

BUILDING A BURIAL ON A BUDGET: MORTUARY PRACTICE AND SOCIO-
ECONOMIC BOUNDARY-MAKING IN ANCIENT ARMENIA

A Thesis
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ABSTRACT

Western scholarship on the Hellenistic and Roman Near East has long neglected to adequately address non-elite mortuary practice. Scholarship biased in favor of elite mortuary materials has led to the exclusion of ample non-elite data available in Armenian scholarship. While the accessibility of these data is affected by publication languages, their incorporation into broader discussions on mortuary practice in the Hellenistic and Roman Near East is long overdue. It is frequently noted that variability is characteristic of ancient mortuary practice in Ancient Armenia; however, this diversity in practice has yet to be satisfactorily explained. Drawing on anthropological approaches to mortuary archaeology, this study draws on a selection of case study sites – Artashat (2nd c BCE–5th c CE), Yeghvard (1st c BCE), Dvin (1st c CE), Vartpagh (2nd c CE–4th c CE), and Beniamin (1st c BCE–4th c CE) – to attempt preliminary answers to questions of social difference and boundary making in a mortuary context.

Anthropological archaeology has been crucial in interpreting mortuary data in Western scholarship over the last several decades. However, this approach has yet to be applied to the mortuary data from ancient Armenia. Thus, this project will rely on two primary axes of material variation – grave architecture and body treatment – that previous scholarship has shown to relate to identity and boundary making. The myriad choices available to groups and individuals in mortuary practice can often be constrained or expanded depending on personally held or socially ascribed socio-economic identities. By considering these two elements across the five case study sites this pilot study begins to ask anthropological questions about identity, social boundary making, and their intersection within mortuary practice in ancient Armenia.

Through the systemization of the mortuary data and various axes of material variation, and the application of mortuary theory in anthropology, this thesis advances two hypotheses. First, that

economic ability and/or ethno-religious identity shaped the choices available in tomb architecture. Second, that economic ability and resource scarcity shaped the choices available in mortuary body treatment. Undoubtedly, more data are needed to further test these hypotheses. This study represents an initial step towards incorporating materials excavated in present day Armenia into Western scholarship on Hellenistic and Roman mortuary practice and can inform wider discussions in the study of death and burial in the Near East.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Salpi Bocchierian is an MA student at Cornell University completing her thesis on mortuary evidence from Armenia's ancient period. She received her BA in Anthropology and Classics from the University of Colorado at Boulder. She participated in archaeological work in Armenia as a member of Project ArAGATS from 2015-2017 and as a member of the Artashat Expedition in 2018. In 2019, she was the registrar for the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis where she will be returning as an excavator in 2021.

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1. Introduction

This thesis examines variability in mortuary practices in ancient Armenia from 330 BCE to 330 CE.¹ What factors might explain people's divergent choices in burying their dead? What is the relationship between variability in mortuary practice and social difference? By analyzing legacy data from the sites of Artashat, Yeghvard, Dvin, Vartpagh and Beniamin, located in modern-day Armenia (fig. 1), this study begins to assess social difference during a period that has long been studied through a lens of modern ethnic identification and national formation. Prevailing approaches to the study of ancient Armenia have served to obscure variation in practice in favor of continuity and cultural homogeneity. Efforts to investigate social difference through the material remains of mortuary practice are altogether absent in the literature. And yet, mortuary practice has long been regarded as an arena for negotiating and producing social boundaries (Hodder 1982: 152; Pearson 1999: 1-20; McHugh 1999: 1-18). Material aspects of burial practice, such as tomb location and type, grave goods, treatment of the body and the discernable health and demographic information of skeletal remains, have all been interrogated for patterns by anthropological archaeological studies to access various social identities, including gender, class, profession, ethnicity, religion, and age (McHugh 1999). This thesis draws from these methods to interrogate social boundary-making practices in ancient Armenia. The period under consideration in this study roughly coincides with the Hellenistic and Roman

¹ In both Russian and Armenian language scholarship this span of time belongs to a period that has been translated as the region's "ancient period". Khatchadourian (2008: 248) settled on this being the best translation to English as it acknowledges the different tradition and trajectory of the archaeology of this period in the region. Zardarian and Akopian (1995: 169-170) define this period as beginning during Achaemenid control in the region during the 6th century BCE and extending until the 4th century CE, when Christianity arrived in the region. Thus, the entire temporal scope of this investigation is encompassed within and will be referred to as the "ancient period" in this study.

periods in the broader region of the Near East (Fagan 2015: 1).² This period encompasses the tumultuous transfer of power after the death of Alexander the Great and the establishment of the first Armenian kingdom under the Artaxiad dynasty during the early part of the 2nd century BCE, and ends when the capital of Armenia was moved to the city of Dvin in the 330s CE.

2. Past Scholarship

In Western scholarship on the Near East from 330 BCE – 330 CE, the study of mortuary practice has largely focused on elite and monumental structures. For example, research in Anatolian regions including Lydia, Lycia, Phrygia, Galatia and Caria has largely engaged with tumuli, rock-cut tombs, and burial stelae. Scardozzi's (2016) survey identified many new tumuli belonging to the local aristocracy around the city of Heiropolis in Phrygia, while Ahrens (2006) focused on social status apparent in tomb monuments and largely relied on demographic models and epigraphy. Stelae and rock-cut tombs tend to be given art-historical treatment, such as Rice's (2016) dissertation, which draws on themes of viewership and visual traditions, and Roosevelt's (2006) analysis of graveside monuments and symbols. Likewise, along the Black Sea coast, the archaeology of death is particularly concerned with elite tomb types, particularly wealthy tombs, and discrete ethnic identifications (e.g. Mordvintseva et al. 2012; Vickers and Kakhidze 2001).

² Some Armenian scholarship has focused specifically on ancient Armenia as it participated in conveying, reproducing, and resisting Hellenism (e.g. Zardarian and Akopian 1995). As such, Hellenistic Armenia is a popular theme in Armenian scholarship. However, recent western scholarship has problematized the label "Hellenistic" as it suggests a universal and uniform experience of adopting, rejecting, and otherwise encountering Greekness and aspects of Greek culture during the period of time to which the term is often applied (323 BCE – 31 CE). See Hall (2002: 172, 189, 220), Rotroff (2005: 149), and Gruen (2005: 297) for examples. This often denies individual actors' agency and refutes the diversity present within the Hellenistic kingdoms and indeed even in adjacent regions, as Armenia eventually became. For examples on specific regions see Westh-Hansen (2011) for Hellenistic Mesopotamia; Mairs (2014) for the Hellenistic Far East; and Thompson (2001), Berlin (2013), and Venit (2009) for Ptolemaic Egypt. The same can be said for the term Roman. For this reason, the terms Hellenistic and Roman will only be applied when a statement refers another author's work and this author has used the terms. In all other instances, only dates will be used in order to avoid suggesting the myriad assumptions these broad terms (and associated terms such as Hellenism and Romanizing) carry with them as the result of past scholarship.

In Mesopotamia and the Levant, the approaches to mortuary archaeology are slightly different. Early 20th century excavations at Dura Europos revealed a fairly extensive and diverse cemetery that has since been revisited for continued study (Toll et al. 1946; Baird 2012). Other studies include a consideration of new burial finds in context at Qumran (Politis 2006) and an anthropological archaeology approach to commensal rituals in Nabataean burial practice (Sachet 2006). Moorey's (1980) work at Deve Hüyük is a notable exception to the elite focus seen in Mesopotamia, the Levant, and other adjacent regions; he has compiled the salvage excavation records of three phases of largely non-elite and military cemeteries at this site, which sits just north of the contemporary Turkish-Syrian border. However, Moorey's cemeteries largely pre-date the Hellenistic period. The exception to this are the graves from Deve Hüyük III, which Moorey described as "a mere ghost" (Moorey 1980: 10). An elite focus has also defined the limited western scholarship on ancient Armenia (e.g. Fagan 2015; Knauss 2006).³ While this attention is understandable insofar as elite objects and structures can supply researchers with informative data, it limits our understanding of socio-economic identities and negotiations of social difference by omitting large portions of ancient populations.

The history of archaeology in the Soviet and post-Soviet sphere offers a strikingly different picture. Non-elite burials in Armenia have been excavated and published extensively throughout the 20th century. During the early years of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, the primary influence on ancient scholarship shifted from a Western European one to a Marxist-Leninist one. Ashkharbek Kalantar, a prolific Armenian archaeologist, wrote about the Marxist impact most clearly, claiming that, "... every fragment of material culture can present a source

³ Fagan's study focuses on the sites of Artashat, Armavir, Vagharshapat and Garni, all of which were regional seats of power and associated with local elites (Fagan 2015: 15-16). Knauss' study focuses on palatial structures and possible elite residences such as the sites of Erebuni, Armavir, and an earlier phase of Beniamin (Knauss 2006: 100-102).

and a reason in the further creations of the socialist project” (Khatchadourian 2008: 263; Kalantar 1935: 67). Early on, this meant a focus on “... socioeconomic relations, modes of production, the working masses, and class conflict” (Khatchadourian 2008: 259); and, by the middle of the 20th century, prominent Armenian archaeologist Babken Arakelyan advocated for, among other topics, greater attention to “the formation of the Armenian people” and “the social-economic nature of the Armenian state” (Khatchadourian 2008: 266; Arakelyan 1951: 5). These intentions among early and mid 20th century scholars working in Armenia, when compared to adjacent regions, such as Turkey, that were not as exposed to such a Marxist-Leninist climate, may have led archaeologists to create a corpus of data that was, and continues to be, more heavily non-elite in nature.

Particularly during the middle of the 20th century, demonstrating Armenian ethnogenesis and “... emphasizing the earliest achievements of the nation” (Khatchadourian 2008: 207) were ambitions that strongly shaped the literature. Gevork Tiratsyan’s (2003[1978]: 6-8) discussion of mortuary practice during the ancient period was among the earliest studies that considered burial data from ancient Armenia holistically. Tiratsyan (2003[1978]: 6-8) was concerned primarily with establishing the inheritance of Urartu and Urartian culture by the emerging Armenian state four centuries after the end of Urartian control in the region. Tiratsyan posited that only two tomb types, pithoi and sarcophagi, should be thought of as characteristic of the Hellenistic period; he claimed both of these tomb types could trace their origins to Urartu. The effect is an emphasis on a unified and inherited culture at the expense of recognizing social difference already apparent in the existing published data. The limited data available to Tiratsyan at the time may be partially responsible for this; the mortuary data from some of the major sites used in this thesis, such as Artashat (Khachatryan 1981) and Beniamin (Eganyan 2010), were not yet

published.⁴ Subsequent discoveries led authors such as Kalantar (1994: 67), Eganyan (2010: 19), and Khudaverdyan (2014: 220) to describe greater variability, which suggests a wider array of potential antecedents.

The influence of Tiratsyan's interpretation of the limited corpus of Hellenistic mortuary data continues to shape understandings of ancient mortuary practice in Armenia today.

Khudaverdyan (2012: 5) cites both Tiratsyan (1988) and Arakelyan (1976), the excavator of Garni, to establish that from its first iterations as a unified state, Armenia was highly developed and distinctly Armenian, with the exception of political leaders who were most influenced by foreign cultures.⁵ This sentiment follows Tiratsyan in claiming a unified and continuous Armenian past, specifically among non-elite strata of society. This same sentiment is echoed in the opening paragraphs of Zardarian and Akopian (1995: 169), who describe the later ancient period as "important to the history of Armenia," when the formation of "an Armenian nation: a united and national state" took place.

As the most recent synthesized approach to ancient period mortuary remains in Armenia, Gyulamiryan's (2014) thesis creates a standardized set of tomb types, an important accomplishment as it will prevent confusion in future syntheses. His work has proven especially helpful in this thesis. Gyulamiryan's other objective is to identify the origins of each discrete type. This effort to identify the origins of a specific tomb type echoes Tiratsyan's attempt to draw connections in tomb types between Urartu and ancient Armenia. Gyulamiryan considers each tomb type at length, examining data from adjacent regions and considering whether each

⁴ However, there were a handful of publications already out at the time Tiratsyan's article was initially published (in 1978) that reported data incongruous with Tiratsyan's claims. One example of this is the substantial mortuary data from Garni (Khachatryan 1976), which contained stone-lined cists⁴ dating to the 1st-2nd c CE (Gyulamiryan 2014: 13). This timeframe falls within the purview of Tiratsyan's article and the presence at Garni of this third tomb type does not seem to support his claims. Furthermore, excavations were ongoing at the site of Artashat, especially the burials, from 1971-1977 (Khachatryan 1981).

⁵ Local elites, Khudaverdyan (2012: 5) notes, were particularly influenced by Persian culture.

type is local or foreign. He asserts that, while there might be some general impression that the stone-lined cist is a foreign type, Tiratsyan has shown that it has existed in the region since the Bronze Age (Gyulamiryan 2014: 13). Gyulamiryan invokes a local/foreign binary, already limiting the interpretations available to him by presuming the local is monolithic. Thus, the persistence of early research objectives often manifests in more recent publications.

Both Armenian scholarship and western scholarship have offered only a limited picture of social life during Armenia's ancient period. Questions of power and inequality, gender, age, and class have largely gone unasked. Gregory Areshyan (2018: 19) has noted that archaeologists should pay greater attention to non-verbal communication of identities of various groups in ancient Armenian society.⁶ This study focuses on burial practice as an avenue to begin asking questions of material identity construction and negotiation.

Wider developments in mortuary archaeology have shown that the study of burial evidence can inform how identities were communicated in the past. Mortuary practice is a specific arena in which the varied and often intersecting identities held by individuals during their lives can be reinforced, subverted, highlighted, concealed, or possibly neglected (Hodder 1982; McHugh 1999: 13). In his analysis of the parallel developments of Anglophone and German mortuary archaeology, Heinrich Härke (2000: 37) elucidated how researchers realized early on that a focus on wealthy burial materials alone "...would not provide deep insights into social organization." Meanwhile, writing just shortly before Härke, Carr (1995: 106) made the convincing assertion that "philosophical-religious beliefs" are essential to shaping and

⁶ Areshyan (2018: 19) notes that such communication includes materials and symbols as well as non-verbal and non-material aspects of identity communication such as "family habits." While Areshyan (2018: 19) identifies monumental architecture as one element of material evidence that should be considered, this would preserve the blind spot western scholarship has for non-elite mortuary evidence in Anatolia and the Caucasus from 330 BCE to 330 CE.

understanding mortuary practice. Chapman (2003: 308) took this a step further by suggesting that the effect of socio-political dynamics on burial practice changes over time, so that sometimes diversity in socio-political identities influences mortuary materials more strongly than at other times. Indeed, a high degree of variability within burial practices has been attributed to socio-political dynamics in other contexts. For example, Georganas et al.'s (2009) study on Iron Age Thessaly found that the coexistence of various ethnic groups did not explain mortuary variation, as it had long been assumed. Rather, mortuary practice in Thessaly during this time seems to be a venue for social and political jockeying, closely tied to economic ability. Alternatively, Alexandridou (2016) concluded that, in Attica during the Geometric period, much variability was based on age identity. Thus, as Parker Pearson (1999: 5-20) has argued and McHugh (1999) has shown, the creation and negotiation of social identities may be possible to identify by examining the core aspects of mortuary practice. These core aspects include grave architecture, grave orientation, body treatment, body arrangement, grave goods, and cemetery organization; social identities that may come to bear on these aspects include the age, sex and gender, political allegiance or power, economic power, ethnic, religious, and/or linguistic identity of both the deceased individual and those partaking in the funerary practices. In addition to these factors, other considerations such as accessibility and availability of materials and opportunities for individual choice may play a role.

3. Methods

For this study, I selected five sites with documented mortuary remains from 330 BCE to 330 CE—Artashat, Yeghvard, Dvin, Vartpagh, and Beniamin. Using published legacy data, I created a catalogue that defines the core aspects of mortuary practice that are typically regarded

as indicative of identity negotiation: the treatment of the physical remains, tomb orientation, grave architecture and type (fig. 2), and associated grave goods. The case studies are restricted to sites within the modern borders of Armenia. One might expect that this leaves out data set from modern-day eastern Turkey, a region that fell within the borders of ancient Armenia in some periods; however, there are scarcely any systematically excavated burials dating to the period from 330 BCE to 330 CE there (Kasapoğlu et al no date). This catalogue is not an exhaustive list of every excavated burial dating from 330 BCE to 330 CE. In order to best address the project's research questions, sites selected for this pilot study provide a focused data set with a wide scope. Case study sites were selected based on the following criteria. First, chosen sites must have multiple published burials; second, publications must provide detailed description of each burial to permit consistency in the catalogue; third, sites that have received little scholarly consideration since their publication were prioritized.

Admittedly, the data are imperfect. Some sites were subject to more systematic recovery methods than others,⁷ and some sites that could have been included were omitted due to constraints such as publication language (e.g. Khachatryan 1976)⁸ or small sample size.⁹ In some cases, it is likely that additional burials are present at the cemetery but remain unexcavated (e.g. Yeghvard). In other cases, it is known that entire portions of a cemetery have been destroyed and the data lost (e.g. Beniamin). Nevertheless, this thesis represents a first step toward incorporating non-elite tomb data from ancient Armenia into the discussion on mortuary practice in the Near East from 330 BCE to 330 CE. It is an initial consideration of an important sample of relevant

⁷ Yeghvard and Beniamin were excavated and reported more recently and with more current and standard methodologies when compared to the haphazard circumstances under which researchers salvaged data from Artashat or the disparate legacy data from which the Dvin burial reports were collected.

⁸ Russian-language scholarship was excluded from this study.

⁹ The singular wealthy tomb from Sisian was also excluded (for well-known examples of singular wealthy tombs see Khachatryan 2011 and Khachatryan 2013).

data to generate some preliminary analyses and interpretations that can support future advances in the field. Furthermore, this study identifies and brings to the English-language scholarly community a wealth of materials that have long been overlooked for cross-site comparison.

The scope and organization of the case study tables (see Tables 1-5) allows for the identification of patterns that bear upon identity communication as it relates to diverse burial practices in ancient Armenia. The discussion of these materials examines two axes of material variation more closely than others: the treatment of the physical remains and tomb architecture. Drawing attention to emerging patterns along these two axes across all five case study sites, the discussion evaluates the various potential influences that may have driven individuals to make more common or more unique choices.

4. Case Studies

4.1 Case Study 1: Artashat

The site of Artashat sits on the north bank of the Araxes river, on the border between modern day Turkey and Armenia (Khachatryan 1981; Arakelyan 1982). Once the capital of the Artaxiad dynasty founded in the 2nd century BCE, it was an extensive, planned urban center, stretching across 13 hills and surrounded by large-scale fortifications. Artashat grew and shrank with changes in the local political landscape until it was eventually destroyed in the late 5th century CE during a Sassanian invasion. Most of the site has been subject to continuous excavations from the time investigations began in 1970 under the directorship of Babken Arakelyan (Khatchadourian, 2008: 266). However, it was salvage work in the area surrounding the 13 hills, conducted between 1971–1977 under the direction of Zhores Khachatryan, that recovered 85 burials dating to ancient periods (Khachatryan 1981). Each burial was recorded in

haste, as bulldozers prepared the land for large-scale agricultural activity. The quality of the resulting data was thus compromised by the conditions under which they were recovered.

Nevertheless, the wealth of available data from such a large sample of relatively contemporaneous burials makes Artashat an invaluable case study.

Of the 85 total burials,¹⁰ a substantial number were recovered and reported intact (N=36 or 42.35 percent of all burials), while the remaining burials (N=49 or 57.6 percent) were destroyed (N=36 or 42.35 percent) or seriously disturbed (N=13 or 15.3 percent). In spite of varying degrees of preservation, each aspect of burial practice is reported in as much detail as the data permit. Consequently, while many tomb inventories are incomplete or missing entirely, data such as tomb architecture and treatment of the body almost always could be reconstructed from the archive in some detail.¹¹

The two most prevalent tomb types are simple pits,¹² which make up 47.06 percent (N=40) of all the burials,¹³ and pithos burials,¹⁴ which make up 31.76 percent (N=27). Other types are much rarer. Coffins and sarcophagi¹⁵ are the next most numerous, respectively making

¹⁰ See Table 1.

¹¹ In most cases this means that destroyed tomb architecture and the remains of the body were present, even at destroyed burials, and it was at least possible to determine the materials used to construct the tomb (e.g. stone slabs or pithos fragments) and whether or not the skeletal remains bore traces of burning or not.

¹² A simple pit is a hole dug into the soil. Sometimes, these can be found in abandoned domestic structures, granaries, and wells.

¹³ There is some variation among the simple pits. This includes simple pits with stones (Nos. 13, 17, 20, and 21), simple pits with pithos fragments (No. 31), and simple pits lined with clay mortar (No. 19). The rest of the simple pit burials did not have additional structure present.

¹⁴ A pithos burial is a burial consisting of a pithos, a large clay vessel often used for food or drink storage, placed either vertically or horizontally fully in the soil. Some of this type consist of fragmentary pithoi that are made whole with fragments of other pithoi or clay vessels. Sometimes stones are used to cover the mouth of the vessel. These burials hold both cremated and un-cremated remains.

¹⁵ Sarcophagus burials consist of either a carved stone sarcophagus or a built clay sarcophagus placed in the soil. The sarcophagus is often covered with a single capstone or multiple stones making up the capstone. Coffin burials consist of a coffin made of wood and iron nails placed into soil. It seems the main difference between coffins and sarcophagi at Artashat is that the former are constructed with wood and nails and the latter are built out of clay.

up 10.59 (N=9) and 3.53 percent (N=3) of all burials. Rock-cut tombs (Nos. 79 and 84)¹⁶ and stone-lined cists (Nos. 24 and 30)¹⁷ appear only twice and some types, such as burials in amphorae (No. 69)¹⁸ and those conducted in caves (No. 83),¹⁹ appear only once.²⁰

Each of the 85 burials holds only one individual with only two exceptions: a simple pit (No. 40) holds cremated remains of such volume that Khachatryan suggests the tomb may contain up to three individuals; a stone-lined cist (No. 24), also a cremation burial, may hold the remains of two individuals (Khachatryan 1981: 11, 14-15). It is not clear how the number of individuals was determined. The treatment of the body is consistent across all burials of a particular tomb type except the most prevalent two types: pithoi and simple pits. Accordingly, when the tomb type was a wooden coffin, cave, rock-cut tomb, clay sarcophagus, or an amphora the individual underwent primary inhumation; and when the tomb type was a stone-lined cist or a simple pit, the body had been cremated. Simple pits and pithoi both contained primary inhumation²¹ and cremated²² individuals. Simple pits overwhelmingly held cremated remains, with 88.23 percent (N=30) of the burials holding cremated remains and only 11.76 percent (N=4) holding primary inhumation remains. Conversely, pithoi mostly held primary inhumation remains, with 55.55 percent (N=15) of burials holding primary inhumation remains, 29.63 percent (N=8) holding cremated remains, and the rest being unreported.

¹⁶ Making up 2.35 percent of all burials, rock-cut tombs are burials consisting of a deceased individual or individuals being placed in a room, perhaps one of many carved into rock, such as a cliff face.

¹⁷ A cist is a simple burial chamber usually lined with stone slabs.

¹⁸ Similar to a pithos burial. Amphora burials consist of an amphora, a clay vessel often used for food or drink storage and transport, placed in the soil.

¹⁹ A cave burial simply consists of a burial placed in a cave. These can range from large and elaborate to simple architecture.

²⁰ Making them each only 1.18 percent of all burials.

²¹ This term is preferred when discussing individuals buried without any additional treatment of the body (Sprague 2005: 28).

²² Cremation is evidenced by the presence of ash and burnt and fragmentary bone.

In burials where individuals underwent primary inhumation and were preserved well enough to discern the position of the body,²³ there are two prevailing positions: flexed on a side and extended on the back.²⁴ A majority of the burials fall into the first category. 72.73 percent (N=16) of the inhumed individuals were placed in a flexed position, while only 27.27 percent (N=6) were placed extended on the back. It is also worth noting that the position of the body is aligned, without exception, with the burial architecture; so, burials carried out in amphorae, simple pits, pithoi, or rock-cut tombs all hold flexed bodies when the individual undergoes primary inhumation, while wood coffins and sarcophagi both hold extended bodies.

The orientation for 69.41 percent (N=59) of the burials was either not reported (N=56) or, less often, not possible to record because the burial architecture, a pithos in each case, was vertically placed.²⁵ The remaining 30.59 percent (N=26) of the burials have recorded and reported orientations.²⁶ Every possible orientation is present, but some appear more frequently than others. The most common orientation is an E-W/W-E axis; 38.46 percent²⁷ of burials are placed along this axis. This is followed by 26.92 percent²⁸ on an NE-SW/SW-NE axis, 19.23 percent²⁹ on a S-N/N-S axis, and 15.38 percent³⁰ on a NW-SE/SE-NW axis. Almost every type of burial architecture is represented among this subset of burials; pithoi (N=15) make up the majority, but clay sarcophagi (N=3), wooden coffins (N=2), rock-cut tombs (N=2), and simple

²³ 41.18 percent of the 85 burials (N=35) were primary inhumations and 37.14 percent of these 35 (N=13) were too deteriorated or disheveled for the position of the body to be discernable. This leaves 22 burials for which the position of the body was recorded and reported.

²⁴ These terms are preferred when discussing body position in burial practice (Sprague 2005: 30-31).

²⁵ Nos. 8, 36, and 69 were all ceramic vessels placed vertically so that the mouth of the vessel was pointing towards the sky.

²⁶ The orientation is often determined either by the axis of the tomb architecture (such as the pithos or the coffin) or the position of the interred within the burial. Sometimes this is noted in the text, other times it is not noted.

²⁷ N=10 of the 26 burials with an orientation reported (Nos. 20, 59, 68, 71, 74, 76, 79, 81, 82, 84)

²⁸ N=7 of the 26 burials with an orientation reported (Nos. 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 35, 37)

²⁹ N=5 of the 26 burials with an orientation reported (Nos. 10, 61, 70, 77, 85)

³⁰ N=4 of the 26 burials with an orientation reported (Nos. 1, 3, 9, 72)

pits (N=4) are all present in smaller numbers. Pithoi are also placed in every possible orientation, while other types appear in fewer categories. Clay sarcophagi are aligned along every kind of axis except NE-SW/SW-NE; and rock-cut tombs, simple pits, stone-lined cists, and wood coffins all only appear along the E-W/E-W axis.

Skeletal size was primarily used to identify burials that reportedly contained the remains of children. Thus, while it is possible that children count among the cremated individuals at Artashat, only those who were wholly interred as primary inhumations are possible to count. Although none of the skeletal remains were aged or sexed using bioarcheological methods, nine burials were reported as containing the remains of children (Nos. 2, 10, 37, 69, 74, 77, 78, 80, 81)³¹ and the rest of the skeletons can be presumed to be adult burials.

Because of the circumstances of recovery, it is not possible to determine whether the inventories reported are complete. Some burials may have been looted in antiquity or more recently, while others may have been subject to destructive taphonomic processes as the landscape continued to be used long after the tombs were constructed and the burials were carried out. Equally, many of the inventories may be incomplete. In any case, the dataset is substantial and provides an opportunity to begin drawing out patterns.

A small number of the burials have no reported grave goods (Nos. 2, 6, 7, 8, 10, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20, 26, 28, 29, 70, 71, 72). These burials make up a mere 18.82 percent (N=16) of the total reported burials. Clay sarcophagi are the only subset of tomb architecture where every tomb of the same type contains no grave goods. The remaining burials all have various combinations of materials recovered from both within the burials and in the soil surrounding them. Grave goods include metal objects such as jewelry, other ornaments, and projectile points, stone tools,

³¹10.59 percent of the 85 burials

various glass objects, faunal remains, coins, terracotta figurines, and a wide variety of ceramic vessels. By far, the most frequently and widely appearing grave goods are ceramic vessels. They appear in both primary inhumation and cremation burials and they are present in every tomb type, except clay sarcophagi.³² These ceramic vessels are almost always commensal vessels and while, on occasion, only a single vessel is present, it is far more common to have multiple vessels in and/or around a burial. Ceramics received the most variable reporting of any material class, so much so that it is not feasible to confidently report on the frequency with which specific types or wares appear. Accordingly, the following account is necessarily generalized, in an effort to be both accurate and inclusive. Jugs and bowls are the most commonly mentioned types; they are respectively present in 34.48 percent (N=20) and 27.59 percent (N=16) of all burials with reported ceramics. This is closely followed by cups and pithoi, which are both reported in 22.41 percent³³ of burials with reported ceramics. Painted wares (15.51 percent)³⁴ plates (13.79 percent),³⁵ and red burnished ceramics (10.34 percent)³⁶ are the next most common. Other types are reported less frequently. Glazed ceramics (N=4) and pots (N=4) are each only mentioned in 6.9 percent of burials with ceramics, lamps (N=3) and flasks (N=3) are each only mentioned in 5.17 percent, trays (N=2) and vases (N=2) in 3.45 percent, and lekythoi and amphorae are each only mentioned in one burial or 1.72 percent.

Some tombs contained other ceramic objects. Tiles are present in seven burials (Nos. 4, 19, 33, 35, 40, 49, and 50) and bricks are present in only one (No. 38). Finally, terracotta figurines appear in only two burials (Nos. 40 and 47).³⁷

³² 68.24 percent of all 85 burials (N=58)

³³ N=13 for both

³⁴ N=9

³⁵ N=8

³⁶ N=6

³⁷ Both burials are simple pits and hold cremated remains. The two figurines from burial No. 40 include a fragment of the upper half of a terracotta figurine of a woman with a lyre in her right hand and a figurine of a man on

Metal objects appear regularly, although they are not nearly as common as ceramic objects. Fewer than a quarter of the burials, 22.35 percent (N=19), contain metal objects of some sort. Metal objects are more frequently found with primary inhumation remains³⁸ than cremated ones,³⁹ but are present in nearly all tomb types. Many of these objects are jewelry or otherwise associated with grooming or adornment. Bronze mirrors (Nos. 60, 61, 67, 80, 84) and earrings each appear in five burials; four earrings are of bronze (Nos. 3, 37, 61, and 78) and one set of gold (No. 84). Other such objects were bronze bracelets (Nos. 78, 61, 77), bronze and silver rings (Nos. 9 and 82 respectively), bronze (Nos. 9, 60, 63) and gold (No. 84) pins, buckles (nos. 42 and 59), gold leaf (No. 84), a bell (No. 59), and an iron armlet (No. 76). Other metal objects can also be found in the data set, although the incidences are fewer. In one burial (No. 17) there were two iron nails, possibly part of an object that was made of another material that did not survive. Weapons of any form are present in only two burials and are in the form of projectile points (Nos. 42 and 56). Similarly, tools of any sort only appear once in the form of a sickle found outside of the burial (No. 42). Finally, coins appear in two burials (Nos. 82 and 84). Burial No. 82 holds two coins, one belongs to the Roman Emperor Trajan and the other is too corroded to discern (Khachatryan 1981: 28). Burial No. 84 also holds two coins, one belonging to the Persian King Phraates III and the other belonging to local monarch Tigran II (Khachatryan 1981: 30).⁴⁰

Faunal remains appear in 20 percent (N=17) of the burials and are always in one of two forms: either all or a portion of the full animal (Nos. 12, 13, 24, 30, 31, 36, 40, 59) or knucklebones (Nos. 38, 42, 43, 45, 46, 57, 62, 79, and 85). Full animals are often unidentified

horseback. The figurine from No. 47 is reported as simply a mounted figure. Khachatryan (1981: 14-15; 17) describes the figurines from both burials as having similar workmanship.

³⁸ 78.95 percent

³⁹ Nos. 17, 42, and 56

⁴⁰ Unidentified metal objects appear in burial Nos. 44, 76, and 81.

antlered (Nos. 12, 13, 24, 30, and 40), horses (Nos. 12, 40, and 59) or sheep (Nos. 12 and 59). Oxen (No. 59) and birds (No. 36) only appear once; and on one occasion the animal(s) was(were) not identified (No. 31). Nearly all of the knucklebones are reported as belonging to sheep (Nos. 38, 40, 43, 45, 46, 57, 62, 79, and 85); only one burial (No. 42), has the knuckle bones of an unidentified animal. There is only one occasion (No. 79) in which grave goods made of bone were present in the form of two bone pins. Faunal remains are not restricted to a tomb type and frequently, though not always, accompany cremated remains when present, regardless of architecture.⁴¹

Stone objects are rare and often unique among the grave goods at Artashat, appearing in only six of the burials (Nos. 11, 27, 59, 73, 79, and 81). Of these, two are collections of beads (Nos. 59 and 79), one is a whetstone (No. 81), one is a utilized obsidian flake (No. 11), one is a buckle (No. 59) and one is a fragment of stone architecture (No. 73). Glass objects are similarly rare and distinct when they appear. Glass or glass paste beads were recovered from four burials (Nos. 37, 59, 61, and 77),⁴² glass bottles were also recovered from four burials (Nos. 58, 78, 75, and 82),⁴³ glass stamp seals were recovered from two (Nos. 37 and 80),⁴⁴ and glass tesserae were recovered from only one (No. 42). It is notable that three of these burials belong to children and utilized pithoi for tomb architecture (Nos. 37, 77, and 80).

Evidence for cultural activity outside the tomb is present and varied although rare,⁴⁵ appearing in only 8.24 percent of all burials. Jugs are the most frequently reported object outside of the tomb. One burial reported a jug accompanied by a layer of ash (No. 66), another had only

⁴¹ Thus, 76.47 percent or 13/17 burials with faunal remains held cremated individuals while only 4 burials with faunal remains held primary inhumation remains (Nos. 62, 59, 79, and 85).

⁴² The beads from No. 59 are gilded and burial No. 77 had only a single bead with eye-like decoration.

⁴³ No. 78 only held a single bottle, while Nos. 58, 75, and 82 each had a pair of glass bottles.

⁴⁴ The seal from No. 37 bore an image of a man and boar fighting and the seal from No. 80 bore the image of a horse.

⁴⁵ It is unclear from within what approximate radius of the tomb these materials were uncovered.

a jug (No. 80), and a third and final burial had a jug and an amphora (No. 82). In two instances there were burnt faunal remains and ash just outside the burial (Nos. 12 and 24); and in one instance (No. 42) a sickle and glass tesserae were recovered near the burial but outside of it.

4.2 Case Study 2: Yeghvard

This cemetery is located near the village of Yeghvard, in the Syunik region of Armenia. The site was excavated in 2011 and 2012, making it the most recently recovered dataset of all the case studies. Initially, two burials were revealed due to the combined processes of erosion, earlier Soviet land amelioration (Badalyan et al. 2013: 144-145), and road construction. While Badalyan (2013: 155-156) notes the presence of unexcavated walls and domestic structures apparent on the surface in the area, only the burials had been excavated at the time of publication. Archaeologists then carried out systematic excavations of these two burials as well as three other burials in the area, making the total five (Badalyan et al. 2013).⁴⁶ All five burials have been dated to the 1st century BCE based on their grave goods. While a portion of the tombs (Nos. 1 and 4)⁴⁷ were found destroyed and the data reported may be incomplete, the remaining tombs (Nos. 2, 3, and 5) were systematically excavated and, barring looting or taphonomic processes, are likely to contain complete tomb inventories. Consequently, although all five burials were systematically reported in the publication, the inconsistent preservation of the tombs may have resulted in unequal data. Despite this, Yeghvard presents a case in which there are distinctions in tomb architecture and treatment of the body alongside consistency among grave goods.

⁴⁶ See Table 2.

⁴⁷ 40 percent of the five burials

A majority of the burials (Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4)⁴⁸ were pithos burials. The only other tomb (No. 5) is a stone-built tomb, with walls of unfaced stone and mortar that reach 40 cm and a floor built of basalt cobbles.⁴⁹ Three of the pithoi were placed horizontally (Nos 1, 2, 3), while one was placed vertically (No. 4), making the orientation of the burial indiscernible. Where applicable, all the tombs (Nos 1, 2, 3, and 5) are situated on the same axis, W-E. However, there is considerable variation otherwise. Of the horizontally placed pithoi, two (Nos. 1 and 3) were placed such that the mouth of the vessel pointing east, while one (No. 2) was pointing west. Additionally, two of the pithoi (Nos. 2 and 3) had large stones covering the mouth of the vessel while the third (No. 1) was open and exposed.⁵⁰

One burial (No. 3) contained a primary inhumation. This skeleton was placed in a flexed position on its right side with the head pointing east. Another burial (No. 4) bore no traces of human remains,⁵¹ while the rest (Nos. 1, 2, and 5) contained only a small collection of bone fragments and teeth. It is suggested that these could be the remains of cremated individuals (Badalyan et al. 2013). If this is true, most⁵² of the burials at Yeghvard were cremation burials. There is no reason to suppose that any of the five burials contained more than a single individual. None of the skeletal remains were aged or sexed using bioarcheological methods however one of the burials (No. 2) was reported as holding the remains of a young girl and two (Nos. 3 and 5)

⁴⁸ 80 percent of the five burials

⁴⁹ Notably, the authors indicate that burial No. 5 bears no close parallels anywhere in the region. This makes such stone-built tombs a unique type from Yeghvard. This burial consists of a chamber built of many unworked stones forming a wall around the interred individual (Badalyan et al. 2014).

⁵⁰ Note that this burial was disturbed, and the mouth of the vessel was broken. Thus, at one point, it may have also been covered by a stone.

⁵¹ This was the most severely disturbed burial. There is good reason to believe it contained human remains at some point.

⁵² 60 percent of the five burials

were reported as holding the remains of male warriors. These determinations derive from the sizes and types of the grave goods and cannot be verified.⁵³

Grave goods include metal objects such as jewelry, coins, and weapons as well as stone beads, ceramic vessels, and faunal remains. Some combination of these materials is present within every burial. Ceramic vessels intended to hold and pour liquid are the most widely represented material, present in three of the burials (Nos. 1, 2, and 5);⁵⁴ and earrings are equally well-represented (Nos. 1, 2, and 4).⁵⁵ The presence of weapons and tools in the burials is noteworthy. Two of the burials (Nos. 3 and 5), have fairly similar inventories containing a single iron sword each and bronze hoops, which may have once constituted armor. Two different burials (Nos. 1 and 2), both with substantial but otherwise nearly divergent inventories, contain a single iron knife each.⁵⁶ Less common materials include beads (Nos. 2 and 4),⁵⁷ bracelets (No. 4), faunal remains (No. 1),⁵⁸ a bronze bell (No.1), a silver necklace (No.1), an iron fragment (No.1), three iron hooks (No.1), a golden plated silver ring (No. 2), a stamp seal (No. 2), a bronze mirror (No. 2), two bronze pendants (No. 2), a bronze hair pin (No. 2), and a silver coin of Mithridates II (No. 2). No glass objects were present in any of the burials and there is no evidence for cultural activity outside of any of the tombs.

⁵³ It has been common in the past to suggest gender based on grave goods (i.e. mirrors suggest women or swords suggest men). This has been shown to be an inaccurate way to estimate gender (see Linduff and Rubinson 2008 for an example).

⁵⁴ No. 5 also held a large number of various ceramic vessel sherds.

⁵⁵ The earrings are gold in Nos. 1 and 2, while they are bronze in No. 4.

⁵⁶ Interestingly, these are the same two burials which contain gold earrings. However, the inventories diverge after this point.

⁵⁷ Burial No. 2 held beads of sardonyx while the beads from Burial No. 4 were of an unspecified material.

⁵⁸ While a large quantity of animal bones is reported, no attempts at identifying the species present has yet been made.

4.3 Case Study 3: Dvin

The site of Dvin is best known as the early medieval capital of Armenia, but excavations conducted between 1938 and 1981 also exposed activity during the ancient period (Kalantarian 1976; Kocharyan 1991; Ghafadaryan and Kalantarian 2002), including 16 pithos burials dating to the 1st century CE. Kocharyan, in a reexamination of the Dvin ancient period tombs, characterized the burials as “ordinary,” containing a paucity of materials (Kocharyan 2015: 213). Not all burials were reported with the same detail. In some instances, Kocharyan was forced to rely solely on old photographs, while in others she had access to the recovered pithoi and other materials. Despite the irregularity of the dataset, Dvin is important to include here. The site offers a relatively substantial assemblage of contemporaneous and clustered burials. Furthermore, it includes similar tomb architectures, while suggesting a wide variety of practice through varied grave goods, burial orientations, evidence of mortuary ritual, and human remains.

It is likely that the later occupation of the city disturbed much of ancient Dvin’s mortuary landscape. Such is the case for a number of burials that were uncovered under or near the foundations of later buildings. This disturbance led to fractured pithoi and poorly preserved skeletal remains. The resulting disorder increases the likelihood of the tomb inventories being incomplete and/or lost to possible looting activity; however, there is no direct evidence of such loss.

Every burial in this case study is of the pithos type. Of the 16 pithoi, all but one (No.11) were placed horizontally. There is no consistency in the directional alignment of the pithoi.⁵⁹ All of the burials held primary inhumation burials with no evidence of cremation. Where it is preserved and reported (37.5% of the 16 tombs), all bodies were placed in a flexed position (Nos.

⁵⁹ N-S, W-E, and NW-SE axes are all represented. See Table 3.

4, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15) and the head was almost always pointing toward the mouth of the vessel.⁶⁰ None of the skeletal remains were aged or sexed using bioarcheological methods; however, five of the burials were reported as containing the remains of children (Nos. 1, 3, 5, 13, and 14).⁶¹ This determination derives from either the grave goods or the size of the skeleton. Thus, the rest of the skeletons can all be presumed to be adult burials. One burial is unique in being a double inhumation (No. 15). One of the skeletons in this double inhumation was placed in the western portion of the pithos and the other was placed in the eastern portion. However, there is no other reported evidence to set this burial apart from the others.

Some of the burials (Nos. 2, 5, 6, 11, 15) do not have reported materials. While this could be the product of incomplete recording and reporting, it may also simply suggest that these burials did not have any grave goods. Three of these burials (Nos. 2, 5, 6) were excavated at an early date (1947), which may have resulted in records being lost by the time of their publication, and one (No. 11) was quite damaged upon discovery and likely subject to taphonomic processes that may have altered the inventory. The rest of the burials, or 68.75 percent, were all reported as having grave goods recovered from within the pithos. Grave goods include metal objects such as bronze or silver jewelry, ceramic vessels, buttons, and beads. These materials are not all present in each burial, nor are they evenly distributed. Beads (of glass, bone, stone and metal) are the most widely distributed type of materials present in the burials (Nos. 1, 3, 7, 8, 9, 16). This is followed by pins (found in Nos. 1, 4, 7, 8), rings (Nos. 3, 4, 14), ceramic vessels (Nos. 12, 13, 14), and buttons or button-like objects (Nos. 7, 9, 14). All of these materials are found in both child and adult burials. However, there are some object types that are found only in one or the

⁶⁰ Of the five burials where it is possible to identify the position of the head in relation to the pithos, four (Nos. 8, 12, 14, 16) have the head pointing towards the mouth of the vessel while one (no. 4) has the head pointing towards the foot of the vessel.

⁶¹ 31.25% of the 16 burials

other. Three of the child burials (Nos. 1, 3, 14) are the only ones that count bracelets among their inventory.⁶² And three of the adult burials (Nos. 4, 8, 9) are the only ones that count earrings among their inventory. Other materials include a stone spindle whorl and bronze wire (No. 16) and a round playing stone (No. 14).

Four of the burials also had evidence of cultural activity outside the vessel. One pithos (No. 14) was outlined with a row of stones placed around the entire vessel, and Nos. 15 and 16 had thick layers of ash near the vessel, broken pottery (No.16), and animal bones (No. 16). It is interesting to note that there is only one class of materials, ceramic vessels, that is found both inside the burials and outside, next to the pithoi. Two burials (Nos. 10 and 16) have ceramics that were uncovered outside the pithoi. Interestingly, No. 16 had fragments of a ceramic cup that were accompanied by faunal remains and layers of ash both near the mouth and foot of the vessel, while No. 15, which had a similar thick layer of ash outside the vessel, had neither faunal remains nor ceramics present.

4.4 Case Study 4: Vartpagh

Investigations at the site of Vartpagh, in the northwestern part of the city of Gyumri, were prompted by restoration activity in the area following the devastating 1988 earthquake (Ter-Margaryan 1991; Eganyan 2010). Although surface materials and visible architecture had made the site previously known to researchers, construction work revealed many burials dating to the 2nd – 4th century CE (Eganyan 2010: 9-14). An unknown number of burials were lost before construction was halted and salvage excavations were carried out during 1989 and 1990; 19 burials were excavated during the first year and 73 were excavated in the following year. Larisa

⁶² Burial No. 3 even had two bracelets.

Eganyan reported on a sample of these burials. Her criteria for selecting the 10 burials for which she provided a full description and inventory are not clear. However, her sample consists entirely of burials numbered below 19, suggesting that the sample provides a substantial picture of the nineteen burials excavated in 1989 (Table 4).⁶³

It is possible that the continued occupation of the landscape could have disturbed and damaged some of the burials, rendering inventories incomplete or evidence of cultural activity around the burials lost. Still, the 1988 earthquake and subsequent restoration efforts are undoubtedly responsible for much of the damage. Indeed, each of the 10 burials was reported as being disturbed upon recovery, suggesting that none of the burials were fully intact before they were excavated. It follows that some or all of the burials may have been looted or that some data were otherwise lost; but the early involvement of archaeologists increases confidence in the dataset.

The published burials at Vartpagh are of two types: stone-lined cists and stone sarcophagi. Stone-lined cists make up the larger part of the sample at 60 percent (N=6),⁶⁴ while stone sarcophagi are rarer at 30 percent (N=3).⁶⁵ Some of the burials, both sarcophagi and stone-lined cists, are constructed of large single slabs of stone (Nos. 2, 3, 6, 9, 17), while others divulge a more piecemeal construction (Nos. 10, 11, 15, 16). All ten of the burials were covered with a single slab of partially worked stone. Two of these (Nos. 2 and 3) report an interesting feature: a hole drilled through the stone over the face of the primary inhumation burial.

Other aspects of mortuary practice are somewhat more consistent at Vartpagh. Every tomb is oriented along the same E-W/W-E axis, as determined either by the position of the

⁶³ 52.63 percent of the 19 burials excavated in 1989

⁶⁴ Nos. 6, 9, 10, 11, 15, and 18

⁶⁵ Nos. 3, 16, 17

architecture or the position of the interred. Additionally, every burial but one (No. 18) holds primary inhumation remains of a single individual. Burial No. 18 held no remains at all and Eganyan suggests that this may be an example of a cenotaph (Eganyan 2010: 14). Of the primary inhumation remains, one skeleton was too disturbed to determine the position (No.11), one was placed in a flexed position (No. 2), and the rest were all placed extended on their backs with hands clasped in the front of the body (Nos. 3, 6, 9, 10, 15, 16, 17).⁶⁶ The interred individual in burial No. 3 received some additional and unique treatment: a single large stone was recorded on the chest of the extended body and another on the knees. None of the skeletal remains were aged or sexed using bioarcheological methods. Consequently, it is not possible to comment on any patterns that may have emerged regarding these factors.

Grave goods are not plentiful at Vartpagh. Three of the burials have no reported grave goods (Nos. 2, 16, and 18) and the remaining burials have few materials. Grave goods consist of metal adornments, ceramics, and stamp seals of different materials. The most common materials were jewelry. Two burials held earrings: one held a single silver earring (No. 11) while the other held a pair of bronze earrings (No. 10). Rings appear with the same frequency so that one burial held a bronze ring (No. 17) while another held a ring of unspecified material with a red glass intaglio (No. 3). The latter burial (No. 3) also held a single bronze pin. Only one ceramic object was reported: a small ceramic cup from Burial No. 6, which held no other materials. The presence of other ceramics, even nondescript sherds, in or around this burial or any of the others is not reported. Glass objects are mentioned only twice. One burial (No. 15) held only a collection of small multicolored glass beads and another (No. 9) held a glass seal that bore the

⁶⁶ 70 percent of all reported burials from Vartpagh had interred individuals placed in an extended position.

image of a horse and an unfinished seal. Finally, the only stone object mentioned is a third seal from Burial No. 9 that bore the image of a bull.

One burial (No. 18) reported evidence of cultural activity outside the tomb. This was in the form of an ash layer just outside the tomb. No materials were reported recovered from within the ash.

4.5 Case Study 5: Beniamin

The site of Beniamin covers a large area in northwestern Armenia's Shirak plain. Extending on either side of the Yerevan-Gyumri highway, the site includes fortifications, large scale architecture, domestic structures, and multiple cemeteries (Eganyan 2010). Excavations began at the site in 1989 and continued uninterrupted until 2001. During this time, 245 total burials were excavated. Eganyan ascribed the burials to two distinct periods: the earliest burials (1st c BCE–1st c CE) date to the latter end of the period when the site was inhabited, while the later burials date to the period after the site was destroyed (2nd–4th c CE) in the mid 2nd century CE (Akopian and Zardarian 1995: 185).⁶⁷ Of the 245 excavated burials, Eganyan reported on 101 in detail. The rationale for selecting these 101 burials is not clear. However, the large and varied set of data presented, along with her research goals of addressing the various customs and rituals present in the region, suggests that providing an image of the diversity present at Beniamin may have played a role in selecting these burials. The burials were uncovered under unequal circumstances: a portion were happened upon during construction work, including the building of a water channel and the laying of a gas line.⁶⁸ But most were revealed during systematic

⁶⁷ More burials (N= 197) date to the second phase than the first phase (N=48). Eganyan points out that all burials belonging to the latter group were conducted in wells, granaries, and room floors (Eganyan 2010: 20).

⁶⁸ 8.91 percent of all reported burials were destroyed, and 6.93 percent were disturbed.

excavations of other features at Beniamin.⁶⁹ Thus, the relative completeness of the data yielded by each grave may have also played a role in Eganyan's selection. Nonetheless, as much information as possible has been carefully gathered and reported in detail for each of the 101 burials.⁷⁰

There are three primary tomb types at Beniamin. Stone-lined cists are by far the most common, making up 58.41 percent (N=59) of the reported burials. Burials conducted in simple pits or pithoi⁷¹ also appear frequently, respectively making up 19.80 (N=20) and 16.83 percent (N=17) of all reported burials. Every other reported type appears only once and almost all of them are a variation on one of these three common types. Thus, sarcophagi (No. 245), cists with a clay tile pavement (No. 129), pithoi in stone-lined cists (No. 211), stone-lined cists holding wood coffins (No. 225), and stone-lined cists paved with pithoi (No. 183) each only make up 0.9 percent of all reported burials. It is also worth noting that of the cists conducted in soil,⁷² a substantial number⁷³ were conducted in wells (Nos. 146, 194, 207) or granaries (Nos. 79, 83, 90, 129, 185).

Nearly all of the burials held primary inhumation remains. This holds true across all burial types present at Beniamin. The only exceptions to this are Burial Nos. 28, 40, 198, which did not have the treatment of the body reported and Burial No. 171, which is described as a cenotaph (Eganyan 2010: 16, 30). There is no reported evidence for cremated remains.⁷⁴ Burials with single occupants make up 92.08 percent (N=93) of the 101 reported burials. Of the

⁶⁹ 84.16 of the burials were reported intact.

⁷⁰ See Table 5.

⁷¹ The presence of holes on the pithoi (e.g. Nos. 43A and 182), which suggest that they once required mending, supports the notion that these were indeed once used in a domestic context before becoming tomb architecture.

⁷² This includes No. 129, which is a simple pit paved with tiles.

⁷³ 38.1 percent of the 21 simple pit burials

⁷⁴ A cremated body would typically leave traces such as ash and burnt fragmentary bone. Neither of these materials were reported in the suspected cenotaph.

remaining burials, three burials (Nos. 121, 195, and 207) hold the remains of two occupants interred contemporaneously, two (Nos. 40 and 245) had an unclear number of occupants, one (No. 54) seems to be an instance of tomb reuse, one (No. 234) holds the completely disarranged remains of at least six individuals, and one is the aforementioned cenotaph (No. 171).

Although there may not be much variation in the treatment of the body at Beniamin, there is considerable variation in the position of the body. While some positions are more common based on tomb type, there is little consistency. Of all primary inhumation burials (N=97), the position of 7.21 percent (N=7) was unclear and 23.71 percent (N=23) were too deteriorated to discern a position. It is worth noting that primary inhumation remains in pithoi belong, overwhelmingly, to these two categories. Indeed, the position of the body was only reported in two of the seventeen burials conducted in pithoi: Burial Nos. 9 and 43A both held primary inhumation remains in a flexed position. While both types of cists hold skeletons in a range of positions, some positions are more common than others. Of the 58 stone-lined cists holding primary inhumation remains, an overwhelming 75.86 percent (N=44) are extended on the back, while only 3.45 percent (N=2)⁷⁵ are in a flexed position, 1.72 percent⁷⁶ are seated, and 1.72 percent⁷⁷ are placed in a carefully formed pile. The numbers are similarly skewed in favor of one position in simple pit burials. Of the twenty burials conducted as simple pits, 45 percent (N=9) of individuals are in a flexed position, 20 percent (N=4)⁷⁸ are or were originally in a seated position, 10 percent are kneeling (N=2),⁷⁹ and 10 percent (N=2)⁸⁰ are extended. The body position in the remaining tomb types are as follows: the body is flexed in the cist with a clay tile pavement (No.

⁷⁵ Nos. 195 and 209

⁷⁶ No. 184

⁷⁷ No. 33

⁷⁸ Nos. 71, 125, 177, 218

⁷⁹ Nos. 185 and 217

⁸⁰ No. 181 is fully extended while No. 10 is extended on the back with bent knees.

129) and extended in both the stone-lined cist holding a wood coffin (No. 225) and the stone-lined cist paved with a pithos (No. 183).

The orientation of 88.12 percent (N=89) of the burials was recorded and reported. The remaining 11.88 percent (N=12) were either not reported (N=4) or burials conducted in vertically placed pithoi (N=8). The most common reported orientation is E-W. Of all burials with the axis reported, 75.28 percent (N=67) were oriented along this axis. It is notable that all stone-lined cists, sarcophagi, stone-lined cists with wooden coffins, and stone-lined cists paved with pithoi fall into this group. Other orientations are nearly all present, but they are far less common and do not betray such patterning. A N-S orientation is reported for 11.24 percent (N=10) of all burials with reported orientations, a S-N orientation is reported for 6.74 percent (N=6), a NW-SE orientation for 3.37 percent (N=3), a W-E orientation for 2.25 percent (N=2), and a NE-SW orientation for 1.12 percent (N=1).

Age and sex determinations are available for several of the burials, although the methods used to arrive at these determinations are unclear. Of all the reported burials, 45.54 percent (N=46) have no reported age or sex determinations, 24.75 percent (N=25) are burials holding children that have no sex determinations reported, and 29.70 percent (N=30) are burials holding primarily adults that have both age and sex determinations reported.⁸¹ Thus, 54.45 percent (N=55) of 101 reported burials have some kind of age and/or sex determination available. Three of these burials (Nos. 121, 195, and 207) are double burials that were determined to be holding one male and one female each. In addition to these, of the 30 burials with both age and sex

⁸¹ Among this 29.70 percent are two burials, No. 183, which belongs to an individual aged 10-15-years-old and has been estimated to be female, and No. 195, which holds two individuals reported to be a 5-7-year-old male and an 11-15-year-old female. In general, it is accepted that it is not possible to accurately determine the probable sex of individuals who are so young, as those sexually dimorphic traits that aid the determination have not yet had time to develop (Derevenski 1997: 877).

determinations, 70 percent (N=21) belong to females between the ages of 20 and 60, while only 16.67 percent (N=5) belong to males between the ages of 20 and 60.

Eganyan reports that grave goods were not common among all 245 burials excavated; only 40 stone-lined cists, 14 pithos burials, and 9 simple pits held any grave goods (Eganyan 2010: 20). Within her sample of 101 reported burials 28.71 percent (N=29) hold no grave goods, while the remaining burials all hold some combination of materials. This suggests that Eganyan must have included all of the burials holding mortuary materials in her sample. Because a majority of the burials were reported as being intact, it is likely that looting did not play a strong role in affecting the dataset. Grave goods include metal objects such as knives, jewelry and other ornaments, various stone objects, glass beads and stamp seals, faunal remains, and a variety of ceramic vessels and terracotta objects.

Metal objects are the most frequently reported class of objects⁸² and are widely present in all three of the main tomb types. All metal objects were found inside the burials and neither age nor sex determinations seem to bear on the presence or absence of certain objects. When metal objects are present, they are overwhelmingly iron and bronze jewelry; earrings appear in the highest number, 44.44 percent (N=16),⁸³ of burials with metal objects. With one exception (No. 183),⁸⁴ there is only a single earring, not a set, present in each burial. Rings (Nos. 5, 40, 89, 116, 118, 132, 141, 183, 228) are the next most common metal object reported. This is followed by bracelets (Nos. 28, 105, 177, 183, and 209) and bells (Nos. 40, 195, and 209). Other such decorative objects appear only once: a bronze necklace (No. 183), a spiral clasp (No. 89), an iron pin (No. 142) were all also reported.⁸⁵ The remaining metal objects are few and could be

⁸² Metal objects are reported in 35.64 percent (N=36) of all 101 reported burials.

⁸³ Nos. 6, 27, 29, 44, 47, 50, 51, 66, 67, 92, 121, 127, 183, 185, and 209

⁸⁴ This burial had a pair of earrings.

⁸⁵ Burial No. 183 is noteworthy both in the quantity and variety of metal jewelry reported.

categorized as tools. A single iron knife was found in two burials (Nos. 160 and 195) and a bronze needle was reported in one burial (No. 126). Some objects are too corroded or otherwise unidentifiable (Nos. 125, 150, 206, 212, and 213) and one burial (No. 198) was reported as holding two fragments of metal ore.

Ceramic vessels are present either within or just outside 20.79 percent (N=21) of all reported burials and were recovered from all three of the main burial types. The vessels are sometimes identified by shape, but frequently the presence of ceramics is noted simply by listing “sherd” or “sherds.” Consequently, it is not possible to determine the prevalence of certain shapes or wares. Nevertheless, it is possible to claim that a majority of the reported vessel shapes are those of commensal vessels. Where it is reported, shapes found inside the burials include flasks (No. 181), cups (Nos. 43C, 183, and 195), bowls (Nos. 40, 127, 183, 195, and 209), pots (No. 127), jugs (No. 183), pithoi (No. 17), and lamps (No. 80). Sherds (Nos. 59, 67, 71, 125, 158, 207) and unidentified vessels (Nos. 40, 157, 198) are also present. Outside of the burials, the types of vessels are reported in less detail and only one shape is mentioned: lamps (No. 23). The rest of the ceramic vessels found outside of burials are noted simply as sherds (Nos. 9, 39, 40, 181, 226, 228). Some burials have clay objects present that are not ceramic vessels; one burial (No. 148) held a small terracotta figurine of a bird and another (No. 39) held the terracotta bellows nozzle.⁸⁶

Faunal materials appear in a wide variety of forms including shells, bone objects and worked bone, phalanges and knucklebones, and all or a portion of a full animal. Phalanges and knucklebones are the most commonly reported (Nos. 2, 184, 195, 196, and 212). This is followed by burials, which hold all or a portion of a full animal. Inside the burials the animals include

⁸⁶ It is unclear if this was a usable nozzle or if it was a model of one.

sheep (Nos. 125 and 182), dog (No. 190), horse (No. 234), cow (No. 125), boar (No. 125), and unspecified (No. 207). Faunal remains of this type found outside the burials include horse (Nos. 8, 23, and 40), dog (Nos. 40 and 123), and unspecified (Nos. 9 and 39) bones. Worked rib bones (Nos. 137 and 224) and bone handles (Nos. 127 and 184) each appear only twice; cowrie shells (No. 100) and bone beads (183) each only appear in one burial.

Stone objects are relatively infrequent and, in many cases, unique. The only stone objects that are not entirely unique at Benjamin are beads. Thus, agate (Nos. 183 and 203) and sardonyx (Nos. 144 and 190) beads are the most commonly occurring stone object type among the reported burials. The unique objects include a small black stone pyramid (No. 121), a square limestone object with a hole (No. 184), a rectangular stone with incised line (No. 124), an egg-shaped stone (No. 1), a black diorite heart-shaped object (No. 54), and a pestle (No. 125).

Eganyan did not provide identifications for these objects nor suggestions for their use.

Glass paste beads (Nos. 28, 36, 105, 126, 127, 183, 198) and glass beads (Nos. 144, 203) are the most commonly reported glass objects. Every other type of glass object appears only once. These are a glass amulet bearing the image of eyes (No. 125), a white glass pendent (No. 67), an unfinished stamp seal (No. 36), and a scaraboid seal that Eganyan (2010: 26) identified as bearing the image of Pegasus (No. 98).

A single wood object, a burnt cube of wood, was preserved (No. 16). Eganyan suggests (2010: 106) that this object is the remains of the burial feast, included with the interred before the burial is completed.⁸⁷ The material for some of the reported objects is not noted. This group includes only some beads (Nos. 59, 100, 187, 206, 209, 212, and 215) and an unfinished stamp

⁸⁷ Similar fragments of burnt wood are reported at other burials at Benjamin, but it is only in burial No. 16 that such an object is clasped in the hand of the deceased.

seal (No. 212). Finally, while it is not necessarily an object, it is also worth noting that one burial (No. 131) had a soil fill that was generously mixed with ochre.

There is some evidence for cultural activity outside the burials, in addition to the faunal remains and ceramics described above. In each instance (Nos. 9, 17, 28, 39), a combination of ceramics, burnt bones and ash suggests the remains of a burial feast. There is still other evidence for cultural activity in and around the burials after the burials were conducted. Five burials (Nos. 54, 114, 131, 212, and 245) all reported evidence of tomb reuse. In each case, the evidence involved the fragmentary remains of a second individual.

5. Discussion

5. 1 Landscape and Location

The selected sites are not particularly similar in type and location, nor do they all share common research and excavation histories. Furthermore, additional excavations are needed to better understand the nature of many of the sites.⁸⁸ The Benjamin and Artashat datasets have much in common. Both datasets are similar in scale and represent multiple burial fields grouped around an urban center or large settlement.⁸⁹ In addition, both sites were occupied over several centuries, which means that variability could be the result of diachronic change. In other words, not all of the burials date to the period during which the sites were flourishing.⁹⁰ Moreover, it is clear that Artashat and Benjamin were sizeable settlements. Thus, the choices available to those burying their dead at these places may have been broader due to the increased likelihood of

⁸⁸ This is especially true of Yeghvard.

⁸⁹ The nature of the settlement at Benjamin has not securely been established as urban. However, the site of Benjamin is large and includes monumental architecture, suggesting this may be the case (Zardarian and Akopian 1995: 185).

⁹⁰ In fact, evidence, such as the two phases (1st c BCE – 1st c CE), when the site was in use, and 2nd-4th c CE, after the site was abandoned) identified at Benjamin by Eganyan (2010: 20), suggests that this was not the case.

proximity to wealth, major communication routes, and concomitant exchange of ideas and worldviews (Avetisyan and Bobokhyan 2012: 8). Additionally, Dvin is located very near to Artashat and Vartpagh is north-west of the modern city of Gyumri, sharing a valley with Beniamin. Individuals living and dying at Dvin and Vartpagh may have had similar although possibly reduced access to the advantages of urban life. In short, the location of each site, considered in its broader landscape, may explain some of the choices available to or constraints placed upon the people who lived and died there.

Proximity to an urban setting is not the only variable that might determine variability of mortuary practice. Indeed, the opposite is true of Athens in the 4th century BCE, when Demetrius of Phaleron banned expensive grave stelae (Nielsen et al. 1989; Garland 2001: 125). This political mandate limited the choices individuals were allowed to make in regard to burying the dead. Thus, proximity to an urban setting may also reduce choice or make practice more uniform. There is no evidence that individuals living at or around the cities of Artashat and Beniamin were subject to laws limiting choice in mortuary practice. In further considering the relationship between settlement and burial location, cemetery organization is typically considered crucial to understanding social boundary making and group identification (e.g. Vickers and Kakhidze 2001; Sørensen and Rebay 2005). Due to the lack of maps and map errors in the publications,⁹¹ further discussion on the spatial organization of the burials is not possible.

Some variation may be attributable to natural factors such as resource availability and proximity in the landscape. While Yeghvard is somewhat of a geographic outlier, Beniamin and

⁹¹ Khachatryan (1981) and Eganyan (2010) both have maps of the burials from Artashat (Khachatryan 1981: Figures 1 and 2) and Vartpagh (Eganyan 2010: Plate 1) and Beniamin (Eganyan 2010: Plate 2); however, they are all partial (see fig. 3, fig. 4, and fig 5). The maps from Khachatryan (1981) contain serious errors that make interpretation difficult. These errors primarily consist of mislabeled maps that are not possible to rectify with the available details in the publication. Gyulamiryan (2018: 161) also describes these mapping errors as hinderance to studying these burials. However, the three new burials Gyulamiryan (2018) has published, located in the area surrounding Artashat, may suggest that new excavations in the area could produce additional data with accurate maps.

Vartpagh are both located in Armenia's Shirak plain and Artashat and Dvin are both located in Armenia's Ararat plain. This clustering of sites and the raw materials accessible to individuals living at the sites may have played a role in selecting tomb architecture. At Beniamin, 58.41 percent of burials were stone-lined cists and at Vartpagh 60 percent of burials were stone lined cists. The mountainous location of these two sites may have made stone materials more abundant and accessible. Meanwhile at Artashat 31.76 percent of burials were pithos burials and at nearby Dvin 100 percent of burials were pithos burials. The clay available in the Ararat plain may have made pithoi a more accessible choice for those burying their dead here. Furthermore, Artashat and Dvin are separated from Beniamin and Vartpagh by Mount Aragats. This may have served to isolate the two regional practices from each other.

5. 2 Temporal Range

The data set from the five sites presents a temporal challenge as well. From the earliest site with burials included in this study – Artashat (2nd c BCE – 5th c CE) – to the latest burials – Vartpagh (2nd c CE – 4th c CE) and Beniamin (1st c BCE – 4th c CE) – there are six hundred years. Yeghvard (1st c BCE) and Dvin (1st c CE) both fall in the middle of this range, though closer to the beginning. One obstacle is the lack of finer chronologies at the sites of Artashat and Beniamin, which are the two largest of the data sets and also the sites with the longest temporal ranges. Khachatryan (1981) provides ceramic chronologies of the mortuary materials independently of his burial reports and Eganyan (2010) only occasionally mentions whether a burial belongs to the early or the late phases she has designated. These obstacles require further study to clarify the sequence of the burials and grave goods.

The axes of material variation that are the focus of this study are tomb architecture and treatment of the body; however, how temporal range affects the conclusions that depend on these axes must also be briefly addressed. Pithoi are present at Artashat, Beniamin, Dvin, and Yeghvard but not at Vartpagh,⁹² which has stone-lined cists and sarcophagi. Vartpagh is also one of the later sites in the data set with a fairly narrow date range. This may suggest that this type becomes phased out eventually. However, the presence of pithoi alongside the stone-built tomb at Yeghvard, narrowly dated to the 1st c BCE, suggests that variation in tomb types cannot be explained as simply the result of change over time.⁹³ Similarly, Eganyan (2010: 20) reports a row of burials that contains pithoi and stone-lined cists likely dating to the 1st c BCE at Beniamin. The arrangement of the burials in a row suggests their contemporaneity and again supports the conclusion that variation in tomb types cannot simply be reduced to diachronic developments.

Where body treatment is concerned, cremated remains are only reported at Yeghvard and Artashat. It may be tempting to ascribe this variation to time alone; however, both cremated and primary inhumation remains are found within the same cemetery at Yeghvard. Again, Yeghvard is narrowly dated, suggesting that the variation in body treatment at Artashat cannot simply be reduced to change over time. The limited evidence from Yeghvard cannot entirely rule out diachronic change as a factor in producing mortuary variability; however, it does make it less likely that it is the primary factor.

⁹² It should be noted that the data set from Vartpagh is not a complete account of all the excavated burials and that portions of the site were lost to construction.

⁹³ The presence of sarcophagi alongside stone-lined cists at Vartpagh during the much narrower two-hundred-year range of 2nd c CE – 4th c CE also supports this.

5.3 Age and Sex/Gender

The lack of reliable age and sex data renders these aspects of the social dimensions of mortuary practice largely inaccessible. However, some general comments can be made. A high rate of infant mortality is common in many societies and, thus, subadults frequently account for more than 50 percent of deaths (Chapeskie 2006: 32-33; Kamp 2001: 9). Despite the lack of thorough application of bioarchaeological method,⁹⁴ if we consider the reported ages of the primary inhumation remains among all five case study sites, the highest percentage of subadults relative to the dataset can be found at Beniamin. Of 101 burials, 26.73 percent held subadults at Beniamin. Although this is not an insignificant percentage, it remains substantially lower than what might be expected. Subadult skeletons tend not to preserve as well as adult skeletons, leading to a bias towards adults in archaeological data (Chapeskie 2006: 32-33). However, even if this were the case, one might at least expect to find burials holding very poorly preserved subadult remains. Additionally, cremated remains at the sites make it difficult to determine the age of the interred individuals and therefore to determine if this sample is representative of a living population. This leaves several options. First, children may also be undergoing cremation, but at apparently different rates from adults. Second, there may be an age identity aspect to cremation, marking out as special those children who underwent primary inhumation instead. Finally, there may be someplace else or some other method through which the bodies of children are being disposed. Millett and Gowland (2015) have shown how differential treatment in mortuary practice can be based on age in their study from Roman Britain.

⁹⁴ Some, although not all, of the skeletons from Beniamin were subject to bioarchaeological analysis. However, a majority of the individual remains revealed at the five case study sites were not. Instead, respectively smaller skeleton size and diminutive grave goods were often used to distinguish children from adults. Thus, this claim rests on a very limited dataset.

The presence of reported child burials with and without grave goods occurs across various types of burial architecture, suggesting the deposition of grave goods is an aspect of mortuary practice that does not derive from age identity. This increases the likelihood that grave assemblages are an aspect of burial practice that could be determined by some other factor such as economic status, social station, or individual choice.

Sex and gender are even less well reported and understood. A small portion of the burials from Beniamin were given sex estimations through bioarchaeological methods. None of the other sites had any burials that received biological sex estimations. One should expect a 50/50 distribution of males and females within a cemetery (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994); however, with the partial data from Beniamin and the very limited determinations given, it is not possible to determine if such a distribution exists.

A notable exception to this lack of reliable bioarchaeological data during the period considered for this study in Armenia is the work of Khudaverdyan (e.g. 2010; 2011; 2012; 2014) both in the Shirak Plain and at other sites not addressed in this study. However, her evaluations focus primarily on pathologies and ethnicity and thus cannot bear substantially on broader questions of age, sex, and gender.

5.4 Tomb Architecture

Parker Pearson (1999: 5-6) has noted that the shape and depth of the grave is one aspect of mortuary practice that may reflect the influence of social status, gender, and/or degree of formality of practice. Accordingly, a focused discussion of tomb type as an axis of material variation may elucidate the primary forces driving the variation. There are some limitations to the consideration of grave form. The following discussion of tomb architecture will focus on the

three most prevalent tomb types: pithoi, stone-lined cists, and simple pits. Other types, such as sarcophagi, stone-built tombs, cave tombs, etc. will be omitted because of their limited appearance across all the case study sites. Additionally, as discussed above, secure sexing and/or identification of gender identity has not been reported or is not dependable at the majority of sites.

Ashkharbek Kalantar (1994) attributed the variation in tomb type during the Hellenistic and Roman period in ancient Armenia to the many ethnic and religious identities present there. However, he argued that a lack of evidence made it impossible to identify discrete groups (Kalantar 1994: 67). He also suggested (1994: 67) that socio-economic factors are unlikely to bear on variation in tomb type because "...the same type can be characterized by rich or poor contents"; however, he did so from a sample that was far more limited than the sample used for this study.⁹⁵ This discussion will focus primarily on socio-economic status and ethno-religious identity as influencing factors, both concurring with and contradicting Kalantar (1994).

5.4.1 Pithoi

Pithoi can be found at four of the five case study sites (fig. 6) and make up 29.49 percent (N=64) of the total burials (N=217) considered in this study. Pithos burials are neither unique to this region nor do they appear for the first time during the period considered here. Indeed, pithoi burials appear as early as the Neolithic period in the Near East (Bacvarov 2006) and similar practices have been identified among the Urartian funerary practices that immediately predate

⁹⁵ The tomb types present in his sample of burials, excavated in the Zvartnots/Etchmiatzin region of Armenia in 1931, consist almost entirely of clay sarcophagi and what may be stone-lined cists. Thus, Kalantar's assertion that socio-economic factors can be ruled out, is based on a very limited sample of burials and burial types. Additionally, Khatchadourian (2008: 263) has argued that Kalantar's dismissal of socio-economic factors may have been a product of the Marxist-Leninist theoretical climate at the time he was writing.

the time period under consideration in this study (Tarhan 1993; Yengibaryan 2011). The practice has also been identified in adjacent regions, such as the Aegean, where children can be found buried in pithoi during the Bronze Age (Doulas 2010) and in Persia where, again, children were found buried in pithoi during the Parthian period at Susa (Farjamirad 2013: 17). While there may be some social difference associated with primary inhumation bodies placed in pithoi as compared with cremated remains placed in pithoi, this consideration will focus only on the vessel as tomb architecture.

The only archaeobotanical analysis applied to burials from the ancient period in modern Armenia was conducted on pithos burials (Hovsepian 2019). This recent study has major implications that may bear on the accessibility of pithoi as an option for tomb architecture. Four pithoi from the site of Mastara-3⁹⁶ were considered in the study. Results revealed that cereal grains were present in the burials, likely accompanying the body into the vessel as grave goods (Hovsepian 2019: 79). It also proposed that certain pithos shapes may have been ideal for yeast fermentation in the production of cheese (Hovsepian 2019: 80). When this information is combined with the mending holes observed by excavators on burial pithoi at Beniamin,⁹⁷ it provides multiple insights. The evidence lends support to the argument that the jars were utilitarian in two arenas of daily life: food production and storage, and mortuary practice. The sample size is small, and the evidence does not conclusively support the argument that all vessels used in mortuary practice were secondary use. Additionally, it is likely such large vessels, which would have been valuable in a domestic context and cumbersome to transport, would not be made and/or purchased solely for burial practice. The data set from Artashat illustrates the point especially well. Many of the pithoi were reported as broken or damaged to some extent, and

⁹⁶ 2nd -1st century BCE

⁹⁷ E.g. Beniamin Burial No. 182.

while it is inevitable that taphonomic processes and agricultural activity played some role in this, there is evidence that supports some of the damage being contemporary with the period during which the burial was conducted. Pithoi with broken rims and bases (see No. 10 in Table 1 [Artashat] and No. 15 in Table 3 [Dvin] for examples) are “mended” in a somewhat haphazard way after the remains of the individual are placed inside the vessel (Kocharyan 1991). Fragments of a second pithos are often reported carefully placed over the broken portions of the burial pithos. There are instances where this is not the case. Some pithoi were discovered whole. However, the fragments of second pithoi are used on enough occasions to suggest this was not a unique or localized practice. It is important to consider that broken and mended pithoi and those that are whole may reflect evidence of economic constraints. The shape and decoration of the pithoi selected can be attributed to one of three factors: accessibility, availability, and choice. It is possible that pithoi were a widely accessible and commonly used ceramic vessel. These massive food storage receptacles are present in many sites across the region of ancient Armenia that is the focus of this study (see the following for examples: Arakelyan 1982). Because food storage is a universal need among settled societies, such vessels were abundant. However, such an item may represent more of an investment for some members of a society than others. So, while they may be widely available, access to them could be restricted due to an individual’s economic station in the wider community. The lack of grave goods in the most extreme cases of broken and mended pithoi seems to support this conclusion. For example, Dvin Burial No. 15 has a missing base that has been replaced with another vessel and holds no reported grave goods. The rest of the 16 pithoi burials from Dvin hold a variety of goods such as jewelry and ceramics and do not have reports of mended or broken pithoi. Similarly, Beniamin Burial No. 43A has a pithos with missing fragments, restoration or reuse holes, and no grave goods. Additionally,

Beniamin Burial No. 43A was excavated intact and thus it is unlikely that missing grave goods or missing vessel fragments were a product of later site disruption or destruction.

5.4.2 *Stone-Lined Cists*

Stone-lined cists were reported at three of the five case study sites (fig. 6). Although they appear at fewer sites than do pithoi, stone-lined cists are the most well represented tomb type, making up 30.88% (N=67) of all the burials considered in this study. Gyulamiryan (2014: 13-14) has noted that there is some debate as to whether or not this type is local or imported;⁹⁸ however, he concludes that Tiratsyan (1988: 102) convincingly demonstrated that this type has been in the region since the Bronze Age (Gyulamiryan 2014: 13).

The architecture of stone-lined cists varies slightly from burial to burial. While there are typically stones lining the four sides of the burial, the number of stones used is not regular. The same is true for the number of stones used to cover the burial. Moreover, in most cases the stones used are described by Eganyan (2010) at Yeghvard and Beniamin as unworked and misshapen. The range of approaches to constructing the same basic tomb type suggests a degree of choice was involved in building each tomb. It is possible that the choice was dependent on the availability of the stone. The source of the stone slabs used is unclear.⁹⁹ A particularly interesting element on just two of the stone-lined cists from Beniamin, Burial Nos. 172 and 176, (Eganyan 2010: 31) and two of the stone-lined cists from Vartpagh, Burial Nos. 2 and 3, is the presence of holes on one of the capstones (see fig. 2C for a similar example). In both cases, these holes are aligned with the top half of the body. Eganyan (2010: 13) suggests that these holes may be for

⁹⁸ Gyulamiryan (2014: 13-14) has subdivided this type into burials with a capstone and stones lining the bottom of the grave and burials with a capstone and stones lining the walls of the grave. For the purposes of this study, both types will simply be referred to as Stone-lined Cists.

⁹⁹ It is also unclear if these slabs were new or reused.

pouring libations. The location of the holes on the capstone of the closed burial suggests that libations would have been poured after the grave was closed. The relative rarity of these libation holes may set Benjamin Burial Nos. 172 and 176 and Vartpagh Burial Nos. 2 and 3 apart. To the extent that libation is linked to ritual practice, the presence or absence of such libation holes may suggest different religious orientations. Rebillard (2009: 36) has argued, contrary to past assumptions, that in ancient Rome mortuary practice was not an important arena for communicating religious identity.¹⁰⁰ The case may be similar in ancient Armenia. Even so, mortuary practice may have been an important arena for identity communication for the same religious groups in a context different from Rome, such as Benjamin or Artashat. It may also be the case that, in ancient Armenia, burial practice was an important arena for creating and negotiating boundaries for some ethno-religious groups, while it was not for others.

There is evidence at the Urartian sites of Ayanis (Batmaz 2013: 72) and Altıntepe (Özgüç 1969: 28) for the use of libations in sacred spaces. Libations used during funerary ceremony and perhaps later, upon revisiting the tomb of the deceased, are not uncommon in the ancient world. In Greece, libations poured at funerals are frequently mentioned in literature and shown in art (Garland 2001: 10, 36). However, these libations appear at the funeral, while the holes in the capstones at Benjamin suggest that they would have been useful after the grave had been sealed. The closest parallel in the Greek world is perhaps the libation feeding tubes at hero-tombs. Hero cults were popular during the Hellenistic period (323 BCE – 31 BCE) and hero-tombs served as sites where cult activities, such as libation pouring, could take place (Ekroth 2016). One such example of this is the Charmyleion on Kos where there are libation tubes leading into the burial chamber, not unlike the holes at Benjamin and Vartpagh (Ekroth 2016; Sherwin-White 1977:

¹⁰⁰ Dominant religious groups in Rome include pagans, Christians, and Jews.

207-217). The practice of including libation tubes in tombs is more common in the Roman world, where such tubes, frequently made of lead, can be found in tombs in Rome but also in the far edges of the empire, such as in England (Evans 2016: 539-540; Hope 1999: 58). Much like Urartian practice, libation pouring is linked to ritual in both the Greek and Roman worlds. While the practice may not have been understood in the same way by all those who partook, it likely played some ethno-religious role regarding the treatment of the dead. Therefore, the tombs with libation holes at Benjamin and Vartpagh may be related to a variation of this same ethno-religious practice regarding libations and the dead found in and around the Mediterranean during the ancient period. It is probable that all individuals did not follow this precise form when pouring libations. Holes in capstones, such as those found at Benjamin and Vartpagh, are somewhat different from the lead tubes found in the Greek and Roman worlds. Furthermore, the channels cut into the stone, presumably to direct the libation into the hole, suggest that such tubes were not once present and now missing. There is evidence for similar holes, however, to the south, at Petra (Sachet 2006: 99). The holes at tombs in Roman Petra, however, are somewhat different. While the holes at Benjamin and Vartpagh were drilled through the capstone so that whatever was being poured through the holes was also being poured directly onto the body of the deceased, the Nabataean ones are more akin to receptacles designed to hold the poured liquid in a place directly beside the tomb. Nabataean funerary customs during the Roman period at Petra included the “feeding and refreshing of the dead” (Sachet 2006: 99); it is Isabelle Sachet’s conclusion that these holes serve such a purpose. This example is the most aligned with the material evidence at Benjamin and Vartpagh. Thus, the evidence from other sites in adjacent regions supports a conclusion that these libation holes are likely tied to an ethno-religious group identity.

5.5 The Body: Cremation Vs. Primary Inhumation

Michael Parker Pearson (1999: 48) has argued that it is likely very difficult to ascribe any aspect of body treatment in mortuary practice to pure functionality. This is especially true when it comes to the form of body disposal and preparation. Along the Ionian coast, there are instances where, within the same burial site, adults are cremated while children underwent primary inhumation (Mariaud 2007). Thus, in some cases the decision to cremate an individual or inhumate them without other treatment may rely on understandings of personhood and age identity. At Artashat, a large number of burials holding cremated individuals exist alongside those holding primary inhumation individuals. While it is not possible to determine if children counted among cremated remains, both adults and children count among primary inhumation remains. Furthermore, both child and adult burials were also reported at Yeghvard, Beniamin, and Dvin. All three sites reported no cremated remains, with the exception of one burial (No. 1) at Yeghvard. Thus, such a division based on age identity seems unlikely. Instead the emerging pattern is the presence of cremated individuals at Artashat and Yeghvard and their absence among the excavated and reported burials at the other three sites. Moreover, this patterning does not seem to be related to specific tomb architecture or a similar deposition of grave goods.¹⁰¹

The choice to cremate rather than simply inhumate a recently deceased individual without other treatment may be related to other factors, such as the affordability and accessibility of wood. The act of cremating may suggest high status through expensive resource expenditure. Funeral pyres would require a substantial amount of wood, often a valuable and costly material (Parker Pearson 1999: 49). Archaeobotanical analysis shows that, in all likelihood, the portion of ancient Armenia considered in this study was mostly steppe (Joannin et al. 2014; Leroyer et al.

¹⁰¹ See the discussion of body treatment above in the Artashat case study.

2016). Thus, trees were rare and, where they existed, would have been quite small (personal communications with Amy Cromartie; Cromartie et al. forthcoming). It follows that a material such as lumber may have been costly.¹⁰² In addition, lumber may have been in demand for other uses. This may have caused resource scarcity and forced individuals to prioritize how to use lumber. It is worth noting here that the coffins at Artashat¹⁰³ and Benjamin (Burial No. 225) are also made of wood. This may suggest that the use of wood in this context of tomb architecture also denotes high status through resource expenditure. All of this being said, high resource expenditure as direct evidence for high status in society during life has been problematized (McHugh 1999: 54). Other factors might make cremation the suitable choice.

Ethno-religious identity and practice may be partially responsible for the decision to cremate over inhumate a deceased individual. Pierre Briant (2002: 94-95) has convincingly argued, using both textual and archaeological evidence, that inhumation was the preferred mode of body disposal in Achaemenid Persia. Briant attributes this to ethno-religious reasons and, for his archaeological evidence, draws mostly from Moorey (1980), who has shown a distinct shift in practice from cremation to inhumation at Deve Hüyük. This shift occurred in conjunction with the arrival of Achaemenid control of the region; thus, Briant's reasoning may also explain the limited presence of cremated individuals among the case study sites used in this study. However, Paul Zimansky (1995: 109) has shown that both cremation and primary inhumation were widely present in burial practice during the Urartian period, which predates the period considered in this study. While this variability in the Urartian period has not been satisfactorily explained, and may also be attributable to ethno-religious identity, Briant and Zimansky's arguments taken together

¹⁰² Lumber may have been available in what is now Georgia and thus it may have been possible to import it from the north (Messenger et al. 2013).

¹⁰³ Burial Nos. 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, and 68

suggest that Achaemenid control did not strongly influence this aspect of material variation in mortuary practice in ancient Armenia.

It may be that cremation and primary inhumation in ancient Armenia were not necessarily tied to ethno-religious identity. The oscillation in practice over time in ancient Greece between cremated bodies and bodies that underwent primary inhumation lends support to this notion. Katharina Rebay-Salisbury (2012: 20) has argued that these diachronic changes have largely depended not on ethno-religious identity, as one would assume,¹⁰⁴ but rather, "...cycles of elite fashion, imitation by commoners" (Rebay-Salisbury 2012: 20). Although this evidence does not rule out ethno-religious identity as a motivator in choosing to cremate or inhume a deceased individual, it casts some doubt on this assumption. Indeed, it is possible that the choice to cremate or not depended on a combination of factors including both economic ones and still poorly understood ethno-religious ones.

Ethnoarchaeological studies suggest a wide range of reasons not related to identity or belief that may render cremation a superior choice over primary inhumation (Parker Pearson 1982; Tarlow 1992). These reasons include, "...greater hygiene and sanitary precautions against disease, lower costs of funerals, protection of human remains from vandalism, funerary services held indoors and prevention of premature burial" (Parker Pearson 1999: 42). Alternatively, some research has shown that cremation may be used to destroy the bodies of lower status individuals (Bradley 1984). Grave goods, such as bronze mirrors (Artashat Burial No. 67) and the remains of multiple animals (Artashat Burial No. 59)¹⁰⁵ associated with wooden coffin burials do not

¹⁰⁴ The literary evidence surrounding the topic of body disposal is often moralizing, focusing on correct vs. incorrect behavior (Rebay-Salisbury 2012, 20).

¹⁰⁵ This one burial held ox, sheep, and horse bones.

necessarily support this low status suggestion.¹⁰⁶ Concurrently, the overwhelming absence of grave goods aside from ceramic vessels in many of the cremation burials at Artashat¹⁰⁷ may support a lower status designation for the individuals interred in this way.¹⁰⁸

5. 6 Other Axes of Material Variation

Certain axes of variation will not be considered in depth in this study. Tomb orientation and positioning of the body have largely been left out due to lack of additional spatial data, such as accurate maps.¹⁰⁹ Additionally, an extensive consideration of the number of interred individuals has not been made here because the dataset for burials with more than one individual is seriously limited. Conversely, the available data on grave goods is so extensive that it is not possible to adequately address in the scope of this study. The following will be a cursory overview of these axes.

Based on the available data, an East-West/West-East tomb orientation is the most popular orientation across all five case study sites.¹¹⁰ Gyulamiryan (2014: 7) attributes the prevalence of this orientation to sun worship in the region. Currently there is not enough data to support or deny this claim. A similarly cursory look at position of the body suggests that this choice was primarily a utilitarian one. For example, at Artashat, the position of the body appeared to be

¹⁰⁶ Additionally, the reported remains of a funerary feast near these burials suggests that there was some kind of visible ceremony or ritual conducted near the burial involving fire, faunal resources, and ceramics. This may differentiate those with a low economic status as opposed to those with a low social status since those with a low economic status may desire and be able to save up to honor the deceased through what may be ritualized feasting, while it may not be possible or desirable to perform the same feasting ritual for those interred individuals with a low social status.

¹⁰⁷ E.g. Burial Nos. 47-55.

¹⁰⁸ Note that the burial architecture for these graves is minimal as they are cist or soil type burials.

¹⁰⁹ Without a better understanding of the relative locations of the burials to one another, a thorough discussion of tomb orientation and positioning of the body is not possible.

¹¹⁰ 11.76% (N=10) of all burials at Artashat are placed along this axis, 80% (N=4) of all burials at Yeghvard, 31.25% (N=5) of all burials at Dvin, 100% of all burials at Vartpagh, and 66.33% (N=67) at Beniamin.

determined by the tomb type. In tomb types where it was possible to inter a fully extended body, such as coffins and sarcophagi, the body was always placed in an extended position. However, where the tomb type was pithoi or simple pits, the bodies were placed in a flexed position. At Beniamin this same pattern holds true: pithoi and simple pits overwhelmingly held flexed bodies while stone-lined cists held extended ones. There are some outliers in body position. A handful of individuals at Beniamin were placed in a seated position (N=5) or a kneeling position (N=2). However, as Parker Pearson (1999: 6-7) has suggested, body arrangement differences can best be understood with a large sample size. These individuals may be part of a specific ethno-religious or social group. For now, a closer analysis of these few burials lies outside of the scope of this project. Similarly, an evaluation of those few burials containing more than one individual (N=2 at Artashat and N=4 at Beniamin) or no individuals (N=1 at Vartpagh and N=1 at Beniamin) is also restricted by sample size and project scope.

6. Conclusions

This project set out to examine how existing datasets could inform our understanding of social boundary-making in mortuary contexts across social strata. In the case of Armenian mortuary practice from 330 BCE to 330 CE, elite mortuary rituals have been the primary focus of English-language scholarship of the time period and region, while Armenian scholarship has been most attentive to defining a unified and continuous ethno-national identity in the burial record. These approaches have occluded new insights from anthropological archaeology that attend to tombs as critical sites for the negotiation of social identities. This focused study on specific axes of material variation found in the data from Artashat, Yeghvard, Dvin, Vartpagh, and Beniamin has brought to the forefront some evidence for social differentiation apparent in

burial practice that destabilizes traditional assumptions of homogeneous identity categories in the region during the period long regarded as critical to Armenian ethnogenesis.

First, this thesis identified tomb architecture as an axis of material variation that may be determined by economic ability and/or ethno-religious identity. Broken pithoi in various stages of having been mended and reused seem to support the argument that economic ability constrained the choices some members of society were able to make regarding tomb architecture. Concurrently, the limited presence of libation holes among the commonly appearing stone-lined cist type of architecture suggests that some variation in tomb architecture may have been the product of ethno-religious ritual needs. Second, the choice to cremate the deceased individual may have been constrained by economic ability as well, possibly due to wood resource scarcity. These preliminary conclusions demonstrate that socio-economic and ethno-religious identity potentially constrained and influenced the choices made by individuals burying their dead at Artashat, Yeghvard, Dvin, Vartpagh and Beniamin. These conclusions support Kalantar's (1994: 67) claims that ethnic identity played a role in mortuary variability during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. However, the evidence for the role of socio-economic identity presented in this thesis contradicts Kalantar's assertion (1994: 67) that socio-economic factors were unlikely to influence mortuary variability. Additionally, this study has revealed that the age dimension has been neglected in past analyses of mortuary practice in ancient Armenia. This lacuna should be filled in the future through additional re-considerations of legacy data and new excavations where the most current bioarchaeological methods can be applied.

The conclusions reached in this study do not always contradict previous claims made using portions of the same and/or similar data sets. Rather, these conclusions suggest that multiple identities can and did exist in the same space. These identities are being negotiated in

different aspects of mortuary practice and very likely could have existed alongside an ethnopolitical identity such as “Armenian” or a political and economic identity such as “elite.” In other words, diversity and collective identity do not have to be mutually exclusive when discussing mortuary evidence. This project underscores the abundance of data available and ready for interpretation and reinterpretation as new burials continue to be revealed through excavations and other means. The fundamental purpose of this project, however, is to advance new inquiries, grounded in anthropological approaches to mortuary practice, that can inform the study of ancient Armenia and the wider Near East from 330 BCE to 330 CE.

TABLE 1: ARATSHAT

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Information
1	Intact	Pithos	NW-SE	1	Primary Inhumation	Flexed, head towards mouth of Pithos with face East facing	N/A	N/A	None	None	Multiple sherds of a painted water vessel around and under the skull	None	None	A fragment of a pithos was placed over the head which was pointing towards the mouth of the vessel.
2	Intact	Pithos	NE-SW	1	Primary Inhumation	Far too deteriorated	N/A	Child	None	None	None	None	None	Pithos nearly cylindrical with an unpolished exterior
3	Intact	Pithos	NW-SE	1	Primary Inhumation	Only parts of the skull were preserved	N/A	N/A	One bronze earring or twisted copper wire	None	None	None	None	None
4	Disturbed	Pithos	NE-SW	1	Unclear	N/A	N/A	N/A	None	None	One blackened roof tile and one ceramic bowl	None	None	None
5	Disturbed	Pithos	NE (mouth of vessel)-SW	1	Primary Inhumation	Flexed, head towards mouth of the pithos	N/A	N/A	None	None	Multiple sherds of a smaller pithos next to the skull	None	None	None
6	Intact	Pithos	NE (mouth of vessel)-SW	1	Primary Inhumation	Flexed	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	A large fragment of another Pithos was found in the burial, having crushed the side of the skeleton.
7	Disturbed	Pithos	NE (mouth of vessel)-SW	1	Primary Inhumation	Partial remains in disarray	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	A large fragment of another pithos found in the burial

TABLE 1: ARATSHAT

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Information
8	Destroyed	Pithos	Vertical	1	likely cremated	Partial remains in disarray	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	Ash and charcoal in a partially preserved pithos
9	Intact	Pithos	NW-SE (mouth of vessel and head)	1	Primary Inhumation	Flexed-head towards mouth of the pithos	N/A	N/A	Bronze pin (near neck) and ring (near folded hands by face)	None	None	None	None	Fragments of another pithos covering mouth of pithos, decorated with a band of "tooth" decoration in relief. The interred was placed in vessel from the side where the pithos was cut, bottom of pithos had soil but rest was empty
10	Intact	Pithos	N (mouth of vessel and head)-S	1	Primary Inhumation	Flexed-head towards mouth of the pithos	N/A	Child	None	None	None	None	None	Pithos almost cylindrical, with a pointed base and outward-curving straight rim. The base is broken and covered with a second vessel. Pithos has a band of relief decoration
11	Intact	Pithos	N/A	1	Cremated	Partial remains in disarray	N/A	N/A	None	A small worked black rock with a sharp side, utilized flake?	One sherd from a thick bowl and one red polished vessel sherd	None	None	None

TABLE 1: ARATSHAT

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Information
12	Intact	Simple Pit	N/A	1	Cremated	Burnt fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	None	None	A collection of many burnt sherds of the following nearly complete vessels: a flask, jugs, amphorae, pots, bowls, and a single blue sherd	Half burnt remains of an antlered animal, a horse, and a sheep found in soil around pithos	None	Whole burial covered in sand, dark clay, and ash
13	Intact	Simple Pit with stones	N/A	1	Cremated	Burnt fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	None	None	One small pithos rim with painted and corrugated decoration on the shoulder and a great quantity of sherds from various vessels found in the soil around the burial	Teeth of an antlered animal	None	Three misshapen small rocks placed on top of burial
14	Disturbed	Simple Pit	N/A	1	Cremated	Burnt fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	None
15	Disturbed	Simple Pit	N/A	1	Cremated	Burnt fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	None
16	Disturbed	Simple Pit	N/A	1	Cremated	Burnt fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	None

TABLE 1: ARATSHAT

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Information
17	Disturbed	Simple Pit with stones	N/A	1	Cremated	Burnt fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	Two iron nails	None	Multiple sherds of bowl, a lamp, a fish plate, and other vessels found in dark layer near skeleton	None	None	Two stones placed on top of the burial
18	Disturbed	Simple Pit	N/A	1	Cremated	Burnt fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	None
19	Intact	Simple Pit lined with clay mortar	N/A	1	Cremated	Burnt fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	None	None	Poorly preserved fragments of a pithos, roof tiles, finewares, and pots. Also, a small antler made of clay - possibly the handle of a vessel or a fragment of figural terracotta	None	None	One of the more unique tombs at the site
20	Destroyed	Simple Pit with stones	E/W	1	Cremated	N/A	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	Rectangular arrangement of stones over burial with larger stones towards the East, stones fastened together with clay
21	Intact	Simple Pit with stones	N/A	1	Cremated	N/A	N/A	N/A	None	None	Pithos and tableware sherds found among the ash	None	None	Stones with one worked face cover the burial and create what looks like a wall near the layer of ash

TABLE 1: ARATSHAT

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Information
22	Destroyed	Simple Pit	N/A	1	Cremated	Burnt fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	None	None	The remains of a terracotta stand for a vessel with toothlike decorations along the top and bottom	None	None	None
23	Destroyed	Pithos	N/A	1	Cremated	Burnt fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	None	None	Sherds from a deep bowl, a cup, and other vessels	None	None	None
24	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	N/A	possibly 2	Cremated	Burnt fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	None	None	All vessels were in a fragmentary state. Sherds from a painted vessel cover the human bones in the first layer. There was about 1/3 of a large ceramic tray, fragments of a four handled vessel, two handled and red polished vessels, bowls, and various tablewares.	The remains of a number of large and small antlered animals found inside and around the vessels	None	An almost rectangular platform with different kinds of stone (millstones, paving stones, and small river cobbles) with traces of charcoal and ash and human bones and many broken vessels. There are two layers of stones with human remains interspersed perhaps suggesting two individuals.

TABLE 1: ARATSHAT

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Information
25	Destroyed	Simple Pit	N/A	1	Cremated	Burnt fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	None	None	One out turned rim of a broken urn/vase with part of a handle and one folded rim of a vessel and part of a painted cup	None	None	None
26	Destroyed	Simple Pit	N/A	1	Cremated	Burnt fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	None
27	Destroyed	Simple Pit	N/A	1	Cremated	Burnt fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	None	A marble whetstone	One poorly made fish plate	None	None	None
28	Destroyed	Simple Pit	N/A	1	Cremated	Burnt fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	None
29	Destroyed	Simple Pit	N/A	1	Cremated	Burnt fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	None
30	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	N/A	1	Cremated	N/A	N/A	N/A	None	None	Burnt sherds	The bones of a large antlered animal	None	None
31	Intact	Simple Pit with Pithos Fragments	N/A	1	Cremated	Burnt fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	None	None	One small, upright, blackened pithos, multiple sherds of another pithos, and a bowl with an in turned rim	Burnt animal bones	None	One broken portion of a pithos, incised with decoration, made up the floor of the tomb

TABLE 1: ARATSHAT

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Information
32	Destroyed	Simple Pit	N/A	1	Cremated	N/A	N/A	N/A	None	None	One phiale with painted decoration, clay cups and bowls, large vessels, a fish plate, jugs, and other unidentified ceramic vessels.	None	None	None
33	Destroyed	Simple Pit	N/A	1	Cremated	Burnt fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	None	None	Multiple fragments of cups, tiles, and other ceramics	None	None	None
34	Destroyed	Simple Pit	N/A	1	Cremated	Burnt fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	None	None	Rim and base sherds of various vessels and cups	None	None	None
35	Destroyed	Pithos	SW-NE (mouth of the vessel)	1	Primary Inhumation	Flexed	N/A	N/A	None	None	One sherd and a few tiles	None	None	None
36	Destroyed	Pithos	Vertical	1	Cremated	Burnt fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	None	None	Fragments of a burned vessel and a small bowl	The bones of a bird including talons	None	The materials suggest the burial took place directly next to the pithos

TABLE 1: ARATSHAT

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Information
37	Destroyed	Pithos	SW-NE (mouth of the vessel)	1	Primary Inhumation	Flexed	N/A	Child	Two earrings found near the neck and arms	None	None	None	A glass stamp seal bearing an image of a man and boar fighting and glass beads	Half the vessel was missing
38	Destroyed	Pithos	N/A	1	Cremated	Burnt fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	None	None	Fragments of a cup, a deep bowl, a burnt brick, and a pithos	ankle bone of a sheep	None	The materials suggest the burial took place directly next to the pithos
39	Destroyed	Simple Pit	N/A	1	Cremated	Burnt fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	None	None	Fragments from different red glazed and burnished vessels with globular bodies	None	None	None

TABLE 1: ARATSHAT

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Information
40	Disturbed	Simple Pit	N/A	3	Cremated	Burnt fragments, substantial amount	N/A	N/A	None	None	Sherds from pithoi, ceramic trays, water jugs, fishplates, lamps, cups of different sizes and decorations, tiles. Of note, one fragment of blue glazed ceramic, a fragment of a white clay ceramic vessel, and the upper half of a terracotta figurine of a woman with a lyre in her right hand and the figurine of a man on horseback which is very well made with close attention to detail.	The bones from large antlered animals, horses, and the knucklebones of sheep in large quantities	None	The largest of all the published burials, but partially destroyed. Tar/peat traces on the insides of cups/bowls.
41	Destroyed	Simple Pit	N/A	1	Cremated	N/A	N/A	N/A	None	None	Sherds from a painted water jug, a lamp, a phiale, and glazed and other vessels.	None	None	The floor was made of small stones and made level with cement; this is possibly where the burial ceremony took place

TABLE 1: ARATSHAT

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Information
42	Intact	Pithos	N/A	1	Cremated	Burnt fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	One buckle and projectile points inside pithos, one sickle outside	None	Inside the pithos, sherds of a small pithos, pots, and a plate. In the ashy soil just next to the pithos, many sherds of different types of vessel (distinct from those within the pithos)	One knucklebone of an unidentified animal	Glass tesserae from a mosaic were found outside the pithos.	The pithos had a rope like decoration on the outside and it appears the cremation took place inside the vessel.
43	Destroyed	Simple Pit	N/A	1	Cremated	Burnt fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	None	None	Many burnt sherds of tableware vessels, including bowls, pithoi, cups, big bowls, and one glazed sherd.	Sheep knucklebones in large quantities	None	None
44	Disturbed	Pithos	N/A	1	Unclear	Fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	One flat iron object with a handle	None	Sherds from many vessels, including bowls, cups, pouring vessels, the bases of pithoi, and the top half of a pot.	None	None	None
45	Disturbed	Pithos	N/A	1	Cremated	Fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	None	None	Multiple burnt sherds of unidentified types/number	One sheep knucklebone	None	Very poorly preserved. Much information was impossible to collect.

TABLE 1: ARATSHAT

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Information
46	Disturbed	Pithos	N/A	1	Cremated	Localized burnt bones in the north corner	N/A	N/A	None	None	Ceramic sherds	Multiple sheep knucklebones	None	Very little blackened soil in this area (this is presumably unusual)
47	Intact	Simple Pit	N/A	1	Cremated	Burnt fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	None	None	Sherds from pithoi and other vessels. A mounted terracotta figurine.	None	None	Ash and burnt soil, intermingled with sherds.
48	Destroyed	Simple Pit	N/A	1	Cremated	Burnt fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	None	None	Sherds of various bowls and a fish plate	None	None	None
49	Destroyed	Simple Pit	N/A	1	Cremated	Burnt fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	None	None	Sherds from pithoi, a ball shaped vessel, and phialae as well as fragments of tiles	None	None	None
50	Destroyed	Simple Pit	N/A	1	Cremated	N/A	N/A	N/A	None	None	Sherds from a jug, a cup, and a bowl as well as fragments of roof tiles	None	None	None
51	Destroyed	Simple Pit	N/A	1	Cremated	N/A	N/A	N/A	None	None	Sherds from vessel rims, some with paint	None	None	None
52	Destroyed	Simple Pit	N/A	1	Cremated	Burnt fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	None	None	Sherds from pithos rims and the base of a red burnished cup	None	None	None

TABLE 1: ARATSHAT

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Information
53	Destroyed	Simple Pit	N/A	1	Cremated	Burnt fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	None	None	Sherds from a cup, vessel rims, and vessel bases.	None	None	None
54	Destroyed	Simple Pit	N/A	1	Cremated	N/A	N/A	N/A	None	None	Sherds from a globular cup and a plate.	None	None	None
55	Destroyed	Simple Pit	N/A	1	Cremated	Burnt fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	None	None	Sherds of burnished red bowls	None	None	None
56	Intact	Simple Pit	N/A	1	Cremated	Burnt fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	Iron spear heads	None	Sherds from many vessels, including painted globular bowls, cups, and bases with round feet.	None	None	Burnt bones found between a layer of ash and a layer of blackened soil
57	Intact	Simple Pit	N/A	1	Cremated	N/A	N/A	N/A	None	None	Sherds from painted finewares, a globular bowl, and a plate.	One sheep knucklebone	None	None
58	Destroyed	Pithos	not possible to record	1	unclear	N/A	N/A	N/A	None	None	One vessel with a globular body	None	Two glass bottles with egg shaped bodies, considered to be local	None

TABLE 1: ARATSHAT

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Information
59	Intact	Wood Coffin	not recorded, but presumably E (head)-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on back	N/A	N/A	One buckle, one bell, and many iron nails found inside the coffin	Multiple beads and one stone buckle	None	Ox, horse and sheep bones	Multiple gilded glass paste beads	None
60	Intact	Wood Coffin	N/A	1	Primary Inhumation	Far too deteriorated	N/A	N/A	One bronze pin with an 8cm circumference (possibly a mirror) and the iron nails of the wooden coffin	None	One vessel with two handles, a round base, and a piriform body	None	None	None
61	Destroyed	Pithos	S (mouth of vessel)-N	1	Primary Inhumation	Flexed	N/A	N/A	Two bronze earrings near the skull, a small bronze mirror near the neck, a bronze bracelet near the arm	None	None	None	Multiple glass paste beads	Mouth of the pithos covered by the thin sherds of another vessel. These fell in, crushing the skull.

TABLE 1: ARATSHAT

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Information
62	Intact	Wood Coffin	N/A	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on back	N/A	N/A	Iron nails from the coffin with the imprint of wood	None	Multiple water jugs with globular bodies and the neck of a water jug with two handles	Three sheep knucklebones	None	The remains of a burial feast, containing ash and charcoal surrounds the coffin
63	Destroyed	Wood Coffin	N/A	1	Primary Inhumation	Fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	Iron nails from the coffin and an iron, angular, ribbon-shaped pin	None	One jug with a singular handle and a lekythos	None	None	The remains of a burial feast, containing ash, charcoal, and the bones of oxen and sheep surrounds the coffin
64	Destroyed	Wood Coffin	N/A	1	Primary Inhumation	Fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	Many iron nails	None	One globular water jug	None	None	The remains of a burial feast, containing ash, charcoal, and the bones of animals the coffin
65	Destroyed	Wood Coffin	N/A	1	Primary Inhumation	Fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	Ten iron nails with the imprint of wood	None	One jug with a singular handle and globular body. One sherd from a red painted and burnished narrow bowl	None	None	The remains of a burial feast, containing ash, charcoal, and bones the coffin
66	Destroyed	Wood Coffin	N/A	1	Primary Inhumation	Fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	Multiple iron nails	None	One globular water jug in the blackened soil outside	None	None	The remains of a burial feast, containing ash, charcoal, and a jug surrounds the coffin

TABLE 1: ARATSHAT

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Information
67	Intact	Wood Coffin	N/A	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on back	N/A	N/A	One bronze mirror and iron nails with the imprint of wood	None	One tall globular water jug and two round/flat flasks	None	None	The remains of a burial feast, containing ash, charcoal, bones of large animals, and ceramic sherds surrounds the coffin
68	Disturbed	Wood Coffin	E(head)-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on back	N/A	N/A	None	None	One tall flask with a round body and a red polished surface	None	None	The remains of a burial feast, containing ash, charcoal, and the bones of animals the coffin
69	Intact	Amphora	Vertical	1	Primary Inhumation	Flexed	N/A	Child	None	None	One dish with straight edges	None	None	An amphora that is nearly cylindrical and has a round foot, with a broken rim
70	Intact	Clay Coffin (Sarcophagus)	S-N (head)	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on back, face to the left	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	roughly made coffin, narrower towards the feet. The foot end of the coffin is broken, and the excavators suggest the coffin was "too small" and it was broken and rearranged to accommodate the interred. The coffin was covered with a roughly made tile which was broken, and pieces were moved
71	Destroyed	Clay Sarcophagus	E-W (wider end)	1	Primary Inhumation	Fragments, in disarray	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	Possibly looted in antiquity, part of the coffin is missing as are many bones.

TABLE 1: ARATSHAT

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Information
72	Intact	Clay Sarcophagus	NW (head)-SE	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on back	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	Coffin is finely made. It is covered from one side to the other with three baked bricks.
73	Intact	Simple Pit	N/A	1	Cremated	N/A	N/A	N/A	None	One large worked architectural(?) stone	Roughly 600 sherds from tablewares, paintedwares, and jugs were recovered from the tomb and surrounding ash.	None	None	A prepared clay floor with fragments of mortar and a layer of ash and charcoal.
74	Intact	Simple Pit	E-W(head)	1	Primary Inhumation	Flexed	N/A	Child	None	None	One bowl behind the head with a single handle and two small clay cups in front of the face with trefoil rims and a single handle connecting the rim to the body.	None	None	The tomb is created with clay and mortar floor and with lined up stones creating the sides and the top (lid?) of the tomb.
75	Destroyed	Pithos	N/A	1	Unclear	N/A	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	Two cylindrical glass bottles	Found near the side of a modern road.

TABLE 1: ARATSHAT

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Information
76	Intact	Simple Pit	E-W (head)	1	Primary Inhumation	Far too deteriorated	N/A	N/A	An armband of iron wire with a round cross section and the iron handle of an unidentified object	None	None	None	None	A layer of ash with traces of bone and an arm band and an iron fragment surrounds the burial.
77	Intact	Pithos	N-S	1	Primary Inhumation	Flexed	N/A	Child	One bronze bracelet with reverse tapered ends	None	None	None	One bead with "eyes"	Found under a room floor. The mouth of the pithos was covered with sherds from tableware vessel. It seems the body was placed in the vessel after the mouth of the vessel had been broken.
78	Intact	Simple Pit	N/A	1	Primary Inhumation	Flexed	N/A	Child	Earrings and a broken bronze bracelet	None	None	None	One thin blue bottle	Rocks were placed under the burial

TABLE 1: ARATSHAT

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Information
79	Intact	Rock Cut Tomb (Slightly Carved)	Body: E-W (head)	1	Primary Inhumation	Flexed	N/A	N/A	None	Multiple misshapen marble beads without holes	One mall cup. Interior is painted with a dark brown cross motif, fir motifs, and a flower-chain motif in a cinnamon color. A single bone and a chicken egg found inside the cup.	Two worked sheep knucklebones and two bone pins	None	A few misshapen rocks line the edges of the burial and narrow in the western portion.
80	Intact	Pithos	N/A	1	Primary Inhumation	Far too deteriorated	N/A	Child	One small bronze mirror, in two fragments	None	One jug with a singular handle found outside the pithos	None	One seal with the image of a horse	The small pithos was placed at an angle.
81	Intact	Simple Pit	body: E(head)-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Flexed	N/A	Child	One fragment of thin iron wire	One whetstone with a drilled hole on one end	One micaceous cup rim fragment and one tableware vessel	None	None	None

TABLE 1: ARATSHAT

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Information
82	Intact	Pithos	E-W (skull and mouth of vessel)	1	Primary Inhumation	Flexed	N/A	N/A	One silver ring from a finger on the left hand of the body with traces of an oval glass intaglio. Two roman coins, one too poorly preserved to make out, the other belonging to Trajan.	None	One red painted and polished/burnished? vessel with a round foot and a single incised vertical handle, and one plate with a round foot. A painted sherd.	None	Two glass bottles with ovoid bodies, near the face	The body was placed into the pithos by breaking the shoulder of the vessel. Outside the pithos, near the mouth, an amphora with two double strap handles and a globular single handled jug.
83	Destroyed	Small Cave	N/A	1	Unclear - likely Primary Inhumation	Far too deteriorated	N/A	N/A	None	None	One egg-shaped vessel	None	None	None

TABLE 1: ARATSHAT

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Information
84	Intact	Rock Cut Tomb	W(head)-E	1	Primary Inhumation	Far too deteriorated	N/A	N/A	Fragments of gold leaf found near the skull, gold pins, two gold earrings bearing the head of a woman, a round bronze mirror, and two coins: one silver and one copper. The first belongs to Parthian king Phraates III and dates to 75-57 BCE, the other, which was poorly preserved, belongs to Tigran II.	None	None	None	None	Two walls of the tomb are made from the leveled northern and western cliff walls, the southern and eastern walls are made of large broken stones, the tomb was covered with three huge misshapen rocks
85	Intact	Pithos	S-N (mouth and head)	1	Primary Inhumation	Flexed	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	Two sheep knucklebones	None	Found near the quarry, along the southern edge of the hills that make up the city.

TABLE 2: YEGHVART

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Information
1	Disturbed	Pithos	W-E	1	Cremated	Few bone fragments	N/A	N/A	One pair golden earrings, a small bronze bell, a silver necklace, an iron knife, an iron bow shaped fragment, and three iron hooks	None	One complete spouted vessel	many bones	None	Mouth of vessel is facing E
2	Disturbed	Pithos	W-E	1	Unclear	Large number of bone fragments	Female (presumably)	Child (presumably)	One silver and gold ring, a seal stamp, a bronze mirror, bronze pendants, a knife, a pair of gold earrings, a bronze hair pin, silver coins with the face of Mithridates II	Red Sardonix beads	A small broken ceramic vessel	None	None	Mouth of the vessel is facing W and covered by a flat stone, size of jewelry may suggest a young girl
3	Disturbed	Pithos	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Flexed	Male (presumably)	N/A	Placed parallel to the body was a poorly preserved iron sword and three bronze rings (two of which were placed together).	None	None	None	None	Mouth of the vessel is E and covered using flat stones, presence of weapons led excavators to suggest this is a male
4	Destroyed	Pithos	Vertical	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	A pair of bronze earrings and two bracelets	Few beads	None	None	None	None
5	Intact	Stone Tomb	E-W	1	Unclear	Human teeth and poorly preserved bones	N/A	N/A	A poorly preserved iron sword and a single bronze ring/hoop, similar to the materials from Burial No. 3	None	In the SW corner a single pink ceramic pouring vessel with one handle and a hole drilled through the body of the vessel. Many pot sherds	None	None	This is the only known tomb like this in the region as far as the excavators know

TABLE 3: DVIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Information
1	Intact	Pithos	N/A	1	Primary Inhumation	N/A	N/A	Child	One bronze bracelet of a child, earrings, a small fragment of the head of a pin, and beads	Beads	None	None	Beads	
2	Damaged	Pithos	N/A	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
3	Intact	Pithos	N/A	1	Primary Inhumation	N/A	N/A	Child	A child's bronze hoop shaped bracelet and ring, and a thick fragment of a bracelet	None	None	Bead	Beads	
4	Damaged	Pithos	N/A	1	Primary Inhumation	Flexed	N/A	Adult (presumably)	A pair of bronze, incised earrings, a hoop shaped ring which has ends that are not welded together, and a partial broken pin without the top part	None	None	None	None	A final item of unknown material was not preserved
5	Damaged	Pithos	N/A	1	Primary Inhumation	N/A	N/A	Child	None	None	None	None	None	

TABLE 3: DVIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Information
6	Damaged	Pithos	N-S	1	Primary Inhumation	N/A	N/A	Adult (presumably)	None	None	None	None	None	
7	Intact	Pithos	W-E	1	Primary Inhumation	N/A	N/A	Adult (presumably)	Silver and agate earrings, fragments of silver earrings, a broken head of a pin, and a copper dome shaped button	Two stone seals and beads	None	None	Beads	The pithos had an out-turned rim
8	Intact	Pithos	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Flexed	N/A	Adult (presumably)	Silver and agate earrings, an incomplete bronze pin, and beads	Beads	None	None	Beads	The mouth of the pithos was covered by a stone
9	Damaged	Pithos	N/A	1	Primary Inhumation	N/A	N/A	Adult (presumably)	Bronze earrings and a cone shaped button	None	None	None	Beads	
10	Intact	Pithos	N/A	1	Primary Inhumation	N/A	N/A	Adult (presumably)	None	None	Two ceramic vessels placed outside the Pithos at one end	None	None	None of these materials were extant at the time of publication. Pithos has tooth-shaped incised decorations
11	Damaged	Pithos	Vertical	1	Primary Inhumation	N/A	N/A	Adult (presumably)	None	None	None	None	None	Pithos was quite destroyed

TABLE 3: DVIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Information
12	Damaged	Pithos	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Flexed	N/A	Adult (presumably)	None	None	A small globular canteen and a small cup with an in-turned lip	None	None	
13	Damaged	Pithos	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Flexed	N/A	Child	None	None	A handmade soot clay pot in the top part of the vessel	None	None	
14	Damaged	Pithos	NW-SE	1	Primary Inhumation	Flexed	N/A	Child	Near the hands was a bronze bracelet, a hoop-shaped ring, and a dome-shaped button	None	A handmade pot with two handles	None	A ball-shaped playing stone (presumably)	Pithos was outlined by a row of stones

TABLE 3: DVIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Information
15	Intact	Pithos	E-W	2	Primary Inhumation	flexed	N/A	Adult (presumably)	None	None	None	None	None	A flat rock covers the mouth of the pithos. Just outside is a layer of ash, presumably created during the burial rituals. Half of the base of the vessel was missing and replaced by a large fragment from a different vessel. One of the skeletons was placed in the western part of the vessel, with the face towards the east, and the other in the eastern part with the face lowered.
16	Damaged	Pithos	S-N	1	Primary Inhumation	N/A	N/A	Adult (presumably)	Poorly preserved bronze wire little hanging parts of jewelry	The head of a stone spindle resembling a button	A cup with a delicate and in-turned rim	Multiple bones outside the pithos	One round glass bead	The mouth of the pithos was covered with a thick joint sherd of another pithos and well-sealed, red polished sherd of a large vessel. Both near the base of the vessel and the mouth of the vessel the soil was rich with animal bones and a fairly thick (nearly 40cm) layer of ash was present, containing the ceramic cup in fragments.

TABLE 4: VARTPAGH

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Information
2	Disturbed	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Flexed	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	There is a hole for pouring in libations through the northern end of the capstone. Box made of one stone on each side of interred.
3	Disturbed	Sarcophagus	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	N/A	N/A	A bronze pin and a ring	None	None	None	Red glass intaglio of the ring	There is a hole for pouring in libations through the portion of the capstone over the face. There was a rock placed on the knees of the interred and another on the chest. Sifted soil was filled in over the interred. Box made of one stone on each side of interred.
6	Disturbed	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	N/A	N/A	None	None	A cup by the right shoulder	None	None	Stone by the head is horseshoe shaped. Box made of one stone on each side of interred.
9	Disturbed	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	N/A	N/A	None	A seal of mountain crystal with the image of a bull	None	None	A seal of red glass with the image of a horse. A third unfinished seal	Box made of one stone on each side of interred.
10	Disturbed	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	N/A	N/A	A pair of bronze earrings	None	None	None	None	Capstone is well worked, especially the edges. The head and foot portions of the stone box are completed by lining up small stones. The sides are made of two stones on either side. Tomb not filled with soil.

TABLE 4: VARTPAGH

11	Disturbed	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	In disarray	N/A	N/A	A silver earring made of wire	None	None	None	None	The box is made by two stones on either side and a stone by the head and one by the foot to create a rectangle.
15	Disturbed	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	Many small multicolored glass paste beads	A small box
16	Disturbed	Sarcophagus	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	The sarcophagus was carved into a single stone. However, it required an additional worked stone to be placed in the northern side of the sarcophagus to complete the structure. They used a large rock to cover the sarcophagus like a capstone.
17	Disturbed	Sarcophagus	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	N/A	N/A	A bronze wire ring	None	None	None	None	They used a large rock to cover the sarcophagus like a capstone.
18	Disturbed	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	0	Cenotaph	None	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	There is a layer of ash outside the box. The absence of any remains suggests cenotaph

TABLE 5: BENIAMIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Materials	Other Information
1	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	N/A	N/A	None	An egg-shaped stone	None	None	None	None	Inside a room on the floor. A single medium stone as capstone. The rectangle is created with two stones on either side, one by the head and one at the foot.
2	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	N/A	Child	None	None	None	One sheep knucklebone	None	None	A few small stones used as the capstone. The rectangle is created with two stones on either side, one by the head and one at the foot.
5	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	N/A	N/A	One ring	Sardonyx stone in ring	None	None	None	None	Inside a room on the floor. The rectangle is created with two stones on either side, one by the head and one at the foot.
6	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	Female	30-40 years old	Near the head, a single earring made of bronze wire, sort of egg-shaped with the edges of the wire pinched together.	None	None	None	None	None	Two roughly worked stones used as capstone. The rectangle is created with two stones on either side, one by the head and one at the foot. There is carving on the stones near the pelvis.

TABLE 5: BENIAMIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Materials	Other Information
8	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	None	The rectangle is created with two stones on either side, one by the head and one at the foot. One of the stone on the left is a round "yergankakar". One side is worked flat. The capstone has one similar stone and two unworked stones finish the capstone. 50-60cm away, they uncovered a horse sacrifice. Among a thick layer of ash and charcoal they found two horse skeletons, facing each other. And a fragmented black tuff carpentry wheel. The sacrifice was conducted within a circle made of five oddly shaped stones.
9	Intact	Pithos	NE-SW	1	Primary Inhumation	Flexed	N/A	Child (0.5-1.1 years)	None	None	Potsherds found outside	Bones found outside (presumably faunal)	None	None	The pithos is broken at the rim and after the body was placed inside the vessel, the fragments were replaced into the proper position. Next to the burial, the remains of the burial feast are preserved.

TABLE 5: BENIAMIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Materials	Other Information
10	Intact	Simple Pit	S-N	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on the back with the legs crossed, the knees raised, with the feet placed next to each other.	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	None	Found under the preserved wall of a building. On top of the paved floor.
16	Intact	Simple Pit	S-N	1	Primary Inhumation	Flexed	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	A burnt cube of wood was in the hand of the interred	The body is under a mass of stones. In the area of the burial they found charcoal and other organic remains.
17	Intact	Pithos	Vertical	1	Primary Inhumation	Far too deteriorated	N/A	Child (3.5-5.5 years)	None	None	An uneven-walled, small, handmade, pithos like vessel	None	None	None	The pithos is covered by a large fragment of another pithos. Near the burial pithos was found the ash of the burial feast.
23	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Far too deteriorated	N/A	Child (3-5 years)	None	None	A lamp found on top of capstone	Near the burial, a whole skeleton of a horse laying on its right side.	None	None	The capstone and the side stones are built of small, unkept stones. Near the burial, a whole skeleton of a horse laying on its right side.

TABLE 5: BENIAMIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Materials	Other Information
27	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	N/A	N/A	Near the right ear, a single bronze wire earring, slightly pear-shaped, wires pinched together	None	None	None	None	None	Two large stones cover the burial. The rectangle is created with two stones on either side, one by the head and one at the foot.
28	Intact	Pithos	NW-SE	1	Unclear	Far too deteriorated	N/A	N/A	A bronze bracelet with open ends	None	None	None	Multiple small multicolored glass paste beads	None	The mouth of the pithos is closed using a fragment from another pithos and a fragment from a louterion. On the body of the pithos is preserved a 3cm wide hole which was created and smoothed before the vessel was fired. The soil filled onto the interred includes a lot of charcoal. Next to the pithos is the remains of the funeral feast.
29	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	Female	20-30-years	A fragment of a bronze earring under the skull	None	None	None	None	None	Two paving stones are used as the capstone. The rectangle is created with two stones on either side, one by the head and one at the foot.

TABLE 5: BENIAMIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Materials	Other Information
33	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Bones arranged in a pile	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	None	This burial shares its single capstone and a side stone with Burial 32 which is N/A upon in detail. The rectangle is created with two stones on either side, one by the head and one at the foot.
36	Disturbed	Pithos	Vertical	1	Primary Inhumation	Far too deteriorated	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	A few glass paste beads and an unfinished seal stamp	None	In the floor of one of the rooms, placed in a vertical position. The foot of the pithos is set into the floor of the room at a depth of 5cm. Portions of the rim and body of the pithos are missing.
39	Disturbed	Pithos	Vertical	1	Primary Inhumation	Far too deteriorated	N/A	N/A	None	None	In the pithos, a yellow-cinnamon colored clay nozzle of a bellows. In the ash outside, sherds of clay cups and bowls, blackened by fire.	Burnt bones found in ash outside	None	None	The pithos is made of a yellow-cinnamon clay, with a stilted body, a narrow neck and a broken rim and body. The vessel is placed in a 2cm thick layer of ash. Stones are piled around this in order to keep the vessel in place. Among these stones they found three groundstones (or polishing stones?). The pithos is filled with soil and the mouth is covered with stones.

TABLE 5: BENIAMIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Materials	Other Information
40	Disturbed	Pithos	N-S	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear	N/A	N/A	Two bronze bells, an iron ring with an egg-shaped box, rattles/small bells (of unspecified number)	agate intaglio	A bowl and a cylindrical vessel. Outside the tomb, presumably dispersed by looters: ceramics with combed decoration, fragments of the burial pithos, and other clay vessels.	Accompanying the burial is dog and horse sacrifice remains. The circle of stones is placed on top of four sacrificed dogs, two of which are complete skeletons and the other two have skeletons split in half. The skeletons are placed counterclockwise. Half of the skull of the horse was found near the pithos, the rest was found under the western wall of the room.	None	None	There is a circle of rocks placed around the burial. The west side has larger stones while the other is made up of smaller stones. Dispersed grave goods intermingled with later ceramic materials suggests the tomb was looted in antiquity.

TABLE 5: BENIAMIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Materials	Other Information	
43A	Intact	Pithos	N-S	1	Primary Inhumation	Flexed	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	Found in the destroyed part of the room, in the wall. They removed some of the stones of the wall and used them to cover the burial. The pithos was missing parts of the rim and body and was likely used in a domestic context and the holes made to restore/reuse the vessel is how we know this.
43B	Intact	Simple Pit	S-N	1	Primary Inhumation	Flexed	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	Found underneath the preceding burial (No. 43A)
43C	Intact	Pithos	S-N	1	Primary Inhumation	Far too deteriorated	N/A	N/A	None	None	A single clay cup with a round body and narrow neck and a single handle.	None	None	None	None	Found placed directly next to No 43B. Pithos placed vertically and supported by stacking stones around the base.
44	Destroyed	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Far too deteriorated	N/A	N/A	A bronze fragment of a hoop earring	None	None	None	None	None	None	Partially destroyed when a water channel was being built. The capstone is broken. And in the one preserved portion of the tomb: The rectangle is created with two stones on either side, one by the head and one at the foot.

TABLE 5: BENIAMIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Materials	Other Information
47	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	N/A	N/A	A thin bronze wire (pinched together), pear-shaped earring	None	None	None	None	None	The rectangle is created with three stones on either side, one by the head and one at the foot.
50	Destroyed	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	Female	30-40 years old	Near the decayed skull they found an earring of bronze twisted wire hoop with a hanging pendent.	None	None	None	None	None	Half destroyed, only the western part preserved. The rectangle is created with two stones on either side, one by the head and one at the foot.
51	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	N/A	Child	On the right of the skull, a single bronze egg-shaped earring with the ends pointing towards each other.	None	None	None	None	None	Found on the floor of a building, with the northern wall being used as one side of the box. The rectangle is created with two stones on either side, one by the head and one at the foot.

TABLE 5: BENIAMIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Materials	Other Information
54	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	2	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	N/A	N/A	None	At the chest of the individual a black Diorite, heart shaped object	None	None	None	None	A single poorly worked stone acts as the capstone, near the feet, small rocks are added to completely cover the tomb. The tomb is narrower towards the feet, and wider towards the head. Below, the knees, between the legs, they found the remains of another skeleton. This consists of ribs and clavicle. It is clearly a tomb in secondary use. The soil of the burial is full of charcoal and seed remains.
59	Destroyed	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	N/A	N/A	None	None	One small sherd from a fineware vessel, near the feet	None	None	Beads of unidentified material	No capstone. The rectangle is created with two stones on either side, one by the head and one at the foot.
66	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	Female	40-50	A single earring with a pendant on the right side of the head	None	None	None	None	None	A single rock as a capstone. The rectangle is created with two stones on either side, one by the head and one at the foot.

TABLE 5: BENIAMIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Materials	Other Information
67	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Far too deteriorated	N/A	N/A	A thin bronze wire earring with the pointed ends meeting, on the right side of the skull	None	Potsherds	None	A milk colored biconical glass pendent, likely once part of the earring.	None	A single rock as a capstone. The rectangle is created with two stones on either side, one by the head and one at the foot.
71	Intact	Simple Pit	NW-SE	1	Primary Inhumation	Seated (now collapsed)	N/A	N/A	None	None	A single sherd from a clay vessel was found near the mouth.	None	None	None	The burial was revealed under a leveled floor. Near the feet the remains of charcoal and burnt seeds
79	Intact	Simple Pit	N/A	1	Primary Inhumation	Flexed	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	None	Conducted in a small destroyed granary, dating to the 1st c CE level of the site
80	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	N/A	Child	None	None	A lamp fragment	None	None	None	A single misshapen rock as capstone. The rectangle is created with two stones on either side, one by the head and one at the foot
83	Intact	Simple Pit	N-S	1	Primary Inhumation	Flexed	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	None	The burial was conducted in a half-destroyed granary. The soil is full charcoal and remains of wheat seeds.

TABLE 5: BENIAMIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Materials	Other Information
89	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	Female	30-40 years old	One the left hand, ring finger they found a hoop-shaped bronze ring	None	None	None	None	None	On the paved floor of the room. Four unworked and misshapen stones as capstone which are supported against the stones that make up the sides of the rectangle with small rocks. The rectangle is created with five unworked, misshapen stones on either side, one by the head and one at the foot.
90	Intact	Simple Pit	S-N	1	Primary Inhumation	Flexed	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	None	Recovered from the floor of a domestic granary. On the skeleton they found the remains of burnt branches.
92	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	Female	30-40 years old	Bronze wire earring on the right side of the head	None	None	None	None	None	Three stones (two unworked and one a paving stone) used as capstone. The rectangle is created with two worked stones on either side, one by the head and one at the foot. The soil is full of burnt seeds and near the palm of the right hand they found charcoal.

TABLE 5: BENIAMIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Materials	Other Information
98	Destroyed	Pithos	Vertical	1	Primary Inhumation	Far too deteriorated	N/A	N/A	One spiral clasp	None	None	None	A scaraboid glass bead-seal stamp bearing the image of Pegasus	None	Partially destroyed by heavy machinery. The broken mouth of the vessel is covered with three stones. A few unworked stones and a fragment of a mortar stone are piled around the base of the pithos to keep the position.
100	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	Cowrie shells	None	Cylindrical beads of unidentified material	A single rectangular capstone. At the feet, the capstone is completed by a single unworked, medium sized stone. The rectangle is created with two worked stones on either side, one by the head and one at the foot.
104	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	Female	40-50	None	None	None	None	None	None	A single large stone has been used as the capstone. The rectangle is created with three stones on the right side and four stones on the left side, one by the head and one at the foot. In the area of the stomach they found the remains of charcoal.

TABLE 5: BENIAMIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Materials	Other Information
105	Intact	Pithos	N-S	1	Primary Inhumation	Far too deteriorated	N/A	5-7-year-old	Two bronze bracelets, one clasped in each hand	None	None	None	Conical glass paste beads	None	The burial is conducted in the room created by the walls emerging off of the main fortification wall placed at an angle in the NW corner of the room. The walls of the burial pithos are bubbled. The pithos is covered in a layer of soot and placed on top of the broken rim of another pithos (i.e. like a stand) that is burnt.
107	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Far too deteriorated	N/A	Child	None	None	None	None	None	None	Two stones used as capstones. The rectangle is created with one stone on either side, one by the head and one at the foot. At the corner of one of the side stones are narrow funnel shaped holes.

TABLE 5: BENIAMIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Materials	Other Information
114	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	Female	20-30-years	None	None	None	None	None	None	A single large capstone, with another small stone covering the portion by the feet. The rectangle is created with two stones on either side, one by the head and one at the foot. This is a situation of tomb reuse, as evidenced by the third set of leg bones present in the tomb.
116	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	Female	30-40 years old	Iron ring on left hand	None	None	None	None	None	They used a single rectangular stone with one end a bit narrower as the capstone. The rectangle is created with two stones on either side, one by the head and one at the foot.

TABLE 5: BENIAMIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Materials	Other Information
118	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	Female	30-40 years old	An egg-shaped ring	The sardonyx gem of the ring	None	None	None	None	Two misshapen and unworked stones act as the capstone, these are supported by many small stones placed against the rest of the tomb architecture (i.e. the box below) with. The rectangle is created with two stones on either side, one by the head and one at the foot. Fragments of charcoal found under the feet.
121	Intact	Simple Pit	E-W	2	Primary Inhumation	Flexed	Female, Male	30-40, 40-50	A bronze earring near the right side of the head	One well-worked, black stone, three cornered pyramid	None	None	None	None	A double burial conducted at the same time as evidenced by the insignificant soil change. The first skeleton is Flexed and laying on its left side and the second is Flexed and lying on its right. They are buried, one on top of the other.

TABLE 5: BENIAMIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Materials	Other Information
123	Intact	Pithos	Vertical	1	Primary Inhumation	Far too deteriorated	N/A	Child	None	None	None	Next to the burial they found two halves of a bisected dog skeleton, the halves were positioned to be opposite each other.	None	None	In the half-destroyed area of a domestic structure in a Hellenistic period level. The mouth of the pithos is covered by a single fragment of another pithos. The burial is conducted upside down, but it is unclear if this means the pithos or the interred body.
124	Intact	Pithos	N-S	1	Primary Inhumation	Unclear	N/A	Child	None	A rectangular stone with incised lines.	None	None	None	None	Under the northern wall of the domestic structure. The interred is not placed inside the vessel, but rather on a stone platform which is then covered with the broken body and base of a pithos placed upside down.
125	Intact	Simple Pit	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Seated	N/A	N/A	Fragment of an iron object, very corroded	A pestle	Burnt potsherds among the bones	Below the feet, there is in an ash layer of nearly 110cm length on top of rocks that is filled the remains of sheep, cow, and boar bones.	A glass amulet bearing the image of eyes	None	None

TABLE 5: BENIAMIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Materials	Other Information
126	Intact	Simple Pit	N-S	1	Primary Inhumation	Flexed	N/A	N/A	A bronze needle, in the hands	None	None	None	Glass paste beads	None	Under the western wall of the columned hall, on the pavement. Small stones were lined up next to the sides of the Primary Inhumation. Which, along with the stones of the wall, make up the circle of stones around the interred.
127	Intact	Simple Pit	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Far too deteriorated	Female	30-40 years old	An earring of thin bronze wire on the right side of the head.	None	A red bowl and an upside-down earthenware pot	A bone handle of an unidentified object	Glass paste beads	None	Close to the walls of the columned hall
129	Intact	Cist with clay tile pavement	S-N	1	Primary Inhumation	Flexed	Female	20-30-years	None	None	None	None	None	None	There are 12 70cm long clay pavements on the floor of the granary. The burial is conducted on top of these.
131	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	Male	50-60	None	None	None	None	None	The soil is filled with ochre	Two worked stones, and a smaller stone by the feet, make up the capstone. The edges are lined with rows of smaller stones. The rectangle is created with two stones on either side. The stones on the west side are shaped like horseshoes. Near the right elbow, in soil 5cm above the interred, they found the wrist of another individual.

TABLE 5: BENIAMIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Materials	Other Information
132	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	Female	40-50	An iron ring on the left hand	None	None	None	None	None	Two medium sized unworked stones make up the capstone. The edges are lined with small stones. The rectangle is created with two stones on either side, one by the head and one at the foot. In the area of the shoulders, between the legs, and by the feet they found remains of charcoal.
133	Destroyed	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Far too deteriorated	N/A	N/A	None	Next to the Stone-Lined cist they found, a mill stone with a lever.	None	None	None	None	Under the collapsed wall of the structure, but on top of the paved floor. Half destroyed. Preserved were the stone by the head, and part of the stone on the right side. At the corner where these two stones meet is the remains of a child burial. Two fragments of the skull and a few ribs. Shares a side stone with Burial 132
138	Intact	Pithos	Vertical	1	Primary Inhumation	Far too deteriorated	N/A	0.5-1.1-year-old	None	None	None	None	None	None	To the left of No. 134

TABLE 5: BENIAMIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Materials	Other Information
141	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	N/A	6-9-years	A bronze ring to the right of the head	None	None	None	None	None	A roughly carved single stone makes up the capstone. The edges are lined with small stones. The rectangle is created with one stone on either side, one by the head and one at the foot. These stones are the same stones as the pavement. A column base is placed near the feet
142	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	Female	20-30-years	Iron pin near the shoulder	None	None	None	None	None	Two large misshapen stones as capstone, another small stone in the north completes the cap. The rectangle is created with three stones on the right and two on the left on either side, one by the head and one at the foot.
144	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	N/A	1.3-2.2-years	None	Sardonyx beads	None	None	Blue glass beads	None	A single misshapen rock as capstone. The rectangle is created with one stone on either side, one by the head and one at the foot.
146	Intact	Simple Pit	N-S	1	Primary Inhumation	Flexed	Female	30-40 years old	None	None	None	None	None	None	Conducted at the bottom of a well. The mouth of this well opens up into the floor of a room.

TABLE 5: BENIAMIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Materials	Other Information
148	Destroyed	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	N/A	N/A	None	None	A small terracotta figurine of a bird	None	None	None	Partially destroyed by a modern water channel, only the roughly worked stone of the capstone and the eastern portion of the tomb are preserved.
150	Intact	Pithos	W-E	1	Primary Inhumation	Far too deteriorated	N/A	0.5-1.1-year-old	Two corroded iron fragments.	None	None	None	None	None	The bubbly-walled pithos is wide and placed at an angle and was used also in a domestic context before being used for burial.
157	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	Male	20-30-years	None	None	A small clay vessel to the right of the head.	None	None	None	Two unworked rocks as capstone. The rectangle is created with five stones on the left side and three on the right side, one by the head and one at the foot. The stones on the left, belong to the wall, against which the tomb is placed. Soil in the tomb is full of charcoal
158	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	Female	30-40 years old	None	None	A rim sherd of a clay vessel with charcoal remains	None	None	None	Two large, unworked rocks as capstone. The rectangle is created with three stones on either side. The soil in the burial is filled with charcoal.

TABLE 5: BENIAMIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Materials	Other Information
159	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	None	Placed on a wall of carelessly arranged rocks. The single capstone had fallen into the tomb.
160	Destroyed	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Far too deteriorated	Male	30-40 years old	An iron knife	None	None	None	None	None	At the northeast side of the columned hall, across from the first column base.
169	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	None	one by the head and one at the foot. The soil is filled with the remains of charcoal. A few fragments of this have also been placed under the feet
171	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	0	None	None	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	None	They used a single paving stone as the capstone, and in the northern part they completed the capstone with medium sized stones, of which one is a mill stone. The rectangle is created with two stones on either side, one by the head and one at the foot.

TABLE 5: BENIAMIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Materials	Other Information
172	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	N/A	6-9-years	None	None	None	None	None	None	Four roughly worked stones used as capstone, of which one, belonging to the area around the chest of the skeleton, has two holes drilled all the way through. The rectangle is created with two stones on either side, one by the head and one at the foot.
173	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	N/A	1.3-2.2-years	None	None	None	A large antlered animal's worked rib was recovered from under the head, presumably a scraper.	None	None	A single unworked stone as a capstone. The rectangle is created with two stones on either side, one by the head and one at the foot.
174	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	N/A	1.4-2.5-years	None	A millstone (placed upside down in the northern portion of the burial)	None	None	None	None	Three unworked stones as capstone. The rectangle is created with two stones on either side, one by the head and one at the foot.

TABLE 5: BENIAMIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Materials	Other Information
176	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	Male	30-40 years old	None	None	None	None	None	None	Five unworked stones as capstone. The burial is outlined by an arrangement of small stones. On the second stone, which is over the chest of the skeleton, a pair of holes. The rectangle is created with five stones on the right side and four on the left side, one by the head and one at the foot.
177	Intact	Simple Pit	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Seated (now collapsed)	Female	30-40 years old	A bracelet with ends terminating in snake heads, by the left wrist.	None	None	None	None	None	On the right side of the skeleton is ash and burnt bones.
181	Intact	Simple Pit	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	Female	50-60	None	None	Fragments of a flask found under the head and potsherds found among the stones covering the tomb	None	None	None	Three unworked misshapen stones used as capstone. Small stones are placed all around the capstones. The rectangle is created with three unworked stones on the right side and four on the left side.

TABLE 5: BENIAMIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Materials	Other Information
182	Intact	Pithos	NW-SE	1	Primary Inhumation	Far too deteriorated	N/A	N/A	None	A polishing stone found among the arrangement of small stones, outside the pithos.	None	A few sheep bones, near the base of the vessel, in a layer of ash	None	None	The holes on the body and base of the burial pithos. On the sides of the pithos, small stones are lined up to create an egg-shape. The mouth of the vessel is covered by a stone. The mouth of the pithos was broken, and after the individual was interred, the fragments were replaced in their positions.

TABLE 5: BENIAMIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Materials	Other Information
183	Disturbed	Stone-Lined Cist Paved with Pithos	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	Female	10-15-years	A thick bronze wire necklace at the neck, hoop shaped earrings, a bronze wire, spiral earring, two snake headed bracelets, a bronze ring, and a twisted bronze wire bracelet with has a clasp, which presumably was placed in the mouth of the interred and later slid down.	Agate beads	A cup, a jug, and a bisected bowl	Bone beads	Glass paste beads	None	The capstone was destroyed. The rectangle is created with two stones on the right side and many small stones on the left side, one by the head and one at the foot completes the rectangle. The burial was conducted on 20cm wide, flat edged, fragments of the pithos which are arranged across the bottom of the cist to create a convex surface on the floor of the cist. The interred was then placed on this and covered in soil.
184	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Seated	N/A	N/A	None	A square limestone object, with rounded edges. The object has a hole all the way through the center, and a	None	Burnt sheep phalanges and a burnt bone lamp handle	None	None	This burial was created by adding river stones in an egg-shaped arrangement against the eastern side stone of the preceding burial (No. 183).

TABLE 5: BENIAMIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Materials	Other Information
										diagonal incision.					
185	Intact	Simple Pit	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Kneeling	Female	40-50	A thin hoop-shaped earring	None	None	None	None	None	Found in a destroyed granary.
187	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	Two beads of unidentified material	Four misshapen stones used as capstone. The rectangle is created with two stones on the right side and three on the left side, one by the head and one at the foot completes the rectangle.
190	Intact	Pithos	W-E	1	Primary Inhumation	Far too deteriorated	N/A	N/A	None	A single pink sardonyx bead. Outside the burial, a millstone is part of the arrangement of stones.	None	Dog bones	None	None	The pithos is placed in an egg-shaped arrangement of stones. Portions of the rim and body are broken, but after the individual was interred, the fragments were replaced into their proper positions.
194	Intact	Simple Pit	N/A	1	Primary Inhumation	Far too deteriorated	Female	30-40 years old	None	None	None	None	None	None	Conducted at the bottom of a well.

TABLE 5: BENIAMIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Materials	Other Information
195	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	2	Primary Inhumation	Flexed	Male (right), Female (left)	5-7-years (right) 11-15-years (left)	Rattles/sm all bells and an iron knife from near the throat of the skeleton on the right.	None	A cup, covered with a bowl placed upside down	Sheep's phalanges	None	None	The cist is surrounded by an egg-shaped arrangement of small stones. A double burial, with individuals placed next to each other.
196	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	Female	20-25-years	None	None	None	One sheep knucklebone	None	None	A single large unworked and misshapen stone as capstone. The rectangle is created with two stones on either side, one by the head and one at the foot. Many bones are missing from the skeleton.
198	Destroyed	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Unclear	Unclear	N/A	Child	None	None	One small clay vessel	None	A single glass paste bead	Two fragments of metal ore	Destroyed by machinery during gas pipeline laying. Two shattered side stones and a few bones are preserved.
206	Intact	Pithos	Vertical	1	Primary Inhumation	Unclear	N/A	1.3-2.2-years	A very corroded fragment of a metal object	None	None	None	None	Beads of unidentified material	no soil filled into the pithos

TABLE 5: BENIAMIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Materials	Other Information
207	Intact	Simple Pit	N-S	2	Primary Inhumation	Flexed	Female, Male	30-40, 40-50	None	None	A sherd of ceramic bowl from near the hip. Fragments of a louterion in the soil fill.	Animal bones from under the head	None	None	The burial was conducted in a well with plastered walls, on top of the stones at the bottom. The well opens up at the floor of a structure. The two skeletons are positioned such that, when viewed from above, their bodies would form a cross.
209	Disturbed	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Flexed	N/A	N/A	Two bracelets in the skull, small bells or rattles from inside the bowl. On the right side of the skull, a crescent shaped single earring.	None	Bowl to the left of the skull	None	None	Beads of unidentified material found around the neck	This burial is missing a capstone. The egg-shaped burial has a floor paved with stone
211	Disturbed	Pithos in a Stone-Lined Cist	Vertical	1	Primary Inhumation	Unclear	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	None	In the southern corner of the cist, the remains of the previous pithos and skeleton are piled together and a new burial was conducted.

TABLE 5: BENIAMIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Materials	Other Information
212	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Far too deteriorated	N/A	0.6-1-year	Fragments of some bronze object, perhaps the pendent of an earring.	None	None	phalanges of a sheep	None	Beads and an unfinished seal stamp of unidentified material	It is a burial reuse conducted in the same tomb as Burial 211. Two medium stones as capstone. The rectangle is created with two stones on either side, one by the head and one at the foot.
213	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	N/A	0.9-1.8-year	An unknown number of thin bronze objects that had a pair of protuberances, in the skull	None	None	None	None	None	Two medium misshapen stones as capstone. The rectangle is created with two stones on either side, one by the head and one at the foot.
215	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	Three beads of unknown material	A single large stone was used as capstone, and the area at the feet was completed with many small stones. The rectangle is created with three stones on either side, one by the head and one at the foot.
217	Intact	Simple Pit	N-S	1	Primary Inhumation	Kneeling	Male	50-60	None	None	None	None	None	None	The skeleton was on a mass of stones and was also covered with stones.
218	Intact	Simple Pit	N-S	1	Primary Inhumation	Seated (now collapsed)	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	None	None

TABLE 5: BENIAMIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Materials	Other Information
224	Intact	Simple Pit	N/A	1	Primary Inhumation	Far too deteriorated	N/A	Child	None	None	None	A worked rib	None	None	A few ribs and the clavicle remain of the child's skeleton. These are intermingled with a pile of stones and animal bones
225	Disturbed	Stone-Lined Cist and Wood Coffin	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	None	Capstone was not preserved. The rectangle is constructed with small and medium sized misshapen stones. The area near the head of the interred is wider than the area of the feet. This cist was partially destroyed when a later smaller Stone-Lined cist for a child was buried in the same area. In the area of the skull and hips they found two small fragments of wood, possibly the remains of a wooden coffin.
226	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	N/A	Child	None	None	Potsherds found among the stones covering the tomb	None	None	None	Two medium misshapen stones as capstone. The capstone is lined with smaller stones. The rectangle is created with two misshapen stones on either side. The rectangle is disturbed. Two stones were later inserted to make the tomb larger.

TABLE 5: BENIAMIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Materials	Other Information
227	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	N/A	Child	None	None	None	None	None	None	A single stone as capstone, with medium sized stones supporting it. Among these they found potsherds. The rectangle is created with a single unworked stone on either side.
228	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	N/A	N/A	A very corroded Iron ring with a flat crown	None	Potsherds found among the stones covering the tomb	None	None	None	Two long misshapen stones used as capstone, with medium sized misshapen stones supporting it. The rectangle is created with two stones on either side, one by the head and one at the foot. Medium sized misshapen stones half conceal the tomb.
230	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	N/A	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	N/A	N/A	None	An agate bead	None	None	A single glass bead	None	Two medium misshapen stones as capstone. Two stones support it on the sides. The rectangle is created with two stones on either side, completed by one stone at the foot and one at the head.

TABLE 5: BENIAMIN

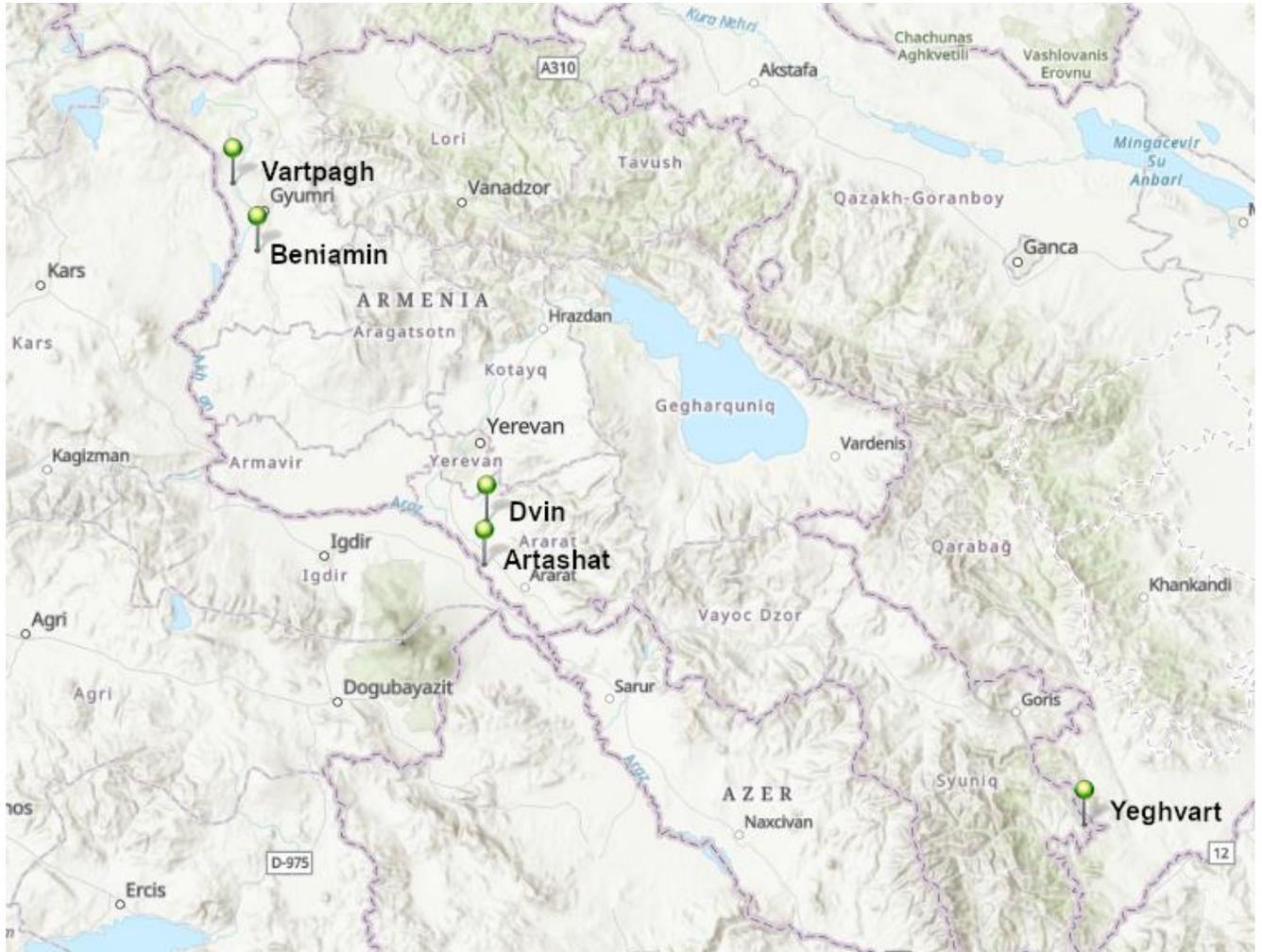
#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Materials	Other Information
232	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Extended on Back	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	None	Two large capstones supported all around by more stones. The rectangle is created with two stones on either side, completed by one stone at the foot and one at the head. Similar to 226, the burial was made larger by the insertion of two stones.
234	Destroyed	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	6	Primary Inhumation	Unclear	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	Horse skull and femur	None	None	This burial was destroyed at the time the new burial was created. From the remains, it is only possible to discern that it was a group burial, which was conducted in conjunction with a horse sacrifice.

TABLE 5: BENIAMIN

#	Condition	Burial Arch.	Tomb Orientation	# Ind.	Body Treatment	Body Position	Gender	Age	Metal	Stone	Ceramic	Faunal	Glass	Other Materials	Other Information
237	Intact	Stone-Lined Cist	E-W	1	Primary Inhumation	Far too deteriorated	N/A	Child	None	None	None	None	None	None	Two medium sized capstones, with an arrangement of small stones at the area of the feet. The rectangle is created with one stone on either side, completed by one stone at the foot and one at the head. An additional brick supports the west wall exterior. Between burials 237 and 238 the remains of the funerary feast are preserved in a state of disarray, with ash and bones in a mixed-up pile.
245	Intact	Sarcophagus	E-W	Unclear	Primary Inhumation	Unclear	N/A	N/A	None	None	None	None	None	None	A single stone used as a capstone. Under which two more stones are placed. The sarcophagus was once smaller, but later broken by the feet and made larger by arranging stones. This suggests tomb reuse. The soil of the tomb, until it reached the burial, was filled with human bones.

APPENDIX OF FIGURES

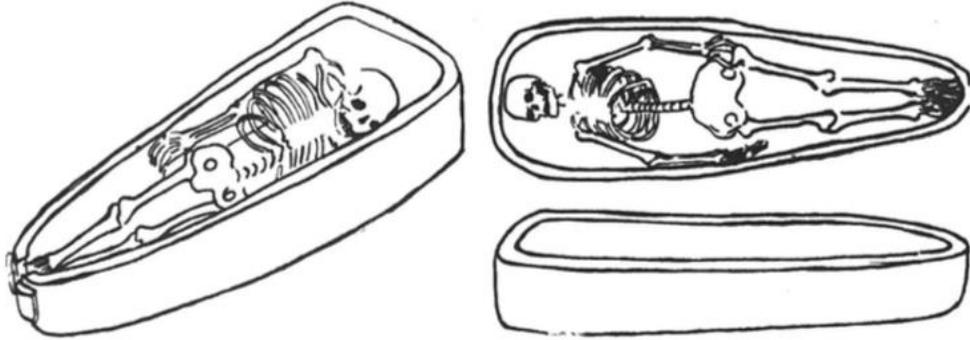
Figure 1. Map of Case Study Sites



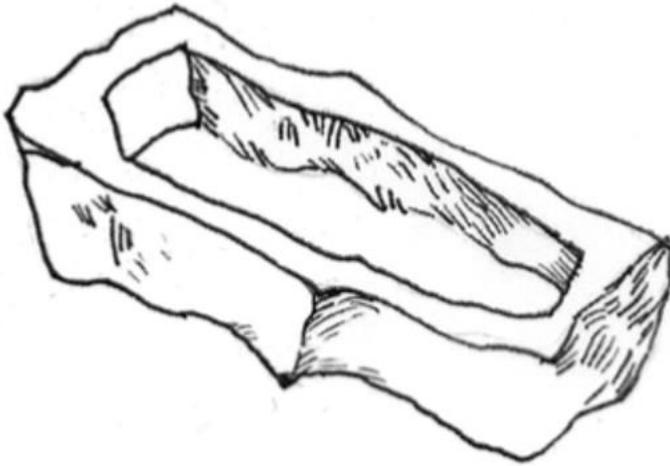
(Created by the author using ArcGIS)

Figure 2. Types of Tombs

A. Sarcophagus



A clay sarcophagus from Artashat. Khachatryan, 1981. Plate 5, figure 2.

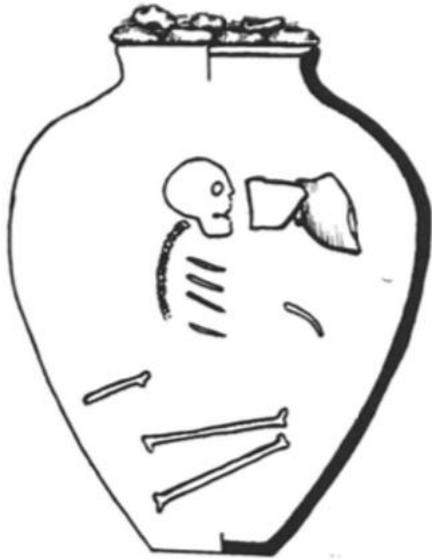


A stone sarcophagus from the Shirak plain. Eganyan, 2010. Plate 3, figure 5.

B. Pithos

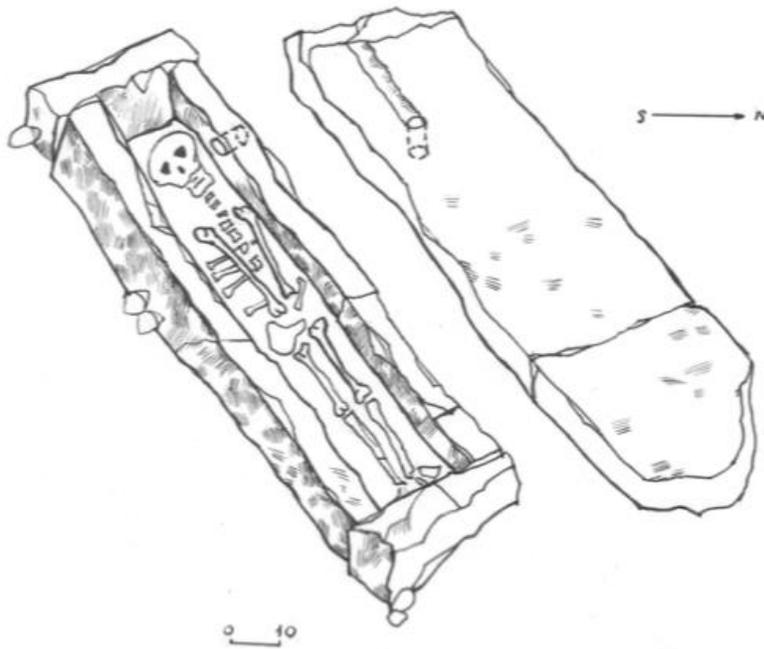


A pithos from Artashat. Khachatryan, 1981. Plate 2, figure 1.

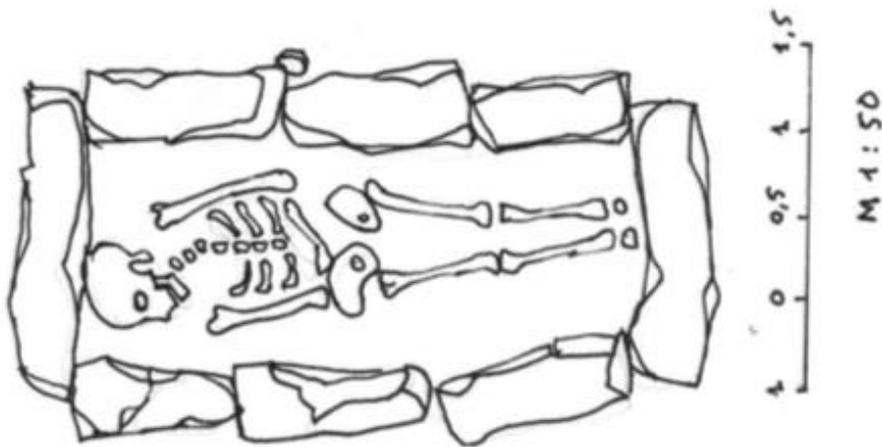


A pithos from Artashat. Khachatryan, 1981. Plate 1, figure 1.

C. Stone-Lined Cist

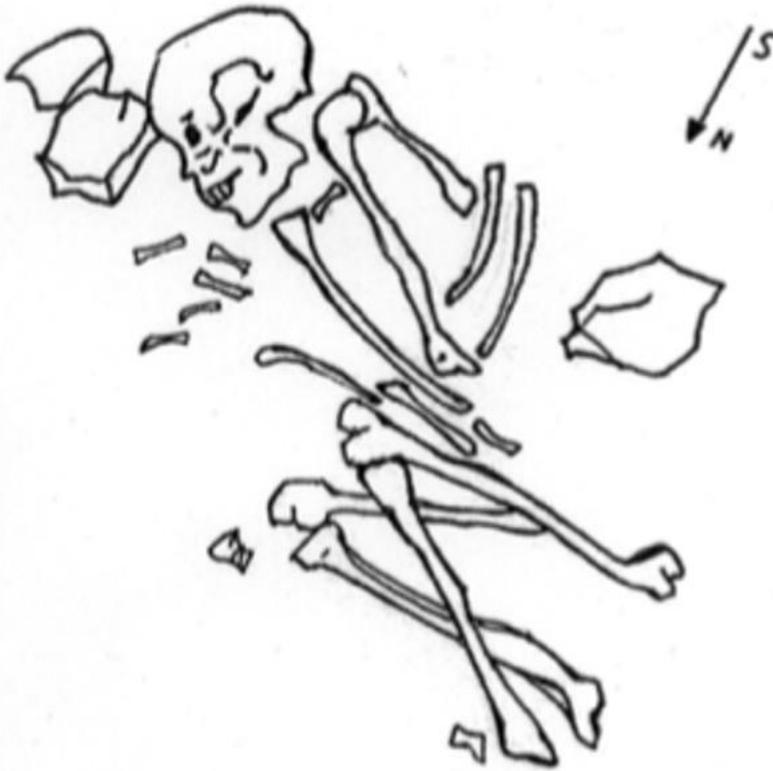


A stone-lined cist from Beniamin showing possible libation holes. Eganyan, 2010. Plate 5.



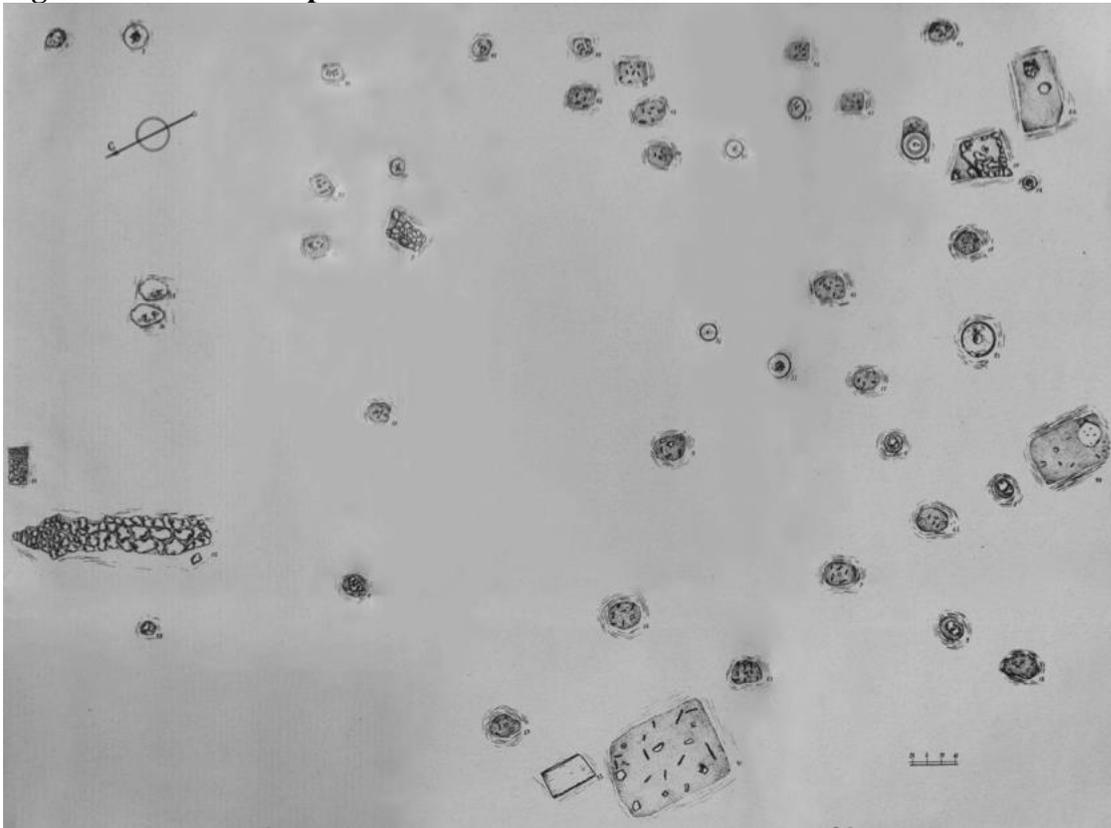
A stone-lined cist from the Shirak plain. Eganyan, 2010. Plate 6.

D. Simple pit

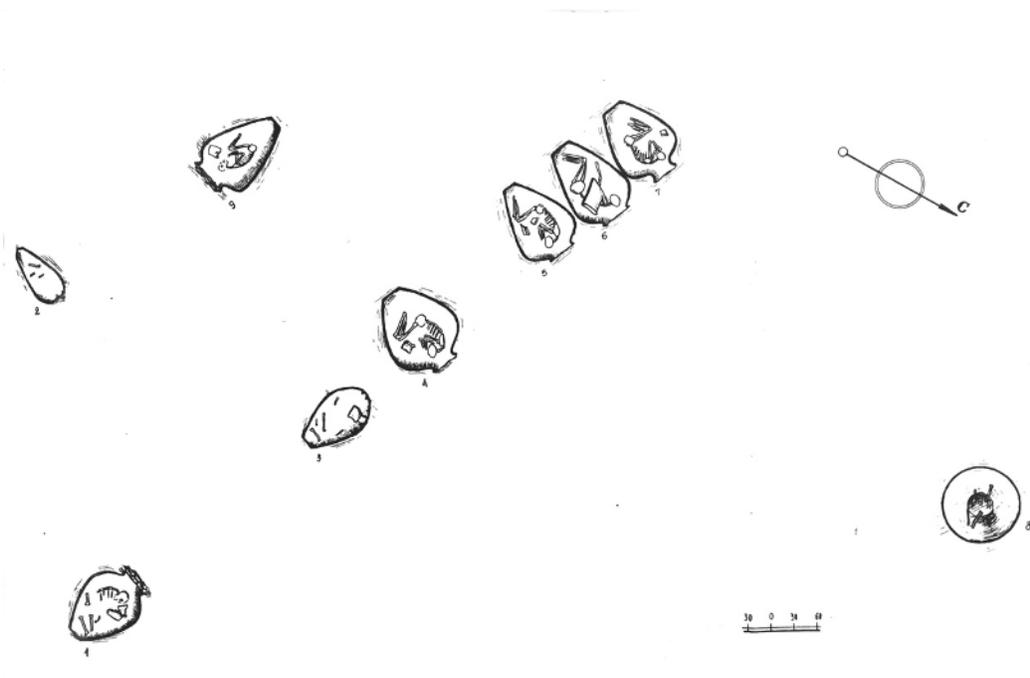


A simple pit burial from the Shirak plain. Eganyan, 2010. Plate 3, figure 1.

Figure 3. Artashat Maps

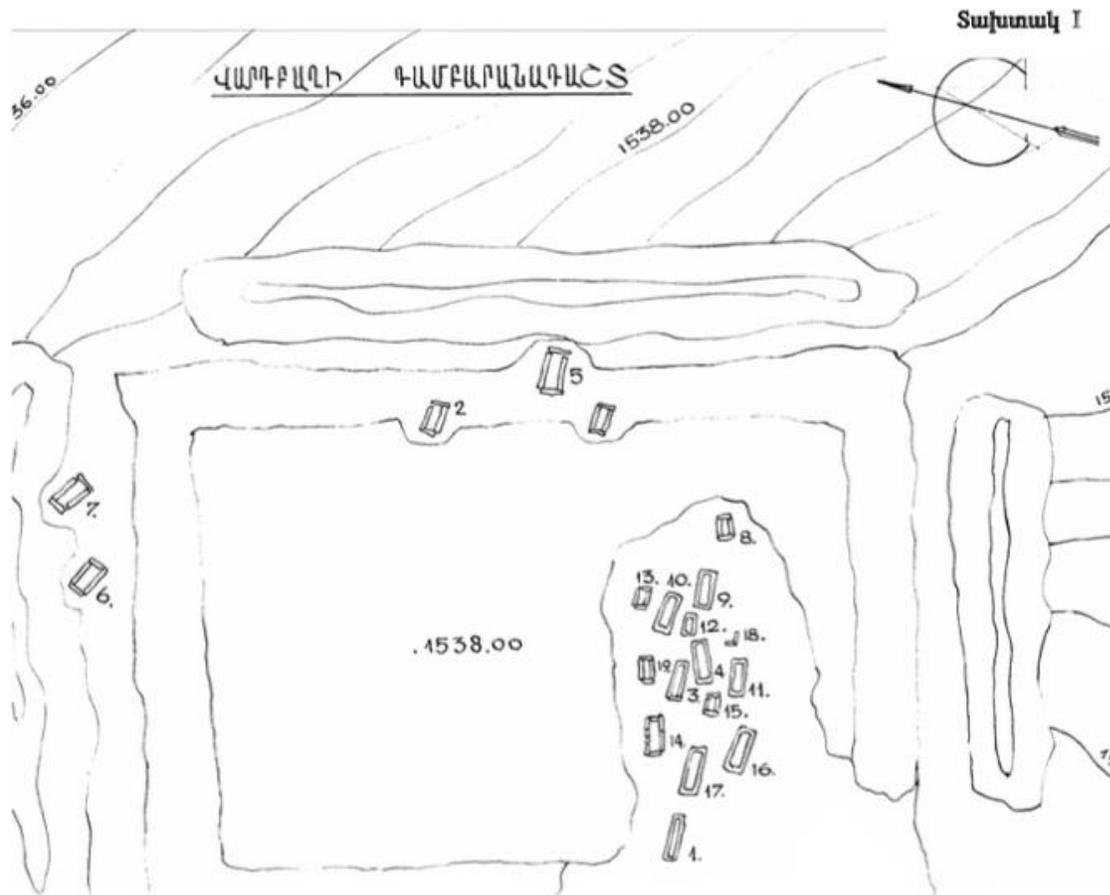


Khachatryan, 1981. Figure 1.



Khachatryan, 1981. Figure 2.

Figure 4. Vartpagh Map



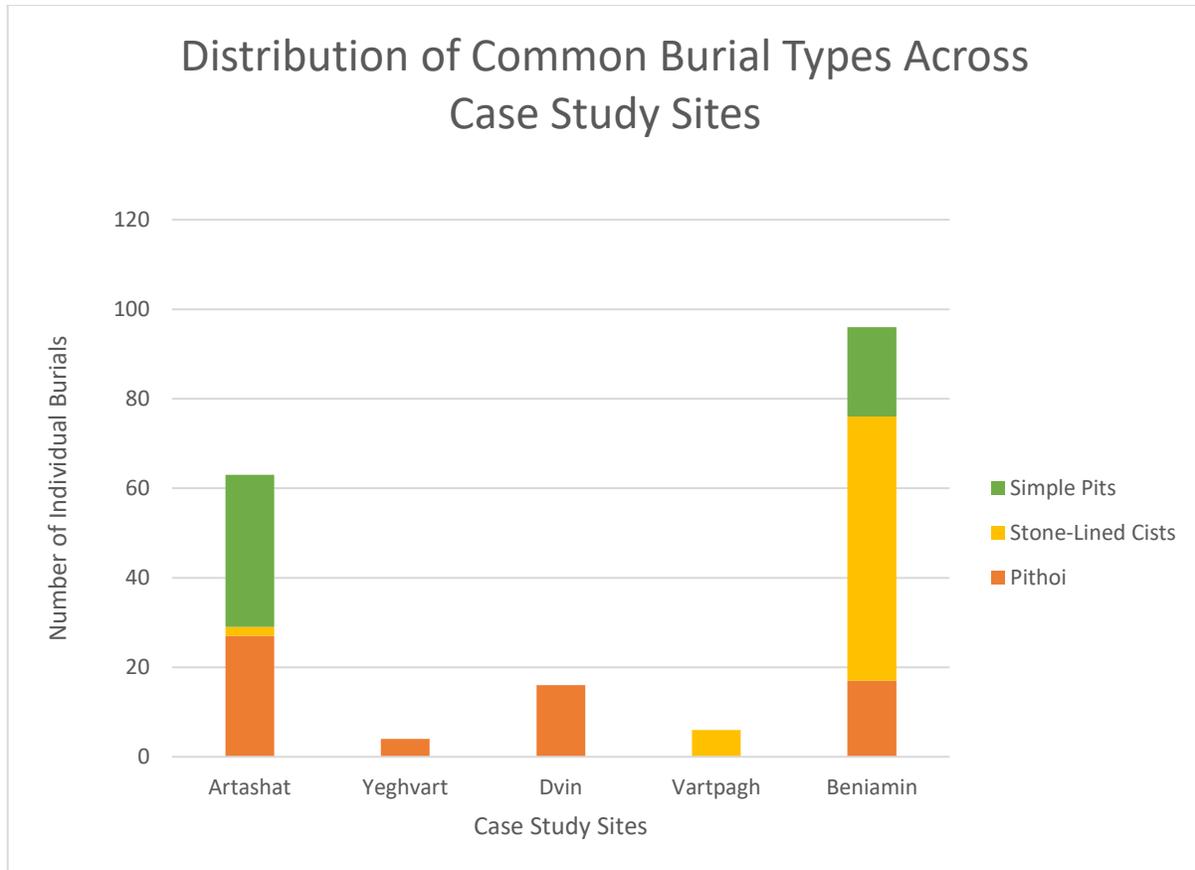
Eganyan, 2010. Plate 1.

Figure 5. Benjamin Map



Eganyan, 2010. Plate 2.

Figure 6. Distribution of Most Common Burial Types Across Case Study Sites: Pithoi, Stone-Lined Cists, and Simple Pits



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