsou 1981: 152-153; cf. Prent 2005: 161). The juxtapositions of poor and rich votives in peak sanctuaries is general rule and demonstrates that they were comunal cult places, where official and popular religion met in common concerns, such as plentiful harvests or life-crisis rituals (Marinatos 1993: 116-117, 126). Some of them developed into neutral meeting places of interregional importance and were instrumental for early state formations (Prent 2005: 200-209, 311-353, 554-610).

Most importantly for our present topic, the holy tree (= pillar) is one of the basic elements of the mentioned extraurban Aegean sanctuaries, especially in sacred enclosures[15]. It is clear from numerous scenes, except some cases, that the tree appears inside the enclosure, although in some of the enclosures may have had no walls around them (Evans 1901; Rutkowski 1986: 207-208; cf. Pl. II/6-14)[16].

The traits of sacred landscape typical for the Aegean world as the palace-temple with also productive and redistributive functions, existence of mountain sanctuaries on the same axis with lowland cult-places, their appearance on the border of the 3rd-2nd millennia BC, transformation of the local cult-centres into public one and institutionalization of the cult earlier than the mid 2nd millennium BC, connection of mountainous sanctuaries to Mountain and Mountain Goddess cult, appearance of sanctuaries with cyclopean masonry and procession roads, coexistence of poor and rich votives in peak sanctuaries defining them as comunal cult places developing to neutral meeting places of interregional importance and with holy tree (= pillar) as one of the basic elements of the landscape especially in sacred enclosures, reveals essential parallels both in Anatolia (Zimmer-Vorhaus 2011; Tuba Ökse 2011; cf. Gurney 1964: 148) and the South Caucasus (Pizchelauri 1984; Narimanishvili 2002; 2003; Narimanishvili 2015: 49-51; Avetisyan-Bobokhyan, in press). Moreover, as the excavations of both Aegean and South Caucasian sacred enclosures and finds of their models (Pl. I/5-8; II/2-3) demonstrate, both spatially (mountainous cult-places) and contextually (finds of similar clay and metal objects) and formally (the constructions) they are very much similar (Esayan 1971; Pizchelauri 1984). Even, the symbolic on some shrine models or images find parallels such as the bull heads and birds on stelae (cf. Pl. II/4, 5) known e.g. on the vishap stones.

15 For sacred trees, tree shrines, groves in Aegean iconography cf. also Marinatos 1993: 58, 180-181.

16 Some of the idols found at Delphi Marmaria had holes in the body, which implies that they could be suspended on trees. Trees grew in the sacred enclosure at Marmaria. On depictions it goes mainly on fig tree or olive tree (Rutkowski 1986: 208).

As mentioned above, the holy tree (= pillar) is the basic element of Aegean sacred enclosures[17]. In this regards the logical question arises whether they do not reflect the idea of the tree which is known as *Eya* by the Hittites and is depicted also on the silver goblet from Trialeti. In this regards, perhaps the sacred enclosures could be those sanctuaries which were areas of special rites with corresponding processions (cf. Pl. I/1, 2; 2/1), during which the keeping of social memory (among others, perhaps, also towards the history of Golden Fleece), should be instrumental for identities in those societies.

Conclusions

Considering myths in archaeological context and searching for historical justifications is a complicated work. The conclusions of such kind of researches could be only plausible, but never proven. In this sense, from the point of methodology, only completion of interdisciplinary data could be more or less relevant. This article tried to reveal only an aspect for historical interpretations of the myth. Our goal was only to demonstrate that when multilateral arguments are observed together, they make up a context which can result plausible interpretations and reveal also spatial and temporal limits. Coincidences both in social and in landscape organizations, symbolic system, as well as simultaneous appearance of gold/wool (pivotal for our context), together with active cultural and trade relations between the Aegean, Central Anatolia and the South Caucasus during the 2nd millennium BC (Middle and Late Bronze Ages) make possible to insist that during such contacts also abstract knowledge could be transferred. In this regards the center or the intermediary area for such cultural ties should be the Asia Minor, where do the earliest examples of comparable artifacts, contexts and phenomena appear.

17 For various data of Hittite sources on rites taking place near the trees an steles cf. Ardzinba 1982.

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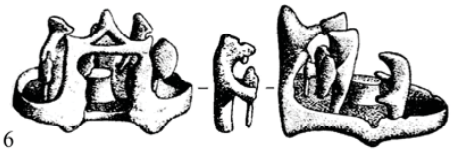

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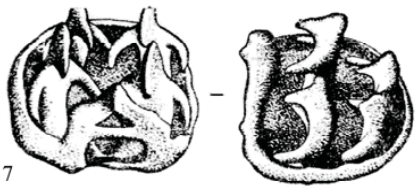

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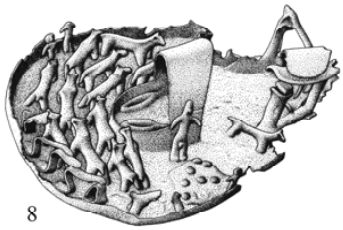

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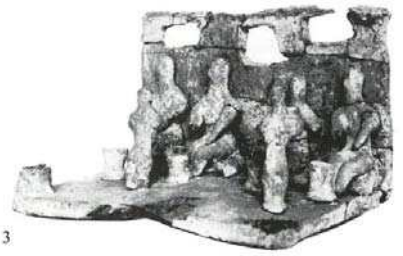
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SOME DATA ABOUT TNE RELATIONS OF AZERBAIJAN WITH AEGEAN WORLD IN THE BRONZE AGE

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The formation and development of cultures and cultural traditions in the mankind's history indispensably took place in the forms of regional block systems. Their formation depended on natural-climatic conditions in which the different traditions were brought together and coexisted for a long period and each of them occupied one of the natural niche of regional ecosystem. In the correlation with each other and nature they got a certain consensus which as a result caused to the formation of the block of traditions which were supplementing one another getting he common characteristics. One of the significant blocs of traditions of the ancient world is undoubtedly the tradition of Aegean world – i.e. the block of traditions which was formed and existed for a long period of time on a large area round the Aegean Sea. It is vividly presented in the Bronze Age.

The territory of Azerbaijan had never been included into the area of the Aegean world's traditions. It, as the greater part of the South Caucasus always presented the northern periphery of the Near Eastern world. Here in the Bronze Age the blocks of traditions were formed which periodically substituted each other and had the active contacts with the traditions of South-Eastern Europe and eastern regions of Minor Asia. But it should be mentioned that the territory of Azerbaijan never had the stable and notable contacts with the Aegean world. But at the same time the contacts with eastern regions of Minor Asia contributed to the penetration to this territory mainly by "the second hand" of some objects and traditions. In the proposed paper we intend to express our preliminary thoughts on some findings and monuments of Bronze Age in Azerbaijan.

The origin and the place of the first stimulus to the movement of Kura-Araxes tradition which occupied the greater part of the South Caucasian region in the beginning of the Bronze Age are debatable. We consider that the origin of this tradition is on the territory of Minor Asia, probably on Balkans.

The most significant evidences of the definite relations with the circle of the Aegean world's monuments in the middle of the II mill. BC on the boundary of the middle and the late Bronze is the group of sub-tumulus crypts-burials which had been researched on the territory of western parts of Azerbaijan and their cultural analogues embrace a wide area from the west to the Minor Asia.

The data for the outlook about the relations of Azerbaijan with the Aegean world's traditions are few for the present. At the same time this problem had not been touched upon in special researches and probably, the further purposeful investigations will reveal the circle of analogues indicating the more significant spectrum of these relations.

Некоторые данные о связях Азербайджана с Эгейским миром в эпоху бронзы

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Сложение и развитие культур и культурных традиций в истории человечества непременно происходило в форме систем региональных блоков. Их сложение зависело от природно-климатических условий, в которых сталкивались и долгое время сосуществовали различные традиции, каждая из которых занимала одну из природных ниш региональной экосистемы. В корреляциях между собой и природой у них вырабатывался некий консенсус, в результате приводивший к возникновению блока взаимодополняющих традиций с единым обликом. Одним из ярких блоков традиций древнего мира, безусловно, можно назвать традицию Эгейского мира - блока традиций, сложившихся и долгое время существовавших на значительном ареале вокруг Эгейского моря. Особенно ярко она представлена в эпоху бронзы.

Территория Азербайджана никогда не входила в ареал традиций Эгейского мира. Она, как и большая часть Южного Кавказа всегда представляла собой северную периферию Ближневосточного мира. В эпоху бронзы тут складываются периодически сменяющие друг друга блоки традиций, в основном, активно контактирующих с традициями Юго-Восточной Европы и восточными областями Малой Азии. Непосредственных, устойчивых и хорошо выраженных контактов с Эгейским миром территория Азербайджана не имела. Но, вместе с тем, контакты с восточными областями Малой Азии способствовали проникновению на эту территорию, главным образом «через вторые руки», некоторых предметов и традиций. В предлагаемой работе мы намерены поделиться, с нашими пока только предварительными размышлениями по поводу некоторых находок и памятников эпохи бронзы в Азербайджане.

В начале эпохи бронзы территория Азербайджана была освоена носителями Лейлатепинской традиции не нашедшей тут дальнейшего развития и вскоре сменившаяся Кура-Араксской традицией (Ахундов-Махмудова 2008), которая обладала единым обликом материальной составной. Вместе с тем, в северо-восточном регионе Азербайджана на памятниках этой культуры представлены предметы, не имеющие аналогий в других памятниках этой традиции, как на территории Азербайджана, так и всего ареала этой культуры. Наиболее выразительны подобные находки из поселения Серкертепе. исследованном стационарными раскопками (Мусаев 2006). На этом памятнике, вместе с традиционным набором керамических изделий Кура-Араксской традиции, найдены своеобразные вазы, среди которых автор раскопок выделяет пять типов. По технико-технологическим особенностям они идентичны комплексу Кура-Араксской керамики этого поселения. Но аналогии им по формам и тем более облику за пределами Северо-Восточного Азербайджана нам не известны.

Особенно выразительны вазы, выделенные Мусаевым как второй тип (Мусаев 2006: 40, fig. XXXI, 1-2; fiq. XXXIII, 2-4). Вазы представляют собой сосуды на высоких колоколовидных ножках обычно с довольно широким основанием и сильно зауженной верхней частью, на которой покоится широко раскрытая, обычно очень неглубокая чаша. Ножки орнаментированы кольцевыми нарезками, иногда в сочетании с парными ломаными линиями. В некоторых случаях обычно нижнюю половину поверхности ножек обвивают парные волнообразные линии, нанесённые глубоким вдавлением. С внешней стороны у закраины чаши снабжались характерными опять же для этого региона катушковидными псевдоручками. Аналогичные псевдо ручки также не характерны для других регионов. На ножках имеются два или три слегка овальных отверстия симметрично расположенных по кругу (fig. 1; 4,6).

У ваз третьего типа верхняя часть ножек имеет ступенчатую форму. Они также обычно орнаментированы парными зигзагами или волнистой линией, порой в сочетании с точечными наколами (Мусаев 2006: fig, XXXII, 1-4).

Наряду с указанными вазами на памятниках Северо-Восточного Азербайджана немало ваз, у которых высокий полый поддон переходит в неширокую чашу воронку со сквозным отверстием в полость ножек, выделенных Мусаевым как пятый тип. В отличие от вышеотмеченных ваз они снабжены одной петлевидной ручкой (fig. 1;1-3,5).

Керамические вазы на высоком колоколовидном поддоне, близкие к серкертепинским встречаются и на памятниках смежного с Северо-Восточным Азербайджаном Южного Дагестана, входящего с ним в единый культурно-исторический регион расселения носителей Кура-Араксской традиции (Гаджиев 1991; fig. 26;17).

Происхождение и место первичного толчка к движению Кура-Араксской традиции занявшей большую часть Южно-Кавказского региона в начале эпохи бронзы дискуссионно. Мы видим истоки этой традиции на территории Малой Азии, возможно даже на Балканах. И если наши предположения верны, то не удивительны их связи с цивилизацией Эгейского мира, с влиянием которого мы связываем происхождение ваз Кура-Араксских памятников Северо-Восточного Азербайджана. Хотя ответ на причину нахождения их на крайнем востоке ареала этой культуры остаётся открытым. Некоторым стимулом к сказанному послужила одна находка с поселения Серкертепе.

Для памятников Кура-Араксской традиции характерны различные формы стационарных и переносных очажных устройств. На поселении Серкертепе найдена очажная подставка, аналогии которой на Кура-Араксских памятниках нам не известны.

Подставка имеет сильно вытянутое овальное основание полукруглого сечения, с обоих концов которого, слегка утончаясь, вертикально поднимаются круглые в сечении «рога» с уплощёнными верхними концами (fig.2:1,2). Пространство между «рогами»

и основанием образовывает полукруг, раскрытый вверх. С одной боковой стороны основания подставки прикреплена полушаровидная ручка. Длина основания подставки 35 см, высота «рогов» 18 см, диаметр овала в их верхнем срезе 3,5-5 см (Мусаев 2006:48, fig.XXXVI, 1).

Роговидные очажные подставки или так называемые роговидные кирпичи хорошо известны на Кура-Араксских памятниках. Но, как уже сказано, аналогий серкертепинской находке среди них мы не имеем. В то же время она находит почти идентичные аналогии в роговидных предметах культа традиций Эгейского мира, широко представленных как в алтарных сооружениях, так и в украшениях дворцовых строений. Эта подставка, на наш взгляд, в контексте с вышеописанными вазами, усиливает наше предположение о происхождении корней носителей Кура-Араксской традиции в ареале традиций Эгейского мира.

Интересная находка эпохи бронзы была сделана при исследовании кургана на Абшеронском полуострове (Алиев 2000). Тут в прямоугольном каменном ящике находилось погребение, предположительно женщины, сопровождаемое инвентарём. Инвентарь, состоявший из керамического сосуда, панциря черепах, остатков диадемы с бронзовыми умбонами включал и мелкие золотые украшения. Среди последних были две трубочки-пронизи длиной 2 см. и диаметром 0,5 см, свёрнутые из золотой фольги (Алиев 2000: fig.1; 1,2). Поверхности их покрывал тиснёный орнамент из трёх параллельных линий образующих бегущий меандр. Погребение датируется первыми веками второго тысячелетия до н.э. Для этого и предшествующего времени меандр на памятниках Азербайджана нам не известен. Нам представляется, что если не происхождение, то во всяком случае аналогии и этим находкам нужно искать далеко на западе от Абшерона, в Малой Азии и Эгейском мире.

Наиболее значимыми свидетельствами определённых связей с кругом памятников Эгейского мира в середине 2 тыс. до н.э., на рубеже средней и поздней бронзы является группа подкурганных погребений, исследованных на территории западных регионов Азербайджана, культурные аналогии которым широким шлейфом тянутся на запад в Малую Азию. Каждый из этих памятников обладал своеобразными индивидуальными чертами. Вместе с тем, они объединены близким по составу и, главное по облику археологическим комплексом.

Все они представлены обширными вытянуто-прямоугольными погребальными камерами. Стены их обмазывались и покрывались росписью или просто окрашивались. В некоторых случаях удалось зафиксировать ритмично расположенные вдоль стен опоры деревянных конструкций перекрытия.

Наиболее показателен комплекс керамических сосудов различной функциональной принадлежности. Это, в основном, чёрно-окрашенные сосуды, богато покрытые орнаментом нанесённым врезами, наколами, зубчатым предметом, реже росписью. Многие мотивы рисунков украшений, в целом, не встречаются ни на раннебронзовых, ни на

позднебронзовых памятниках Азербайджана (Гусейнова 2011). Среди них особенно показателен бегущий меандр, указывающий, на наш взгляд, как минимум на западно-анатолийские связи носителей традиции, оставивших эти памятники (fig. 3;2-6; fig. 4,5).

С точки зрения затронутой проблемы представляют интерес и своеобразные формы некоторых сосудов. Это различные глубокие чаши, снабжённые высокими петлевидными ручками, не имеющими аналогий в Азербайджане ни в предшествующий, ни в последующий этапы эпохи бронзы (Ахундов 2001). Особенно показательны два сосуда, чаши которых покоятся на высокой полой ножке и двойной сосуд (fig.2;3,6: fig. 3;1)

Первый из названных сосудов имеет высокую, полую ножку в форме цилиндра, слегка разложенную у основания. Чаша сосуда биконической формы, в верхней половине украшенная двойным зигзагом, нанесённым характерным для этих памятников зубчатым инструментом. Сосуд тёмно-серого обжига с черно-окрашенной поверхностью. Две высоко поднятые петлевидные ручки соединяют перегиб корпуса сосуда с закраиной, слегка заходя на её внутреннюю поверхность (fig. 2:6).

Второй сосуд также имеет полую цилиндрическую ножку, но меньшей высоты. Массивная чаша подшаровидной формы, тёмно-серого обжига и чёрно-окрашенной поверхностью также в верхней половине украшена орнаментом, нанесённым зубчатым предметом. Но орнамент несколько отличный. Он представляет собой пучок глубоко свисающих волнистых линий, ёлочным узором, заполняющим их верхние пустоты. Три высоко поднятые петлевидные ручки квадратного сечения соединяют корпус сосуда с закраиной, слегка заходя на её внутреннюю поверхность. На высшей точке ручек посредством трёх ножек установлены круглые диски (fig. 2;3). Аналогий им в Азербайджане для предшествующего или синхронного времени нам не известны. Но они появляются в последующую эпоху в несколько видоизменённой форме.

И наконец, двухчастные сосуды. Это фактически один сосуд с сильно зауженным корпусом, создающим видимость двух положенных один на дугой сосудов. Поверхности их также богато украшены идентично вышеописанным. При этом рисунок украшения верхнего и нижнего частей различны, что дополнительно создаёт иллюзию двух сосудов. Один из двухчастных сосудов без ручек имеет высокий кольцевой поддон. В то же время второй без поддона, но снабжён высокими петлевидными ручками, аналогичными выше описанным (fig. 3;1).

Вышеописанным пока ограничиваются наши представления о связях Азербайджана с традициями Эгейского мира в эпоху бронзы. Вместе с тем затронутая тема до сих пор специально не затрагивалась и, возможно, дальнейшими целенаправленными исследованиями круг аналогий, указывающих на более широкий спектр связей будет расширен.

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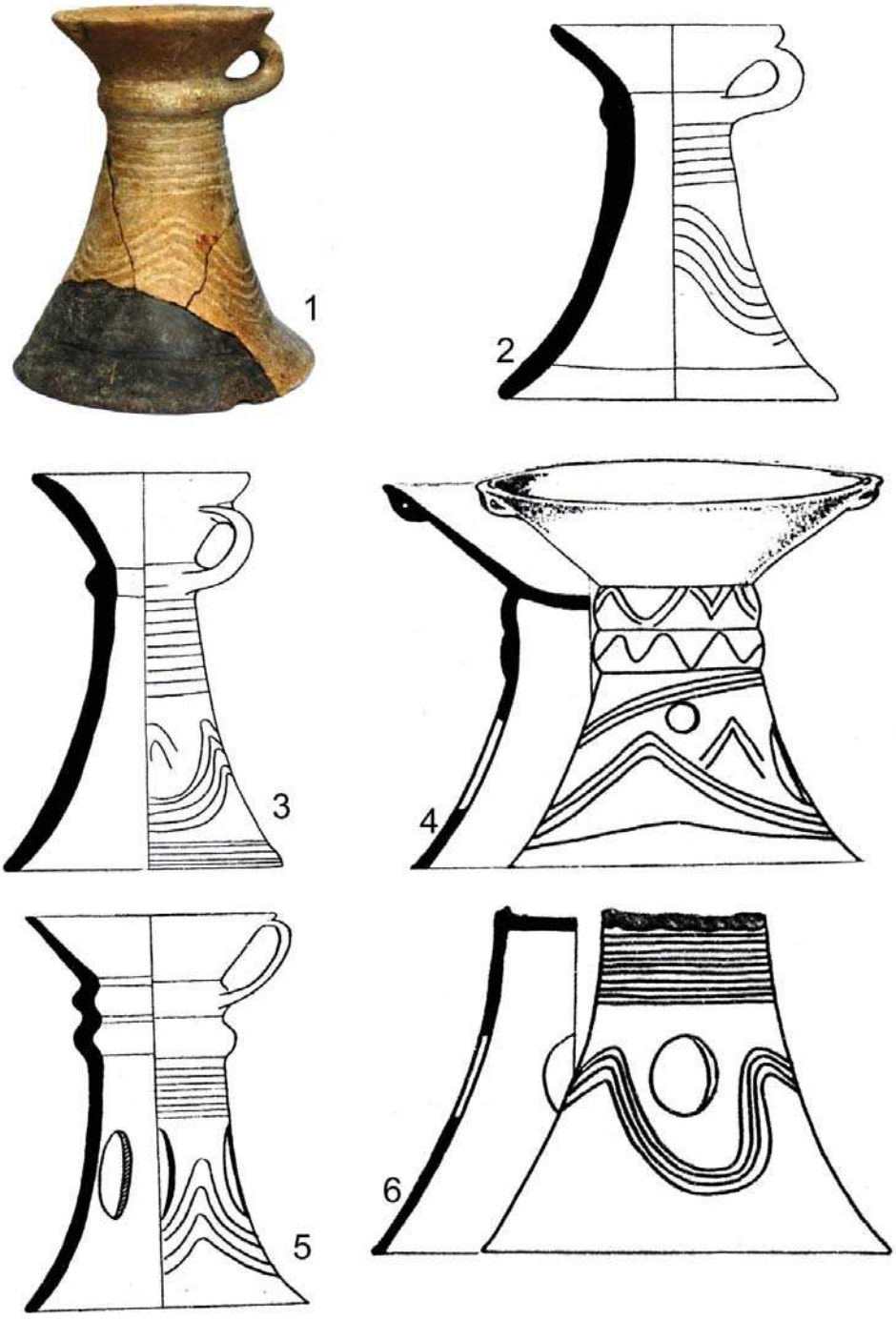
I



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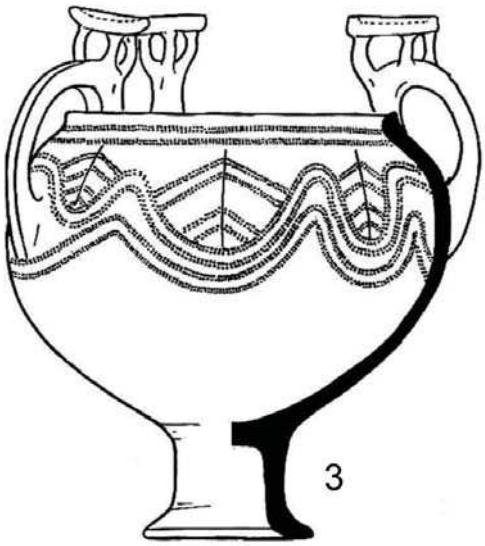

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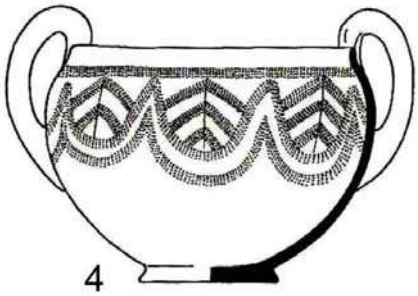

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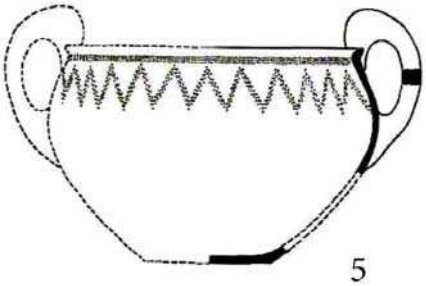

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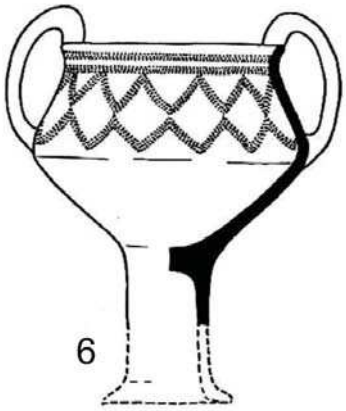

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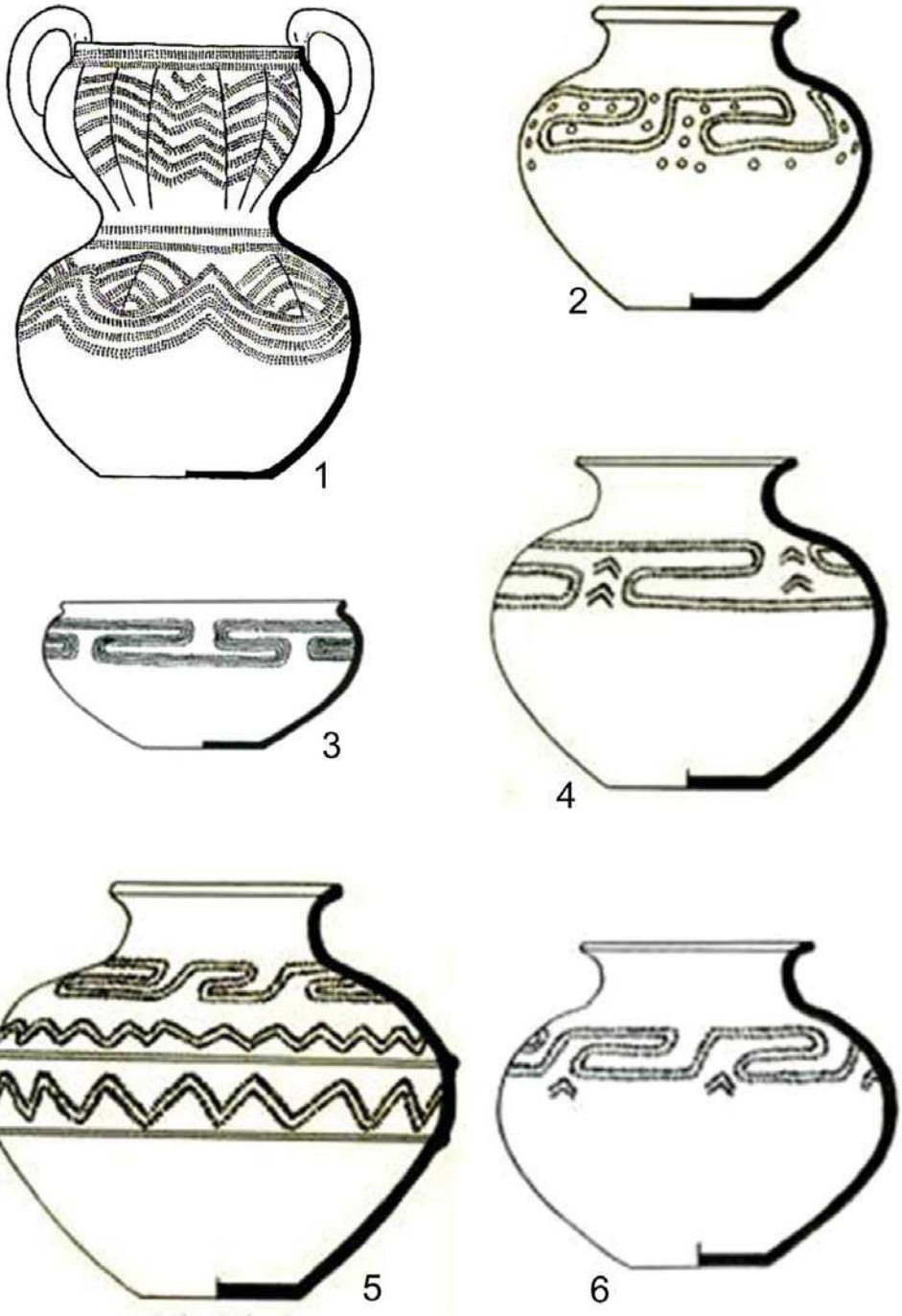

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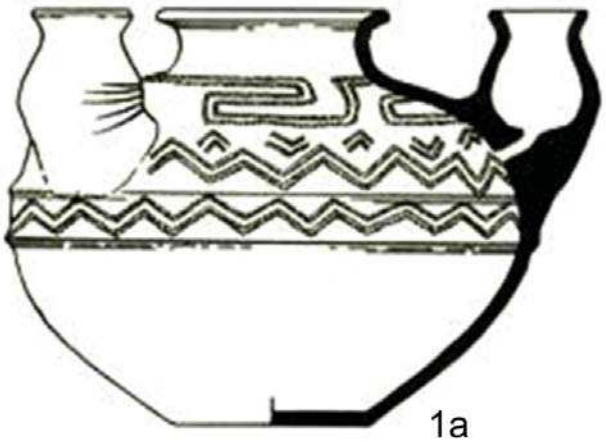

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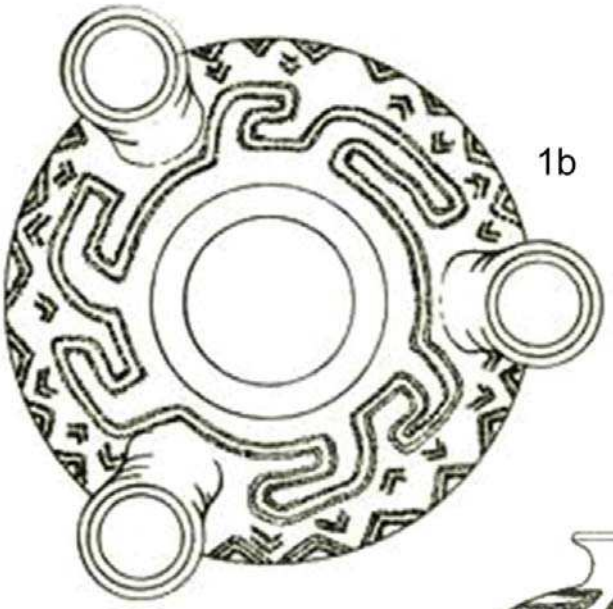

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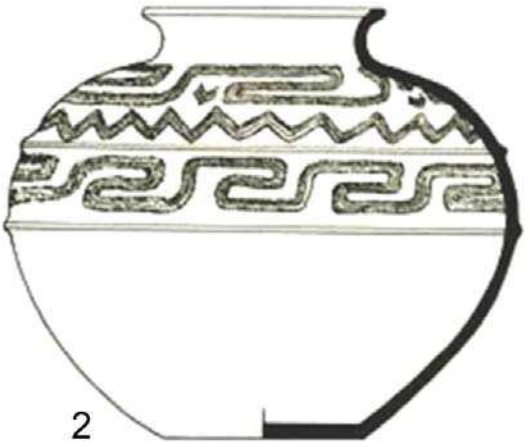

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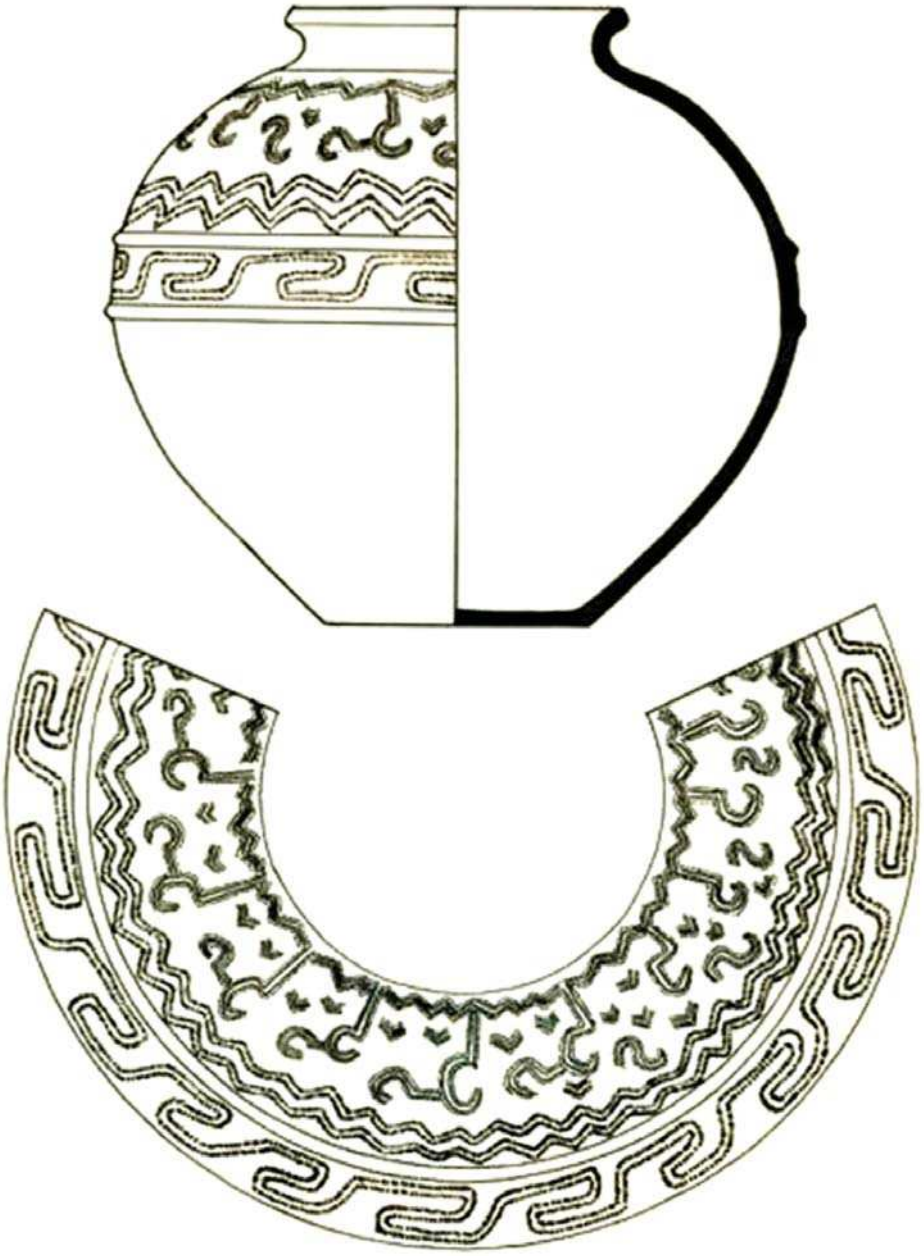

ZORATS KARER: MEGALITHIC SITE IN SOUTHERN ARMENIA

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Keywords: Armenian Highland, Zorats Karer, megalithic monument, the Bronze Age, the Iron Age, necropolis

Zorats Karer archaeological site has a special place among the numerous archaeological monuments of the Syunik Marz of RA. In scientific literature the site is referred to as Dik-dik Karer, Tsits-tsits Karer, Zorats Karer, Karezork, Ghoshun Dash, and recently Karahunj[1]. The site is situated 3 km to the north of Sisian, on the left bank of the Dar River, tributary of the Vorotan River. It is placed on a plateau unassailable from the eastern side, 1770 m above sea level (Tab. I, Fig. 1). The geographic coordinates of the site are 39°33′02.52″ N and 46°01′42.96″ E.

According to the popular legends, bodies of commanders were interred underneath the large kerbs, whereas bodies of warriors were inhumed beneath the large upright stone slabs[2]. This is why, the local people named the site "Zorqi kar, Zorats Karer" (*Arm*. Stones of Troops or Stones of Warriors).

The site was explored by Y. Lalayan in early 20th c., by S. Lisitsyan in 1920-30s, by M. Hasratsyan and S. Yesayan in 1950-60s, by O. Khnkikyan, E. Parsamyan, G. Areshyan, B. Sadoyan in 1970-80s. At the turn of the century the research at the site was carried out by P. Herouni, then by H. Martirosyan and M. Vahradyan. In 2010-2015 the exploration of the site was undertaken by archaeologists A. Piliposyan, A. Bobochyan, H. Avetisyan, A. Gnouni, G. Sargsyan and others[3]. Nevertheless, the site has not been comprehensively studied to this day, which brings

1 **Y. Lalayan,** *Excavations of Burials in Soviet Armenia*, Yerevan 1931. pp. 63, 66, fig. 14 (in Arm.). **N. Adonts,** *The History of Armenia*, Yerevan 1972. p.11 (in Arm.). **T. Hakobyan et al.** *The Dictionary of Place Names of Armenia and Neighboring Areas.* Yerevan 1991, Vol. 3. p. 575, Yerevan 2001, Vol. 5, p. 323, 669 (in Arm.).

2 **A. Ghanalanyan**, *Legends.* Yerevan 1969, pp. 263, 270 (in Arm.).

3 **Y. Lalayan,** *Sisian: Materials for Further Research.* In: Azgagrakan Handes (Ethnographic Journal), # 3, Tiflis 1898, pp. 162-168 (in Arm.). **Y. Lalayan**, *Sharur Daralagyaz Region*. In: Azgagrakan Handes (Ethnographic Journal), # 12, Tiflis 1904, p. 264, (in Arm.). **S. Barkhudaryan**, *Regions of Goris, Sisian and Kapan*. In: Divan Hay Vimagrutyan (Archive of the Armenian Rock Inscriptions), #1, Yerevan 1960, p. 122, (in Arm.). **S. Lisitsyan**, *Armenians of Zangezur,* Yerevan 1969, Tab. CXIV, (in Arm.). **S. Yesayan**, *The Early Archaeological Monuments of Zangezur*. In: "Lraber", # 4, Yerevan 1972, p. 65, (in Arm.). **O. Khnkikyan**, *The "Zorakarer" of Sisian*, in: "Hayastani bnutyune" ("The Nature of Armenia"), # 4, Yerevan 1984, (in Arm.). **M. Hasratsyan**, *Historical and Archaeological Studies*, Yerevan 1985, p. 175, (in Arm.). **V. Harutyunyan**, *The History of the Armenian Architecture*, Yerevan 1991, p. 13, (in Arm.). **P. Herouni,** *Karahunj: The Ancient Observatory in Sisian*, In: "Garun" (Spring), # 5, Yerevan 1998. pp. 87-93 (in Arm.). P. Herouni, *The Prehistoric Stone Observatory of Karahunj-Karenish*, in: Doklady Natsionalnoy Akademii Nauk Armenii (Reports of the National Academy of Sciences of Armenia), # 4, Yerevan 1998, pp. 307-328 (in Rus.). **O. Khnkikyan**, *Syunik during the Bronze and Iron Ages*, Barrington 2002, pp. 9, 25–29, 60–61, 65–67, 148, 167. pl. VI-VII, XL, pl. LIII, fig. 1-32, pl. LIV, fig. 5-9. **H. Avetisyan, et al.** *The Sacred Landscape of the Bronze Age and Iron Age Syunik*, Yerevan 2015 (in Arm., summary).

forth numerous contradictory, incredible, and sometimes obviously unscientific conclusions and interpretations. Taking into consideration the exceptional historical and cultural value of the site, it achieved the status of a reserve "Zorats Karer" Settlement" by the order of the Government of RA from June 26, 2009. The protected area of the site makes up 50 ha.

At present the earliest records about southern Armenia and the region of Sisian, in particular, are considered to be the cuneiform inscriptions of Kingdom of Van. Though the latter do not provide any direct information about Zorats Karer, they contain important data on the social and political processes of the region of the 8th–7th cc. BC. They are reflected in the chronicle of Sarduri II (764–735 BC)[4], in the cuneiform inscription of Argišti II (714–685 BC) on the stele from Tanahat Monastery near Sisian[5] and in the text by Rusa II (685–645 BC) found at the entrance to *susi* temple in Ayanis.[6]

The fragment of Rusa II's chronicle in question reflects the events of 751–750 and narrates the campaign organized to Etiuni (Etiuḫi) Country, i. e. northern and northeastern regions of Kingdom of Van, Syunik, in particular, and the defeat of the four rulers of cities – Ediani, Iruia, Irdua and Buinialḫi.

Argišti II's cuneiform stele (late 8th c.–early 7th c. BC) found near Tanahat Monastery in 1975 has a cuboid form and contains cuneiform inscriptions on the two largest opposite faces. According to archaeologist N. Harutyunyan, the inscriptions on the faces of the stele narrate Argišti II's campaign against the eastern regions of Etiuni (Etiuḫi) tribal union. The text informs that, though the leader of Etiuḫi personally appeared before Argišti II, paid the tribute of his country and pledged his obedience to the king, the rulers of some cities in the south of Etiuḫi under the leadership of Zazinu, the ruler of Ṣuluku, disobeyed and resisted. In an unequal battle the rebels were suppressed, and the elders of Ṣuluku were forced to appear before Argišti II at the city of Irdua, accept his terms and appeal for mercy. Zazinu surrendered and was forced to pay a tribute. At the same time the citizens of Amuša, another city of Ṣuluku Country continued insurrections. Only at the cost of losses Argišti II managed to quell them. Then he erected this triumphant stele at a place very close to modern-day Tanahat Monastery. This stele relates indeed highly important data about the events of the late 8th c.–early 7th c. BC, the time of the Van Kingdom's dominance, on the territory of modern-day city of Sisian and its vicinities. In this context the mentioning of Ṣuluku Country in the Etiuni/ḫi confederation has exceptional significance. Some scholars locate this country at the region of Sisian and connect it to Tsghuk District of Syunik Province of the Medieval

4 **G. Melikishvili,** *The Urartian Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Moscow 1960, pp. 273–275 (in Rus.). **N. Harutyunyan**, Corpus of Urartian Cuneiform Inscriptions, Yerevan 2001, pp. 227–229 (in Rus.)

5 **N. Harutyunyan,** *The Newly Discovered Cuneiform Inscription of Argišti II*, in: PBH ("Historical and Philological Journal"), #3, Yerevan 1979, pp. 93–104 (in Arm.). **N. Harutyunyan,** *New Urartian Inscription from Sisian*, in: Drevnyi Vostok (Ancient Orient), # 4, Yerevan 1983, pp. 195–229 (in Rus.). **V. Gayseryan,** *Argišti II's Inscription from Sisian,* in: "Lraber" ("Herald"), # 6, Yerevan 1986, pp. 67–79 (in Arm.)

6 **M. Salvini**, *The Inscription Ayanis (Rusaḫinili Eiduru-Kai): Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic* [in Ayanis I (Ten Years Excavations at Rusaḫinili Eiduru-Kai, 1989–1998)]. Ed. Altan Çilingiroğlu and Mirjo Salvini. Documenta Asiana VI. Roma 2001, p. 258, fig. 10–12.

Armenia. N. Harutyunyan assumes that the names of other two cities of Ṣuluku – Irdua and Amuša – might be reflected in the names of settlements of Tsghuk District, mentioned in 14th c. AD by historian St. Orbelyan as Mutsk, Arit and Arteq. [7]

In this context we can also examine Sarduri II's chronicle, containing description of the invasion of four cities of Etiuni Country and their submission somewhat 50 years earlier than the events recorded in the Tanahat text. Among these four cities Irdua is mentioned as the capital city of Ruler Uerda. This means that Sarduri II's chronicle relates the campaign against Ṣuluku without mentioning its name. Sarduri II's and Argišti II's texts under review report the names of the two leader of Ṣuluku – Uerda and Zazinu – who governed the city with the difference of 50 years. It is highly possible that the internal administration of Ṣuluku after Sarduri II' campaign in 751–750 BC and under Argišti II (late 8th c.–early 7th c. BC) remained in the power of the local elite. The fact of the matter is that the amount of the booty Sarduri II seized from the area in the mid-8th c. BC –8525 head of neat and 18000 head of small cattle, 3500 captivated youngsters, 15000 women and 4000 warriors[8], – not to mention the loot taken by Argišti II, attest to the economic stability of the tribal union, its significant human resources and, most probably, to the early state formation. This is also confirmed by Rusa II's inscription left in Ayanis, a fortress situated on the eastern shore of the Lake Van, in the early-to-mid-7th c. BC. Here Ṣuluku (Ṣiluku – in the text) was mentioned as one of the main enemies of Kingdom of Van, alongside with Assyria, Etiuni, Ḫate and Muški. Thus, it's quite tempting to identify the Early Iron Age settlement of Zorats Karer, which most obviously is located within the territory of former Ṣuluku, with one of the settlements mentioned in Sarduri II's and Argišti II's records, particularly with Irdua or Amuša. Nevertheless, this would be a premature and still groundless conclusion.

The non-contemporaneous remains of material culture gathered in the vicinity of Zorars Karer also provide some valuable information about the site. As far back as in 1930s, when the site was more known as "Ghoshun Dash", ethnographer St. Lisitsyan gathered and handed to the History Museum of Armenia interesting archaeological material found in Zorats Karer and its neighborhood (Tab. IV, fig. 1)[9]. In 1980s archaeologist O. Khnkikyan excavated over a dozen of tombs at Zorats Karer. The majority of the tombs were north-south oriented cists with disintegrated corpses and archaeological material dated to the 10th–8th/7th cc. BC (Tab. IV, fig. 2).[10] The excavations at Zorats karer were restarted in 2013. The results of the excavations once again confirm the existence of a large settlement and an adjacent necropolis within the site. The settlement occupies the northern part of the site; it is enclosed by rough-hewn outer

7 **N. Harutyunyan,** *Notes on Urartian Epigraphy*, in: Drevnii Vostok i mirovaia kul'tura (The Ancient Near Eaqst and the World Culture). Moscow 1981, pp. 78–79 (in Rus.). **N. Harutyunyan**, *New Urartian Inscription from Sisian*, in: Drevnyi Vostok (Ancient Orient), # 4, Yerevan 1983. pp. 195–229 (in Rus.). **N. Harutyunyan**, *The Urartian Toponymy*, Yerevan 1985, pp. 236–237 (in Rus.)

8 **G. Melikishvili**, 1960. UCI-155, A 13–21. **N. Harutyunyan**, 2001. CUCI-241, A 13–21.

9 At present these findings make up the archaeological collection # 962 of the History Museum of Armenia.

10 **O. Khnkikyan**, *Syunik during the Bronze and Iron Ages*, Barrington 2002, pp. 9, 25–29, 60–61, 65–67, 148, 167. pl. VI-VII, XL, pl. LIII, fig. 1-32, pl. LIV, fig. 5-9.

walls that are 2 m high in some parts (Tab. I, fig. 2) and has an entrance from the south. One can discern the remains of rectangular buildings, rounded constructions, which were most probably used for military purposes, some caches and utility pits. In all likelihood, they were constantly reconstructed over the whole period from the Middle Bronze Age to the High Middle Ages (19th/18th c BC–13th/14th c. AD).

The necropolis is very close to the settlement; it occupies the southern part of the site and stretches up to the left riverbank of the Dar, the tributary of the Vorotan River. Its burial complexes are constructions related to the Middle Bronze Age, the Late Bronze Age, the Iron Age and the Antic periods. Almost all the tombs of Zorats Karer – over 30 of them – were destroyed and looted (Tab. II, fig. 1, 2). They were enclosed by intact and disintegrated kerbs and contain mostly east-west oriented in-ground cists in the center. Some of the cists are 13–15 m long and 3, 0–4, 5 m wide. Through the recurrent destructions and collapses some of the capstones were moved, others fell down into the chambers with the lapse of the time. The construction material for the tombs was brought from a stone quarry 1 km to the east of the necropolis. Cuboid and tower-shaped boulders were chosen and partially hewn to be transported to the point of destination. Even nowadays massive piles of stone can be found. They consist of stones that were chosen to be hewn and transported but were deteriorated during the preparatory works, i. e. were broken at the attempts to move, and were left behind. Even now the traces of the then hewing are discerned.

The tower-shaped construction of the boulders has its role and significance. The point is that specific roofs with "false" vault were needed to leave a smaller gap at the top and, as a result, a smaller capstone.[11] This is why at the quarry large boulders with bulky bottoms and comparatively narrower and thinner tops were chosen. Moreover, at the top of each of the slabs special holes, 5, 0-10, 0 cm in diameter, were perforated to make the transportation more easy and convenient. The perforated holes were neatly hewn and smoothed from inside, so that the friction of the rope against the uneven edges of the hole would not cause easy rupture. Then those tall (3, 5 – 4, 0 m high) and heavy (not lighter than 3, 0 - 4, 0 tons) blocks were placed at the lengthwise sides of the tomb, so that the thinner and lighter edges formed the top of the building, whereas the bulky and heavy part rested upon the walls of the grave. This type of construction with false vault made it possible to contract the span at the top and, on the other hand, to prevent the slabs from collapsing inward under the stresses of the roofing slabs.

A typical model of this is the well-known tomb (Tab. III, fig. 1), which is situated in the center of the necropolis and has been excavated by the archaeological team. A group of amateur pseudo scholars try to identify the tomb with an observatory (of Neolithic-Chalcolithic period at that). In fact, the burial chamber in question is encircled by a kerb 18, 0 m in diameter. Its center is a west-east oriented chamber tomb 7, 0 long and 3, 0 m wide. The interspace between the kerb and the chamber is filled with small rocks. There is an in-ground stone-built dromos about 1, 0 m wide and 7, 0 m long, stretching from the western side of the kerb eastwardly up

11 **Zh.Khachatryan**, *On the Issue of "False" Vaults in Armenia*, in: PBH, # 3, Yerevan 1982, pp. 227–232.

to the west-east oriented burial chamber (Tab. III, fig. 2). From the chamber some black, grey and buff potsherds dated to the early-to-mid-1st millennium BC, as well as remains of two iron spears and a curved dagger of the same period (10th-8th/7th cc. BC) were found (Tab. IV, fig. 3). These findings prove that the burial in the chamber is related to the Iron Age.

The tomb is also characterized by an important feature – it is encircled by another round kerb on average 50 m in diameter consisting of randomly placed stones. This type of tombs, surrounded with two or even three above-ground rows, are known from other Late Bronze Age–Iron Age sites of Armenia (Nerkin Getashen, Kanagegh, Verin Naver, Gavar, Talin, etc.).[12] It is explained by the fact that the same burial chamber was reused for burials in later times, and another kerb was built for it. This is how the old megalithic tomb took on the appearance of a construction with two kerbs, with significant differences in the rows, which proves that the stone rings enclosing the tomb were a result of non-contemporaneous activities. The smallest kerb 18 m in diameter was erected earlier, perhaps in the Late Bronze Age period, whereas the largest one, in all likelihood, is related to the burial of the 10th – 8th/7th cc BC. The remains of the latter were found by the archaeological team in 2013–2015. During the clearance and excavations at the burial chamber some very important data were received. The fact of the matter was that after the capstone was removed some potsherds and fragments of a dark blue glass bracelet dated to the High Middle Ages (11th–13th cc.) were revealed in the commingling layers of soil. So far the only suitable explanation is that in the medieval period, probably in the times of Seljuk or Mongolic destructive inroads, or even later, such large in-ground chambers that were hardly discerned could be used as temporary shelters or caches by the local people.

There is also another peculiarity of this site. Alongside the eastern part of the necropolis, from the edge of the rock-ribbed bank in the south, almost straight northwardly to the cyclopean outer walls of the settlement stretch upright stone blocks of different height (0, 5–3, 5 m) and volume with holes 5, 0–10, 0 cm in diameter in the narrower top parts. The stones were placed at a certain distance from each other. From the western side of the blocks, parallel to them, is a walling 0, 3–0, 5 m tall and 1 km long. At present it is hard to tell when and wherefore this wall was erected. Nevertheless, the wall seems to have been built for protective reasons, and that is why the blocks were placed upwardly. The tentative conclusion is that the interspaces between the blocks of the latter walling were filled with small rocks, and the whole construction that stretches from south to north was used for military defensive purposes. Still it is hard to state what was limited or protected by the second walling skirting the eastern side of the necropolis. It is not excluded that after 9th–7th cc. BC part of the Zorats Karer Necropolis was used as a dwelling space, and the wall was erected for protective

12 **A. Piliposyan, V. Hovhanissyan,** *Excavations at Nerkin Getashen village*, Thesis for the Scientific Conference dedicated to the archaeological field work carried out in Armenia in 1989–1990, Yerevan 1991, pp. 33–35. **A. Piliposyan, R. Mkrtchyan, L. Kirakosyan,** *Excavations at Kanagegh Necropolis in 1999*, in: Hayastani Hnaguin Mshakuit (Ancient Culture of Armenia), # 2, Yerevan 2002, pp. 43–49. **H. Simonyan**, *Verin Naver*, book I (The Results of Excavations in 1976 –1990), Yerevan 2006, fig. 4, Tab. XVII, XXIII, LIII, LXIX.

purposes. At that, the blocks for the walling were taken from the local megalithic tombs and reused as a construction material. It is highly probable that during this hypothetical process, mainly huge boulders with holes were chosen, since perforated blocks were easier to handle. Thus, the walling skirting the Zorats Karer site from south to north was erected not earlier than the second quarter of the 1st millennium BC and has nothing to do with the imaginary groundless theories of "observatory". Otherwise, the blocks would not be arranged abreast, but in circle. Moreover, such slabs and capstones with holes in the top part can be found in other parts of the site and even at the tombs down the rock-ribbed bank.

These non-contemporaneous perforated megaliths have been preserved at other archaeological sites of the region situated close to settlements (Harzhis, Brun, Sisian, Kapan, Selim, Ishkhanasar, Vorotnavank, Yelpin, Lchashen, Noratus, Metsamor, etc.).[13] Thus, even with the best will in the world, it is really hard to imagine that all those monuments were used for heavenly bodies' observation. Otherwise, following the private judgments of the pseudo scholars, we would have to accept that our ancestors of southern Armenia of the Bronze and Iron Ages had plenty of spare time and an overwhelming desire to build "observatories" anytime and anywhere, even side to side. The judgments of this level and type are, by all means, groundless and primitive and have nothing to do with the reality and, what is more, with the science…

The Zorats Karer site still contains lots of mysteries. Their revealing, study and interpretation should be carried out step by step, thoroughly studying and considering the results of research at similar sites in different parts of the world (Scandinavia, The British Isles, Brittany and the Iberian Peninsula, Sardinia, Corsica, Malta, Asia Minor, Iranian Plateau, Altai, India, Latin America, Southern Africa, etc.).[14] In this context, Zorats Karer can indeed be considered as one of the initial monuments for the study of the Bronze and Iron Age megalithic monuments of Ancient Armenia, whole Ancient Near East and neighboring region.

13 **E. Khanzadyan, K. Mkrtchyan, E. Parsamyan,** *Metsamor (Research on the Basis of Archaeological Excavations of 1965–1966),* Yerevan 1973. pp. 137–142 (in Arm.). **V. Avetyan,** *The Culture of the Lake Sevan Basin in the 3rd–2nd millennia BC.* Yerevan 2003, tab. LVI, fig. 1, 2 (in Arm.). **H. Simonyan**, *Armenia in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages*, in: "Archaeological Heritage of Armenia", Yerevan 2012. **H. Avetisyan, H. et al.** *The Sacred Landscape of the Bronze Age and Iron Age Syunik.* Yerevan 2015, pp. 57–60, tab. 24, 36–39, 46, (in Arm.).

14 *M. O'Kelly, Newgrange. Archaeology, Art and Legend.* London 1982. *A. Burl, Henges: Internal Features and Regional Groups*, in: "Archaeological Journal", # 126, 1969, pp. 1-28. *G. Hawkins and J. White,* Stonehenge Decoded. Moscow 2004 (in Rus.). *G. Hawkins, От Стоунхенджа до инков = Beyond Stonehenge*. Moscow 2004 (in Rus.). *G. Barclay, The Henge and Hengiform in Scotland,* in: "Set in Stone: New Approaches to Neolithic Monuments in Scotland", Oxford 2005. pp. 81-94. P. Brown, Stonehenge: The Secrets of the Megaliths. M.2010.
http://www.dartmouth.edu/~izapa/E-35.pdf (V.Malmström. The Geography of Megalithic Settlement in Scandinavia).
http://all-that-is-interesting.com/worlds-oldest-structures (The World's Oldest Structures: Megalithic Temples, Malta).
http://www.thehindu.com/features/friday-review/history-and-culture/megalithic-burial-site-found-in-kadapa/article3565463.ece (Megalithic burial site found in Kadapa, India, 2012).
http://www.drevni-megalit.ru/category/megality-yuzhnoj-ameriki/ (Puma Punku, Bolivia), etc.

TABLE I

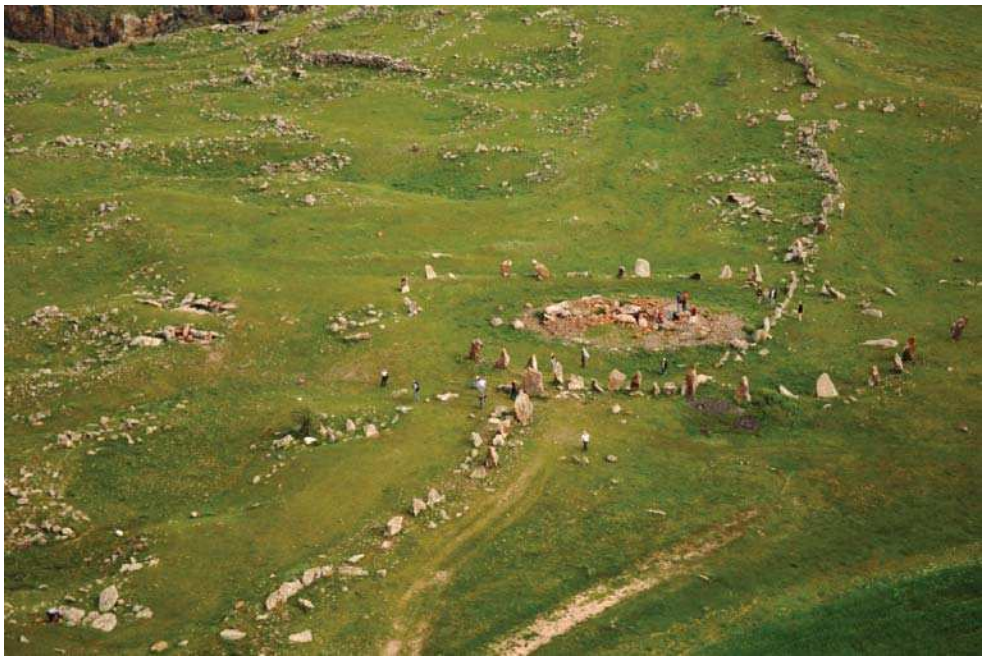

Fig. 1. The general view of Zorats Karer Site from the south.

Fig. 2. The remains of different parts of the outer walls of the settlement from the south and the west.

TABLE II

Fig. 1. Destroyed Tombs of the Zorats Karer Necropolis.

Fig. 2. A looted burial chamber to the west of the Zorats Karer Settlement.

TABLE III

Fig. 1. The general top view of the Tomb, the so-called "Observatory"

Fig. 2. The dromos of the tomb, the so-called "Observatory" of Zorats Karer, from the west.

TABLE IV

Fig. 1. Findings from Zorats Karer dated to the Middle (20^{th}–18^{th} cc. BC) and Late (15^{th} –13^{th} cc. BC) Bronze Age periods (collection of S. Lisitsyan).

Fig. 2. The bronze top of the scepter and a bronze plate of armor from the Iron Age Tombs of Zorats Karer (excavations by O. Khnkikyan)

Fig. 3. Iron Age potsherds and fragments of iron arrows (10^{th}–$8^{th}/7^{th}$ cc. BC) from a tomb, the so-called Observatory, found in 2014 (excavations by A. Piliposyan).

TABLE V

Fig. 1. Zorats Karer (Armenia)

Fig. 2. Göbekli Tepe (Asia Minor)

Fig. 3. Callanish Stones (Scotland)

Fig. 4. Stonehenge (England)

Fig. 5. Cauria-Stantari (Italy)

Fig. 6. Almendres Cromlech (Portugal)

Fig. 7. Ual-Pala (Corsica)

Fig. 8. Willong Khullen (India)

THE ROLE OF EASTERN ANATOLIA IN RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE SOUTHERN CAUCASUS AND THE AEGEAN WORLD: Some Metallurgical Evidence from the Highlands of Erzurum-Kars[1]

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To authenticate that relationships existed between the Southern Caucasus and the Aegean World in ancient times is a very interesting but difficult subject, especially when taking into account the geographical distance between these two regions. However, by reason of Eastern Anatolia's position between the two cultural zones in this network, this subject has become popular and attractive for research among archaeologists. So far, research has shown that relationships between these two great cultural regions started in the Early Bronze Age and continued to increase during the Middle Bronze Age. Chernykh has suggested that there was a network based on metals and metallurgical activities at this time which was centred round the Black Sea and its surroundings. Some scholars have presented shaft-hole axes and their moulds which have been found in the Southern Caucasus as evidence for relationships between the Aegean, Anatolia and Syria. Also, connecting Trialeti-type swords (rapiers) with the Aegean World is another question for debate. Although there are regional differences, these swords can be presented as evidence to show that relationships existed between the Southern Caucasus and the Aegean World based on metallurgical activities. Also, analyses of metal artefacts (principally XRF analyses) presented surprising results in this connection. Recently, a project about metal weapons from the Erzurum and Kars museums has been developed. Within the scope of this project many metal weapons dating to the pre-Urartian period which are held in both museums have been analysed from various perspectives. The results are spectacular and remarkable. The main aim of this paper is to present these results to the academic world and open them up for discussion.

To understand the cultural, social, economic, political and technological development of ancient societies, it is critical to analyse interregional relationships and interactions between groups. Undoubtedly there are many factors to consider when studying these relationships, but foremost among them must be the geographical and ecological conditions of the regions being examined. (Bobokhyan 2008) The Caucasian and Aegean worlds, the subjects of this workshop, have been great cultural regions throughout history, being home to outstanding cultures and civilisations. When you consider that, geographically, they have great distances between them, it would be easy to presume that their developmental processes would take different directions; however, contrary to this conjecture, archaeological exploration over many years has shown that these regions had close relationships and interactions with each

1 We would like to present our gratitude to Organisers of the Workshop particullarly to Prof. Goderdzi Narimanishvili for kindly invitation. We also thank to Jan Bailey (M.A) for editing of the text.

other, and from much earlier periods than expected (Abramishvili 2001 and 2011; Hansen 2010; Rahmnstorf 2011).

An example of this is that, in the literary and mythological traditions from the Classical period of each region, legendary heroes - such as the Argonauts with their pursuit of the Golden Fleece, and Prometheus, chained to a rock in the Caucasus Mountains - are shared. There is no doubt that colonisation of the Black Sea region by ancient Greek cities played an active role in the convergence of these two distant worlds, and resulted in mention of far and mysterious lands in ancient Greek and Roman myths.

However archaeological expeditions right across the Near East are presenting results which show that the process might have begun much earlier. In fact, some scholars working on regional prehistory have suggested that Homo-Erectus groups, using Acheulian technology, might have migrated to the Southern Caucasus via Eastern Anatolia from the Levant (Taşkıran 2006: 709-716). More clear and tangible evidence of interaction can be observed from the Chalcolithic period, although it is much more apparent during the Bronze Ages (Hansen 2010; Rahmnstorf 2011). Many scholars have undertaken research on this subject, and have analysed a range of evidence, ranging from burial traditions and grave types to domestication of sheep for wool, which indicates relationships and interaction between the two regions. However, as these materials and their analyses are not the main topic of this essay, we are not mentioning them in detail in this paper.

The other matter under discussion is the route by which these relationships and interactions have taken place. Two major suggestions are:

- A northerly route[2] based on the Black Sea region, which follows the Pontic Alps and the Balkans, reaching northern Greece, and
- A southerly route[3] passing through Anatolia, including Eastern and North-eastern Anatolia, reaching the Aegean and Mediterranean worlds.
  The question arises: which route was more popular? The available archaeological materials showing relations and interconnections demonstrate that both routes may have been used in this process **(Fig. 1)**.

There is no question that Anatolia, and particularly Eastern Anatolia, has played an important role in relationships between the Caucasus and Aegean worlds. Major sites dating to the Early and Middle Bronze Ages in Anatolia have produced striking data indicating relationships between the Caucasus, Anatolia and the Aegean. For instance, horned objects (namely and-

2 Some scholars such as Gimbutas, Hansen, Kohl pointed out northern route considering distribution of kurgans burial customs, using wheeled wagons, horses and metallurgical evidences. For more knowledge see Hansen 2010: 297-318.

3 In this regard further the evidences from sites in Anatolia are considered. For more detailed see Abramishvili 2001 and 2010.

irons) and spiral decorations at Kura-Araxes sites in the Eastern Anatolian highland, metal objects and burial customs in Alacahöyük on the Central Anatolian plateau, and various archaeological materials from major Bronze Age sites such as Kültepe, Karataş and Troy, are principal indicators for this interaction between two distant worlds.

In this context, Northeastern Anatolia – in other words the Erzurum-Kars highland, part of hilly Eastern Anatolia – comes to the fore, as it is a close neighbour to the Caucasus world. Moreover, this sub-region occurs as a southern continuation of South Caucasus, both culturally and geographically. It is unfortunate that this sub-region – particularly the Kars area – is not well known archaeologically because there has been very limited investigation in the region. It is only with the help of excavations at Sos – the only systematic expedition in the region – and some earlier excavations such as Karaz, Pulur and Güzelova, that the Erzurum region is now much better known in terms of archaeology[4]. In relation to our topic, some evidence has been produced which demonstrates the close relationships with the Caucasus. This includes Caucasian-influenced ceramic groups such as Sioni, Maikop, Markopi and Trialeti wares, burial traditions from Sos Höyük, and Martkopi and Bedeni-influenced pottery, as well as a few metal objects, from the Karaz, Pulur and Güzelova sites (Işıklı 2005; Işıklı 2008; Sagona 2004: 475-538). No doubt we need more evidence.

The Southern Caucasus, along with its surrounding regions, has been known as a significant mining and metallurgical province in the Ancient Near East since the Bronze Age, and this activity has resulted in relationships and interaction between the Caucasus and the Aegean world. Chernykh defined this as a "Circumpontic Metallurgical Province", and pointed out that a there was a "huge system of metallurgical and metal workings" (Chernykh 1992: 55). The clear evidence of this is the large amount of gorgeous metal objects - funerary gifts of considerable wealth - recovered from kurgans.

Many scholars have been studying the relationships and interactions between the Caucasus and the Aegean in relation to metallurgy and metal objects, and in this regard North-eastern Anatolia (the Erzurum-Kars Highland) is in a substantial position because of the Caucasus being right on its border. However, because of very poor investigations we only have limited knowledge of the level of its ancient metallurgy. Two museums in this region – at Kars and Erzurum – hold many and various metal objects which, unfortunately, have been recovered from illegal excavations. Although they reflect the region's wealth potential, they do not make any sense archaeologically (Işıklı 2008: 99-118).

There has been a project developed recently to investigate some of these metals in both museums, and within the context of this project 134 metal weapons, dating to pre-Urartian periods, have been analysed in terms of comparative analysis and typography. Most of these weapons have been analysed by XRF technology to better understand their chemical struc-

4 For archaeological developments process of the region see Işıklı 2011.

ture. Preliminary results show that these weapons have similarities when compared with samples from the Caucasus and North-western Iran, which was one of the greatest metallurgical provinces of the Ancient World (Işıklı-Altunkaynak 2013 and 2014; Altunkaynak 2015). These results give us cause to ask the question: Has North-eastern Anatolia played an active role in relationships between the Caucasus and the Aegean, based on metallurgical activities and metal objects? We aim to open up a discussion around a small group of weapons from those which have been analysed, and which have brought these relationships into question. This small group consists of swords, daggers and axes.

The first sub-group comprises a few shaft-hole axes, two of which are held in Erzurum and Kars Museums, and which have come from excavations at Karaz (Koşay-Turfan 1959). The others are from illegal excavations. The body enlarges slightly from the head to the edge. The shaft-holes are round and the eye widens before the cheeks (Işıklı-Baştürk 2010: 39-65). The axe type, which "Martkopi-Bedeni Typed shaft-holed axes" in Caucasian metallurgy, appeared towards the end of the Bronze Age, and its distribution was across a vast geographical region. Images of these shaft-hole axes can be seen at several sites dated to the Bronze Age in the Caucasus and Eastern Anatolia – sites such as Maikop, Sachkhere, Nacherkezevi, Karaz, Arslantepe and Norşuntepe, Yusufeli (Artvin) (Chernykh 1992: 60-66, fig. 20). According to Rahmstorf, shaft-hole axes dated to the Bronze Age are the principal indicators for relationships between the Aegean and the Caucasian world. Earlier shaft-hole axes have been reported from many sites on mainland Greece (Rahmstorf 2011: 265-269, figs. 2 and 3). **(Fig. 2)**

Also, XRF analyses of some of these axes show that they are composed of arsenical copper (4% arsenic). This proportion is in accordance with compared samples and technology of the period under study (Abramishvili 2011; Işıklı-Altunkaynak 2013 and 2014; Altunkaynak 2015).

The second sub-group consists of swords and daggers, and the swords can be described as "short swords" by their length, which varies between 40 and 50 cm. In other words they are shorter than standard swords but longer than daggers. This typed sword is very similar with dagger because of its form properties. These short swords generally have a hilt which is solid or handle which made of bone or wood. Unfortunately, all of the swords and daggers in this group have come from illegal excavations, and because of this their context is unknown. Comparative typological analysis has shown that they can be dated to the second part of the 2nd millennium BC in light of their similarities. Close parallels to these swords and daggers can be seen across a vast geographical region, including in Transcaucasus and Northwestern Iran (Chernykh 1992, fig. 101; Motzenbacker 1996: 42-43, Abb. 18; Piczhelauri 1997: 751-752, taf. 50). Also a very similar sample has been found in close area to Armenian border in Kars Region by illegal excavation (Işıklı 2012: 256, fig. 1).

Table showing the results of XRF analyses on Axes from Erzurum and Kars Museum

Weapon Name	No	Ti	Cr	Fe	Co	Ni	Cu	Zn	Mo	Sn	Sb	As	Pb
Axe	180-97.					0,0461	95,6281				0,0969	4,2289	
Axe	1423.			0,0207			98,7113		0,0055			1,2626	
Axe	69.	0,0906		0,6769			96,5104		0,0121			2,6883	
Axe	1-3.1994.					0,0309	98,0921					1,877	
Axe	37-7-974.					0,0821	99,1988					0,7192	

Also, some of them remind us of Aegean-type swords, and relationships between repairs on Transcaucasus and Aegean (A type by Sandars) earlier swords are, of course, our subject matter[5]. According to Abramishvili, Transcaucasian rapiers are the most striking evidence we have for this relationship (Abramishvili 2001); however, because of their length, the swords of this sub-group generally look different to the rapiers of the Transcaucasus which come from the Middle Bronze Ages. Sandars pointed out the swords and daggers of Alacahöyük as "connection point" in this relationship (Sandars 1961: 17-29). Then there should be some evidence related this connection and relationship between Transcaucasus and Central Anatolia. No doubt the focus area must be Eastern Anatolia in this respect. But the fact remains that the swords and daggers of this sub-group attract our attention because of their similarity with some Aegean swords and daggers, especially in the repairs on the Mycenaean and Alacahöyük samples. This situation is valid for two-handled daggers in this sub-group as well. **(Fig. 3)**

On the other hand, the XRF analyses of these swords and daggers show that they are made of arsenical coppers (3 – 5 % arsenic) and bronze (6 – 7% tin). These proportions are in accordance with both periods' technology and compared samples from the Caucasus, Iran and the Aegean (Işıklı-Altunkaynak 2013 and 2014; Altunkaynak 2015).

Table showing the results of XRF analyses on Swords and Daggers from Erzurum and Kars Museum

Weapon Name	No	Ti	Cr	Fe	Co	Ni	Cu	Zn	Mo	Ag	Sn	Sb	As	Pb
Dagger	127-94	0,0355		0,2101		0,0698	93,8479					1,0668	3,3986	1,3713
Dagger	7-28-76					0,0918	96,9555	0,3429	0,0071		1,4233	0,1089	0,8675	0,2031
Dagger	62-84.	0,0557		0,2146	0,0799	0,2567	91,0671		0,0089		7,875		0,4421	

5 For more knowledge about Transcaucasian Rapiers see a recent study by Sherazadishvili 2015, 148-155.

Short Sword	2007-98			3,0669	0,1383	0,0609	92,652		0,0085		3,3507		0,4228	0,2999
Dagger	34-4-2008			0,5924		0,0296	84,3588		0,0105		9,9542	0,1375	3,5889	1,328
Dagger	8-6-2003	0,1365		1,1293			85,5793		0,0149		9,5058	1,7509	0,3748	1,5084

The main aim of this paper, as mentioned above, is to open up to discussion these analysed metal weapons. We are aware that the evidence is very restricted; nevertheless we would like to present this limited metallurgical evidence from the Erzurum-Kars Highlands, to see if it can contribute in any way to a discussion around Caucasian-Aegean relationships. The best way to learn this is for us to present and discuss these materials and their analytical results within academic platforms such as this workshop in Tbilisi.

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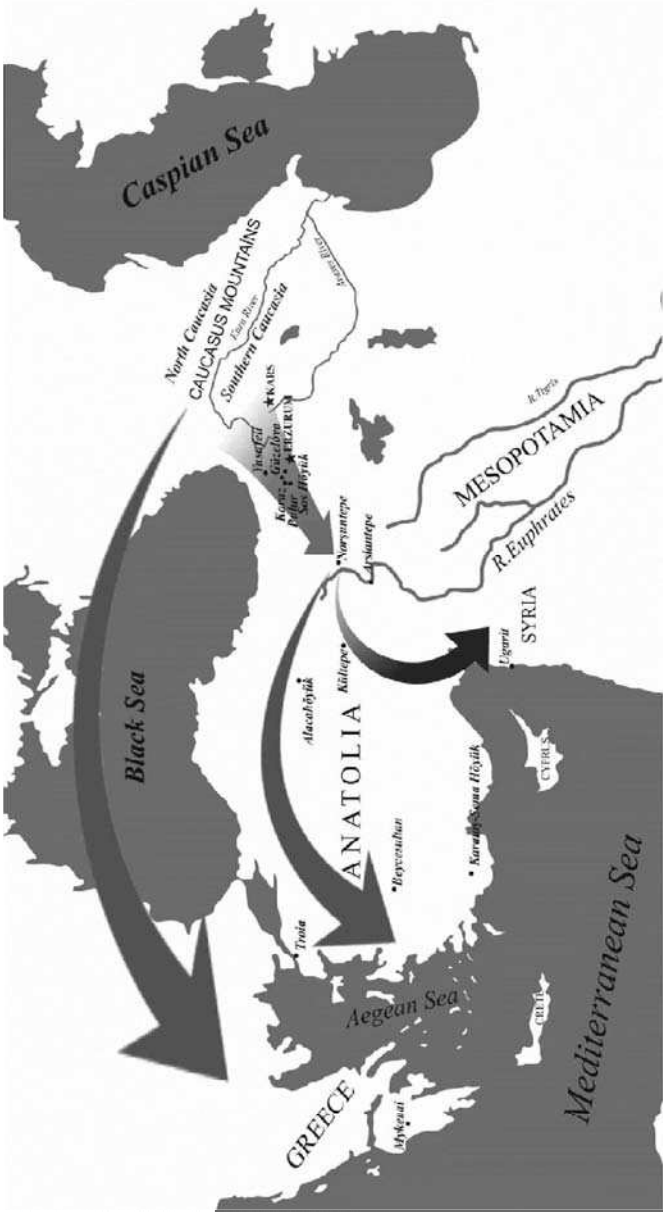

Fig. 1: The Map showing main possible routes in relationships
and interactions between Caucasus and Aegean Worlds
and some site mentioned in the text

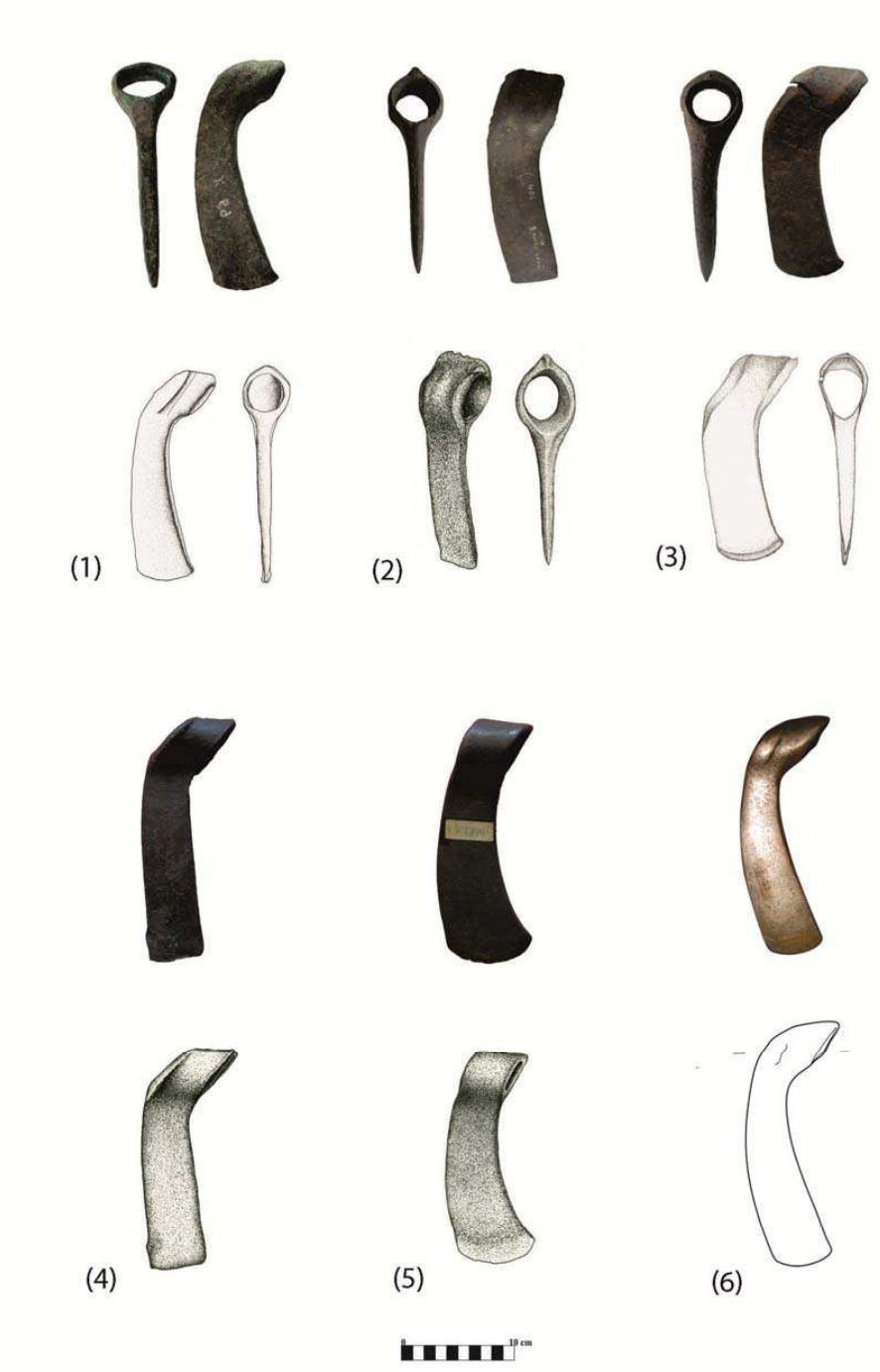

Fig. 2: Shaft-holed axes from Erzurum (No:1-3,6) and Kars (No:4 and 5) Museum

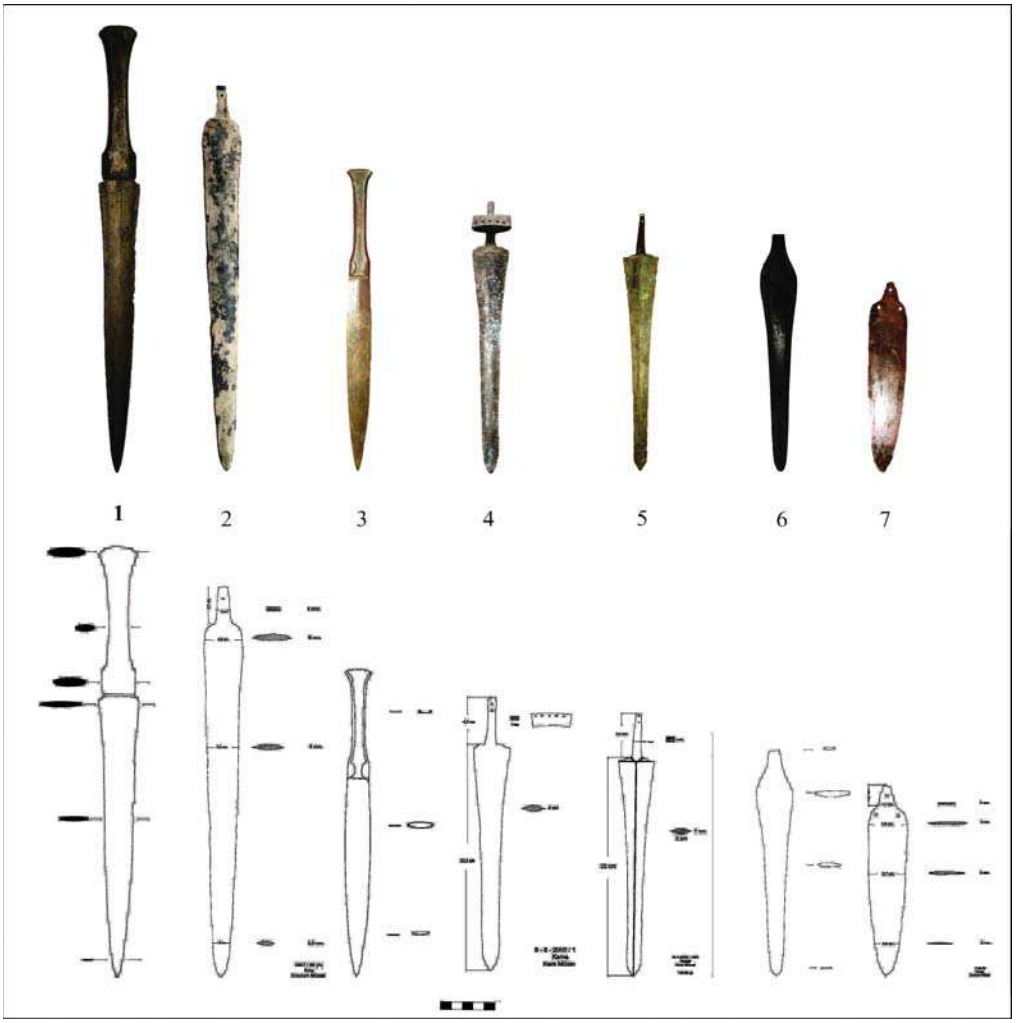

Fig. 3: The short swords and dagger from Erzurum and Kars Museums

COLCHIS-AEGEAN RELATIONS IN THE MIDDLE BRONZE AGE

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From the standpoint of relations between Colchis and Aegean world in the Middle Bronze Age not enough archeological materials are revealed from the Western Georgian archeological monuments [Lordkipanidze, 2002; 153]. But we cannot say either that regarding to this particular problem we have nothing. In my opinion the lack of materials can be explained by the insufficient burial grounds from the Middle Bronze Age. According to the latest data in the western Georgia only two cemeteries are studied that date back to the Middle Bronze age and all are discovered in Eastern Colchis mountains (Brili) [Gobejishvili, 1952] and in the foothill trail Modinakhe [Lomtadze, 2000; Lomtadze, 2002]. Despite the fact that Brili tomb materials are published in fragments they still give us the tangible information on the topic we are interested in [Lordkipanidze, 2002; 137]

Our current article will focus on several artifacts discovered in the Middle Bronze Age in Modinakhe tombs. The fortress of Modinakhe which dates back to the Late Middle Ages is located in the North-west of Sachkhere region. The south slope of the fortress was used for accommodation and burials through the centuries. The archeological excavations carried out in 60's and 70's of the 20th century revealed three settlement layers which belong to the late phase of Kura-Araxes period, the Late Bronze-Early Iron Age and Pre-ancient époque [Nadiradze, 1975; 13-26]. Besides the settlement layers several cemeteries are present from various periods; from the Middle Bronze Age [Lomtadze, 2000; 5-18; Lomtadze, 2002; 5-11], from the Late Bronze Age [Lomtadze, 2004; 48-72], from the Pre-ancient period [Makharadze, Lomtadze, 2000; 59-80], from the Late ancient period [Nadiradze, 1975; 43-75; Bragvadze, Chigogidze, 2002 91-141] and from the Early Middle Ages [Kapanadze, 2006; 91-101].

Modinakhe Middle Bronze Age tomb sets were studied by the late archeologist Gocha Lomtadze and consequently artifacts that we are going to discuss now were published by him for the first time.

From the numerous materials from the Modinakhe middle Bronze Age our attention is drown to four objects that have been discovered in the tombs N25, N35 and N40. The dark burnished bowl with a leg, which was made of well refined clay (tomb N25) [Fig. 4], the black tumbler, which was also made of the well refined clay (tomb N35) [Fig. 2], the drinking vessel discovered in the same tomb is made of fine-grained clay [Fig. 3] and the bronze dagger found in the tomb N40 [Fig. 1].

Even though ceramic objects differ in form as well as in purpose of use they have common sign which is slightly raised the so - called mynoan handle. The Georgian archeologists have agreed that similar vessels found on the Georgian soil are not local for Georgia and its appearance is connected to Aegean world [Abramishvili, 1973; 44]. We encounter identical debates in Armenian scientific literature, too. Similar ceramics discovered in the Kirovakan burial ground is also associated with Aegean world [Areshyan, 1973; 44] and there is no doubt that above mentioned pottery found in the South Caucasus in general comes from the Aegean world.

Gocha Lomtadze considered Modinakhe artifacts as the imitations based on the general structures of the tombs, not luxurious burial inventories and low social status of the people buried in the tombs [Lomtadze, 2000; 11]. We partially agree with this view but we have a slight supposition that the bowl found in the tomb N25 might had belonged to the import. Nevertheless, we consider this discovery as the very important historical-cultural occasion no matter if they are locally produced or imported. We believe that if they are locally produced, their scientific value raises even more, because the local craftsmen must had been familiar with the Aegean form and they were imitating and spreading these forms. This opinion is directly linked with the assumption that Aegean world had the growing interest in black sea coast in the middle of the II millennium BC. This interest first and foremost is explained by the fact that east and south shores of the Black Sea were extremely rich in metal resources and bronze products [Inadze, 2009; 167]. We share this view and we would like to add that if the interest of the Aegean world was stipulated by the richness of western Georgia in natural resources, then the Aegeans must had an interest in mountains of east Colchis which is nowadays Racha-Imereti, because during that period this region had exceptional metallurgy and it was a vital factor for developing the bronze industry. The diverse selection of weaponry and existence of various industrial workshops also back up this view [Japaraidze, 2003, 183-185]. Some Georgian researchers go as far as assuming bronze export from Colchis mountains to Aegean world via third party trade centers [Inadze, 2009; 209] or direct trade centers [Baramidze, 1998; 176]. We do not completely share this viewpoint that there is a direct connection between Upper Imereti and Aegean world in the Middle Bronze age but we think that in general Colchis context the Aegean world had certain interests for this region.

Otar Lordkipanidze suggests that the archeological data give us the enough evidence to prove that in the II Millennium BC in western Georgia sophisticated bronze culture was present but nowhere in the eastern coast of the Black Sea. We encounter such highly developed societies or nor do we have enough archeological evidence to prove it [Lordkipanidze, 2002; 139]. Therefore, it is no coincidence that in the ancient oriental sources Colchis is first mentioned in the époque that followed the Middle Bronze Age which is a documental proof that already in the XIII century BC the big unions of Colchis tribes existed [Melikishvili ,1959, 186].

According to the views expressed in Georgian historiography the eastern Black sea cost must have caught interest of Aegean world long before the beginning of the Greek colonization,

back in the Mycenaean era. Though due to the lack of sufficient archeological proof this idea may only remain as an attractive hypothesis [Lordkipanidze, 2002; 153]. Obviously several artifacts discovered on Modinakhe can have neither positive nor negative influence over the problem, although their existence can still shed some light for the future explorations of this matter. Especially besides the ceramics, the weaponry the dagger found in the tomb N40 to be exact, which bears the evident likeness of the Mycenaean style is an inevitable proof of the links between these two worlds [Kehnscherper, 1973; 109-133].

From the beginning the Middle Bronze Age tombs of Modinakhe were dated XVI-XV cc. BC [Lomtadze, 2000; 18]. We have no objection for the suggested date. We only want to point out that chronologically these tombs are Triealeti culture contemporaries. Yet it is also clear that Modinakhe and the Middle Bronze Age tombs of western Georgia in general have a very few links to Trialeti Culture. The similarities can only be found in few artifacts and of course in chronology. As it turns out, the western Georgian archeological monuments share the same foreign relation impulses that are characteristic for Trialeti culture.

Chronologically Modinakhe tombs coincide with the third development phase of Trialeti culture and this phase is distinguished by the intensive relations with Aegean World [Abramishvili, 2010; 173]. In this process the activation of Assyrian trade colony (Kiul Tepe) appeared to be an important event [Abramishvili, 2010; 173]. It can be said that this opinion is the point of departure of our current research. If we take in consideration the intensity of trade relations of the South Caucasus in the middle Bronze Age with Aegean world we can assume that it is a general South Caucasian process in which Western Georgia and its North-Eastern regions to be precise played their part. It must also be mentioned that Colchis-Aegean relations take start exactly from this period, which later on in the I Millennium BC reaches the new level. But it is a problem for a separate research.

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Captions:

Fig. 1 Bronze Dagger. Modinakhe. Tomb N40

Fig. 2 Black Tumbler. Modinakhe. Tomb 35

Fig. 3 Vessel. Modinakhe. Tomb 25

Fig. 4 Dark Burnished Bowl. Modinakhe. Tomb 25

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TETRITSKARO (NADARBAZEVI) BURIAL MOUND 2: BREAD, RUSK AND THE BEDENI PERIOD

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The preservation of foodstuff is rare in archaeology (Metheny and Beaudry 2015: 70–75). While macro-remains such cereals and nuts are not uncommon, baked and processed foods are. Such is the case for bread. From Iraq we have samples of fossilised baked bread from the Ubaid period (Rosemary et al. 1978: 167), while from Egypt the dry climate has preserved desiccated samples from Amarna dated to the period 2000–1200 BC (Samuel 1989: 253; 2002: 27). European archaeologists, too, have also discovered samples of bread. It has been found in Middle Bronze Age contexts from Hungary (Colter-Graham et al. 2014: 1-13), in the Late Bronze Age period in northern Greece (Valamoti 2002: 1-14) and also is a Graeco-Roman burial (Rottoli and Castiglioni 2011: 495). Later examples have been found in Sweden assigned to the period AD 400-900 (Hansson 1996: 61; 2002: 183), while rusks have been found in Switzerland (Keller 1866) and England (Colter-Graham et al. 2014:1-13). We can now add the Trans-Caucasus, specifically Georgia, to these regions.

The bread and rusk from Georgia derive from Tetritskaro (Nadarbazevi) Burial Mound №2 and are not newly discovered (Fig. 1), but misidentification has meant they have gone unrecognised for over 60 years. Germane Gobedjishvili and his team excavated the mound in the late 1950s as part of a field project under the auspices of Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography of the Georgian Academy of Sciences (Gobejishvili 1980; for a more recent appraisal of the excavations see, Narimanishvili 2013). In 2010, the Georgian National Museum stores in Armazi were cleared, and its holdings were transported to the Simon Janashia Museum in Tbilisi. Among the items were those from Tetritskaro that had lay out of sight and undisturbed for decades.

Tetritskaro (Nadarbazevi) Burial Mound №2

The burial mound was located to the west of Tetritskaro, at a height of 1300–1400 m above the sea level, on the road to the village of Ivanovski, along the north-east shore of an unnamed lake. Nearby is the historic site of Nadarbazevi. Although the barrow had been looted, the remnant finds place it with the Bedeni period generally assigned to the second half of the

third millennium BC (Gobejishvili 1980: 133–134). This is confirmed by a radiocarbon date (Wk-35426) analysed at Waikato Laboratory, which yield a reading of 2474–2335 cal BC at 95.4% probability.

Beneath the mound of stone and shell was the burial chamber comprising a rectangular pit with rounded corners (8.6 x 5.4 x 2.2 m) cut in the andesite-basalt bedrock. On the bedrock was a platform for grave provisions. Around it were fragments and impressions of a woven mat. Presumably, the whole floor was covered with a mat, which appears to have been stained with red ochre. A badly preserved, headless skeleton, also bearing traces of red ochre, was position near the north wall of the chamber (Gobejishvili 1980: 3–6, 15–16).

Although the tomb had been emptied, narrow niches within the north and west walls contained the remnants of organic substances. These items were intentionally placed in these positions. We shall not here detail all the items, but draw attention to those artefacts (with Gobejishvili's original field numbers) found within the north wall. They comprise the following:

1. The tip of a broken bone arrow (№ 85)
2. Remnants of a corroded bronze (?) triple-spiral wire ring (№ 120)
3. Fourteen hollow-based obsidian arrowheads and four flint arrowheads (Gobejishvili 1980: fig. 6)
4. Twelve small pebbles (№ 102, Gobejishvili 1980: pl. VIII)
5. Thirty six small items, including jewellery, made of bone, antler and faience (№ 105) were found under pebbles and arrowheads, and in black stratum saturated with organic additions (Gobejishvili 1980: pl. IX-2)
6. Disc-headed pin (№ 101, Gobejishvili 1980: pl. X-10)
7. Racket-shaped pin (№ 104, Gobejishvili 1980: X-12)
8. Double-edged knife with long handle (№ 100, Gobejishvili 1980: pl. X-11)
9. Oblong object made of sandstone (№ 98)
10. Stone pestle modified from a cobblestone (Gobejishvili 1980: pl. VIII-3)
11. Grindstone (Gobejishvili 1980: pl. VIII-2)
12. Greenish-bluish stone mallet (№ 95, Gobejishvili 1980: pl. IX-1)
13. A large fragment of a wooden board (№ 97, Gobejishvili 1980: pls. IV-5, V-1, 2)
14. Three cylindrical-shaped bone objects (№ 93, Gobejishvili 1980: IX-2)
15. Another group of arrowheads, twelve in number, made of obsidian and two further arrowheads made of flint
16. Three bone arrowheads

Two artefacts attracted our attention in this group: the "oblong object made of sandstone" (№ 98) and the "fragment of a wooden board" (№ 97). Of them G. Gobejishvili wrote:

We cannot say anything certain on the function of these latter things. The wooden piece does not have any distinctive mark; presumably, it could be the remnant of a shelf on the north wall of the burial, which could have been fallen with tools and dishes, when the wall collapsed. It

is more amazing how it, with another small item, could have survived, when nothing is left of thick logs of the roof, other than carbonised thin fragments... Moreover, the conditions that preserved this piece of wooden board still remain unexplained (G. Gobejishvili 1980: 24).

It turns out that the so-called wooden board is a loaf of carbonised bread baked in a mould (Fig. 1:1). It shape and size (16 x 8 x 5 cm) is not unlike a plano-convex brick: its top is uneven and curved, while its sides and bottom are flat, smooth and covered with a crust. It is the only quadrangular shaped bread we have from antiquity; all the others are circular. Its organic content is very clear even to the naked eye and comprises roughly ground grain and not wood fibres. Likewise, Gobejishvili's "oblong object made of sandstone" (Fig. 1:2) that measures 11 x 6 x 1.8 cm is a rusk.

Palynological analysis

Palynological analysis of the bread and rusk was performed by conventional standard method in Palynological Laboratory of Institute of Palaeobiology of Georgian National Museum (Moore et al. 1991). Firstly, small samples were boiled in 10% potassium alkaline solution, then the substance was centrifuged in a heavy liquid (cadmium), and, finally, the material was dyed (acetolysis). While the bread samples found at other sites have been analysed using archaeobotanical and chemistry, none has employed palynology.

Sample 1. A small size sample was taken from the central part of the bread, so as not to damage this artefact. The weight of the sample did not exceed 20 gr., and because of the small size it did not appear to be rich in pollen and plant spores. There were, however, numerous non-palynological remnants in the spectrum.

Generally, the pollen of wheat and other cereals prevailed in palynological spectrum (Fig. 2). Wild cereals, weed and hop (*Humulus*) are also observable. It should be noted that before analysis the sample was examined under a binocular microscope, which showed seeds of small size. Single pollen grains of trees such as *Pinus silvestric* type, *Corylus avellana* and *Juglans regia*. There are many cells of wood, plant epidermis and starch among non-palynological remnants (Fig. 2). Grainy phytoliths, microscopic particles of algae, flax fiber and spores of fungus (*Tilletia*) are part of the spectrum. This fungus parasitises on wheat-ears and on other organs of wheat. The spores of other fungi that are not yet defined at this stage of research occur in large number.

Sample 2: This sample is also small, weighing about 15 gr. We removed only one of the unimportant fragments of fossil object, so as not to damage the artefact (Fig. 1: 2). Interestingly, palynological spectrum of the second sample appeared to be much richer than that of the first one. The pollen grains of wheat and other forms of cereals are the second most common in this sample (Fig. 3). The predominate pollen group in Sample 2 is the pollen of lime-tree and other melliferous plants, including Cichorioidea, *Achillea*, *Aster*, *Xanthium*,

Fabaceae, *Mentha* (Fig. 4). Of the trees we have beech, oak, hornbeam, nut and fig are found. The spores of fern *Pteris cretica* and *Polypodium vulgare*, which grow only in broad-leaved forests, are observable.

Fossils of non-palynological character are represented richly, among which are cereal starch and burnt cells of wood. Cereal phytoliths are also found. It should be noted that bee hairs and epidermis are found in Sample 2 (Fig. 4). There are also epidermis of wing of moth butterfly and hairs of moth larva. Epidermis of plants and fibre of flax are found.

Conclusions

From these spectra of pollen and non-pollen palynomorphs, we can conclude that Sample 1 is obviously bread, as it contains pollen grains of wheat, cereal starch and phytoliths, which were part of the flour. Importantly the existence of yeast was confirmed by the pollen grains of hop *(Humulus*) and its seeds. A comparison with and examination of fruit and seeds of modern hop confirm our observation.

As a means of controlled analysis, samples of modern baked bread and flour were examined, which revealed, not surprisingly, the existence of pollen grains of wheat and its starch (Fig. 5)**.** Similar plant epidermis, possibly of wheat seed-coat, was found in both the modern and carbonised bread. The burnt tracheal cells of wood indicate that the bread was baked. Earlier investigations showed that these burnt cells of wood penetrate kitchen utensils from smoke, soot and fire ash (Kvavadze et al. 2012: 31).

As for Sample 2, all indications are that it must have been a sweet biscuit or rusk, as it is also made of wheat flour (and its starch and phytoliths) and baked, hence the remnants of burnt tracheal cells of wood. Starch grains were found stuck to pollen grains of lime-tree and bee hairs. Thus, pollen of lime-tree and other honey producing plants and bee hairs found their way into the rusk mixture from the honey, which was added to the dough for sweetness. Fibres of flax were also spotted, so it appears that the biscuit was wrapped in linen, indicating that the rules of hygiene were adhered during the burial process. Moth scales and hairs of its larva were noted and entered the sample either through the flour, or after fossilisation.

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Captions to Illustrations:

Fig. 1. Tetritskaro burial mound. 2. The location of archaeological bread (1) and rusk (2) in burial chamber (G. Gobejishvili 1980).

Fig. 2. Palynomorphs found in bread sample: 1-4 wheat (*Triticum)* pollen grains, 5- hop (*Humulus*) pollen, 6-7 - wheat starch.

Fig. 3. Palynomorphs found in rusk sample: 1- wheat pollen (*Triticum*); 2- lime tree (*Tilia*) pollen and flour starch stick on it; 3-4 wheat starch.

Fig. 4. Palynomorphs found in rusk sample:1- lime (*Tilia*) pollen; 2 - beech (*Fagus*) pollen; 3 - nut (*Corylus*) pollen; 4 - fig (*Ficus carica*) pollen; 5 - wormwood (*Artemisia*) pollen; 6 – yarrow (*Achillea*) pollen; 7 - *Xanthium* pollen; 8 - mint (*Mentha*, Fabaceae) pollen; 9-11 - bee hairs.

Fig. 5. Palynomorphs found in the sample of modern wheat bread: 1-2 - wheat (*Triticum*) pollen; 3-6 - wheat starch; 7 - epidermis of wheat seed-coat.

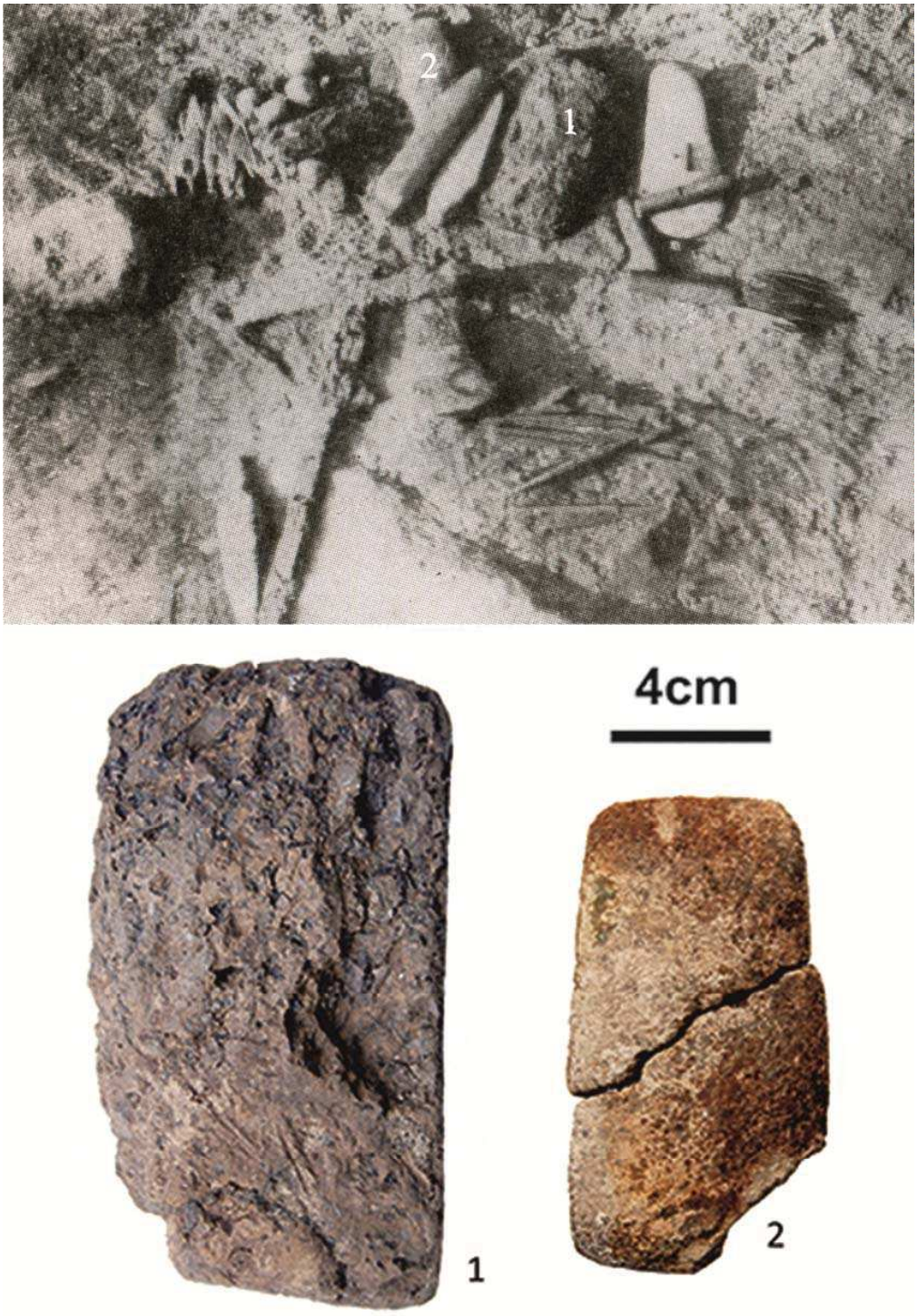

Fig. 1

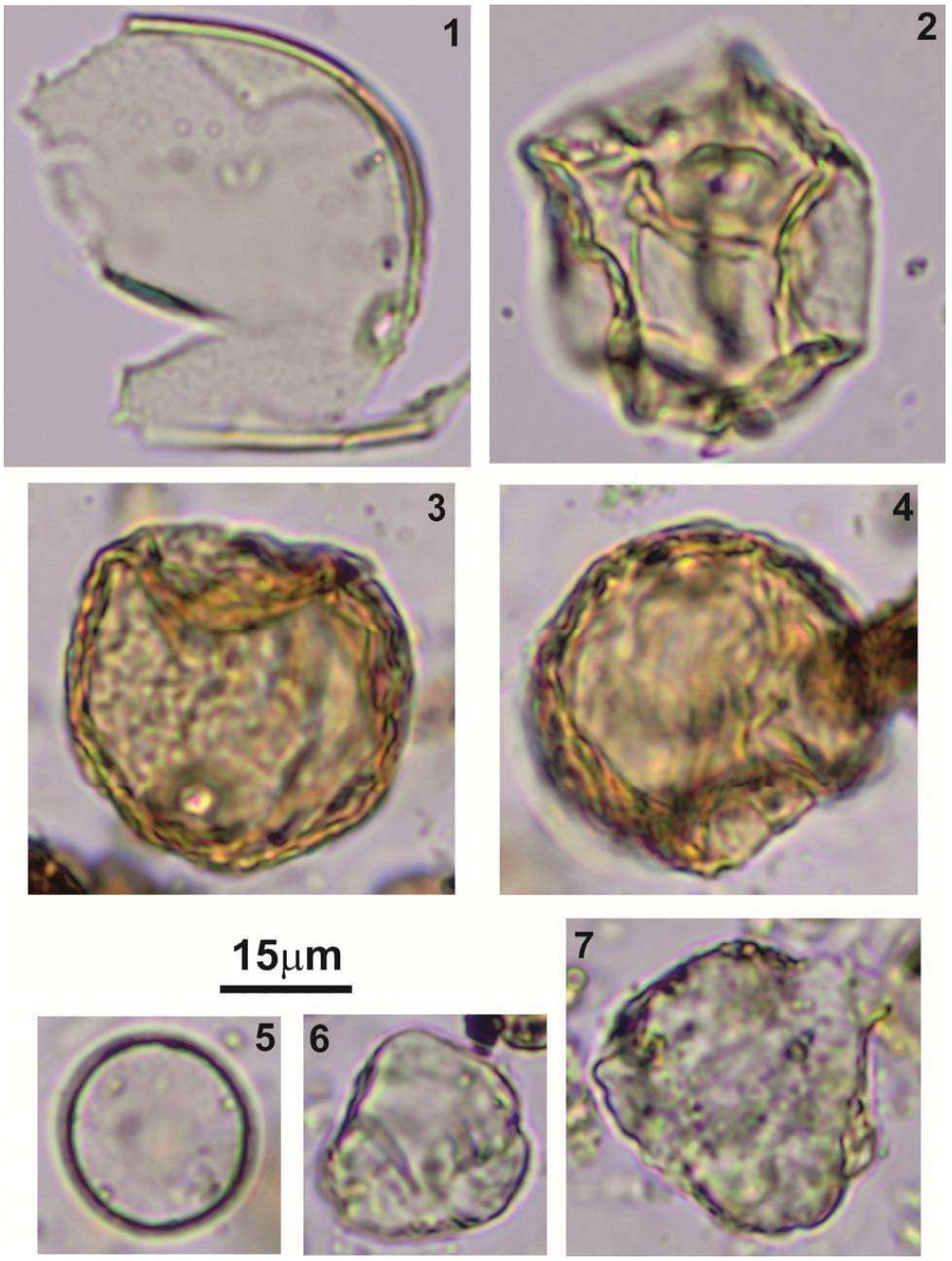

Fig. 2

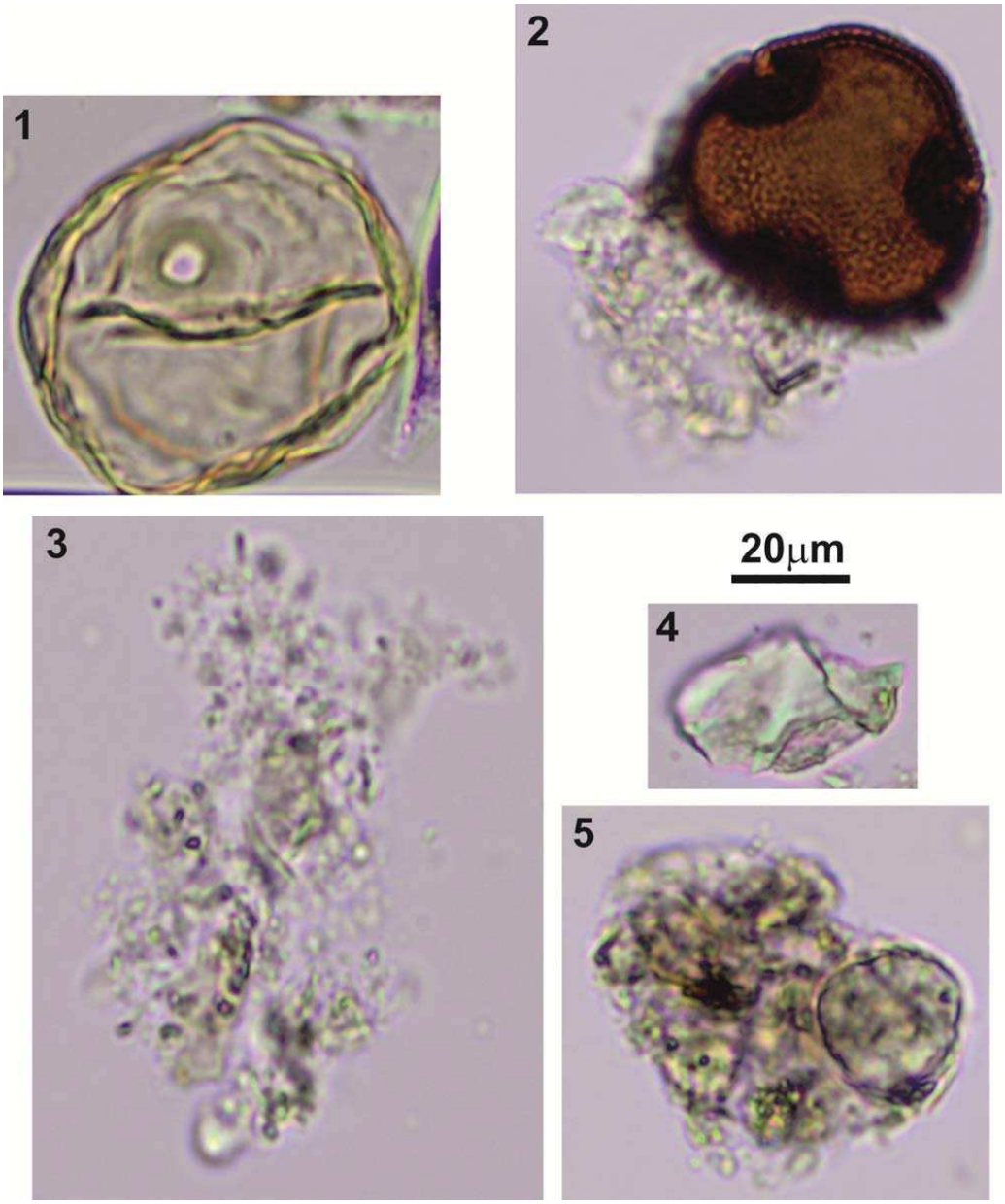

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

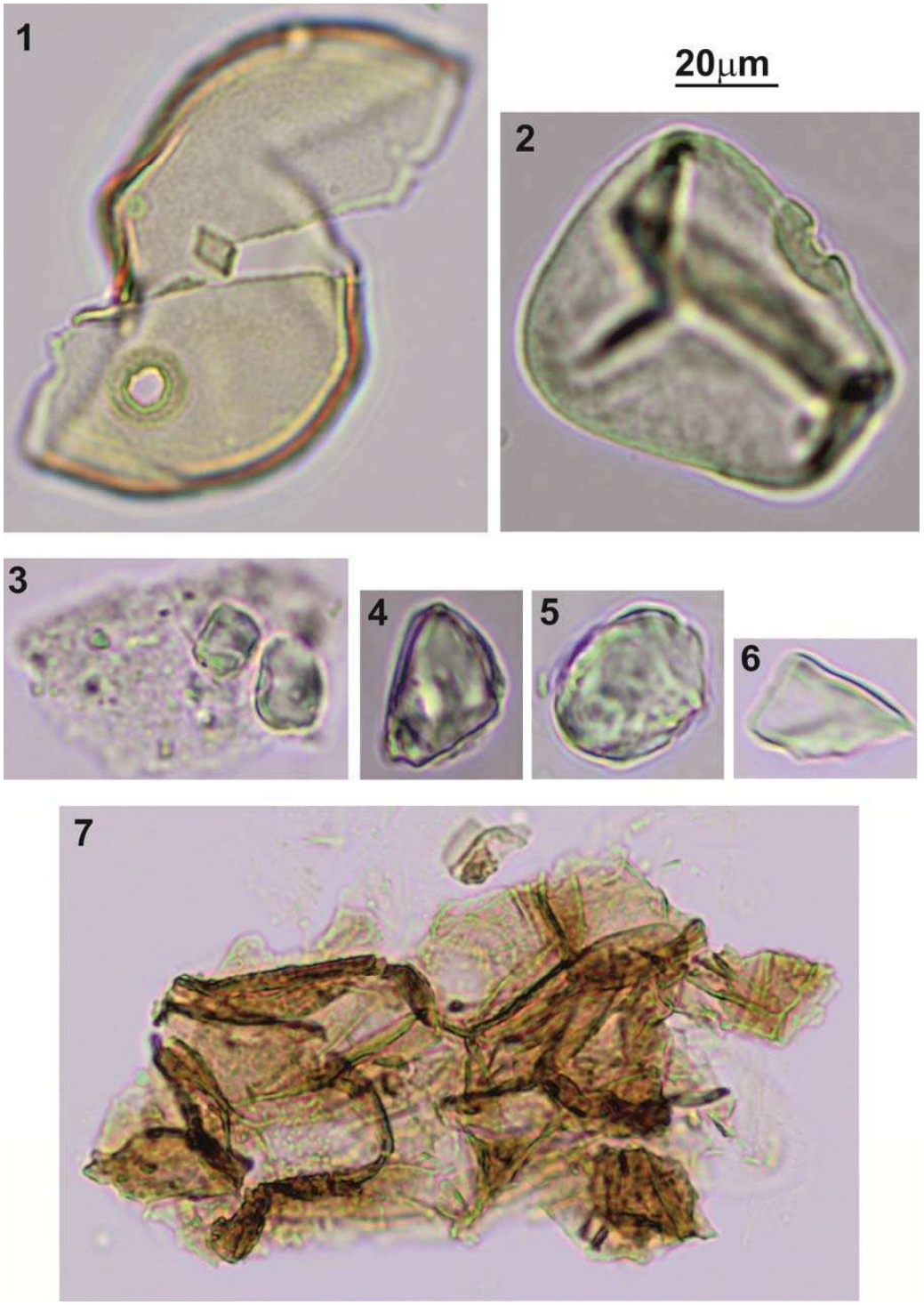

Fig. 5

SOME EVIDENCES FOR THE SOUTH CAUCASIAN-AEGEAN WORLD RELATIONSHIP

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It is a notable certainty that Trialeti culture of the Middle Bronze Age especially sharply represents the wide range of artistic craft items which appear one of the symptomatic features of it. Among the impressive number of such type artifacts, quite obviously distinguishable and easily recordable seems those ones which have a close analogues with Aegean World. Exactly to the elucidation of the certain archaeological evidences, obviously indicating the Aegean-South Caucasian relationship is devoted the present paper.

Before considering this style patterns it is needed to touch some issues of this famous culture. In the South Caucasus, which is supposed to be one of the most important geopolitical and cultural cross-roads of Eurasia, from the last century of the III millennium BC until the mid XVII century BC distinguishably high developed Trialeti Culture of Brilliant Kurgans was existed. It was continuing to be dominated at the mentioned period in entire Caucasian region, more or less simultaneously with bordering to it famous Near Eastern civilizations.

There are several archaeological evidences which indicating the obvious relationship between these neighboring to each other regions and cultural unites are located there. Among the numerous items of precious artistic and metallurgical crafts, supposing that it is quite clear might be distinguished the certain group, which is related particularly with the ancient Aegean World. It is still not enough clear if there is the direct or indirect connections between the Trialeti and Ancient Aegean Middle Bronze age cultures. From the beginning we would like to note that we never exclude the possibility that it might be organized via the other, i.e. mediated cultural body, as well.

The appearance of the new, flourishing culture on the map of the Old World resembles, first of all, the new, developed stage of Middle bronze Age and the start of the drastic changes of ethno-cultural situation in South Caucasian society and, secondly, the sharp activation of intercultural communication between Near East and neighboring to it northern periphery. As the representation of this important process the appearance of the Aegean style toreutics and metalwork among the other rich artifact of the Trialeti culture can be considered.

Suppose that the most flourished in South Caucasus, Trialeti culture might be considered as a result of interaction of various cultural traditions, created at the end of the 3rd and first quarter of the 2nd millennium BC, where different cultural traditions and stylistic orientations can easily be distinguished. The scholars always noted about the Near Eastern style decoration or even the items, which were totally differ from the local artefacts and had no prototypes even in the entire Caucasian region (Kuftin, 1941: 79-100; Japaridze, 1969: 197-237; Japaridze,

2006: 341-360; Gogadze, 1972: 69-94; Rubinson, 2003:128-143; Puturidze, 2006: 66-76; Puturidze, 2002: 100-113).

Our attempt is to point out those exclusively Aegean cultural streams which are recordable among the "alien" type production of the Trialeti culture.

As concerns the main interest of our study, i.e. Aegean style toreutics, which have been discovered only in rich burial sites of the Trialeti culture, we consider better to elucidate them according to the different types.

The rich assemblages of the metal vessels of Trialeti culture are represented by the different types and are of large quantity. Among them it becomes possible to classify only three certain types which reveal a close similarity with those of the typical Aegean vessels. Our primary purpose is the consideration only that typologically separated metal vessels which are directly related to those from the Aegean World and indicate the possible relations between the latter one and South Caucasian region. We'll discuss about them independently from each other, as far as they represent absolutely different types of vessels. Suppose, that it will be used as the basis for further deeper research and the classification of an arranged and ordered corpus of Transcaucasian all rich metal assemblages. The last problem still remains to be solved.

One of enough well represented culture types is the cauldron in Trialeti. They have always a big size and are produced only by copper or bronze (Zhorzhikashvili, Gogadze, 1974: Tab.55_{485}; 77_{667}). This is a pattern which have had a close analogues in Mycenaean shaft-graves (Fig. I, II). Nevertheless of the wide distribution of cauldrons in Aegean world, they are very well known in different regions of the Near East (Syria, Byblos, etc.) (Fig. III).

At the same time it should be stressed that this type of pattern is exclusively represented more widely in Aegean world. H.W. Catling, who specially studied the Aegean bronze cauldrons, made general plates of all types of them (Catling, 1964: Fig.18). From all the variety of presented by this scholar illustrations, only two are represented in the Trialeti culture (Fig. I).

It is important to note that cauldrons (all types of them) are not equally represented in the mound of all social strata of the Trialeti society, nevertheless that they do not belong to the top standard materials of high artistic craft. I think that at the period of flourish of the Trialeti culture, not only the gold and silver were considered as valuable metals but as well the bronze and copper, especially the large pieces of them. Therefore, the cauldrons might be considered as the expensive items, having of which evidently was as prestige as the precious metal samples. It is the reason why the cauldrons were always recorded in rich burial mounds, where besides it the numerous gold and silver artifacts were met. It is not known even a single case of cauldron's existence in common people graves, which seems to me very symptomatic. So, it is quite evident that the cauldrons were recorded besides the burial goods only of the rich/riches kurgans, like the Tsalka N5 and N15, Dmanisi, Kirovakan, Lori-Berd, Tetri-Kvebi and some other ones (Puturidze, 2002: 100-113). The cauldrons from

Tsalka-Trialeti (Zhorzhikashvili, Gogadze, 1974: Tab. 55,77) and Dmanisi (Kakhiani, 1991: 51-59) burials appear to be identical artefacts to the samples we know from Kultepe-Kanes II level (Fig.I_1). The same type is also well represented in Tell Sifr (Schaeffer, 1948) (Fig. III_1). A barely similar form only with feet can be observed among the metal patterns of Alalakh (Fig. III_2). The bronze cauldron, comparably similar shape as Tell Sifr and Dmanisi recorded in Assur grave N18, which appears especially rich with different sort of metal production (Muller-Karpe, 1995: Abb.4_{19}).

It is important to emphasize that the cauldrons which come from the Tsalka-Trialeti barrows by general shape and other details resemble to those which are known in Mycenaean burial assemblages. The difference from another, above considered ones, is that they are of more elegant style and especially closely resemble to those from the Mycenaean N4 shaft-grave (Fig. II_5).

The cauldron represent original shape vessel was produced more likely for the utilitarian purpose. In the South Caucasian Middle Bronze Age Trialeti culture, as usual, it was manufactured with copper and defined as the item specially for the burial ritual purpose. This interpretation which belongs to the excavator of Tsalka kurgans, the academician B. Kuftin bases on some certain evidences recorded by him during the excavations *in situ.* Afterwards, nearly every scholar share his opinion about the ritual purpose of this vessel considered for preparing the special funeral banquet of the buried person. The direct indications which surely proofs the assumption expressed by B. Kufrin, were, on the one hand, the cattle bones found nearly in every cauldron and, on the other hand, bronze hooks intended for taking the meat from the huge size vessel. It is also clear that those stands (ceramic, either the stone) of the triangular shape usually represented by the 3 ones, always were discovered together with the cauldron (Zhorzhikashvili, Gogadze, 1974: Tab.77_{667}). The vessel's stands were intended for putting the cauldron on them and cooking the funeral banquet meal on the fire.

This type of vessel, depending on its utilitarian purpose, different from other toreutics of the Trialeti culture, always has a plain surface and there is not even the single case of ornamental design on it. It is important that exactly this feature, i.e. the simple surface, is a symptomatic for all the types of cauldron from the Near East or the Aegean world. Nevertheless of a differences in shape and methods or certain details of attaching the handles (Fig. II), they are always distinguished with an absence of any kind of decoration on the total surface.

Thus, we can assume that a simple, undecorated surface appears to be the main characteristic sign of the copper/bronze cauldrons. In general, everywhere they were recorded in the Ancient World. The difference between the cauldrons discovered in Aegean, different areas of the Near East or South Caucasus, mainly in the shape or in manner of attaching the handles but surface treatment is always the same.

On the other hand, it is remarkable that among the enough large variety of the cauldron's shape that are coming from the different regions of the Old World (Tab. II, III), it seems possible to point out about only the 2 types of fashion, which are recorded on the burial sites

of the Trialeti culture. One of the especially elaborate forms of cauldrons is a symptomatic pattern for the Aegean World (Tab.$I_{4,6,7}$) and almost the same fashion represented in Trialetian burial assemblage as well (Zhorzikashvili, Gogadze, 1974: 108_{667})(Tab.$I_{5,8}$). This close parallel can be interpreted as the fact of transform of Aegean mode of the mentioned type vessels to relatively far distance – in the South Caucasus. It is difficult to note whether it is a direct or mediated connection between these areas but supposing that style of the Trialetian cauldrons has been adopted from those ones which widely were distributed exactly in Aegean World and also to the more eastward regions of Anatolia.

It should be emphasized that after Kuftin's great discoveries and the excavations carried out in different regions, the distribution of the Trialeti culture rather more enrich quantity of the mentioned vessels. Currently, we have the considerable number of cauldrons in the South Caucasus.

Summarizing of all above mentioned cases, it is possible to note that cauldrons seem to be widely distributed samples only for the Trialeti culture from all over the vast territory of the South Caucasus. There it is not known any case of cauldron's discovery in any other Middle Bronze Age cultures of the region. In my mind, it is once more additional indication in favor of existed large scale communication processes of the Trialeti culture with Near Eastern World, more precisely with Ancient Anatolia.

In conclusion, concerning this type of patterns, we can note that: a) the cauldrons are symptomatic only for the elite burials and always are found together with valuable patterns which make evident that it is a prestigious burial good; b) the cauldrons appeared quite suddenly and without any background in Caucasian world; c) the wide distribution of this type toreutic in Aegean cultural space gave a reason to conclude that exactly the cauldrons were one of the specific type vessels which evidently had no local origin and was borrowed from more western located regions. Therefore, from the point of South Caucasian-Aegean relationship a special attention should be focused on it.

Another different category of metal vessel which once again demonstrates the cultural connections between the areas considered in the presented article, is a nicely done sample of high artistic craft – "basket shape" bronze bucket with one arched handle [Kuftin, 1941: LXXXVII] (Tab. VI_2). The following can be noted about the symptomatic stylistic features of this vessel: The split pin is fixed in position by a strip of metal, decorated with an incised design and secured by four rivets. The rim has been reinforced and a flaring pedestal base has been added, which is ornamented with bands of repousée decoration. This style of metal vessels, in general, is represented very well in Aegean and also Near Eastern World.

The considered type of toreutics, since a long time ago was discovered in Central Anatolia. Of similar shape, except for the pedestal base, is the contemporary silver vessel from Kultepe Karum-Kanes II [Ozguc, 1986: 123, Fig.58]. Another examples of "basket-shaped" vessels are known from the royal cemetery of Ur [Collon 1982: Fig. I a].

Especially important seems to be the resemblance of handle and method of fixing it with rivets by the help of double nails in each side (Fig.). This specific detail evidently showed that such style was a mode in entire Ancient World which were adopted by several different workshops that were existed in Middle Bronze Age. From the viewpoint of attaching the handle on the body of the vessel, the Trialetian bronze sample [Kuftin, 1941: Tab. LXXX-VII] has more analogues, among which should be pointed out the vessel from the Assur grave N20 [Muller-Karpe, 1995: 311, Abb. 49,1].

This specific detail, connected with handle, evidently show that such style is a mode in entire Ancient World. This fashion showed that it was adopted and at the same time was used like a decoration detail by several different workshops that were existed in Middle Bronze Age. D. Collon first indicate the closest resemble of the Trialetian and the Mycenaean ones in his article specially dedicated to this type of toreutics [Collon, 1982: 95-101].

So, it can be concluded that the tradition of making such type of handled buckets was common for different regions of the Ancient World and everywhere the shape, as well the leading features (total plain surface of the corpus, arched-shaped handle, technical details and designing of its fastening on the vessel) were very similar. Even more, the manner of attaching the arched handle on the vessel did not differ far from the later, i.e. early 2nd millennium BC style. Concerning this point, K. Rubinson indicates that the apparent connections between the different regions of the Old World reflected by grave goods of above listed regions can exactly be illustrated on the basis of Trialetian bronze example of such vessel [Rubinson, 1991, 2004: 124].

From all the above considered here, the vessels with the arched handle most closer to the trialetian one sample undoubtedly appears the Mycenaean N5 shaft grave (Fig. IV_4). Nevertheless, in my opinion, the so-called "basket-shaped" vessels that have come from the different areas of the Ancient Near East, Aegean and in exceptional case from the South Caucasus (Fig. II_2) might be indicate the wide distribution of it, as the mode of fashionable item which, in any case, was the property of elite of those quite different ethnical groups that were represented in the mentioned areas of the Near East and beyond it to the west (Mycenae) and north (South Caucasus).

It should be underlined that neither in early period, nor after the Middle Bronze Age we can record anything similar in the South Caucasian space, to which it can be compared. On the other hand, this shape is well known in the neighboring areas. All the above noted artifacts allow to consider the Mycenaean example as the closest analogy to those from the Trialeti culture. Exactly this type of vessel can be served as an additional argument in favor of an Aegean-Transcaucasian relationship at that time, but the question is whether this connection was direct or mediated by another region. I admit that besides the other type, Aegean type precious metal production, mode of the considered "basket-shaped" vessels, in the South Caucasus might be distributed not directly from Mycenae but more admittedly from the closer trade center of Central Anatolia. Expressing this suggestion we based on the following

points: a) the fact is that the majority of Aegean style samples that were recorded exactly in Middle Bronze Age layers of the Karum-Kanes II [Ocguc T., 1986: 123, Fig. 58] and b) it is obvious that "basket-shaped" metal vessel is an absolutely uncharacteristic pattern for the Caucasian World.

Logically, the cultural achievements and mode of metal vessel's (among them considered specific one) tradition in the ancient societies was distributed through such assembly places, like Karums or famous workshop's centers. Therefore, it is absolutely admittedly that high artistic craft's fashionable patterns which attracts the attention of the elite of the Trialeti culture was adopted by them from more closely located region, like the Assyrian Trade Colony in Central Anatolia, i.e. Kultepe Karum-Kanes. Such trade-economical and administrative centers, as usual, gather all innovative cultural traditions and appear to be exactly those points which are easier reachable by the interested societies, than much distancing areas.

Concerning the date of this style of the metal vessels, the following can briefly be said: As it was supposed according to the E.Gogadze's chronological scheme [Gogadze, 1972: 95] in the Caucasus it was fixed no earlier than the XVI century BC.

Kurgan N15, where an exceptional example of such a bucket for the Caucasus was discovered, chronologically belonged to the third group of sites of the Trialeti Culture [Gogadze, 1972:95], as it was suggested by E. Gogadze's chronological scheme.

Currently, according to the revised upper chronological limit of the Trialeti culture [Puturidze, 2014: 278-285], it seems more realistic to re-date appearance of this vessel in the South Caucasus back to the XVIII century BC. In this case, "basket-shaped" vessel's existence in Aegean space, Central Anatolia and the South Caucasus chronologically much better corresponds to the correlated.

Suppose that this precious bronze toreutic item from N15 Tsalka barrow evidently of a non-local, i.e. Caucasian origination. The tradition of making "basket-shaped" vessels was represented very well in Aegean World, more eastern region, i.e. in Central Anatolia and, suppose that in Trialetian example of this type vessel reflects the close relation with the mentioned regions and made according their mode.

Here we wonder to note one more another type of artifacts which also partially was related with those from the Aegean World. This most precious sample, which can be taken as an indicator of high artistic craft of the Trialeti culture, is the silver goblet from Trialeti (Fig. VI_6) and more later discovered electrum sample from Karashamb N1 kurgan (Fig. VI_5). Despite the differences in the decoration, they are identical patterns of the same artistic value and evidently belong to the same workshop. From the point of view K. Rubinson paid special attention to both these items by their resemble with Anatolian cultural space [Rubinson, 2003: 128-143] and noted that *"….. Anatolia is the likely source of many visual elements found on the Transcaucasian goblets*" [Rubinson, 1999: 66]. Their consideration from the

point of view of iconography, make obvious close correlation between the South Caucasian and Anatolian toreutic patterns. It is not our purpose to consider these items from the above mentioned point as far as it is related with different topic. Currently we would like to pay attention only to the general fashion and shape of both these vessels from the point of their corresponding artefacts from the Aegean world. Similar shape is well represented in Aegean World, among the Trojan treasure [Troia, 2001: 414] (Fig. $V_{7.10}$). According to the typological classification, they can be included in the same group of types which allow to relate the Trialetian goblets with the western Anatolian part of the Aegean World.

Summarizing the discussion on all above evaluated types of vessels, it is available to note the following:

It can be sayd on each of them that they obviously do not seem to be of local origination, as far as have the close and direct analogues in the neigbouring contemporary Aegean world, the influence of which was quite evident in the surrounding areas. At the start of the Trialeti culture in the South Caucasus yet even a single, earlier archaic case of metal vessels producing is not recordable. Without any background, the sudden appearance of numerous and top standard level toreutics in the South Caucasian space logically push us to consider them as the "alien" style tradition.

In the presented article we mainly evaluate some types of metal vessels which as is seems evidently demonstrates the Aegean-South Caucasian cultural connections during the developed (II) phase of Middle Bronze Age. But it is relatively wider those spectrum of artefacts which more or less obviously indicate this relationship. Of course, it is not possible to deeply consider all of them in one article and we schedule to touch thede issues in our next publication. Here we'll shortly only mention those patterns which also attract the attention from the point of penetration of Aegean style artifacts into the South Caucasian Trialeti culture. Among them, first of all the golden roundel plaques, usually richly ornamented with geometrical motifs and widely represented in Aegean, eastern Transylvania and South Caucasus should be mentioned (Figs. VIII $_{7,11\text{-}13,15\text{-}17,19\text{-}21}$, IX,$X_{12\text{-}17,}$ XI $_{11\text{-}13}$). Besides them the so-called Mynoian type vessels which were producing by metal (gold and silver) and also by clay (Fig. VII) should be noted, as well. It seems that such type vessels in the South Caucasus reflects the cultural influence from Aegean world. Especially attractive from the point of Aegean influence seem to be the golden heads of the pins, incrusted by semi fine stones (Figs. $VIII_6$, $X_{1\text{-}9}$). Those precious incrusted beads that come from the Aidonia (Western Anatolia) are possible to consider as the direct analogues for the Trialetian precious items, represented by the incrusted heads of pins. One more pattern that obviously connect Trialeti culture with the Aegean world are the long swords, i.e. rapiers (Fig. XII) which we considered to be as separate subject of discussion.

For future, the deeper and wider evaluation of each above listed patterns, sure, would help better understand the problem of Aegean-Transcaucasian interconnection.

Some Conclusions

- Toreutics of Middle Bronze Age developed phase of the Trialeti culture represents some of the most elaborated and attractively ornamented items at the wide space of the entire Ancient Near East and its northern peripheral region. Almost all the Middle Bronze Age cultures of this huge area is characterized by the developed level of artistic craft's field, though the Trialeti culture appears to be one of the most top flourished from this point of view. Those numerous patterns of artistic craft which have come from the rich burial assemblages of this famous culture demonstrate this fact. Among the great variety of artistic craft patterns there are some of the specific artifacts which evidently are specifically related to the Aegean World.

- As it is accepted by some scholars, at the period around the end of III – first half of II millennium BC have had place the most intensive emigrational processes in all the Near East and surrounding areas, even towards the northern periphery of it. The penetration of some migration tribes or the cultural influence, either the interregional commercial connections, transferring of some mode and important achievements was one of the main causes of the appearance of high value artistic items in Trialeti Culture of Brilliant Kurgans.

- The precise overview of these patterns allows to remark the following. Namely, specific for the Aegean World materials they are not represented in Trialeti culture with only one certain type, but they are quite different types of artifacts, such as vessels, ornaments, weapons, details, etc. From all this variety here were considered only few types of the vessels. They evidently point to the interaction and cultural influences that have come from the Aegean World. All above mentioned in the present article gave a reason to admit that the society of the Trialeti culture was not so far distanced from those ones which, of the contemporary period, were inhabited in Anatolia or Aegean World.

- The ancient routs of Middle Bronze Age states of the Near East were very busy with exchange activities, especially of the precious goods and as well other type metal patterns. In Karum Kanes or Assur rich merchant's graves were recorded nearly by all kinds of valuable items which were known in entire Near Easten sites. Therefore, the communication even with only one of the commercial-exchange center of the Near East, suppose, might be realize process of the penetration of all Near Eastern type toreutics from south to the northern periphery of it.
  In my opinion, the Trialeti culture can be considered as a result of interaction of various cultural traditions, created at the end of 3rd and very beginning of the 2nd millennium BC, where different cultural layers and orientations can easily be distinguished. Following to B. Kuftin's monograph [Kuftin, 1941], all those scholars who were and still are continuing to be busy with the special study of Middle Bronze Age Transcaucasian cultures, several times point out the main "alien" of Near eastern style items, which totally differ

from the local artefacts and have no any prototypes in Caucasian region. Among the various non-local type items we considered some, which quite obviously directly and closely are related with those, we know well in Aegean World. When interpreting the certain valuable artifacts from the elite's barrows, it is difficult to say with certainty wether they appeared in South Caucasus from the Aegean world or the contacts between these regions might be indirect, via the mediated one. But as a hypotheses we admit that they may appeared in South Caucasus also mediated through the central Anatolian trading colony, as well.

- Assuming the discussion on the metal vessels of the Trialeti culture, it is evident that Aegean style patterns and, in general, their mode, by the famous Trialeti culture were adopted from other regions and it is not homogeneous.

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Description of Tables

Tab. I. Cauldrons: 1,2,3 – from the Near East; 4,6,7 – Mycenae; 5,8,10 – Trialeti; 9 – Byblos.

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Tab. XII. Rapiers: 1-9,12 Mycenaean graves; 10 – Ras Shamra; 11 – Tamassos, Cyprus.

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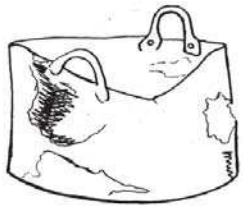

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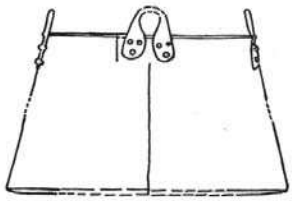

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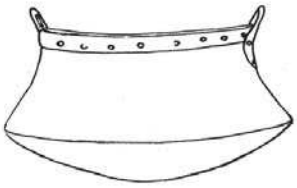

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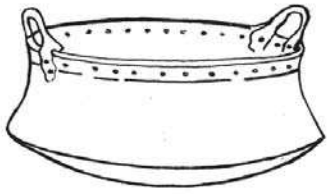

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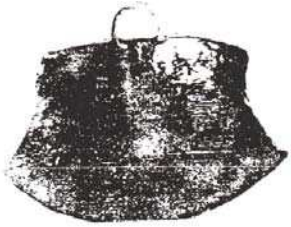

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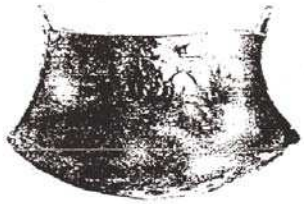

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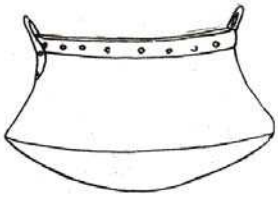

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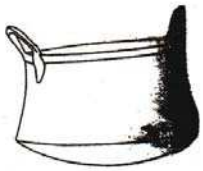

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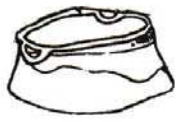

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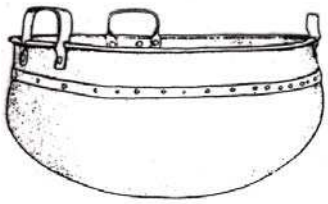

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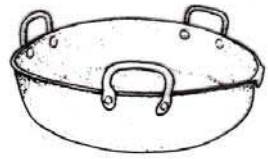

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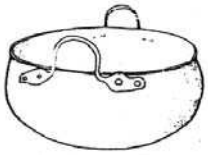

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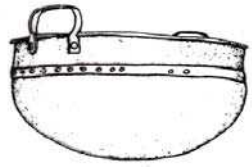

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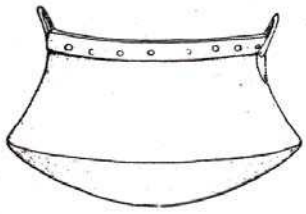

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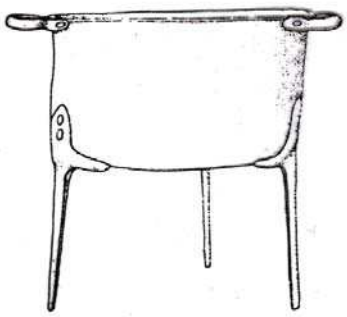

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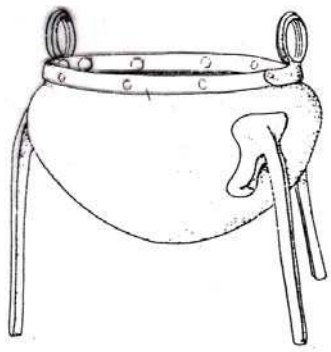

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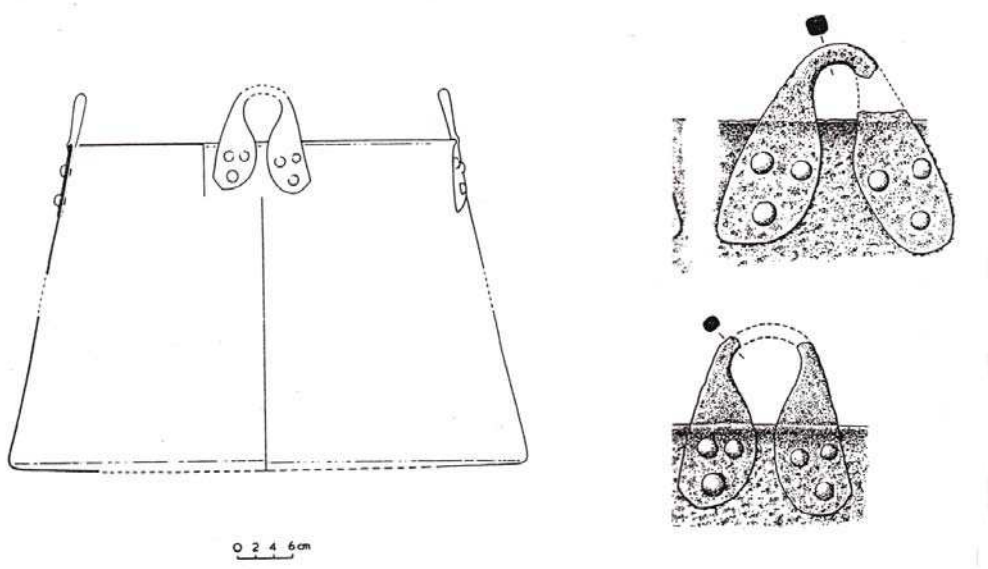

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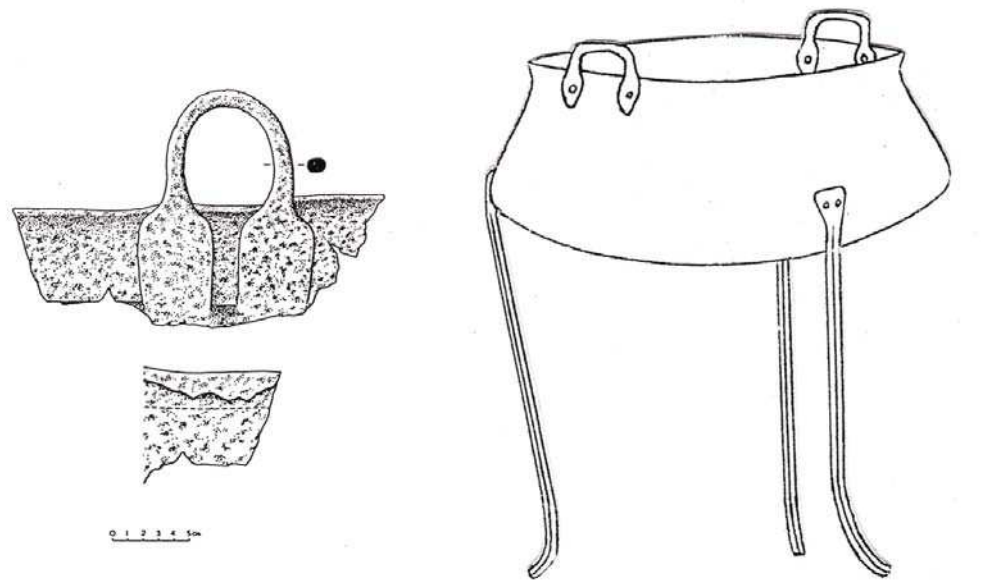

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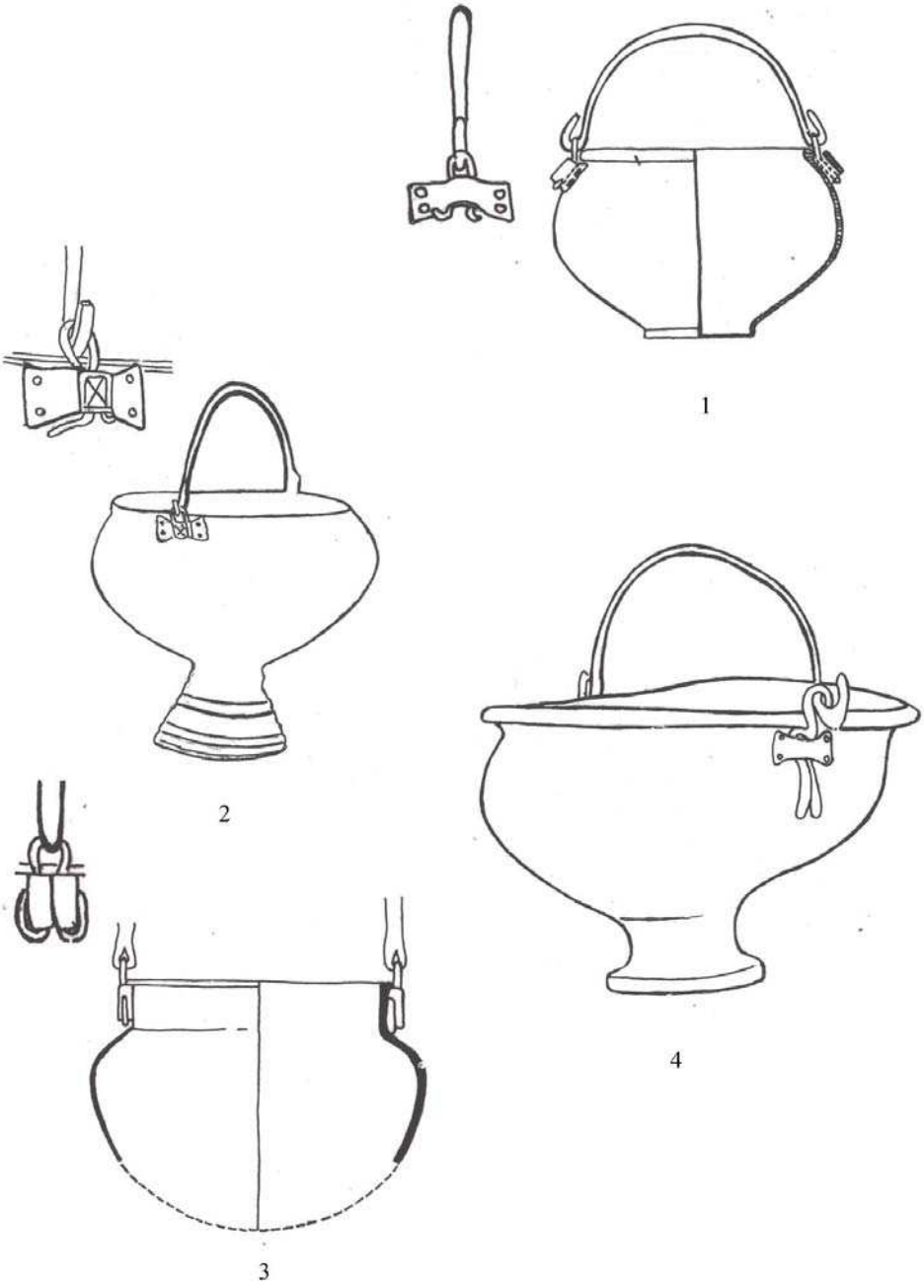

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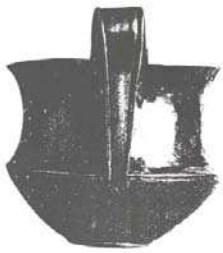

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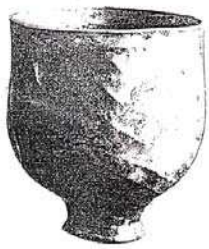

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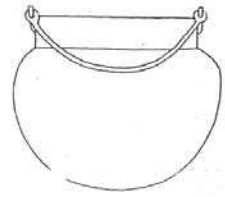

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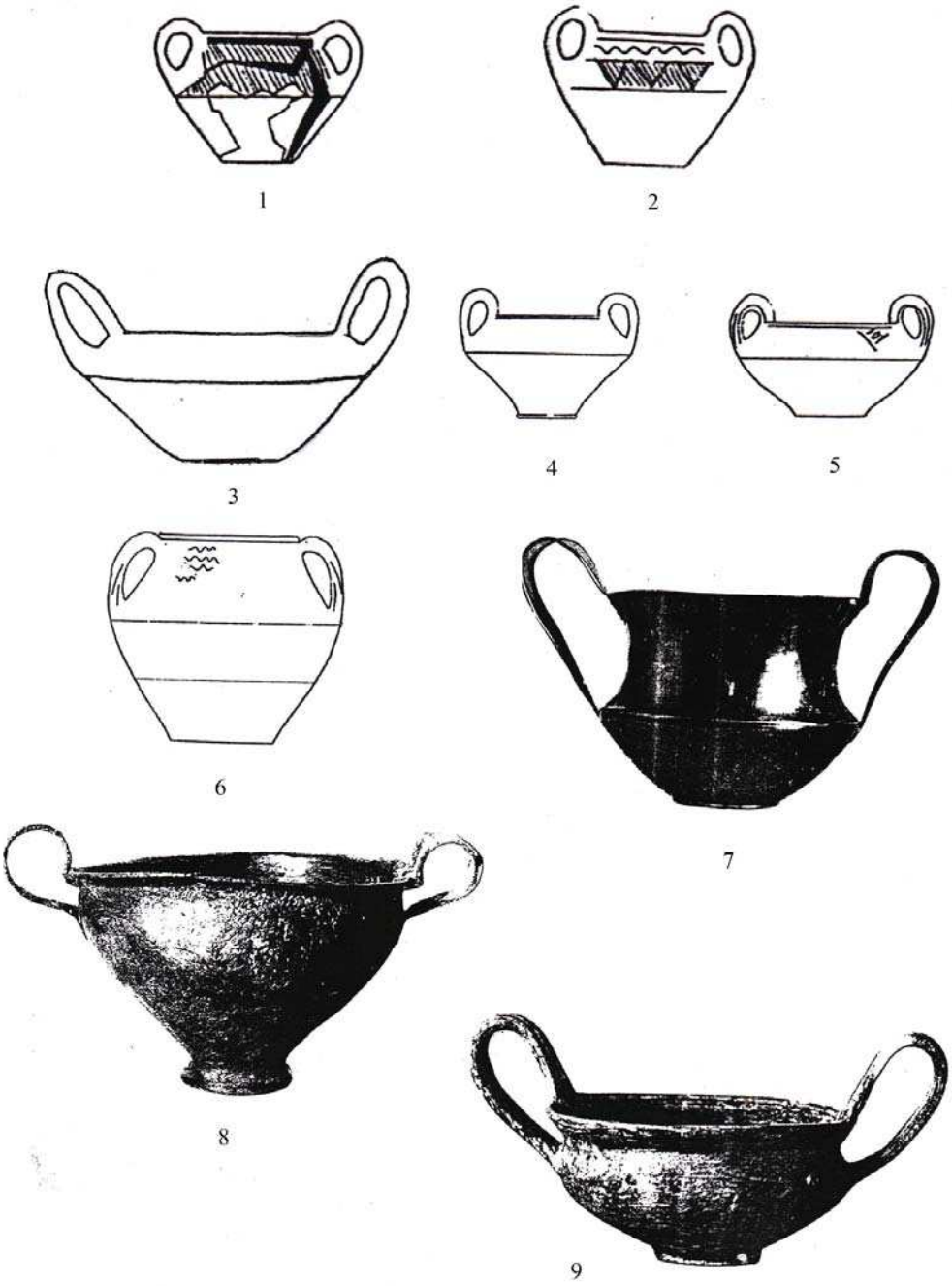
VII



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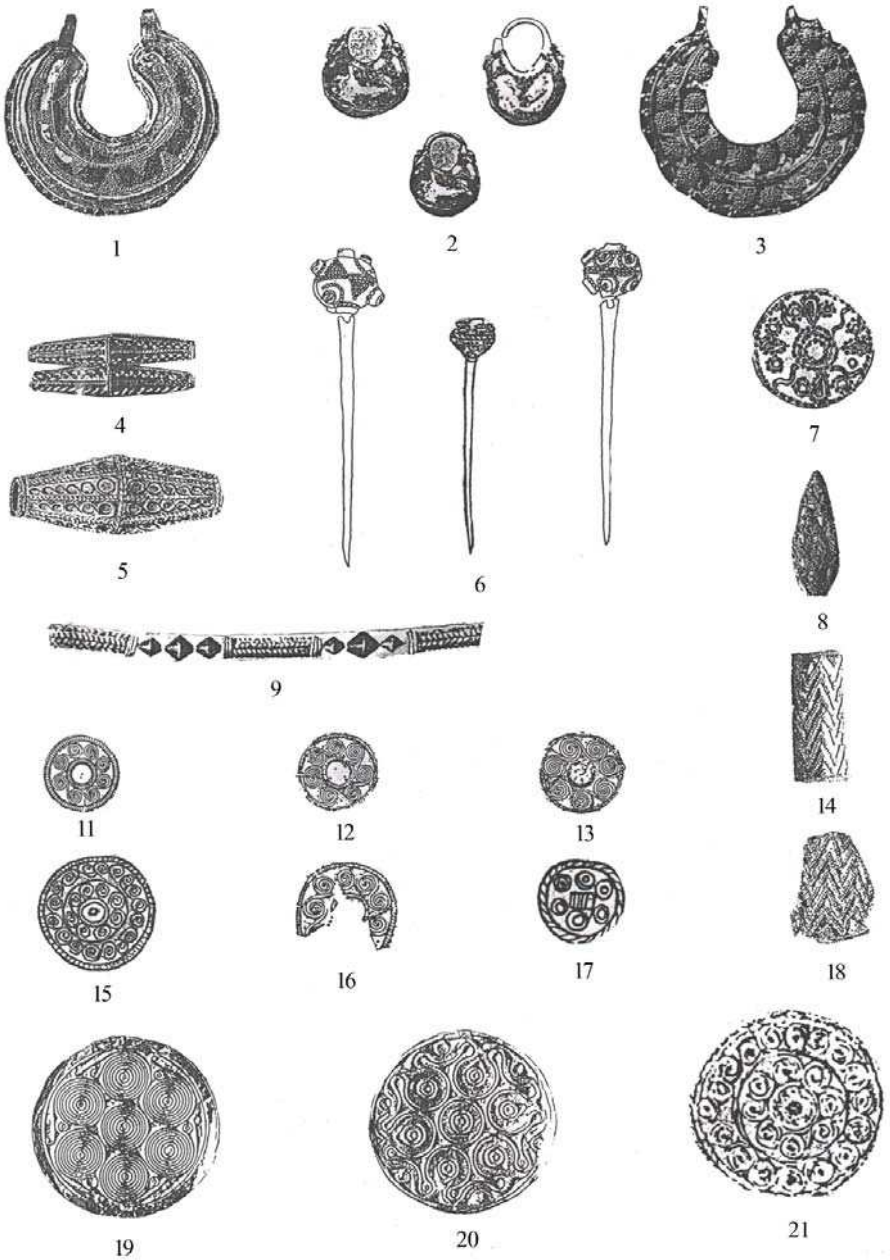

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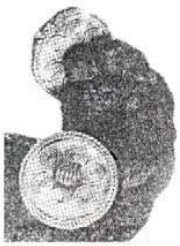

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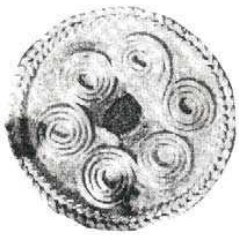

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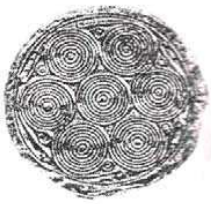

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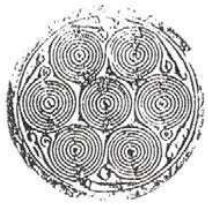

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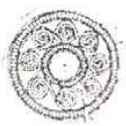

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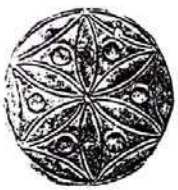

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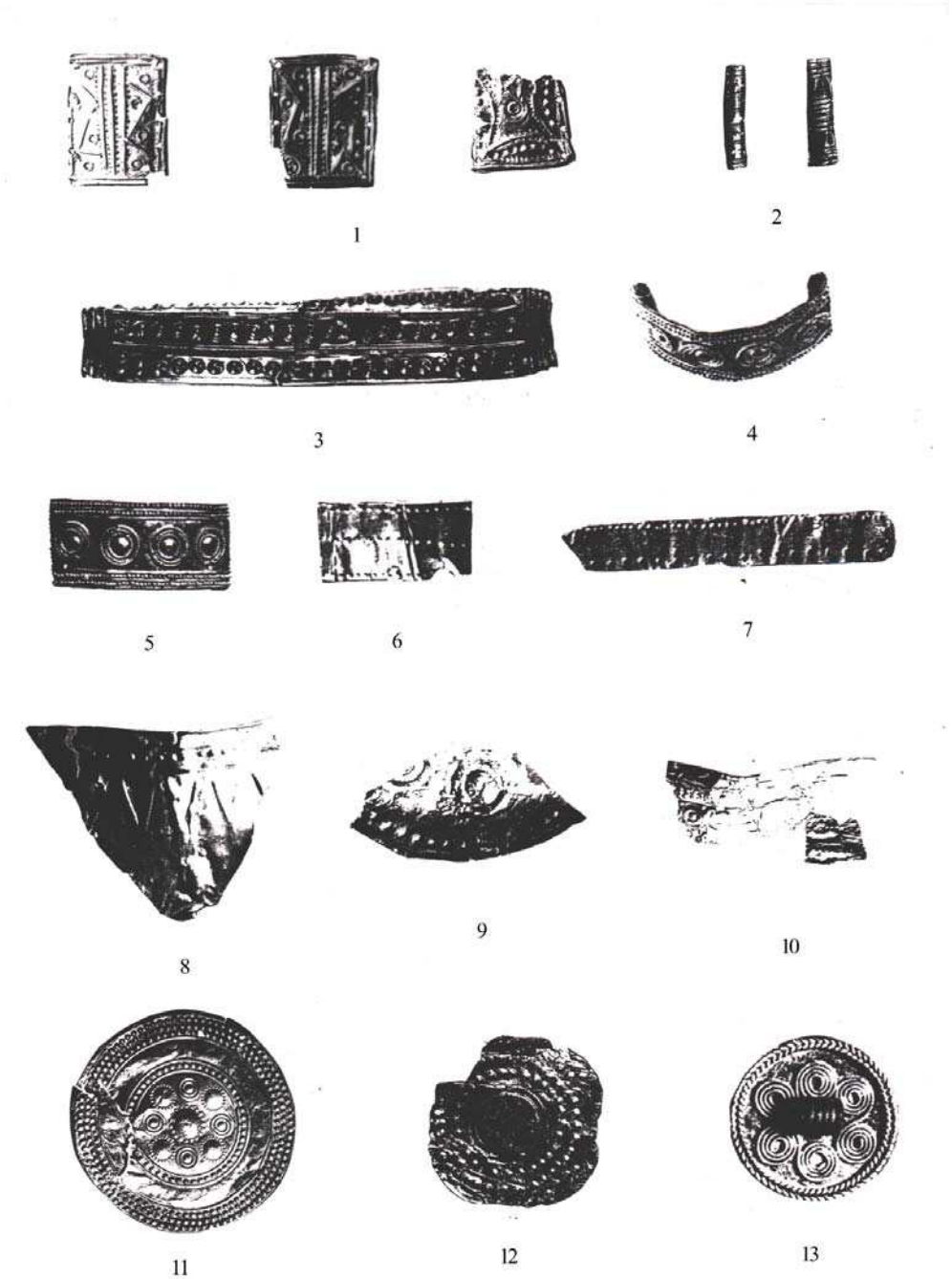
XI



XII

ODZABERD (TSOVINAR): A BRIEF PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE 2014-2015 EXCAVATIONS[1]

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Odzaberd (pic. 1) is located in the south-eastern shore of Lake Sevan, between the villages of Tsovinar and Artsvanist (Gegharkuniq Marz, Republic of Armenia), 70m south of the end of the Arpa-Sevan canal. Geographical coordinates are 40° 9'10.21"N, 45°29'43.09"E. The altitude above the sea is 1960 m. Before the construction of the Arpa-Sevan canal (1963-81) the fortress was full of snakes, and for that reason it is called Odzaberd (i. e., the "fortress of snakes" in Armenian). In scientific literature, the site is also known as Tsovinar or Kyolaghran, or Kelani-kirlani (the former name of Tsovinar village) village (Ивановскій 1911: 21-23, Пиотровский 1959: 22, 90-92).

The study of the site was started from 1860-s, when Armenian priest Mesrop Smbatyants discovered the Urartian cuneiform inscription depicted on the rock cliff located north-west of the fortress (pic. 2) (Smbatyants 1895, 553-555).Afterward, the site and mainly the inscription were studied by A. Ivanovskij and M. Nikolskij (Ивановскій 1911: 21-23),W. Belck (Belck 1985: 602), A. Kalantar (Kalantar 1927: 9-23),S. Barkhudaryan and others. It was pointed out that twenty-line inscription belonged to the Urartian monarch Rusa I (c. a. 730-713 B. C) and describes the conquest of the four lands lying in the south-eastern part of the Sevan basin, and the nineteen lands on the other side of the lake. The Urartian monarch writes about the foundation of the city in honor of his Weather God (the city of Weather God Teisheba)[2]

Rain, thunder, lightning, and wind are common in the landscape of the site and the region. Maybe the climatic factor also played a role in the dedication of the fortress for the weather

1 We are deeply grateful to Prof. Dr. G. Narimanishvili for his kind support during the preparation of the article.

2 We would like to express our gratitude to Dr. Elizabeth Fagan for improving the language of our article

god. It cannot be ruled out that before the Urartian invasion, a weather god cult was primary in the region, and Rusa I may have replaced it with the cult of Teišeba (Badalyan 2015: 132).

In the Urartian period, the territory of the western and southern shores of the Sevan Lake consisted of small chiefdoms (Hmayakyan 2002: 277-286.). The control of the southern shore of Lake Sevan and the foundation of the fortress of the "Weather God" had strategic importance for the Urartian State. In all likelihood, the fortress of Odzaberd was one of the most important and biggest fortifications along the southern shore of Lake Sevan in the Urartian period. On the one hand, it was a satellite for the fortresses guarding the road passing along the southern shore of Lake Sevan to the gold mines of Sotk, and on the other hand, in our opinion Tsovinar fortress had the important role of guarding the road from Nakhichevan-Vayots Dzor to the southern shore of Lake Sevan.

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE INVESTIGATIONS

As we have already mentioned, the first investigations of the site are mainly connected with the cuneiform inscription of the Urartian monarch Rusa I. The first archaeological investigations of the site were done in 1906 by Y. Lalayan (Lalayan 1907: 184). Being one of the pioneers of Armenian ethnography and archaeology, he excavated three tombs located on the south-western hill of the fortress. According to the report of Y. Lalayan, only bones and skeletons were found during excavations(Lalayan 1907: 184).

In the early 1930-s, B. Piotrovskij, Adjyan and Gyuzalyan surveyedthe site(e.g. Piotrovskij, Gyuzalyan 1933, 57). In 1934, under the leadership of B. Piotrovskij, a small trench was excavated at the site. Piotrovskij found an Early Bronze stratum under the thick, eroded Urartian layer (Пиотровский 1939: 47. Пиотровский 1959: 22, 90-92).

Later in the 1960s, the Armenian scholar G. Mikayelyan surveyed the area and made observations (Mikayelyan1968: 37-38.) In 1994-95, the Armenian-Italian Archaeological Expedition conducted survey and topographical, geological, and architectural studies of the site (Biscione et al 2002: 128-136. Sanamyan 2002: 319-324.)[3]

BRIEF PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE 2014-2015 EXCAVATIONS OF THE ARMENIAN-ITALIAN JOINT EXPEDITION

Unfortunately, during early archaeological investigations of the southern basin of Lake Sevan, excavators focused mainly on surveys and the excavation of burial complexes. Recent studies are thus very important for the analysis of this region, including the work of the Armenian-German joint expedition (Meller, Avetisyan, Kunze, Bobokhyan, Pernicka,

3 During that expedition, an in-depth study of the geology, and an architectural description of Odzaberd were conducted. For this reason, this article mainly focuses on a brief report of the 2014-2015 excavations.

Meliksetian 2013; 4-88).And in 2014-2015, there was an Armenian-Italian joint expedition (co-directors M.Badalyan, R. Dan) as the result of an agreement between the"Ethnos" Scientific Center of Ethno-Cultural Researches (Armenia) and the International Association of Mediterranean and Oriental Studies (ISMEO) (Italy).

The main aim of the investigations included: pinpointing the Urartian layers of the settlement and understanding the correlation and sociopolitical and cultural connections between the Urartian and local peoples in the pre-Urartian, Urartian, and post-Urartian[4] periods in the southern basin of Lake Sevan. To obtain a more reliable picture for our strategy, it is important to have information about the fortress, the citadel, and the outer town all in one context. For that reason, in the 2015 season, our excavations were done in the above mentioned three parts of the site.

At the beginning of the study in 2014,[5] a small trench (5x5) was dug in the south-eastern part of the fortress (pic. 3), uncovering parts of two walls with a corner. During the excavation, parts of two semi-cyclopean walls were unearthed. Parallel to the northern semi-cyclopean wall, another wall was unearthed (Context 007). In the north-eastern part of the trench between the northern semi-cyclopean wall and Context 007, unbaked mudbrick (48X48X-10cm)with a round-shaped hole in the right corner was discovered. It was attached to the lower part of the northern semi-cyclopean wall. Ash surrounded the mudbrick. We are inclined to think that it is an imitation of Urartian mud-bricks. In all probability, the small hole of the mud-brick could be used for inserting some kind of pottery. In the trench, we found 3 beaten burnt clay floors. On the first floor, close to the western semi-cyclopean wall and Context 007, stones from the western wall had fallen. At the end of the excavations, a small sondagein the south-western corner of the trench was dug. Here we discovered another beaten floor, with small stones underlying it.

During the 2015 season[6] the trench was enlarged. It was clear that this structure was connected to the south-eastern road of the fortress. In the western part of the trench, a fallen wall and mud-brick were discovered. Also, a section of the northern and western semi-cyclopean walls of the structure was unearthed (pic. 4). At the end of the excavations, we concentrated on the western part of the trench. Under the last beaten floor, leveling stones were found (pic. 5). These stones are directly connected with the fortification wall of the fortress. We can assume that in the first phase the leveling stones were placed to prepare the first floor. In all likelihood, the western and northern semi-cyclopean walls of the structure were also constructed in this same period. Judging by the pottery, this period can be dated to the late Urartian and post-Urartian periods (pic. 6). It is interesting that Urartian red-polished pottery

4 For the post-Urartian period, we mean the end of the VII century B.C. to the first half of the VI century B.C.

5 We are deeply grateful to Prof. Dr. Piliposyan for his encouragement and support.

6 We are deeply indebted to the Honorary Council of the Sultanate of Oman in the Republic of Armenia, Perch Ohanyan, and to the President of the "Grand Holding" company, Mr. M. Vardanyan, thanks to whose financial support it was possible to work during the 2015 season.

was also used in the post-Urartian period. In the second phase, we see the establishment of the next floor. The construction of the wall parallel with northern cyclopean wall can be dated to the post-Urartian period. In all likelihood, in this period the function of the structure was changed, and the construction of the parallel wall closed the entrance of the northern wall. The 2016 season of excavation will help to understand the function of that structure. In our preliminary observations, we are inclined to think that it was a terrace-shape structure connected with the fortification walls and the south-eastern road of the fortress.

AREA B (pic. 7)

In the centre of the citadel, directly east of the western entrance, a test-trench was dug (5X5 m). In the northern part of the trench, elaborated rows of bedrock were visible. Under these, a row of small stones with firm clay attached was unearthed. After that situation, we found beaten clay with pebbles beneath, which would have been preparation for the beaten floor. The pottery found on the floor can be dated to the post-Urartian period (pic. 8). A small sondage in the western part of the trench revealed the natural bedrock. We tend to think that the partly-opened structure would have been part of a road or way, which directly connected to the western entrance of the citadel.

AREA C (pic. 9)

It is important to have information about the outer town, which is located south of the fortress. This area is a private orchard. Because of that, we had some limits during work, and we couldn't remove any trees. The entire area is damaged by soil cultivation. During the excavations, the first rooms of Odzaberd's outer town were discovered. One room and part of another room were excavated (pic. 10). The walls of rooms consist of one row with two courses. Some wall stones are damaged by the cultivations. The beaten floors of these rooms related to the post-Urartian period were uncovered, along with animal bones and pottery. Judging from the pottery, these structures can be dated to the post-Urartian period. After these discoveries, excavations were concentrated in Room 001. Here another beaten clay floor was found. According to the pottery finds, this floor can be dated to the late Urartian and post-Urartian periods. In Room 001, a sondage was dug (pic. 11). Here a firm layer of soil with some middle sized stones and pebble stones was fixed. Pottery sherds can be dated to the middle of the VII century B. C. Also animal bones and obsidian sherds were uncovered. Here also we found Urartian red-polished pottery together with local black ware pottery. In the lowest part of the sondage, middle stones were discovered. It may be that the stones are part of the wall of the earlier structure.

We need to emphasize there is a dearth of information about the outer towns in the Urartian and post-Urartian periods in the southern basin of Lake Sevan. Thus, systematic investigations in Odzaberd's outer town can open new perspectives to understand the city life in the area in the above mentioned periods.

CONCLUSIONS

Odzaberd is a unique site on the southern shore of Lake Sevan, and thus we conducted excavations in the fortress, citadel and outer town. Unfortunately, during the 2014-2015 season, no Urartian layer related to the VIII or the beginning of the VII century B. C. was found. On the other hand, our excavations testify that the occupation in the fortress, citadel and outer town continued in the post-Urartian period. This is very important data, because the post-Urartian period is one of the least-investigated periods of history in the Armenian Highland. It corresponds to the time when the Armenian Yervandid kingdom was formed.

As to the pottery findings, our preliminary observations show the domination of local pottery against red-polished Urartian pottery. We need to emphasize that even that pottery has local origins, combined with Urartian pottery traditions. Many of them were used in the post-Urartian period too.

We hope that future excavations, which will be done by the Armenian expedition, will provide important data to understand many complicated issues such as the correlation of local and Urartian peoples and material culture, and the connections between the Urartian and post-Urartian periods.

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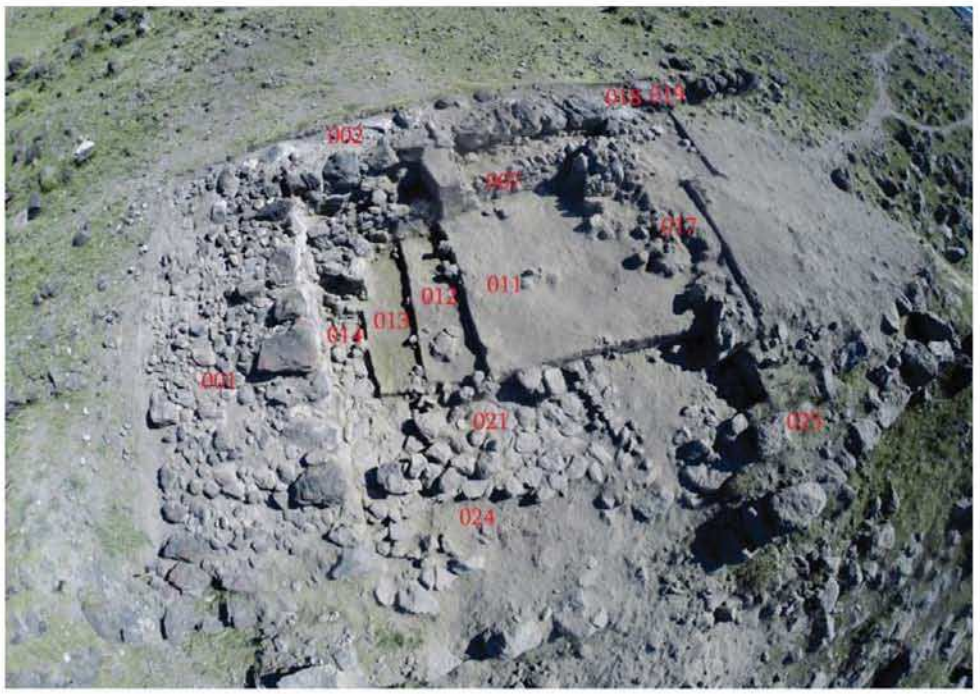
Pictures

Picture 1. Aerial photo of Odzaberd from south-west.
Picture 2. Rock inscription of Rusa I.
Picture 3. Area A. Test-trench done in 2014.
Picture 4. Area A. Aerial photo after excavations.
Picture 5. Area A. Western part after excavations.
Picture 6. Area A. Photos of selected pottery.
Picture 7. Area B after excavations.
Picture 8. AreaB. Photos of selected pottery.
Picture 9. Area C. Aerial photo after excavations.
Picture 10. Area C. Plan of excavated rooms.
Picture 11.Area C. Drawing of section of sondage in Room 001.

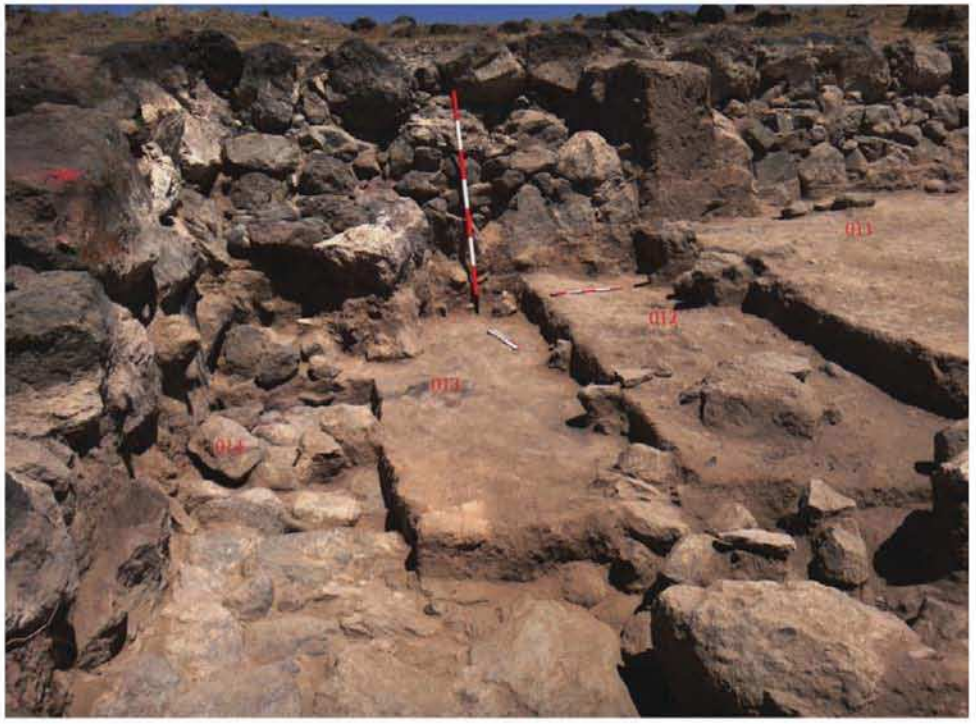
Pic. 1

Pic. 2

Pic. 3



Pic. 4



Pic. 5

AREA A

CONTEXT 011

CONTEXT 012

CONTEXT 013

CONTEXT 020

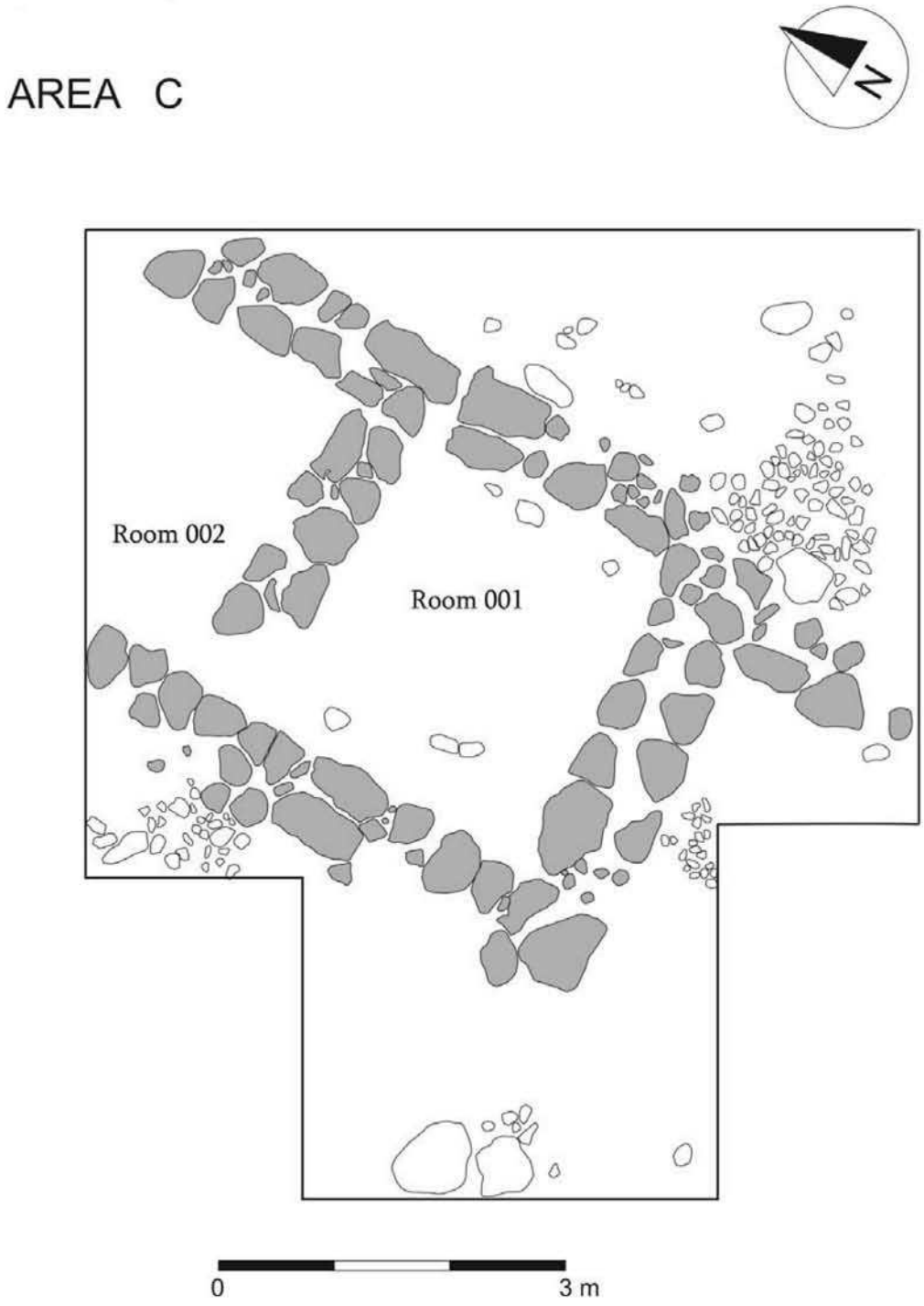
Նկ. 12 CONTEXT 020

Pic. 6

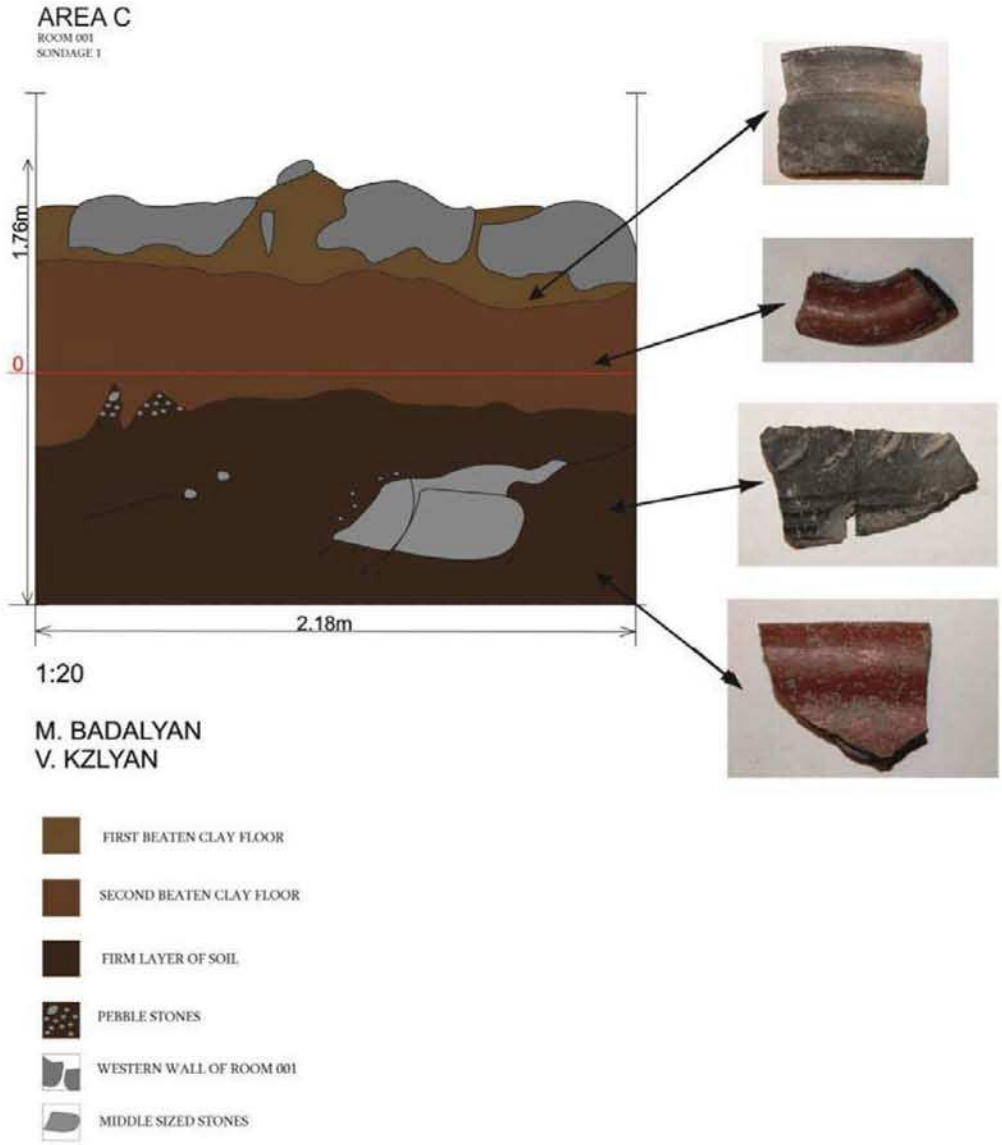
Pic. 7

Pic. 8

Pic. 9



Pic. 10


AREA C
ROOM 001
SONDAGE 1
1.76m
0
2.18m
1:20
M. BADALYAN
V. KZLYAN
FIRST BEATEN CLAY FLOOR
SECOND BEATEN CLAY FLOOR
FIRM LAYER OF SOIL
PEBBLE STONES
WESTERN WALL OF ROOM 001
MIDDLE SIZED STONES

Pic. 11

SOUTH CAUCASIA AND THE AEGEAN BEFORE THE ARGONAUTS [1]

(Abstract)

Mikheil Abramishvili
Georgian National Museum

Archaeological and linguistic data, as well as myths and religious beliefs make it plausible that the relations between South Caucasia and the Aegean – the contacts between the Kartvelian (Georgian) and "Early Greek" speaking peoples, had existed, in one way or another, well before the Classical and Archaic Greece. Posing the question of early South Caucasian-Aegean relations for historical consideration, only the myth of the Argonauts, whose allusions already appear in Homer's *Odyssey,* would have been sufficient. However, another Greek myth, namely of Prometheus, belonging to the earliest stratum of the Greek mythology, shows that Greeks where acquainted with the region of Caucasia even before the creation of the myth of the Argonauts, describing the journey of Greek heroes to the land of Colchis. Despite its unambiguous indication of the place where Prometheus was chained (notably a rock in the Caucasus), this myth shows some passages as well finding parallels with the Old Georgian myth of Amirani, who like Prometheus, for the reason of defying the *Supreme God*, was punished equally by chaining him to a rock in the Caucasus.

The possibility of lively contacts between the early Kartvelian and Greek speaking peoples is also supported by linguistic investigations revealing the lexical stratum of Kartvelian origin in Old Greek (T. Gamkrelidze and V. Ivanov). However, the archaeological evidence gives even more credibility to this hypothesis.

Although some archaeologists consider the possibility of the Aegean-Caucasian relations already during the Early Bronze Age (e.g. G. Kavtaradze; L. Rahmstorf), my viewpoint is that exceptionally intensive contacts between these two regions fall on the Middle Bronze Age, coinciding with the second and the third phases of the Trialeti Middle Bronze Age Culture, the end of the Middle Minoan period in the Aegean and the beginning of the Mycenaean Age on the mainland Greece, marking the appearance of the first Greek-speaking people with their Linear B syllabic writing.

These archaeological parallels include:

- **Long thrusting bronze swords, so-called rapiers**, which in South Caucasia appear in kurgans (barrows) belonging to the second phase of the Trialeti Middle Bronze Age Culture that predates even the earliest long swords of the type A in the Aegean. Since South Caucasian rapiers have their prototypes in the first phase of the Trialeti Middle Bronze Age Culture (e.g. a bronze sword from Saduga Kurgan 2) and, from the morphological point of view are more archaic compared to the ones from the Aegean (because of the

1 The general suppositions presented in this paper were already formulated in the early 1980s. However, my comprehensive paper on this subject ("К вопросу об этнокультурных связях Закавказья, Малой Азии и Эгейского Мира"), which was intended for publishing in the proceedings of the conference held in Dusheti (northern Georgia) in 1983, for some reason, never saw the light of the day.

simplicity of the system of fixing the pommel), it is suggested that the Aegean ones derive from the South Caucasian samples, which in their turn stem from the great swords of Central and North-East Anatolia (Alaca Höyük, Horoztepe);

- **Spirals in the shape of sea waves** on painted pottery from the second phase of the Trialeti Middle Bronze Age Culture (e.g. Kurgan V and Kurgan XVII) are well comparable to the same pattern featured mainly in the Middle Minoan Cretan palatial pottery called Kamares ware. Since one of the Trialeti samples (from Kurgan XVII) together with this type of spirals also has a depiction of specific rhombus-like painted symbol (perhaps stylized *bukranion*), which is exclusively characteristic of the second phase of the Trialeti Middle Bronze Age Culture, this *pithos* must have been produced locally, hence suggesting the direction of the influence from South Caucasia to the Aegean;
- **Copper cauldrons** from the Kurgan XV of Trialeti and from the Shaft Grave 4 at Mycenae are virtually identical, which except morphological features also share close technical characteristics (K. Rubinson). Morphologically similar to these cauldrons gold vessel from Byblos in Lebanon, suggest a possible route of interconnections between South Caucasia and the Aegean via East Anatolia and the Eastern Mediterranean;
- **Bronze buckets** from Trialeti Kurgan XV and the Shaft Grave 5 at Mycenae are similar in shape and roughly the same size, and the system of fixing the handle is identical for both of them (D. Collon). A similar bucket, with a lower ring-base but with exactly the same system of fixing the handle, comes from the intermediary territory at Kultepe in East Anatolia;
- **Bronze socketed spearheads with ringed shafts** coming from the third phase of the Trialeti Middle Bronze Age Culture complexes (e.g. Trialeti Kurgan XV, Lori Berd Tomb 77) are similar to the ones spread widely in the Near East and the Aegean.
- **Multi-handled knobbed vessels** from Trialeti Kurgan XV are comparable to the Middle Minoan II and IIIB great palatial *pithoi* of Knossos and Phaestos on Crete (B. Kuftin). The pattern of ropes on both the Trialeti and the Minoan specimens is an indication of the actual function of ropes, which would have been used for transportation of these *pithoi*. The Trialeti specimens are not as big as the ones from the Minoan palaces, but obviously they are reduced copies of the big ones, and were made specifically for funeral purposes;
- **A bronze vessel with a spool handle** found among the grave goods of the Kirovakan Kurgan in Armenia, belonging to the third phase of the Trialeti Middle Bronze Age Culture, is well comparable to the so-called "Vapheio" type vessels appearing in the Aegean since the Middle Minoan III period and the Mycenaean Shaft Graves. The earlier specimen comes from the treasure of Tod in Upper Egypt, considered to be of non-Egyptian origin.
- **Kantharos-shaped vessels with high-arched handles,** which are found in South Caucasia, in the Aegean and among the treasure of Tod, could be an additional evidence for South Caucasian-Aegean relations;
- ***Bukrania*** featured in the Middle Bronze age kurgans of Trialeti, shown with a pair of bull sculls and the bones of their extremities, is a similar burial custom testified at the "royal tombs" of Central Anatolia (Alaca Höyük) and reflect the same religious beliefs (bull cult), which are connected with the "horns of Consecration" in the Aegean.

The above mentioned mythological, linguistic and archaeological parallels, in my point of view, speak of plausible relations between South Caucasia and the Aegean during the Middle Bronze Age and deserve particular interest for the ancient history of Eurasia.

LATE BRONZE – EARLY IRON AGES BEADS FROM TRIALETI

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The most numerous components of the jewelries found on the archaeological sites appear to be the beads. For the first time in Trialeti the beads occurred in the III millennium BC on the Early Bronze Age on Kura-Araxes cultural sites. They were discovered in the burials of Sapar-Kharabas (Shanshashvili, 2010: 294-297), Ozni cemetery (Zhorzhikashvili, Gogadze, 1974: 36, 39-40) and on the XXII kurgan excavated by B. Kuftin in 1938 (Zhorzhikashvili, Gogadze, 1974: 57).

Especially the large number of beads are met in the Late Bronze – Early Iron Ages. In the 30-40ies of the XX century the various beads were found by B. Kuftin (Kuftin, 1941, 1948). In 1990-2009 years the Trialeti archaeological expedition (the head – G. Narimanishvili) has studied a number of sites dated back to the middle of the II millennium and the second half of the I millennium BC, where the beads of various types and materials were discovered. The beads and jewelries found in Sapar-Kharabas and Eli-Baba burials differ in diversity (Narimanishvili, 2006: 92-126; Narimanishvili, 2010: 312-369).

Eli-Baba cemetery belongs to the second half of the VII century and the first half of the VI century BC. In 123 burial places excavated on this cemetery thousands of beads were found. The beads made of cornelian and agate can be found.

Cornelian is mainly presented by roughly processed round shape items, but there are also the cracked ones. The beads from agate have only cylindrical and barrel shapes (Tab. I, 5-7; X, 3). Among the beads and jewelries of Eli-Baba cemetery a particular attention is drawn to faience beads of blue and green colors; there are rombic (Tab. I, 2, 4; III, 2; VIII, 1), biconical (Tab. I, 7; II, 1; XI, 3), barrel shape (Tab. VI, 4; XI, 2), round (Tab. VI, 4; VIII, 2) and cubic shapes (Tab. II, 2; XIII, 3) of the items; the surface of tubules is plain (Tab. XI, 3; XII, 4) or is ornamented with knob-like moldings (Tab. III, 1). Also, the beads with two or more holes (Tab. I, 4; II, 1-3; IV, 5; VIII, 1) and drop-like pendants (Tab. I, 3; VII, 1) are presented.

The glass beads found in the cemetery mainly are round shaped (Tab. I, 5, 6), while glass paste tiny beads are decorated with knobs (Tab. II, 3; VIII, 2).

The majority of beads found at Eli-Baba cemetery are presented by white colored beads. It should also be noted that white colored beads are discovered on Tsintskaro, Kushchi, Beshtasheni, Maralin-Deresi, Tak-Kilisa, Gunia-Kala, Avranlo, Knole, and Santa cemeteries dated back to the first half of the I millennium BC (Kuftin, 1941: 56-57; Kuftin, 1948: 10; Menabde, Davlianidze, 1968; Davlianidze, 1983; Narimanishvili et al., 2004: 125-126). The white colored beads discovered on the archaeological sites of this epoch have round shapes

and are distinguished by the diversity of the ornaments; mainly beads of cylindrical, triangular, rombical and rectangular shapes are observed.

The beads of cylindrical shape found in Eli-Baba cemetery are presented by the tubules of different length, among them one part has a plain surface (Tab. IV, 4; VII, 2), while another part is decorated with hollowed girdles or small-size concentric circles (Tab. II, 3; IV, 1, 2). The small cylinders arranged in several rows are connected to some tubules from four sides (Tab. II, 2; IX, 3; XIV, 1); there are different numbers of grooves on the sides of cylindrical beads of small height and they have flower-like shape (Tab. XII, 2, 4; XV, 4). Besides the cylindrical tubules the rectangular transverse crossed ones are also observed, the edges of which are decorated with indirect notches.

The rhombic and triangular shape beads (Tab. XII, 5) are decorated with small size circles, having a notched site in the center.

The rectangular beads have a parallelepiped shape. Both surfaces of such beads are decorated with one or two small size circles, while longitudinal and transverse sides – with notches (Tab. I-XV). Conventionally, they were named as domino-like beads.

First they were described by B. Kuftin. The complexes constituting such kinds of beads discovered on the cemeteries of Tsintskaro, Maralin-Deresi, Gunia-Kala and Tak-Kilisa he dated back to the Urartu Age– the IX-VI millennia BC (Kuftin, 1941: 56-57). As a result of the further investigation the date of the complexes constituting domino-like beads found on Tsintskaro cemetery was determined by the second half of the IXth century BC and the first half of the VIIIth century BC (Menabde, Davlianidze, 1968: 5-21).

The separate samples of white color beads including the so-called domino-like beads were discovered on the burial places of Narekvavi – the VII-VIth centuries BC (Nikolaishvili, Gavasheli, 2007), Ozhora cemetery N7 - the VIII-VIIth centuries BC (Japaridze, 2009: 190-192) and on cemetery N565 of Samtavro lower layer (Kuftin, 1941: 56-57).

The domino-like beads were also discovered on the territory of West Georgia – in Tsaishi collective burial, dated back to the second half of the VIIIth century BC and the first half of the VIIth century BC (Papuashvili, 2010: Tab. III, 84). The items found on Mukhurcha cemetery is also dated back to the same period (Gogadze, Pantskhava, Darispanashvili, 1977: 60-78).

The domino-like beads are discovered on the territory of Armenia, among which the Artiki third group burials (Khachatryan, 1979: 16, 17, 280), Talini N20 burial (Avetisyan, Avetisyan, 2006: Tab. 15, Fig. 4) and Noratusi burial (Martirosyan, 1964: Tab. XX/1; Engibaryan, 1991: 68) are dated back to XI-IXth centuries BC.

The beads found in the cemeteries of Oshakani (Esayan, Kalantaryan, 1988: XXV/10), Keti (Petrosyan, 1989: Tab. 70/8; 73/15), Khrtanotsi (Martirosyan, 1954: Tab. 84), Sarapati (Petrosyan, 1993: Tab. XCV/12), Artashavani (Avetisyan, Engibaryan, Sarkisyan, 1998: Tab.

14, Fig. 40) are dated back to the IX-VI centuries BC. The beads discovered in N1 burial of Nor-Khachakapi (Engibaryan, Navasardyan, 2010: 173-195) and N59 burial of Redkin-Lager (Kuftin, 1941: 56-57) are dated by the same period. One item of domino-like beads was found on the Karmir-Blur settlement (Martirosyan, 1954).

Several items of domino-like beads are registered on the territory of Azerbaijan on Palidlini necropolis (Japarov, Japarova, Aliev, 2011: 93-94). Domino-like beads have been discovered on the territory of Turkey on Karagonduzi cemetery, which is located on Van Lake east coast and is dated back to the Urartu Age (Sevin, 1996: 42), also several items of domino-like beads are represented at the exhibition of Ankara museum, the place of their discovery is unknown.

Thus, the so-called domino-like beads are mainly distributed in the central part of the South Caucasus – Georgia, the historical Trialeti (Tsintskaro, Kushchi, Beshtasheni, Maralin-Deresi, Tak-Kilisa, Gunia-Kala, Avranlo, Eli-Baba, Knole, Santa), Shida Kartli (Samtavro, Ozhora), Armenia (Artiki, Talini, Noratusi, Oshakani, Keti, Khrtanotsi, Sarapati, Artashavani, Nor-Khachakapi, Karmir-Blur, Redkin Lager), Azerbaijan (Palidlini) and Turkey (the environs of Van lake).

The domino-like beads discovered on the territories of Trialeti and Tashiri and the different types of white color beads registered in complex with them are distinguished by the number and shape diversity.

The researchers place domino-like beads in a large period of time and in general date them back to the XI-Vth centuries BC. However, B. Kuftin noted that such type beads were met only in a short period of definite time (Kuftin, 1941: 56-57).

We also believe that such types of beads were produced in a short period of time –the VII and the first half of VIth centuries BC. We also think that their manufacturing center has been located in the South Caucasus, may be in Trialeti.

In recent years the re-understanding the researches carried out at Eli-Baba and Knole cemeteries and those excavated earlier at Trialeti cemetery provide a basis to believe that domino-like beads and their constituent complexes can be attributed to the VII-VIth centuries BC.

A large part of researchers consider that white color beads, including the so-called domino-like beads are made of paste (Menabde, Davlianidze, 1968; Davlianidze, 1983). Rarely they are considered to be bone items (Nikolaishvili, Gavasheli, 2007: 39, 173). B. Kuftin who has first described the above mentioned types of beads considers that for their manufacturing one of the kinds of talc was used (Kuftin, 1941: 56-57).

The cylindrical shapes of white beads are found in abundance also on Sapar-Kharaba cemetery (Narimanishvili, 2006: 92-1093; Narimanishvili, 2004). It should also be noted that on Georgia territory such types of beads are found in the earlier Bronze Age (Lortkipanidze, 2015: 38, 124; Shanshashvili, 2010: 161-181).

Sapar-Kharaba cemetery appears to be one of the most interesting archaeological site of Trialeti in Late Bronze age, which dates back to the XV-XIVth centuries BC (Narimanishvili, 2010: 312-369; Narimanishvili, 2006: 92-103). Among the beads found there the most numerous are beads made of quartz group mineral (cornelian, agate, sardonyx), among which well polished items of cylindrical shape (Tab. I, 6; XVII, 1), roughly processed round shape beads, the so-called cracked beads (Tab. XVI, 4-11) and the pendants of triangular shape (Tab. XVI, 5) are found. The most interesting group of jewelry appears to be the cylinders made of nontransparent yellow and brown sardonyx (Tab. XVI, 8; XX, 6.9).

From the beads and jewelry found at Sapar-Kharaba cemetery especially should be highlighted as the faience and glass beads.

The faience beads are represented as "grain of wheat" (Tab. XVI, 4) and barrel shape beads (Tab. XVI, 9), which are grooved along the hole in the length. They are dark blue, green and black colors; the biconical shape grooved beads are of greenish and yellowish colors (Tab. XVI, 3; XVII, 4, 10; XVIII, 11). The grooved beads round the hole of cylindrical axis make an impression that several beads are connected to each other (Tab. XVII, 8, 10; XIX, 6), they are of blue color; a great number of the green and blue cylinders with plain surface and round-shaped rings were found at this cemetery (Tab. XVII, 10, XIX).

Rombic shaped whitish and yellowish flat beads and a blue pendant are found at the same cemetery. Both sides of them are decorated with grooved triangles and lines.

The glass beads are represented by rounded-shape plain cylinders having a grooved surface and oval shaped flat beads (Tab. XVI, 5, 11; XVIII, 18). They are of white, light green, dark blue and gray colors.

The faience and glass beads discovered at Sapar-Kharaba cemetery are analogous to those found in Ulu-Burun near Bodrum (Turkey) during merchant shipwreck. As known the above-mentioned archaeological sites are dated by the end of XIV century BC. One more type of the beads found at Sapar-Kharaba cemetery reveals the similarities with Ulu-Burun material (Tab. XVI, 2, XVIII, 14). These are round beads made of white color mass, which are decorated with large, round points (Ingram, 2005).

Currently the complex research of beads and jewelries found at Trialeti archaeological monuments is intensively carried out. The beads found at Trialeti are subjected to optical-photometric, X-ray phase, chemical and X-ray fluorescence analysis under the supervision of the Doctor of Geological-Mineralogy sciences, Professor of Georgian Technical University N. Poporadze. The typological rows of the beads are drawn and the chronological scale is developed.

The initial data indicate that one part of beads and jewelries found in Trialeti appear to be the import. It should be noted that one part of Sapar-Kharaba cemetery shows a definite similarity with the analogous artifacts of the Mediterranean area.

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Illustrations

Tab. I. Eli-Baba. **The talc, faience, carnelian beads:** 1,2. Burial 41, inv. No 837; 3. Burial 56, inv. No 939; **The faience beads:** 4. Burial 78, inv. No 1101; **The carnelian, agate, glass beads:** 5. Burial 80, inv. No 1129; 6. Burial 21, inv. No 705; **The carnelian, faience, agate, past beads:** 7. Burial 50, inv. No 898.

Tab. II. Eli-Baba. **The talc, faience beads:** 1. Burial 21, inv. No 704; **The talc, faience, carnelian, beads:** 2. Burial 21, inv. No 706; 3. Burial 17, inv. No 683,684.

Tab. III. Eli-Baba. **The talc, faience, carnelian beads:** 1. Burial 23, inv. No 717; 2. Burial 41, inv. No 837.

Tab. IV. Eli-Baba. **The talc and carnelian beads:** 1. Burial 28, inv. No 744; 2. Burial 28, inv. No 744a; 3. Burial 28, inv. No 783; **The talc beads:** 4. Burial 31, inv. No 761; 6. Burial 21, inv. No 705; **The talc, faience, carnelian beads:** 5. Burial 29, inv. No 747.

Tab. V. Eli-Baba. **The agate, talc beads:** 1. Burial 38, inv. No 802; 2. Burial 38, inv. No 798; **The talc, glass, faience beads:** 3. Burial 38, inv. No 800; **The talc, faience beads:** 4. Burial 38, inv. No 797.

Tab. VI. Eli-Baba. **The talc, faience beads:** 1. Burial 38, inv. No 801; 4. Burial 38, inv. No 796; **The talc beads:** 2. Burial 38, inv. No 801a; **The talc, faience, carnelian beads:** 3. Burial 38, inv. No 799.

Tab. VII. Eli-Baba. **The talc, faience carnelian beads:** 1. Burial 45, inv. No 872; 2. Burial 57, inv. No 949; **The talc beads:** 3. Burial 51, inv. No 912.

Tab. VIII. Eli-Baba. **The faience beads:** 1. Burial 78, inv. No 1101; **The talc, faience carnelian beads:** 2. Burial 78, inv. No 1102.

Tab. IX. Eli-Baba. **The talc, faience beads:** 1. Burial 80, inv. No 1133; **The carnelian, past, faience beads:** 2. Burial 80, inv. No 1131; **The talc beads:** 3. Burial 80, inv. No 1128.

Tab. X. Eli-Baba. **The carnelian beads:** 1. Burial 79, inv. No 1115; **The talc, faience, carnelian beads:** 2. Burial 79, inv. No 1117; **The carnelian, agate, glass beads:** 3. Burial 80, inv. No 1129.

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Tab.XII. Eli-Baba. **The talc, faience beads:** 1. Burial 120, inv. No 1335; 2. Burial 121, inv. No 1340; 4. Burial 125, inv. No 1353; **The talk beads:** 3. Burial 124, inv. No 1349; **The talc, carnelian beads:** 5. Burial 119, inv. No 1330.

Tab. XIII. Eli-Baba. **The talc and faience beads:** 1,2. Burial 69, inv. No 1031; 3. Burial 69, inv. No 1033.

Tab. XIV. Eli-Baba. **The talc beads:** 1. Burial 80, inv. No 1128; **The talc faience beads:** 2. Burial 41, inv. No 837.

Tab.XV. Eli-Baba. **The talc, faience,carnelian beads:** 1. Burial 56, inv. No 939; 2. Burial 17, inv. No 683; **The talc, faience beads:** 3. Burial 21, inv. No 704; **The talc beads:** 4. Burial 69, inv. No 1031; 5. Burial 51, inv. No 912; 5. Burial 41, inv. No 837.

Tab. XVI. Sapar-Kharaba. **The bronze beads:** 1. Burial 5, inv. No 36; **The talc beads:** 2. Burial 110, inv. No 548; **The faience beads:** 3. Burial 90, inv. No 475; **The faience, carnelian beads:** 4. Burial 95, inv. No 506; 6. Burial 56, inv. No 354; 10. Burial 84, inv. No 427; **The glass, sardonyx, carnelian, beads:** 5. Burial 73, inv. No 389a; 7. Burial 73-1, inv. No 393; **The talc and sardonyx beads:** 8. Burial 104, inv. No 532; **The carnelian beads:** 9. Burial 38, inv. No 299; **The glass, faience, carnelian, talc beads:** 11. Burial 38, inv. No 298.

Tab. XVII. Sapar-Kharaba. **The carnelian, glass beads:** 1. Burial 84, inv. No 427; **The carnelian beads:** 2. Burial 94, inv. No 499; 7. Burial 119, inv. No 565; **The sardonyx beads:** 3. Burial 89, inv. No 468; **The faience beads:** 4. Burial 42, inv. No 311; 6. Burial 37, inv. No 294; 10. Burial 73, inv. No 389; **The sardonyx, carnelian, glass beads:** 5. Burial 73, inv. No 389; **The carnelian, faience, talc, glass beads:** 8. Burial 38, inv. No 298; **The carnelian, faience beads:** 9. Burial 95, inv. No 506.

Tab. XVIII. Sapar-Kharaba. **The faience beads:** 1,2. Burial 94, inv. No 499; 4. Burial 73, inv. No 389; 5. Burial 56, inv. No 351; 6. Burial 38, inv. No 298; 7. Burial 40, inv. No 360; 11. Burial 90, inv. No 475; 12,13. Burial 84, inv. No 427; 17. Burial 56, inv. No 354a; **The gold beads:** 3. Burial 56, inv. No 353; 8-10, 16. Burial 84, inv. No 422-425; **The past beads:** 14.. Burial 110, inv. No 548; 15. Burial 73, inv. No 389a; **The carnelian, glass, bronze beads:** 18. Burial 38, inv. No 300; **The carnelian beads:** 19. Burial 84, inv. No 426; 21. Burial 38, inv. No 299; **The carnelian, faience,talc beads:** 20. Burial 38, inv. No 301.

Tab. XIX. Sapar-Kharaba. **The faience, carnelian beads:** 1. Burial 94, inv. No 499; 3. Burial 56, inv. No 354; 4. Burial 73-1, inv. No 393; 5. Burial 84, inv. No 428; **The carnelian, faience, talc beads:** 2. Burial 94, inv. No 500; **The sardonyx, faience, talc beads:** 6. Burial 33, inv. No 285.

Tab. XX. Sapar-Kharaba. **The talc, sardonyx beads:** 1. Burial 104, inv. No 531; 5. Burial 68, inv. No 373; 6. Burial 53, inv. No 337; 9. Burial 106, inv. No 535; 12. Burial 104, inv. No 532; **The faience beads:** 2. Burial 120, inv. No 571; **The carnelian beads:** 3. Burial 45, inv. No 320; 8. Burial 69, inv. No 378; 13. Burial 44, inv. No 314; **The talc beads:** 4. Burial 54, inv. No 340; 7. Burial 74, inv. No 398; 10. Burial 89, inv. No 472; **The faience and sardonyx beads:** 11. Burial 67, inv. No 369.

Tab. XXI. Sapar-Kharaba. **The carnelian faience beads:** 1. Burial 95, inv. No 506; 5. Burial 84, inv. No 427; **The sardonyx, talc beads:** 2. Burial 88, inv. No 468; **The talc, sardonyx, carnelian beads:** 3. Burial 38, inv. No 301; **The glass, sardonyx, carnelian beads:** 4. Burial 73, inv. No 389a; **The carnelian beads:** 6. Burial 38, inv. No 299.

Tab. XXII. Sapar-Kharaba. **The talc, glass, faience, carnelian beads:** 1. Burial 38, inv. No 298; **The faience, carnelian beads:** 2. Burial 56, inv. No 354.

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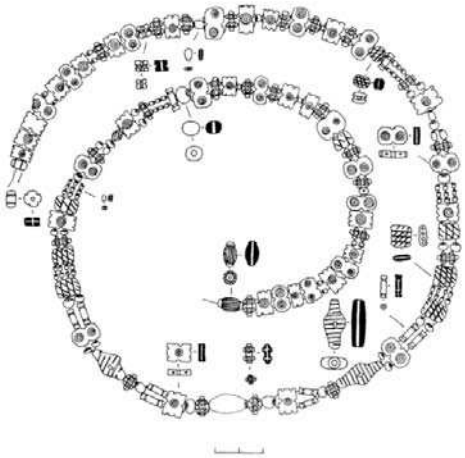

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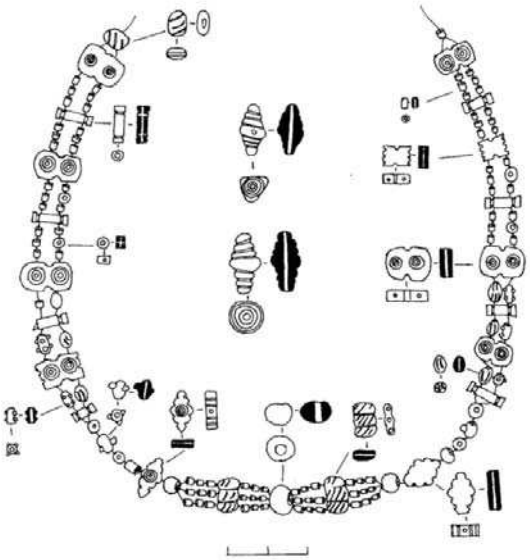

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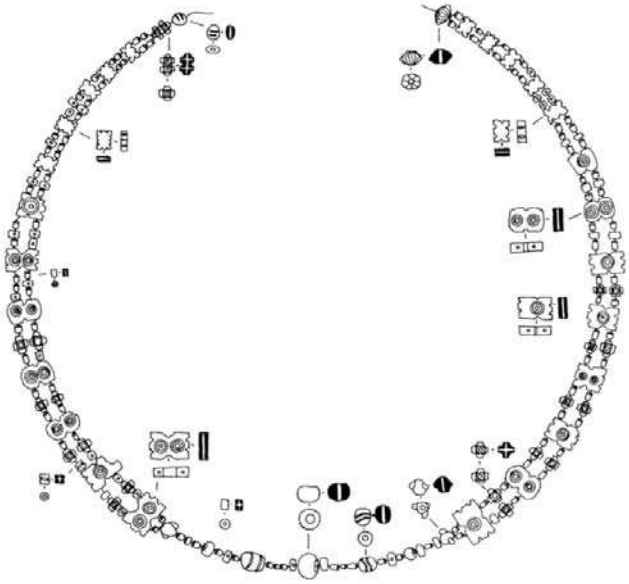

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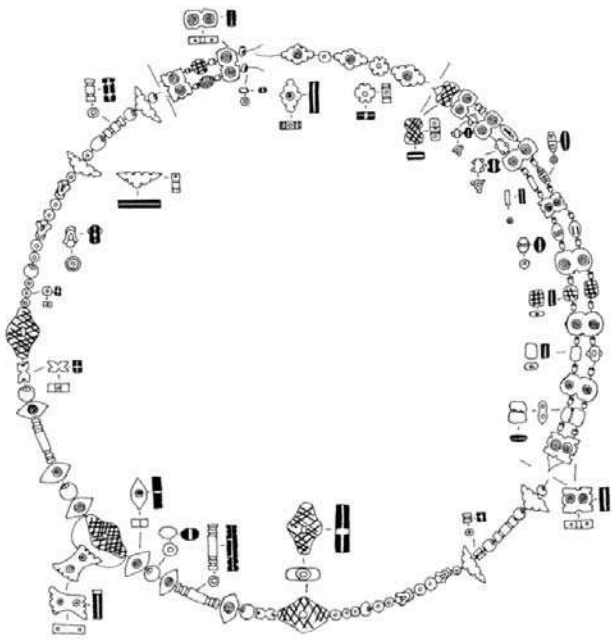

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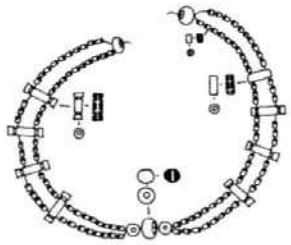

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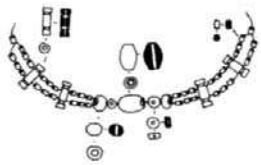

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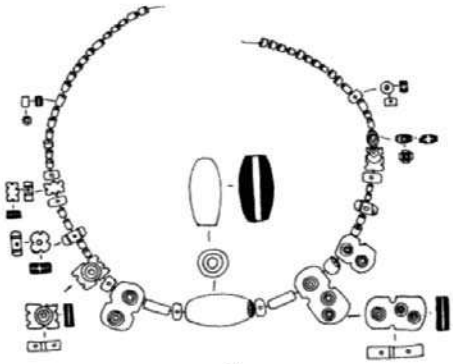

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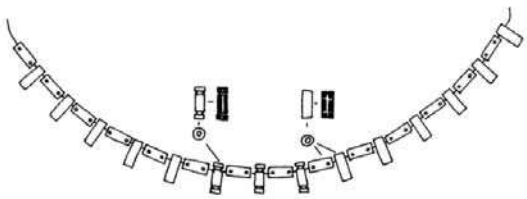

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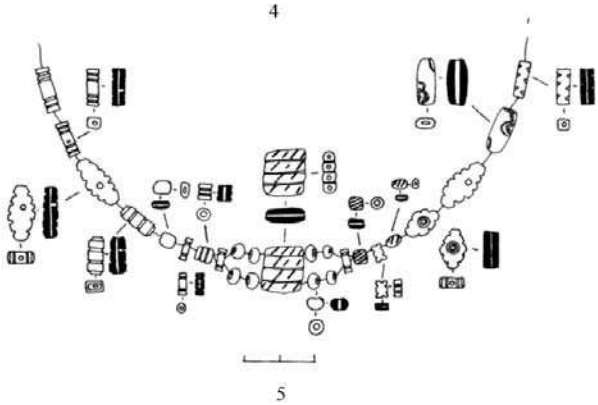

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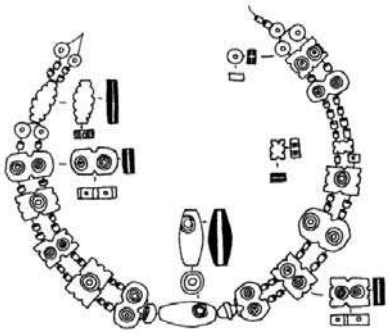

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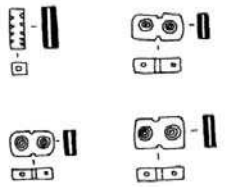

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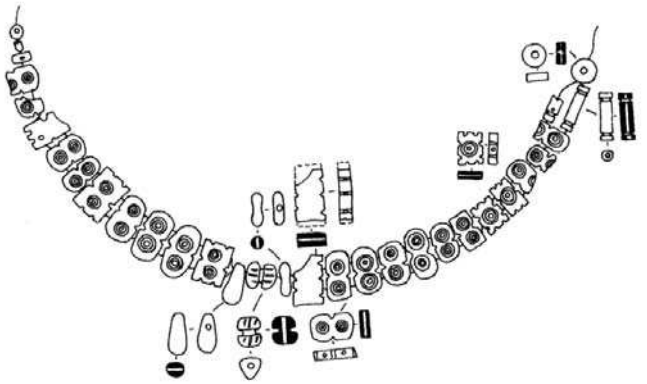

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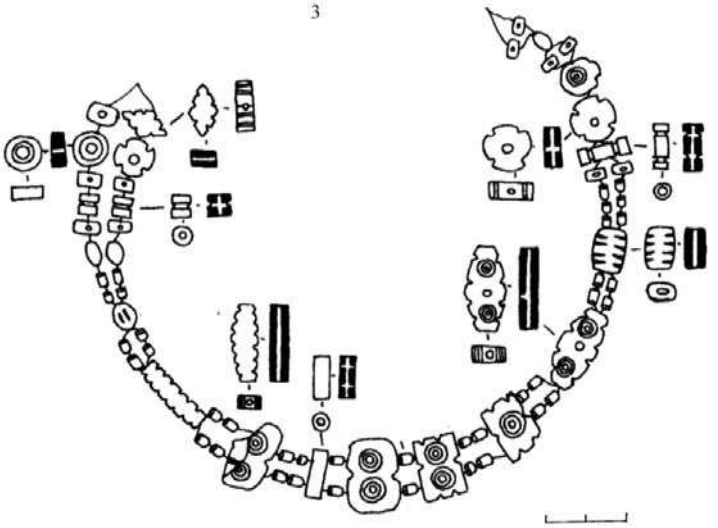

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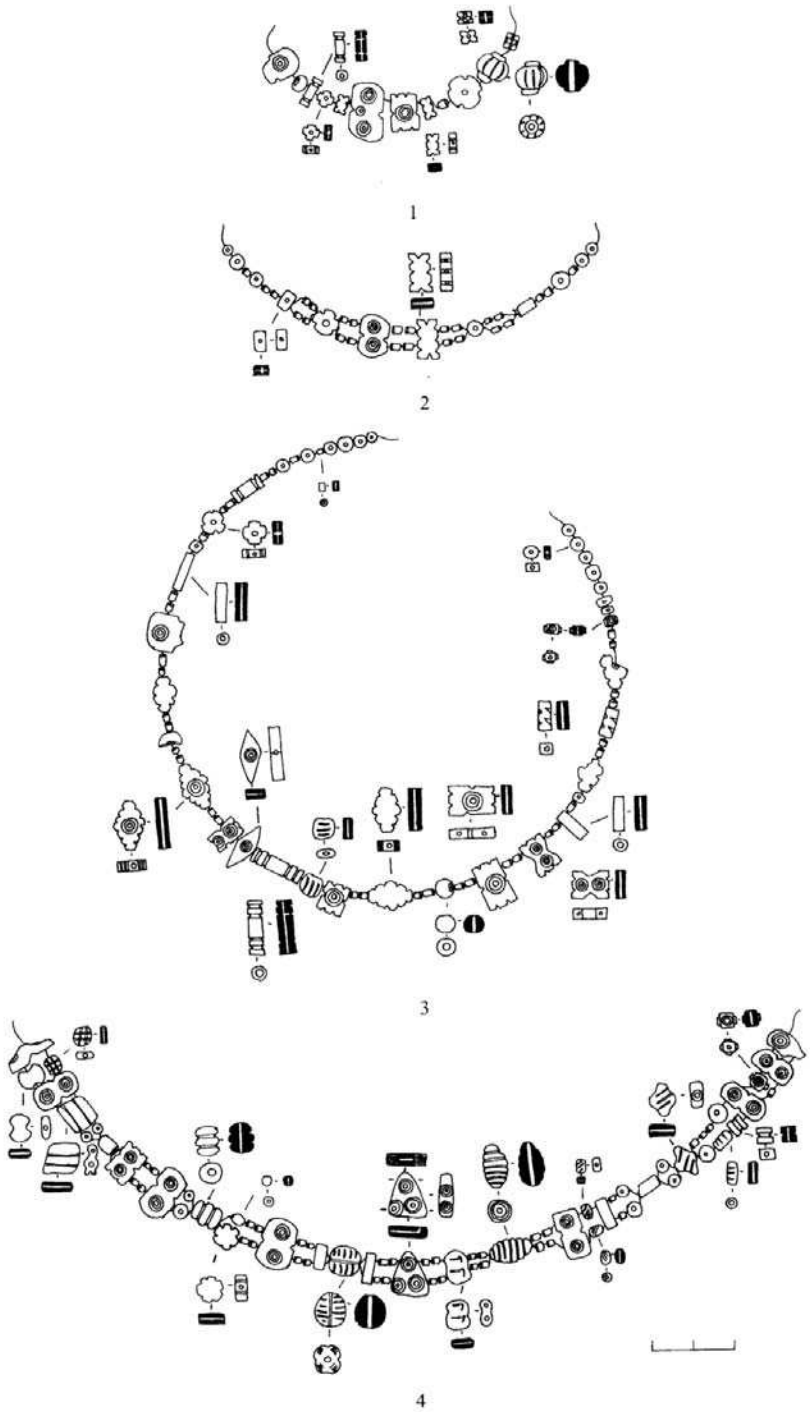

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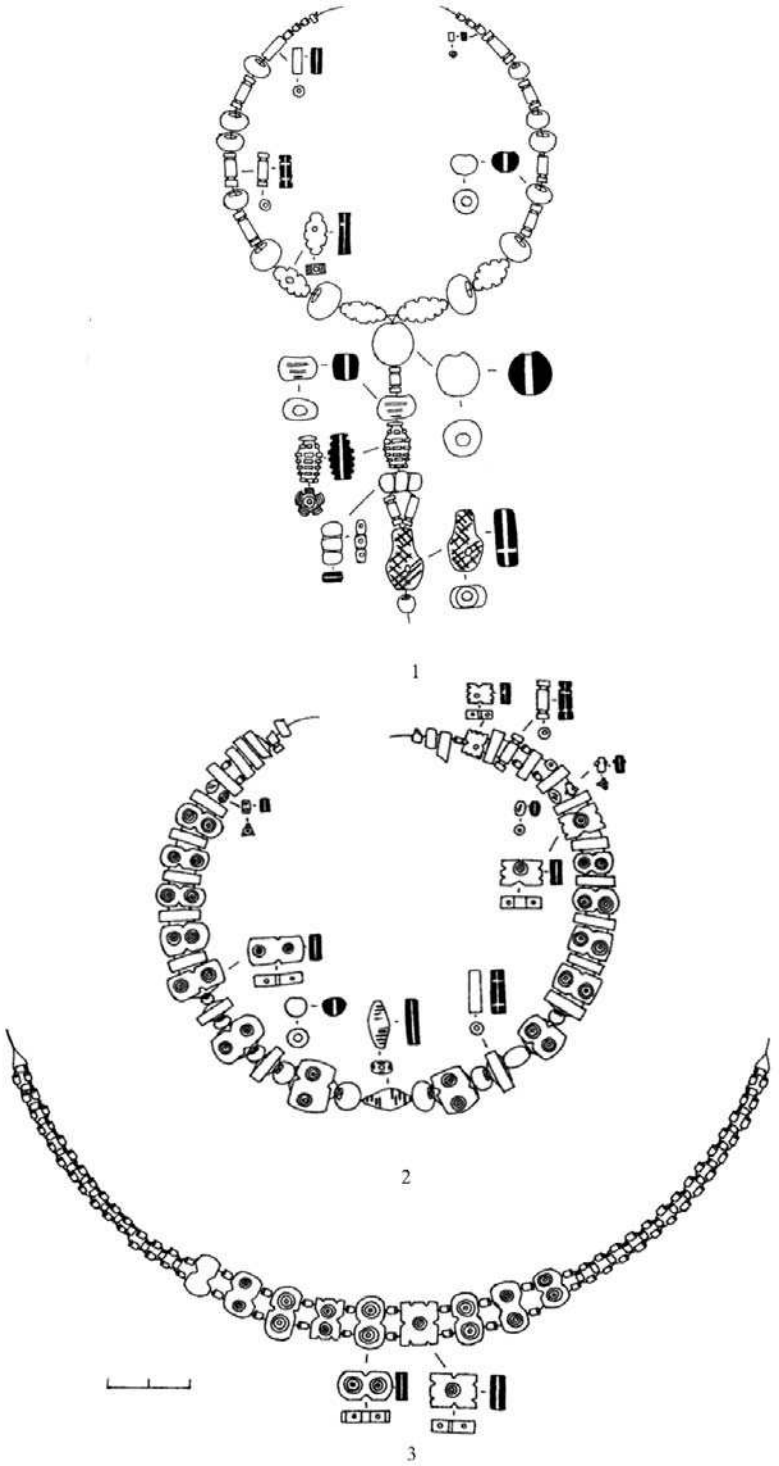

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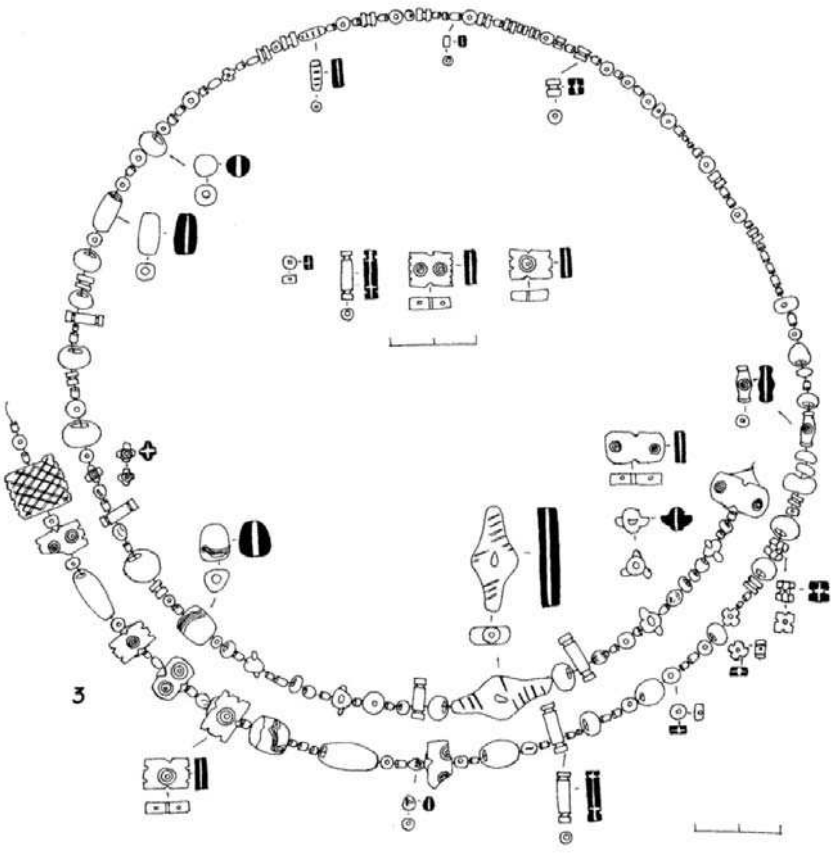

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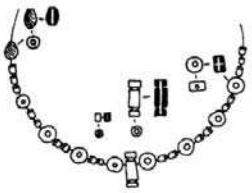

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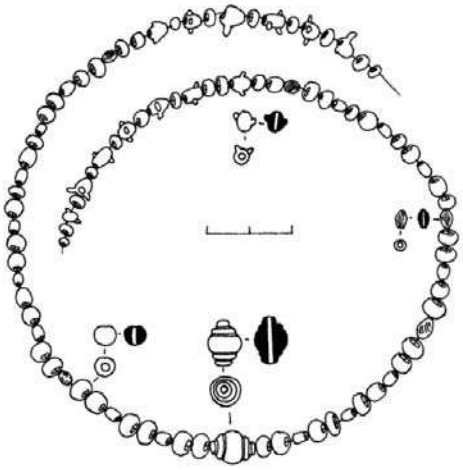

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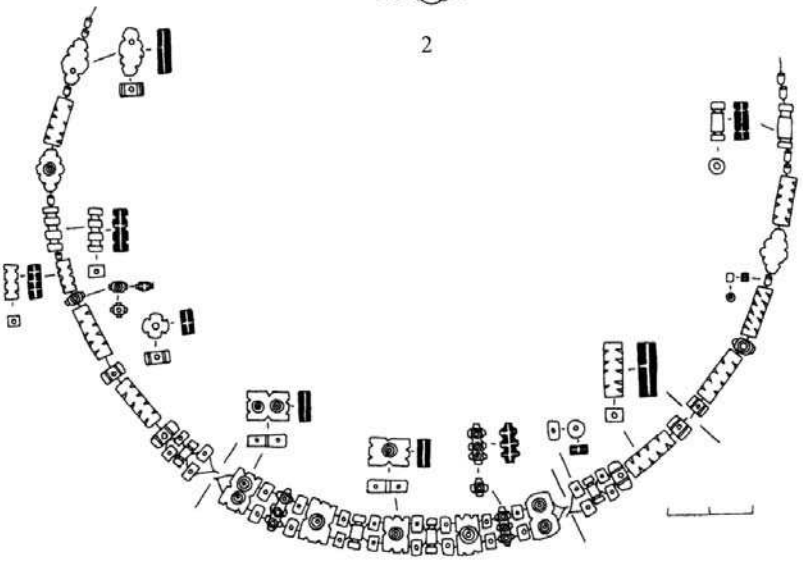

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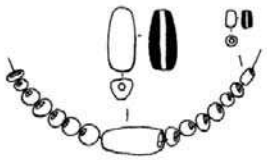

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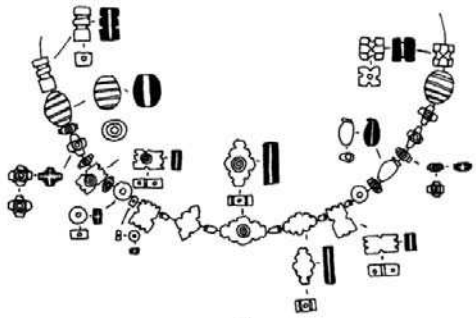

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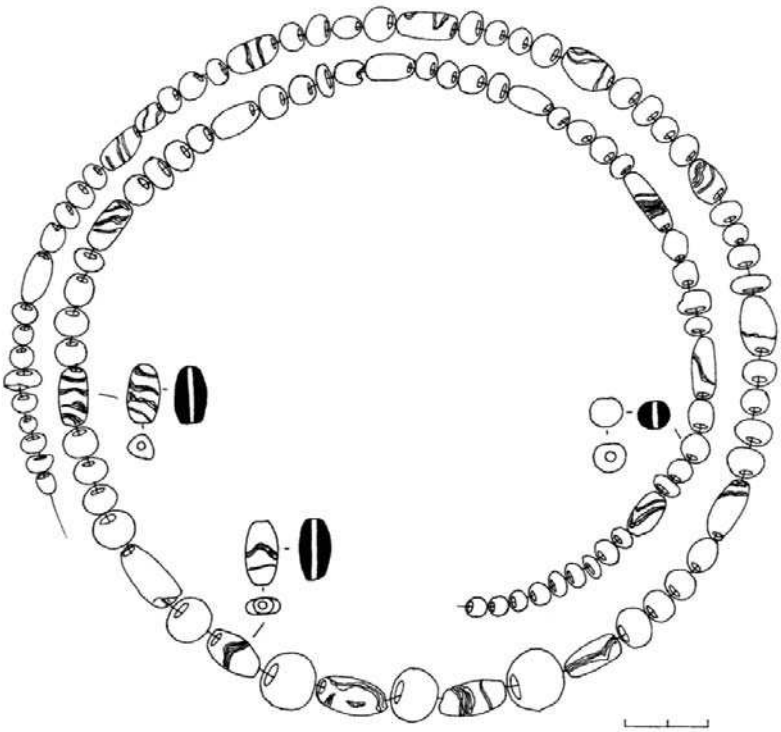

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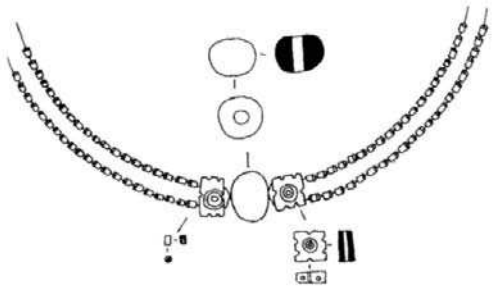

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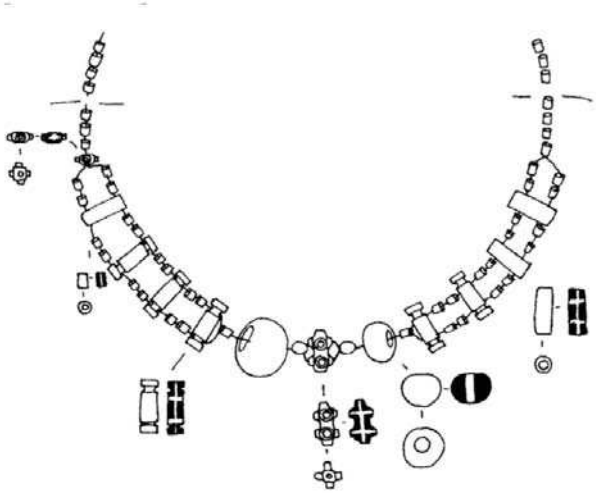

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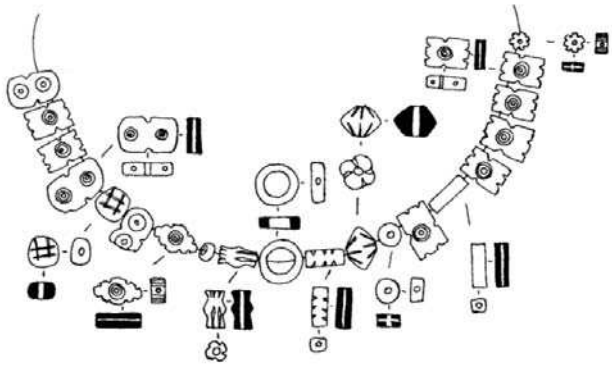

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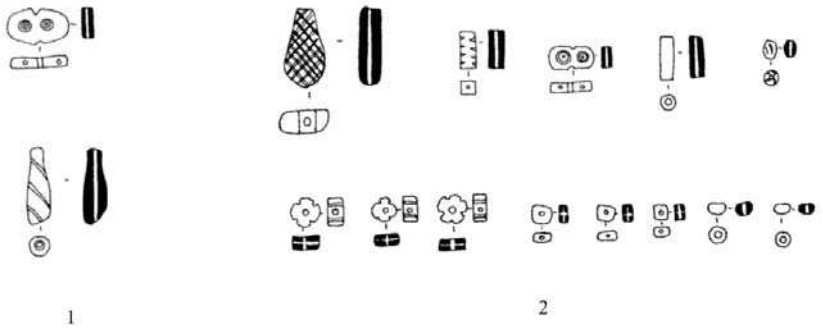

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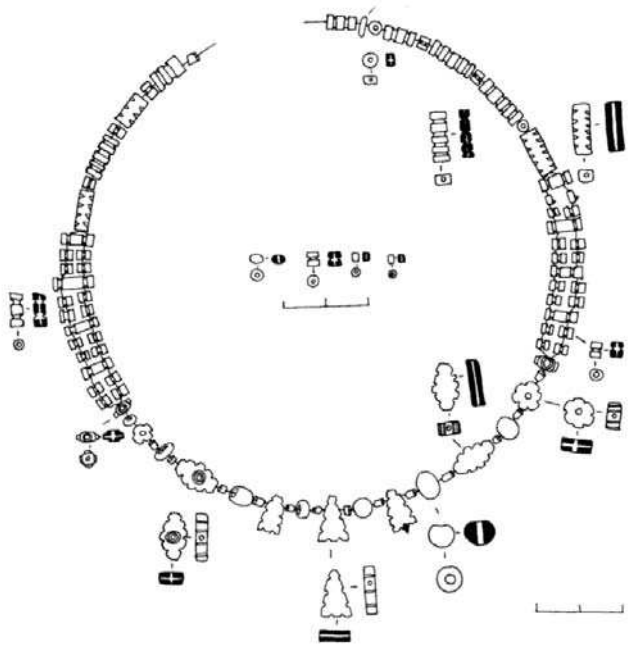

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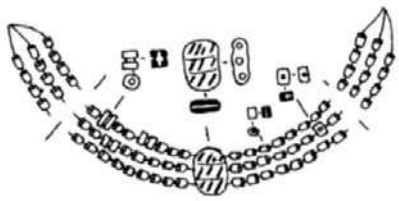

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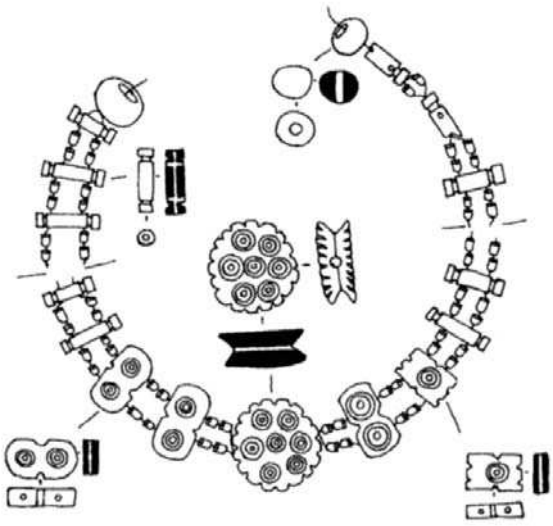

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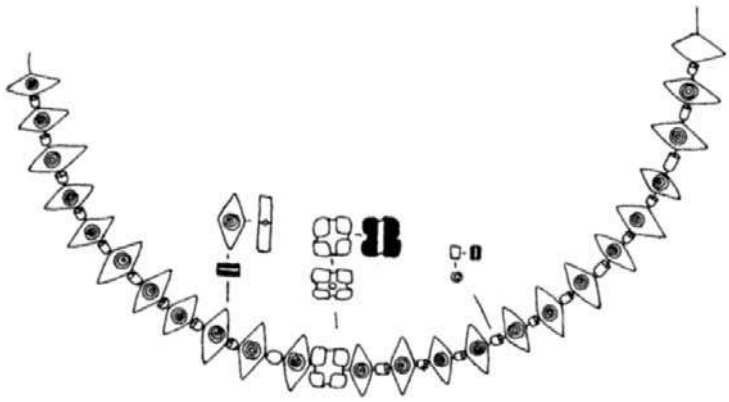

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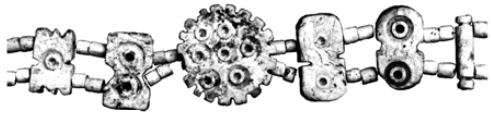

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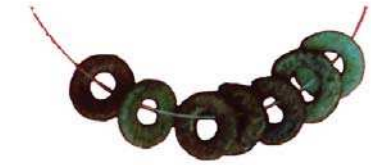

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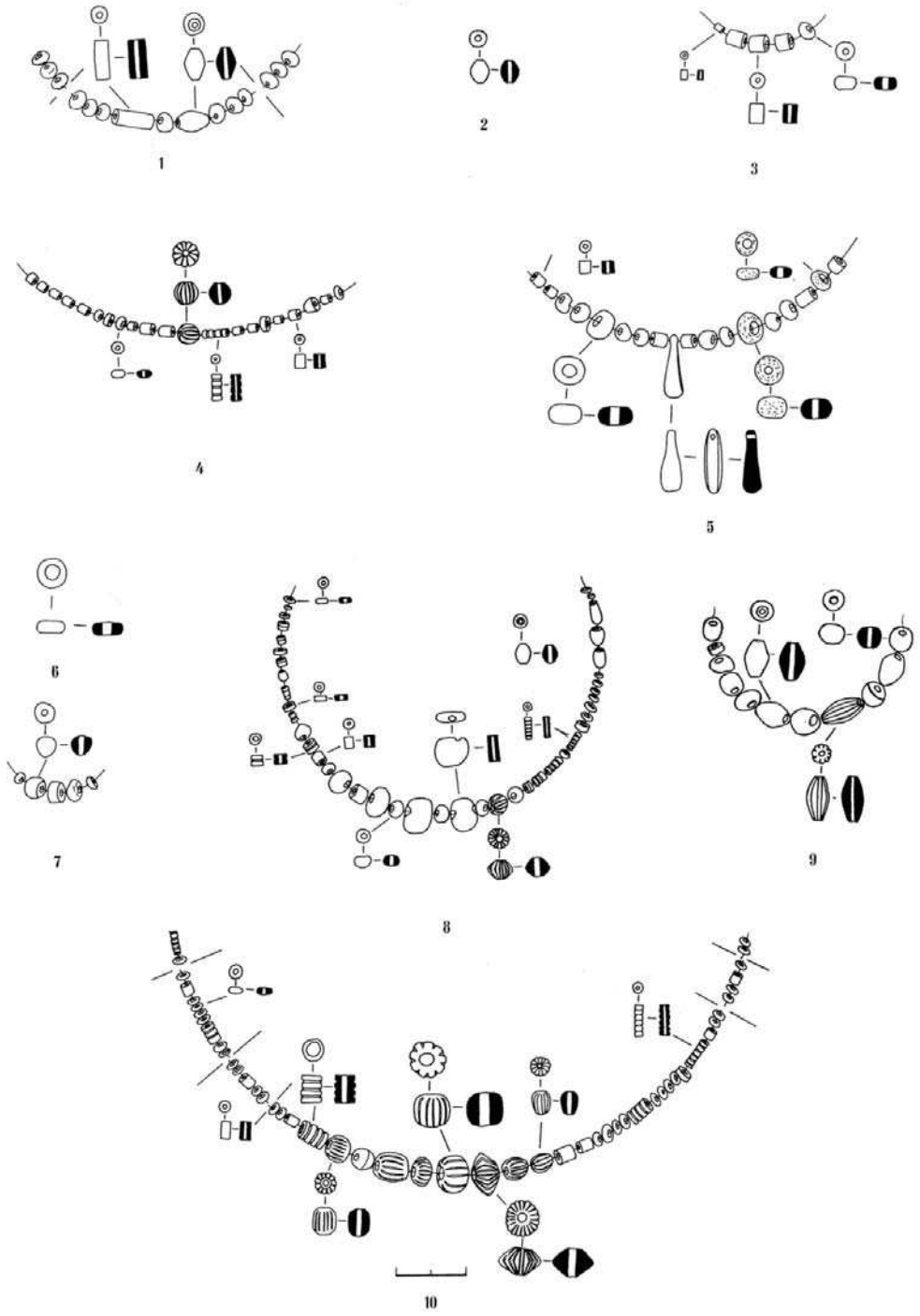

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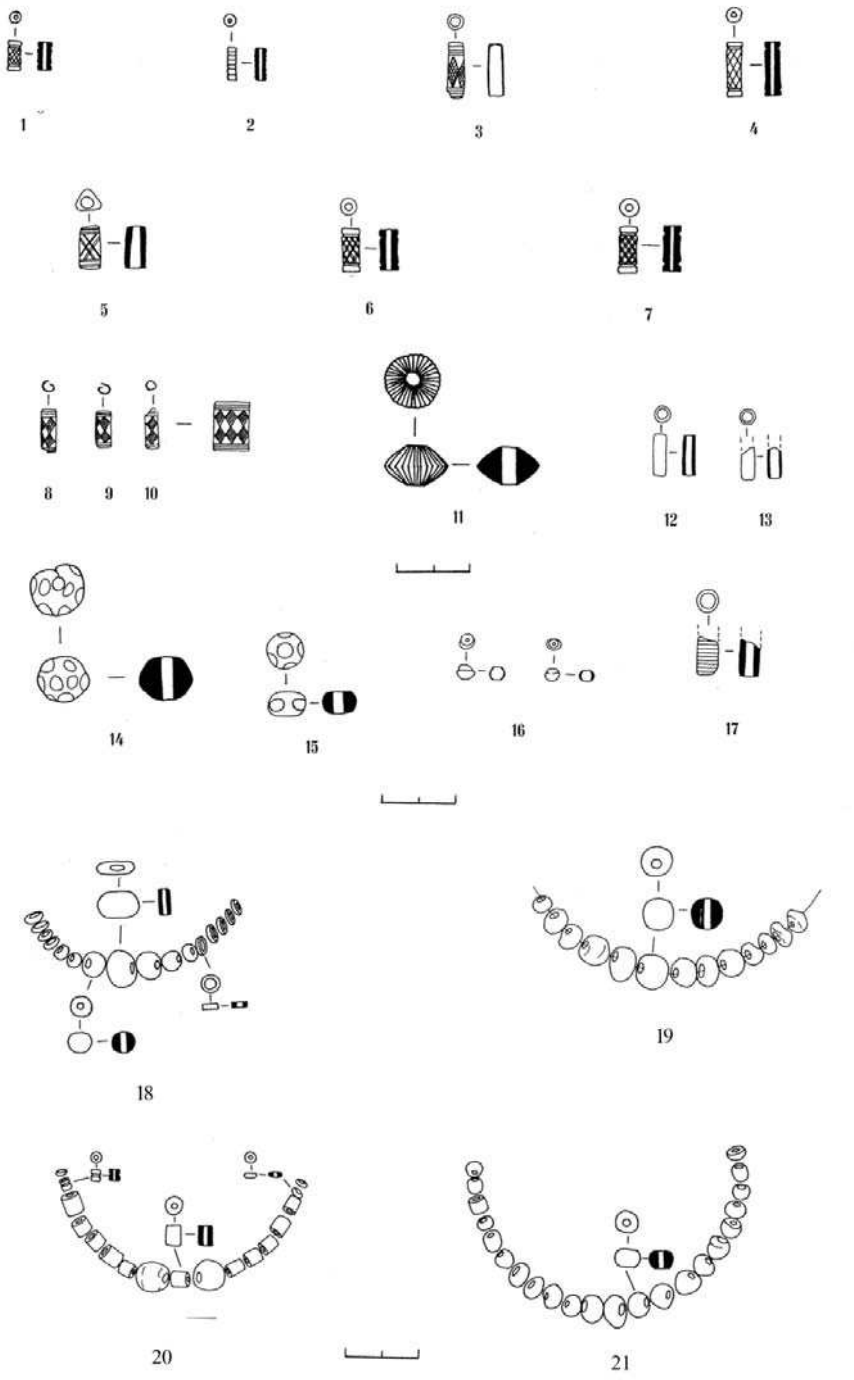

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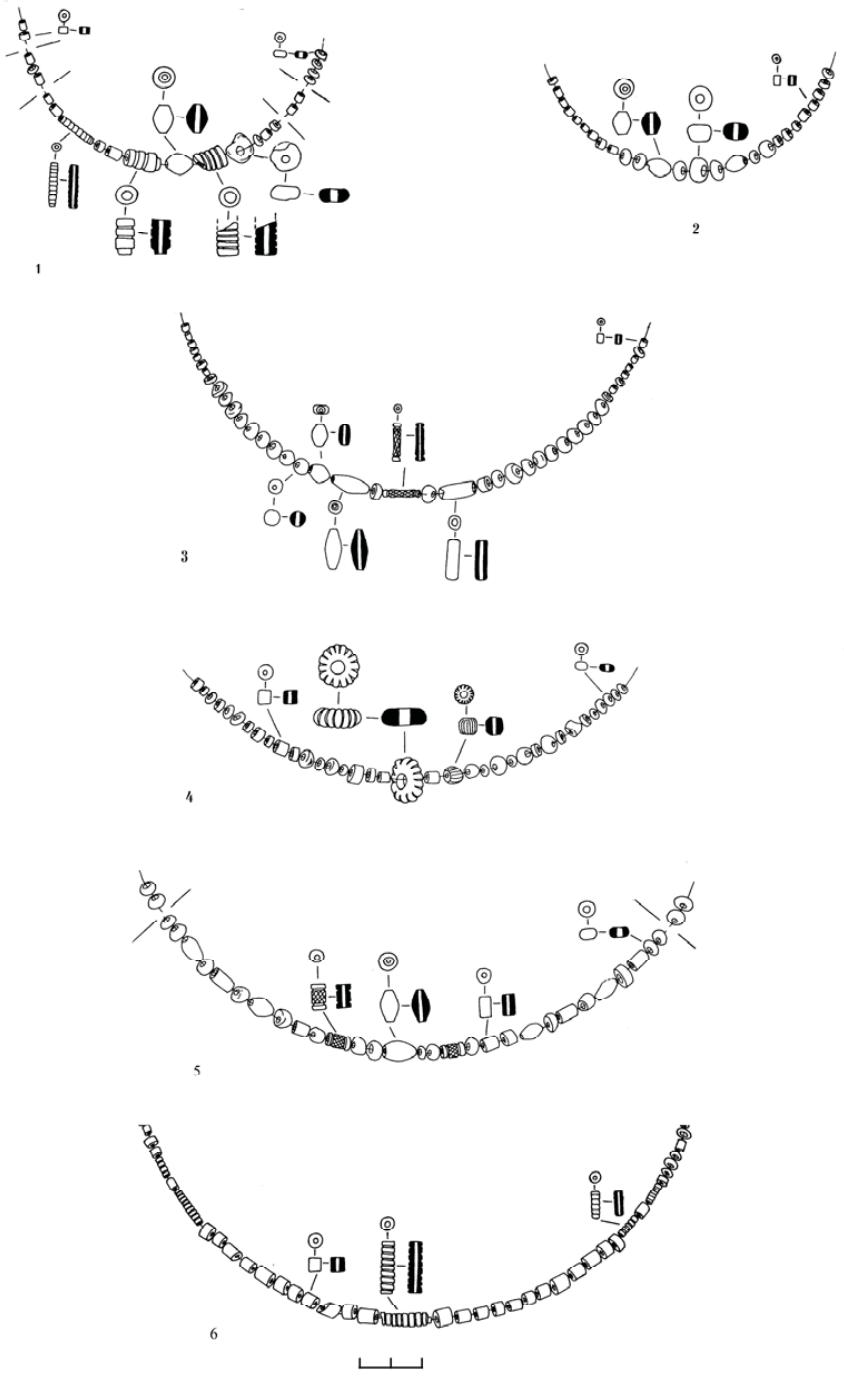

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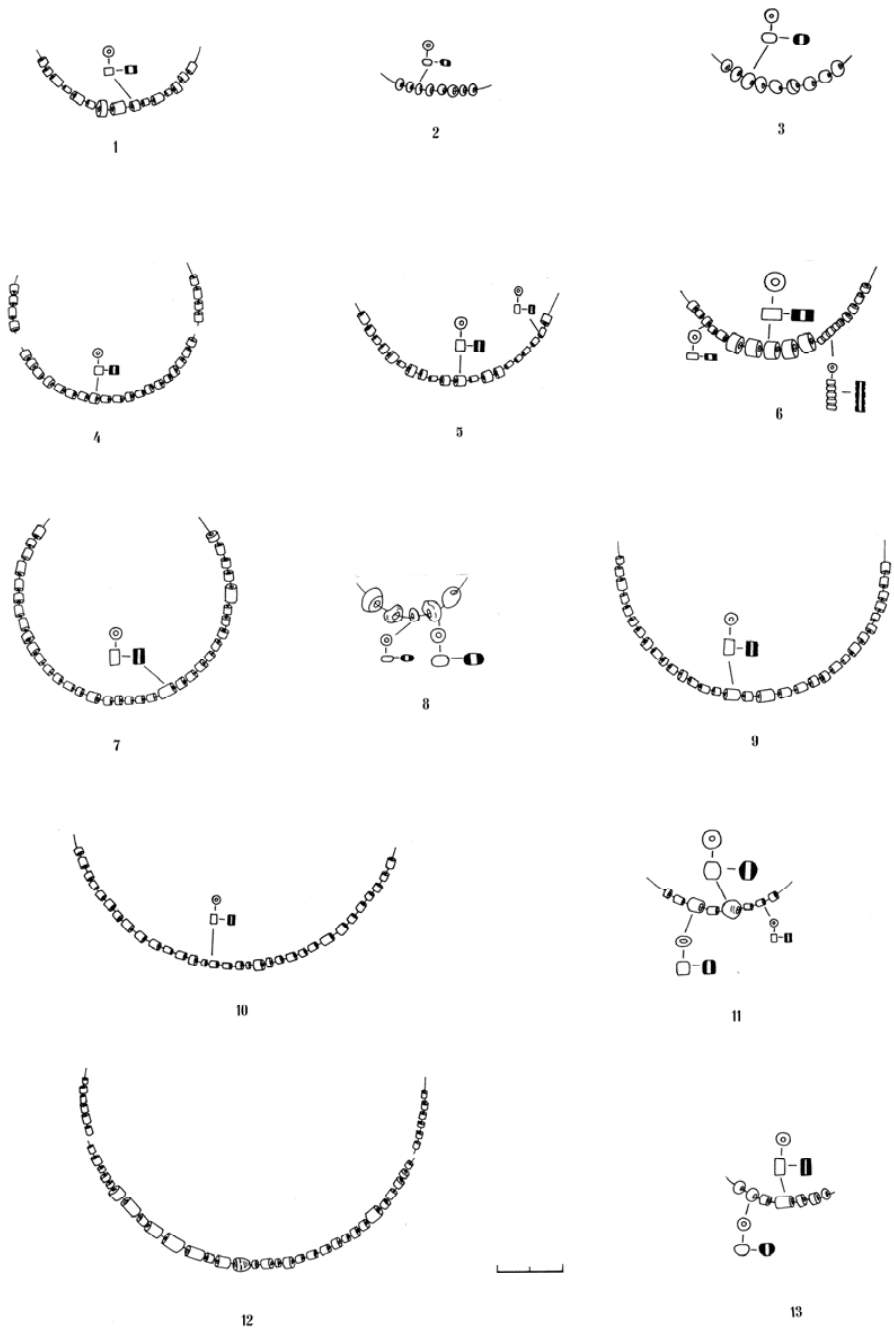

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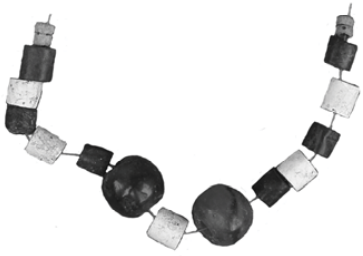

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THE CYCLOPEAN SETTLEMENTS OF SOUTH GEORGIA AND THE PROSPECTS FOR ITS STUDY

(Abstract)

Dimitri Narimanishvili
Otar Lordkipanidze Center for Archaeological Studies of Georgian National Museum

The study of the megaliths in the South Caucasus has a long history. The necessity of studying these sites was arisen at the V Archaeological Meeting, held in 1884 in Tbilisi.

The Georgian chronicler Vakhushti Batonishvili gave the first information about Caucasian megaliths. In his historical-geographical work created in XVII century the Chkhikvta cyclopean fortress is mentioned as "created by the heroes". Shaori fortress is described by Vakhushti Batonishvili in the following way: "the fortress is located on the top of Shaori Mountain and is built with huge stones". Of course it cannot be considered as the study of megaliths, but it gives the opportunity to look through the history of the interest of travelers and natural scientists to megalithic sites.

The works associated with the construction of the reservoir conducted by the archaeological expedition in Tsalka municipality in the Kvemo Kartli region in the 30ies of XX century can be considered as the first archaeological research of megalithic complexes on the territory of Georgia. The expedition was headed by the famous archaeologist Boris Kuftin. His main goal was to conduct the rescue works on the territory intended for Tsalka reservoir construction. Boris Kuftin conducted the works both on the above-mentioned territory and near it. During the work conduction many significant objects were studied including the cyclopean fortresses.

Since the end of XX century the research of megalithic complexes has got a systematic character and many important papers were published.

The majority of megalithic settlements and cyclopean fortresses are located in the South Georgia – Trialeti and Javakheti. The part of these settlements and fortresses are studied to some extent: in Trialeti – Beshtasheni, Knole, Eli-Baba, Bareti, Tejisi, Ashkala, Kariaki, Ay-Ilia, Gumbati, Avranlo, Nardevani, Edi-Kilisa, Ozni, Santa, Sabidacha; in Javakheti – Abuli, Shaori, Paravani, Poka, Gandza, Okami 1, Okami 2, Kaurma.

In recent years in Kvemo Kartli and Meskhet-Javakheti we have revealed the previously unknown megalithic fortification constructions. Currently the compilation of topographic maps and decoding of aerial photos take place. On the basis of these data in 2012-2015 several expeditions were arranged. The exploration routes mainly covered Tsalka and Ninotsminda municipalities. The main goal of these expeditions was to identify the structures given on the topographical maps and aerial photos.

Several previously unknown megalithic fortification complexes were investigated on the place and generally they belonged to Late Bronze - Iron Ages.

Chochiani megalithic complex is located in Tsalka municipality, in the gorge of river Chochiani, near the village Ya-Ila. The megalithic complex is consisted of the settlement and the fortress. The settlement is located in the north of Chochiani gorge, on the bank of small ravine and is extended almost on three hectares. The part of the constructions has been preserved in the form of initial building. To the east of the settlement across the ravine the fortress is located, which is built on the confluence of Chochiani gorge and the small ravine to its north. Its length is 78 m, width – 23 m, has an oval shape. The wall thickness is 2-2.5 m. The preserved height reaches 2 m. On the north-west of the fortress the second settlement is located, which, as it seems is damaged as a result of career works.

At the springhead of Chochiani gorge in the north-east of the village Paravani of Ninotsminda municipality on the top of Iniak-Daghi mountain the fortress was fixed, the maximum length of which is 50 m, the width - 40 m. The complex is strongly damaged; apparently, the local population of the middle centuries used the stones of the fortress walls. It may explain the fact that the preserved walls have no height. We can say that it is completely razed to the ground. In the subsequent period a part of the complex was damaged after the career works. The fortress is surrounded by two defensive channels; the inner one is intended only for the defense of the fortress, while the other one – for a small dwelling, however, the trace of the settlement is also observed out of the fortress.

To the east of the village Gandzani 7 km away, on the right bank of Gandzaskhevi a cyclopean fortress is located. Its length reaches 100 m, the width – 80- m. The fortress consists of "Dedatsikhe" and main wall, which surrounds "Dedatsikhe" and the settlement around it.

The large megalithic fortification complex was registered in Ninotsminda municipality, on the top of El-Daghi Mountain near the village Orlovka. It has a circular shape. Its average diameter exceeds 180 m. The fortress has two defensive walls, the inner part of which is completely bound, while the outer one creates only semicircles. The east edge of it is connected to the inner wall. The west part of the complex is surrounded by the defensive trenches. The main part of the settlement is located in the inner space of the fortress. The complex is strongly damaged by the local population.

On the basis of almost hundred years of research of the megalithic fortification structures it can be said that such defensive systems have been emerged in the beginning of Late Bronze Age and are continued in the Iron Age. Several types of the complex construction may be outlined:

1. The fortress, around which the settlements are built;
2. The fortress cities
3. The large settlements which are surrounded by defensive walls;
4. The fortresses around of which the settlement is not observed.

The megalithic settlements and cyclopean fortresses of the South Georgia show the great similarities with such kind sites in Armenia, Iran and Turkey. It is also noteworthy that the cyclopean buildings located both in Greece (Mycenae, Tiryns Athens) and on the islands of the Mediterranean (Sardinia) and Aegean seas coasts show the similarities with the megalithic sites of the South Caucasus.

Description of Tables

Tab. I. Megalithic fortification constructions spread space in the late bronze and iron ages.

Tab. II. 1. Chochiani megalithic complex; 2. Paravani megalithic complex; 3. Orlovka megalithic complex.

Tab. III. 1. Chochiani megalithic complex; 2. Gandzani megalithic complex.

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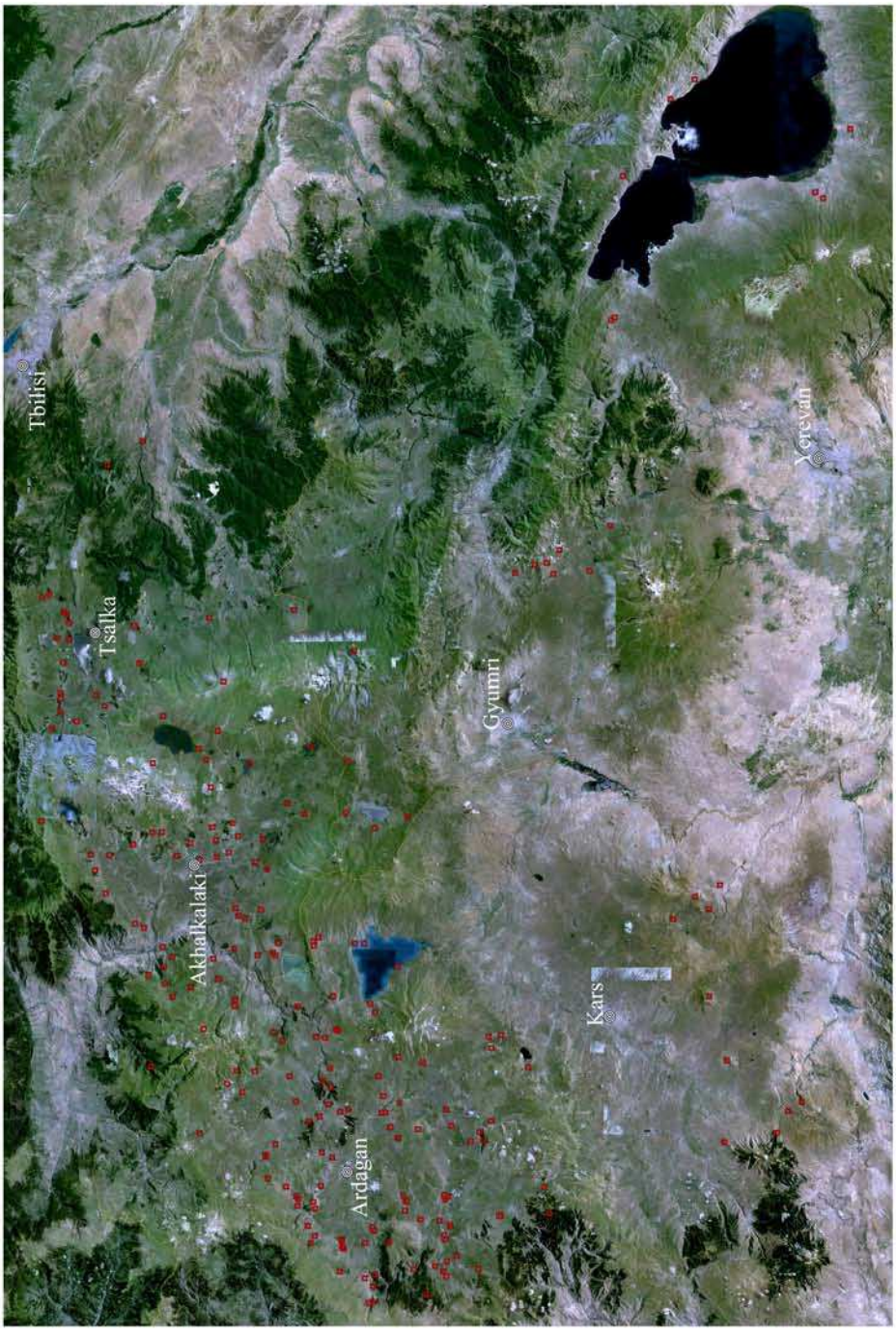

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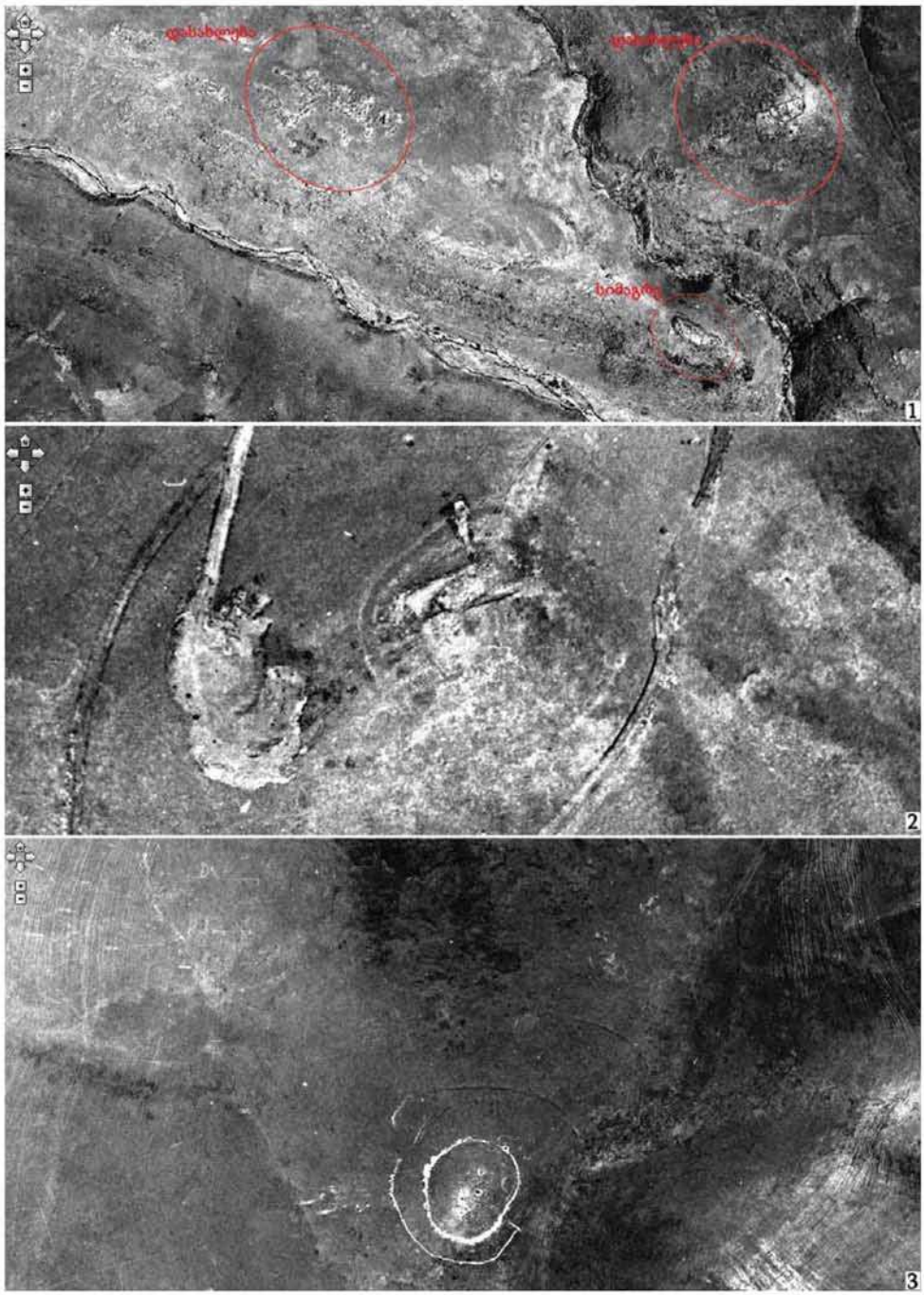

III

EARLY TRANSCAUCASIAN MIGRATION AND DIASPORA AT TEL BET YERAH (KHIRBET KERAK)

(Abstract)

Sarit Paz

Tel Aviv University
Co-director, Tel Bet Yerah Research and Excavation Project (TBYREP)
Teaching Fellow, Unit of Culture Research, TAU

The Early Transcaucasian (Kura-Araxes) cultural complex is one of the most spatially extensive and temporally durable traditions of the Ancient Near East. By the second quarter of the 3rd millennium BC, various elements of the Early Transcaucasian cultural package are found throughout Anatolia, the southern Caucasus, the Iranian plateau and the Levant.

Research at Tel Bet Yerah/Khirbet Kerak (northern Israel)—the southernmost locale of Early Transcaucasian dispersal—has begun to detail the processual dynamics underlying Early Transcaucasian migration. The paper presents results of various recent analyses that indicate a the distinct cultural package with affinities to Early Transcaucasian traditions and technologies that was introduced by migrants. This includes ceramic technology, lithic industry, figurative art, stone and metal artifacts, architecture, fauna and botanical assemblages. The research also reveals clear segregation between locals and newcomers at the site level, and differences in cultural behavior and use of space at the household level. Based on these, the paper discusses the preservation and construction of the Early Transcaucasian migrants' identity as a diaspora community, their level of adaptation to the new place, and the process of gradual integration between the incoming groups and indigenous people.

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კონფერენციის მონაწილენი

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