

THE PORTRAIT OF A LADY

Revisiting Louis Vanden Berghe's Tombe 1 at Karkhai

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تصویر یک بانو: بازنگری گور شماره ۱ لویی واندنبرگ در کرخای

یاسمینا ویکس و خاویر الوارز - مون

چکیده: حدود نیم قرن پیش لویی واندنبرگ در کاوش‌های خود در گورستان کرخای در نزدیکی آبدانان در استان ایلام به گوری برخورد (گور شماره ۱) که ظاهراً متعلق به یک زن است. این گور حاوی اطلاعاتی گران‌بها از فردی است که در دوره عیلام نو (۵۲۰ - ۷۲۵/۷۰۰ پ.م.) یا عصر آهن ۳ لرستان (حدود ۶۵۰ - ۸۰۰/۷۵۰ پ.م.) در منطقه مرزی شمال عیلام می‌زیسته است. نویسندگان با بررسی گونه‌شناسی گورنهادهای این تدفین از جمله سنجاق‌ها، ظروف مفرغی و جعبه‌های آرایش و نیز فراوانی یافته‌های آهنی همچون دست‌بندها، خلخال‌ها، سنجاق‌ها و یک دکمه آهنی، این گور را به اواخر سده ۸ و شاید اوایل سده ۷ پ.م. تاریخ‌گذاری می‌کنند. نگارندگان مطرح کرده‌اند که گور شماره ۱ کرخای تصویری از فردی را مجسم می‌کند که جنسیت زن او، جایگاه برجسته و ممتازش در جامعه و قرابت‌هایش با فرهنگ عیلامی به شکلی روشن در پوشاک و مجموعه اشیای تدفینی او ممزوج شده است. همچنین نگارندگان براساس برخی ویژگی‌های گونه‌شناختی و هنری گورنهادها پیشنهاد کرده‌اند که می‌توان در این تدفین آثار آمیختگی فرهنگ‌هایی مشاهده کرد که در این برهه در انتهای مناطق کوهستانی زاگرس در مرز دشت‌های پست عیلام با هم تلاقی داشته‌اند. در نهایت نگارندگان مطرح می‌کنند که این امتزاج فرهنگی و ارتباط نزدیک «گور ۱» با فرهنگ عیلامی پیش از آنکه حاکی از وجود اقوام کوچنده بین مناطق کوهستانی و مراکز شهری عیلامی باشد، احتمالاً بیانگر مسائل دیگری است که از آن جمله می‌توان به این موارد اشاره کرد: نفوذ سیاسی و فرهنگی عیلام به عمق مناطق کوهستانی لرستان حداقل تا سرخ‌دم و چغاسبز، پیوندهای اجتماعی مستقیم بین جوامع باستانی لرستان و عیلام از قبیل ازدواج‌های بین گروهی و یا حتی وجود جمعیت‌های عیلامی در منطقه آبدانان. حتی شاید بتوان تصور کرد برخی خانواده‌های متمول دشت‌های پست سوزیانا یا دهلران در اوج گرمای تابستان به مناطق کوهستانی و خوش آب و هوای زاگرس بیلاق می‌کرده‌اند.

واژگان کلیدی: پشتکوه، لرستان، شوش، عیلام نو، گورستان پرخی، هدایای تدفینی.

I had been putting out my eyes over the book of life, and finding nothing to reward me for my pains; but now that I can read it properly I see that it's a delightful story.

— Henry James, *The Portrait of a Lady*

DISCOVERY

Almost half a century ago the prolific archaeologist and Director of the Belgian Archaeo-

logical Mission in Iran, Louis Vanden Berghe, discovered a pit burial (*Tombe 1*) 30cm below the ground surface at Karkhai near Abdanan in southern Luristan [Pl. 1]. He published the burial in 1973 in the popular archaeology magazine *Archéologia* (vol. 65) alongside a group of typical slab-roofed cist burials from the early Iron Age Kutal-i Gulgul cemetery in the central Pusht-i Kuh where he had been

excavating the two prior years (1971-72) (Vanden Berghe 1973a).¹ This little-known burial is a treasure in terms of the picture it gives of an individual, apparently a woman, who seems to have lived in the northern border area of Elam during the Neo-Elamite II (725/700-520 BCE; henceforth NE II)² / Luristan Iron Age III phase (ca. 800/750-650 BCE; henceforth IA III).³

THE INTERMENT

The burial location was recorded simply as “Karkhai near Abdanan”, which lies approximately 880 m asl along the Doyraj river at the southern end of the Pusht-e Kuh in Luristan, about 115 km northwest of Susa [Pl. 1]. In this same general area Vanden Berghe (1973b) excavated some Early Bronze Age II-III tombs at

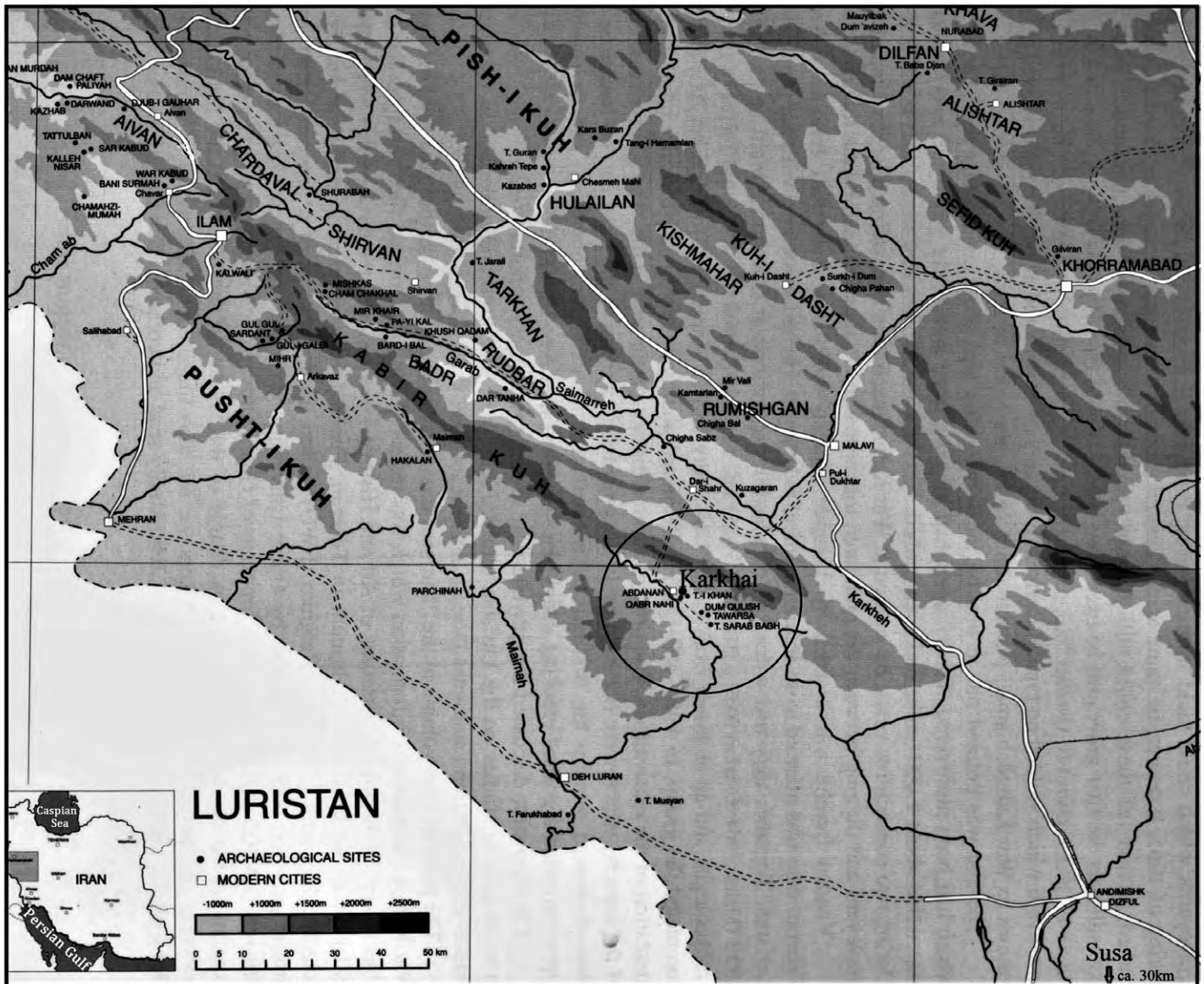
1. The complete records of this cemetery were later published in the Luristan Excavation Documents, Vol. IV (Overlaet 2003: 383-492).
2. Dates following Miroschedji 1981: 39-40, *tableau 2*.
3. Dates following Overlaet 2005: 14-16. This burial is incorporated in a recent study of Neo-Elamite funerary practices by Wicks (2019, KaP1).

Qabr Nahi, Takht-e Khan and Tawarsa exhibiting close relations with the cultures of both the Susiana and Deh Luran plains (Haerinck 1987: 67, Zone II). With respect to the IA III Karkhai burial, Pierre de Miroschedji (1990: 185) places greater emphasis on the link between Abdanan and the Deh Luran plain noting that the two areas are connected by a route used in modern times by seasonal pastoralists.

By the time Vanden Berghe detected the burial it was almost visible on the ground surface. He described it as a simple pit measuring 1.5 m long, 1 m wide, and up to 60 cm deep, with some bones of a woman who had been laid on her right side on a north-south orientation, face looking west [Pl. 2]. The legs were in a semi-flexed position and the arms were flexed with the hands close to the chest. Preserved costume items included trios of iron bands worn on each wrist and each ankle, two silver spiral finger rings, two silver spiral rings that had probably decorated the hair (found behind the head), a beaded necklace (243 beads scattered around the chest and shoulders), an iron

Inventory no. (KKh)	Description	Location in burial
71/1	terracotta jug, yellow-brown fabric (h. 24 cm)	in front of feet
71/2	cuboid pyxis, glazed terracotta, beige fabric (h. 16.5 cm, w. 10.5 cm)	in front of knees
71/3	bronze bowl (h. 7.2cm, dm. 10.2 cm)	in front of face
71/4	long-necked bronze “inkwell” (h. 7.5 cm, dm. 6 cm)	in front of face, resting in bronze bowl
71/5-10	6 iron bracelets (dm. 7.5-8.5 cm)	around wrists
71/11-16	6 iron anklets (dm. 10.5-11.5 cm)	around ankles
71/17	iron button (dm. 3.5 cm)	at waist
71/18-19	2 pins with iron stem and bitumen head covered with silver sheet (l. 11 cm)	in front of hips, tips down
71/20-21	2 silver spiral finger rings (dm. 2cm, l. 1.3/1cm)	hands
71/22-23	2 silver hair spirals (dm. 1cm)	back of head
71/24	243 necklace beads: 193 carnelian, 21 shell, 22 silex, 1 frit beads, 6 silver bells	sscattered around chest and shoulders

Table 1 – Karkhai Burial Assemblage (data based on Vanden Berghe 1973a)

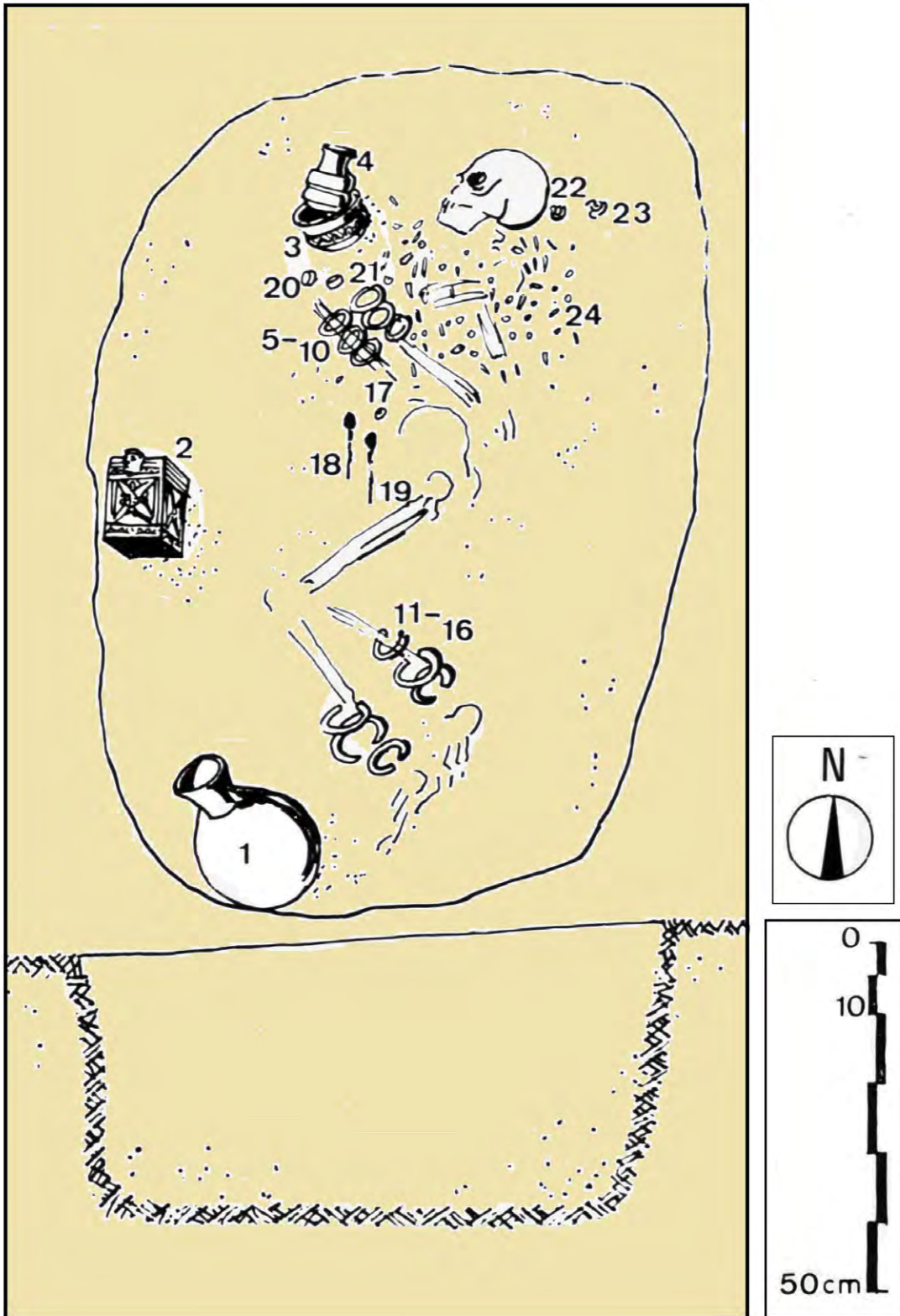


Pl. 1. Map showing Karkhai location (after Haerinck and Overlaet 2004: 2, fig. 1).

button (near the waist), and a pair of pins with iron stem and silver sheet-covered bulbous bitumen head (at hip level with tips pointing downwards). A bronze “inkwell”-style vessel was placed in a bronze bowl in front of the face, perhaps in the hands, a large terracotta jug near the feet, and a cuboid glazed terracotta pyxis in front of the knees.

It is difficult to pinpoint where this burial was located and to gauge the nature of its surrounds. Vanden Berghe’s silence on the presence of other burials in the report im-

plies that it was an isolated find and Haerinck and Overlaet’s (2004: 82) much later reference to it as a discovery of a “single burial” seems to support this view. It cannot go unnoticed, however, that in an article *Survey of Excavations in Iran 1971-72* published in the same year as his *Archéologia* report, Vanden Berghe referred to the site in passing as the Karkhai “necropolis” (see Kleiss *et al.* 1973: 209), suggesting that he was aware of other burials in the area. While it is therefore best not to overstate the isolation of the Karkhai



Pl. 2. Sketch of the Karkhai burial (after Vanden Berghe 1973a: 28, top).

burial, it presently appears as an anomaly within a broad picture of Iron Age mortuary practices in southwest Iran dominated by intramural interment and extramural cemetery interment—albeit one that may be distorted by systematic excavation of settlements and excavations (or often plundering) of fields of graves visible above the ground. The location of the burial also raises the question of which society this woman had belonged to; a question that a review of the assemblage may help to answer.

THE ASSEMBLAGE

The four vessels and collection of costume items preserved in the Karkhai burial are arranged in Table 1 according to the numerical order of the inventory numbers assigned to them. Each object and any noted comparanda are discussed individually below to help clarify the date and cultural context of the interment.

Vessels

The four vessels in the burial had all been distributed along the front of the body: a large, closed-type terracotta vessel at the feet; a glazed terracotta pyxis at the knees; and two bronze serving-type vessels (a bowl and “inkwell”) at face level [Pl. 2].

Jug (KKh 71/1)

Down the bottom of the burial near the feet lay a 24 cm high baked clay vessel made in a yellow-brown fabric [Pl. 3c]. It has an ovoid body and narrow neck suggestive of its use for temporary storage and pouring of some kind of liquid. Going by the rather rudimentary sketch provided by Vanden Berghe the form does not obviously belong to any of the distinctive Neo-Elamite types, but in any case, medium to large closed vessels were quite common in NE II assemblages (Wicks 2019: 112-13). Most IA III Luristan burials also contained vessels for larger volumes of liquid, but they were almost always jugs with handles

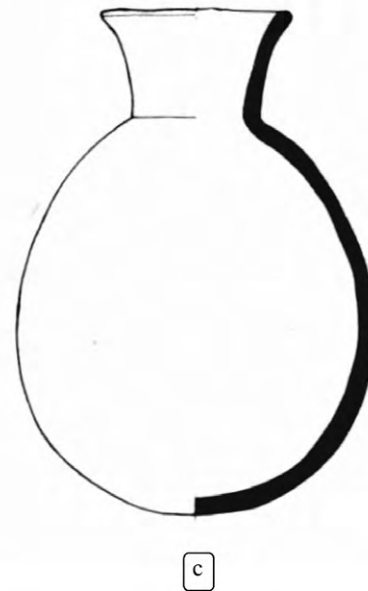
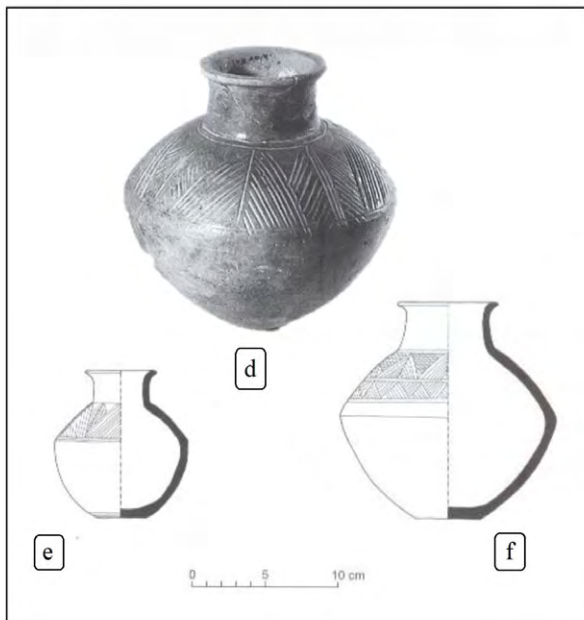
and much broader mouths (see assemblages in Haerinck and Overlaet 1998, 1999, 2004).

Glazed Terracotta Pyxis (KKh 71/2)

In front of the knees lay a 16 cm high x 10.5 cm wide glazed terracotta cuboid pyxis with a pair of human-headed protome lugs at the rim [Pl. 4]. One of the lugs and the lid are missing. The four sides of the vessel bear similar engraved decoration. The various ornamental elements described individually below find robust stylistic correspondences in faience pyxides from NE II Elam and IA III Luristan and in NE II knobs from Susa (for details of the pyxides and knobs see Appendix and Pls. 6-8). Together the decorative and formal characteristics of the Karkhai pyxis place it within a tradition of faience and terracotta polychrome vessel manufacture in the western Elamite capital and areas of influence in the 8th-7th centuries BCE. Its height (16 cm) falls within the 11.2-17 cm range of the cuboid pyxides from Susa [Appendix, Pls. 7, 8a], though it is slightly narrower (10.5 cm) than their width range of 11.8-12.4 cm.

Upper Register. The upper third of the vessel is decorated with three horizontal registers of different widths separated by plain narrow bands. The top register is filled with slanted hatched lines, the central register is much wider and carries a guilloche composed of two rows of dots and three continuous interlacing bands, and the bottom register carries a chevron pattern. This sequence of slanted hatched lines + guilloche + chevron registers is seen on the upper portion of most other pyxides of Elam and Luristan [e.g. Appendix Pls. 6, 7a, 8d,e], though the guilloche contrasts with the simpler single guilloche bands on the other pyxides.

Base Band. Surrounding the base are two plain horizontal bands enclosing a central band filled with striated triangles. Similar bands of striated triangles appear around



Pl. 3. [a, b] Bronze vessels from Karkhai (photographs and line drawings after Vanden Berghe 1973a: 26, 18) [c] ceramic jug from Karkhai (after Vanden Berghe 1973a: 28, bottom, no. 1) [d, f] ceramic vessels from Iron Age III graveyard at War Kabud (after Haerinck and Overlaet 2004: 32; line drawings fig. 10. 7, 8; photograph Pl. 105. A27-2).



Pl. 4. Pyxis from Karkhai (photograph and line drawing after Vanden Berghe 1973a, front page and pg. 28 bottom, no. 2).

the bases of pyxides from Surkh Dum, Luristan [Pl. 9b], and Susa [Pl. 8e; and possibly Pl. 7b].

Rosette Surrounded by Vegetal Motifs.

The body carries a square composition of a small central rosette surrounded by a complex vegetal motif composed of a four-pointed star with hatched borders, tips extending to the corners of the square, and trios of leaves emerging between the arms, the central leaf characterized by hatching. On either side of the motif is a vertical strip of slanted hatched lines enclosed by plain narrow bands. This floral decoration finds its best counterparts in knobs from Susa; in particular, the central rosette with alternating bud-like motifs and petals with rounded outer edges (see Appendix Pl. 9, especially c, d, g). A point of difference in the Karkhai vessel is the replacement of the buds with a four-point star.

Head-Protome. Both lugs are in the form of human-head protomes that occupy the entire height of the three upper registers. The top hatched register and lower plain band continue over the foreheads and necks forming a diadem and a necklace respectively. Additional details are a line of hair just below the diadem, a pointy chin, and a smiling mouth (ears are not visible). An absence of facial hair led Vanden Berghe to the conclusion that the heads are female. Similar head protome lugs occur on a vessel from Susa [Appendix Pl. 7a].

Bowl (KKh 71/3)

In front of the face, close to the hands, lay a small bronze bowl with a bulging horizontal shoulder band decorated by a series of chased triangles filled with parallel hatched lines [Pl. 3b]. Similar decorative bands composed of incised rows of hatched triangles can be observed on the shoulders of typical jars and bottles in fine grey ware and fine buff ware in the IA III Pusht-i Kuh cemeteries of Chamahzi Mumah (Haerinck and Overlaet 1998,

ill. 5, nos. 5-10), Djub-i Gauhar (Haerinck and Overlaet 1999, ill. 9, nos. 9-14) and War Kabud (Haerinck and Overlaet 2004, fig. 10, nos. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8 and fig. 11, nos. 10-15) [examples in Pl. 3 d-f].⁴ This suggests that the bowl's place of manufacture was probably somewhere in the Pusht-i Kuh area.

Inkwell (KKh 71/4)

Inside the bowl rested a small carinated bronze vessel with a tall, straight, broad neck, narrow everted rim and quite rounded contours [Pl. 3a]. It can probably be considered part of the distinctive corpus of squat bronze vessels found in NE II graves in Elam and IA III cemeteries in Luristan branded by Vanden Berghe as "inkwells", even if it has an unusually long neck. The contours of the vessel and its narrow, flat rim are almost an exact match with the bowl above, suggesting their production in the same workshop somewhere in Luristan.

"Inkwells" are a rare—and therefore intriguing—grave good type found in burials of both elite Elamites and their Pusht-i Kuh neighbors. Based on their find contexts, it is likely that most had formed part of drinking sets (Wicks 2018: 141-42). Both regions are equally plausible as centers of manufacture and in terms of cultural significance, it is not difficult to imagine their exchange in a diplomatic technique akin to the Assyrian method of cementing socio-political ties through ritual drinking using prestigious cups bestowed upon participants (for which see Hunt 2015: 190-91).

Wares in Context

The arrangement of the vessels in the Karkhai burial is fairly typical of vessel patterns seen in NE II burials in Elam: serving vessels (in this

4. See Haerinck and Overlaet (2004: 34) for comments on a possible relation of this decorative style with "Kite Ware" found further east in Luristan.

case a bowl and “inkwell” [possibly a cup]) near the face or hands, presumably reflecting their function as utensils for consumption of food or liquids, and larger storage and pouring vessels down the foot end where there was more space for them (cosmetic-type containers such as lidded vessels, however, do not show any particular patterns; see Wicks 2019: 113). The higher ratio of serving to storage/pouring vessels, in this case 2-1, is also typical of the period (see Wicks 2019: 111-13). Most of the skeletons in the Luristan burials were very poorly preserved, but it can be noted that in the few recorded examples the patterning seems rather different. Serving vessels, often bowls, were usually deposited together with the larger jug-type vessels, and often (especially at War Kabud) these vessels were down the lower end of the burial.⁵

Presumably the vessels in the Karkhai grave are residue of a funerary banquet, with the larger clay vessel at the feet perhaps meant to hold the liquid distributed into one or both of the bronze vessels deposited near the face and hands. As well as their use in ritual consumption, it is worth contemplating the employment of vessels for ritual actions such

5. In 12 of 14 cases at War Kabud where the positions of bowls and jugs were recorded, they were close together (sometimes with the bowl on top) (Haerinck and Overlaet 2004, T. A4, A10, A26, A30, A38, A48, A57, A85, A104, A106, A166, A123). Where the skeleton was recorded these vessels were usually at the feet (T. A4, A10, A26, A123) and once at the thigh (A30). At Djub-i Gauhar, 10 out of a total 17 sketches of burials showed a bowl and all were likewise deposited together with a larger jug. Here, however, they were most often at head level, with only 3 of the 10 at the feet (see variously Pls. 6-42 in Haerinck and Overlaet 1999). Patterns at Chamahzi Mumah are more difficult to assess because several objects were often deposited in fairly close proximity, but the drawings generally show at least one bowl and jug in the grave, almost always placed together; the only exception was a rare instance where the skeleton was recorded, and here the bowl was in front of the face and the jug behind the head (see variously figs. 12-62 in Haerinck and Overlaet 1998).

as ablutions or libations.⁶ In this regard, it can be noted that the “inkwell” and small bowl pairing is reminiscent of what appears to be a pairing of the “inkwell” and a squat bowl-like “chalice” elsewhere in Elam for ritual drinking or pouring/libating (see Wicks 2019: 123).

Costume

Still distributed around the body at their locations of wear, the hair rings, beaded necklace, finger rings, wrist and ankle bands, button and pins in combination with the now-lost garment would have transmitted a complex intersection of messages about the identity of the buried woman to her community. The pyxis may have contained a cosmetic product that further underlined this identity.

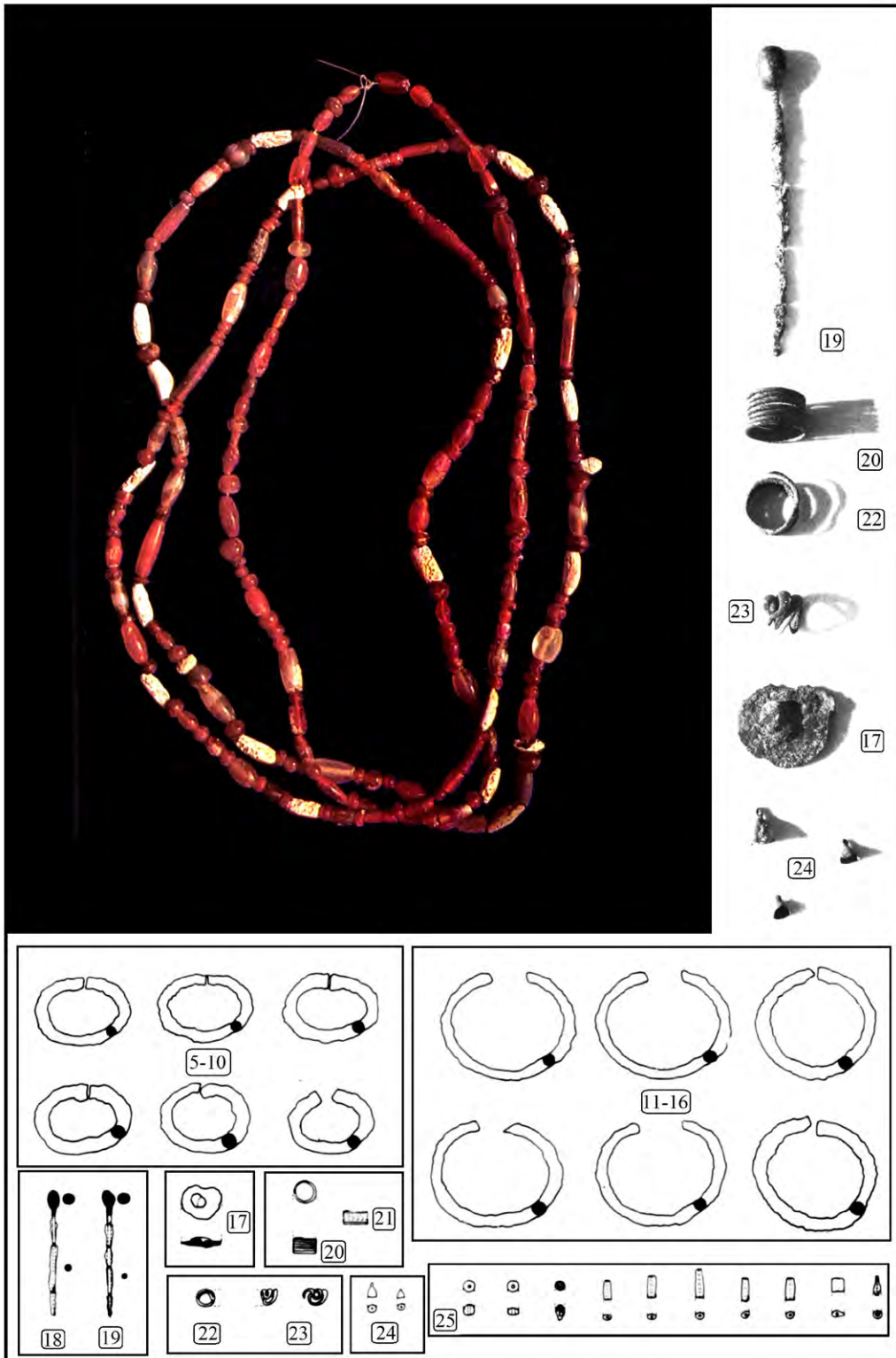
Bracelets and Anklets (KKh 71/5-16)

A total of twelve iron bands with open ends were distributed evenly between both wrists (KKh 71/5-10) and ankles (KKh 71/11-16) [Pls. 2 and 5]. Iron bracelets are well-attested at Susa in NE II funerary contexts and occur also in a NE II burial at Tall-i Ghazir on the Ram Hormuz plain.⁷ Several open-ended iron hoops were retrieved from the sanctuary of Surkh Dum, where it was noted that they were made from cast rods bent into shape (Schmidt *et al.* 1989: 263, 287-88, various of Cat. 27C.4.1.1-6 with ends in a range of styles).⁸ Surprisingly, however, as Vanden Berghe (1973a: 29) himself observed, iron versions were not amongst the ubiquitous simple bracelets and anklets in IA III Pusht-i Kuh cemeteries; all were instead

6. For discussion of possible ritual acts in Elam involving vessels, see Wicks 2019: 126-28.

7. See Wicks 2019, burials SuC5, SuC22, SuP-G2, SuU1, SuU4, GhP4.

8. This method of production is also implied by Moorey (1991: 9) in his study of decorated iron work of the early iron age: “the richly chased decoration on the upper surface [of an iron bracelet] was executed before the bar was curved to form the bracelet”.



Pl. 5. Photographs and line drawings of jewelry (photographs and line drawing after Vanden Berghe 1973a: 27, 28 bottom, 29).

made of bronze.⁹ With regard to gender, bracelets could be worn by both men and women, but there are no signs in burials or in the iconographic record of Elam that men had worn anklets (Wicks 2019: 153) and in Iron Age burials of Luristan they are regarded as a female marker (Haerinck and Overlaet 1998: 5; 2004: 9).

Button (KKh 71/17)

A 3.5 cm diameter iron “button” with a central boss and broad flanges was found at the waist [Pl. 5.17]. This button may have helped to secure or simply to adorn the garment (though holes or loops for its attachment are neither described nor visible in the photograph). A cemetery at Merayun, about 90 km northeast of Surkh Dum, produced a similar 3.1 cm diameter iron “button” thought to have been attached to clothing and probably also datable to IA III (Schmidt *et al.* 1989: 264-65, 293, Pl. 263r, Cat. 27C.6.4). Another thirteen “buttons” of the same form, but made in bronze and slightly smaller at 2.3 cm diameter, were noted in a “horse burial” in the IA III War Kabud cemetery in Luristan. Due to the poor recording of the find it is difficult to know whether they had belonged to horse trappings or whether there was a human interment and it had been fixed to their clothing (T. A150, inventory no. WK 66/501, see Haerinck and Overlaet 2004: 54, 63, figs. 19.9, 22). Similar bronze objects from Nimrud and Khorsabad measuring up to 3.4 cm in diameter have been interpreted as garment decorations, though these have a slightly different construction with shanks protruding from the top of the boss (Curtis 2003: 119-20, 198, Pl. XCII, especially nos. 1123 and 1128).

Pins (KKh 71/18-19)

The two pins in the Karkhai burial [Pl. 5.18, 5.19] belong to a distinctive NE II corpus of

9. Iron versions do not appear in any of the following IA III cemetery volumes: Haerinck and Overlaet 1998, 1999, 2004.

pins ranging ca. 10-35 cm in length and characterized by an iron stem with a cylindrical neck and biconical or ovoid head made in a bituminous substance concealed by gold or silver sheet.¹⁰ The Karkhai pins, both covered in silver,¹¹ were included in a 1990 study of these distinctive pins by P. de Miroschedji. Dividing the corpus into three size-based groups—small, medium and large—Miroschedji placed the two 11 cm long Karkhai pins in the more common “small” group defined by a total length of 10-12 cm (Miroschedji 1990: 181, 189, fig. 1:8).¹² He also distinguished three different decoration styles, A-C. The Karkhai pins belong to style B, which is characterized by fine filigree wound around the entirety of the column below the bulbous head.

At the time of Miroschedji’s study the Karkhai pins were the only two of sixteen examples in total found outside Susa. He regarded them as products of NE II metalworkers in Susiana who were elaborating on an early second millennium composite pin type from Susa with a gold-covered stem topped by a carnelian bead or a bulbous, gold-covered copper head (Miroschedji 1990: 184-86). The 2007 discovery of the tomb of two women at Jubaji on the Ram Hormuz plain has since brought to light 36 more luxuriantly decorated examples (Shishegar 2015, nos. 6/1-36 [gold]) demonstrating a slightly wider distri-

10. For manufacture see Connan and Deschesne 1996: 374.

11. Besides the two Karkhai examples, which Vanden Berghe recorded as silver-coated, several more were reported as silver-coated by Mecquenem at Susa (Mecquenem 1922a: 9, *tombe L*; 1922b: 125, Pl. III, *caveau C* [=Wicks 2019, SuC5]; Mecquenem 1926: 2 [=Wicks 2019, SuC-G1]; Mecquenem 1922a: 9 [=Wicks 2019, SuU1]). Yet, we note here that Miroschedji (1990) reports the sheet material coverings of the pins as gold and *electrum*; i.e. not gold and silver.

12. None were completely preserved, but the “medium” group was thought to have originally measured around 12 cm long and the “large” group around 15 cm (Miroschedji 1990: 181-82).

bution, but reaffirming Miroschedji's dating of the corpus and his belief that they were an "*accessoire du costume féminin*" (Miroschedji 1990: 181, 187).¹³

Produced only for a short time and apparently never subject to exchange,¹⁴ these ornate pins, and presumably the garments they had secured, seem to have marked out the women of a class of Neo-Elamite elite who were controlling an increasing volume of wealth from the late 8th century BCE (Wicks 2019: 195). Their known archaeological contexts are all burials, sometimes clearly of females, and they tend to occur in pairs.¹⁵ The Karkhai burial is important as it provides clear evidence of how they were worn, preserving the two pins in situ in parallel at the hip level, with tips pointing downward. The only other instance in which these pins were preserved in place on the body is an unpublished pit burial labeled T. 27 in level IX of the Ville Royale A at Susa, dated by Miroschedji to the early NE II. Here two pins were worn in parallel at the shoulders with tips pointing down (Miroschedji 1990: 183-84, fn. 19; nos. 2:7 and 2:8).¹⁶

13. In our case the identification is fairly secure, but it is worth bearing in mind that the assumption that clothing pins invariably mark female biological sex has proven flawed elsewhere in Iran. At Hasanlu an analysis of skeletal remains from period IVb (ca. 1050-800 BCE) burials has shown a strong general divergence between elite assemblages of biological males and females, gendered through weapons and pins respectively, but a combination of the two occurred in two high-status interments of male sex, revealing a third gender that was directly paralleled in iconography on a bowl from the same site (Cifarelli 2016: 202-203).

14. Schmidt *et al.* (1989: 266-72) noted bimetallic pins of bronze and iron at Surkh Dum. Some iron shanks lacked their heads, but it was assumed that they would have been made of bronze and no bitumen heads were noted.

15. In addition to their occurrence as a pair at Karkhai, two were found together in Ghirshman's unpublished pit burial T. 27 in the Ville Royale A, level IX (Miroschedji 1990: 183-84) and two in Miroschedji's (1981: 25) NE II tomb chamber T. 693 in the Ville Royale II, level 7B.

16. Other evidence highlights alternative modes of

Silver Rings (KKh 71/20-23)

Two finger rings made from coiled silver (KKh 71/20-21) were found at the hands [Pl. 5.20, 5.21]. Both measure 2 cm diameter, but their lengths are slightly different; one extending 1.3 cm along the finger, the other just 1 cm. The style of these rings is difficult to link to a particular period or place. Two other smaller silver spirals (KKh 71/22-23) found behind the head, however, seem to belong to a relatively widespread type of hair ornamentation [Pl. 5.22, 5.23]. Five similar spirals interpreted as hair ornaments, two in silver and three in bronze, were found in a burial at War Kabud. The skeleton was not preserved, but the spirals lay where the head would be expected. The two silver examples (B185-4/5) are larger than the Karkhai ones at 3 cm in diameter,

wear: Sukkalmah period female figurines from Susa can sometimes be seen wearing pins above each breast with the tip pointing upward to secure a cloak over the shoulders. The head designs of bronze pins from Luristan are also suggestive of upward-pointing tips (Miroschedji 1990: 186-87). The pin findspots at Jubaji offer no further information in this regard: one was found somewhere in the western coffin, another near the eastern coffin, and several others fused together on the tomb floor (Shishegar 2015: 171, nos. 6/5 and 6/25). In a study of bronze and iron pins in ca. 1100-800 BCE graves at Hasanlu, Michelle Marcus identified two different functions linked to size and placement on the body: those measuring up to 13 cm long were used in pairs for garments and were placed at the shoulders, tips up; those measuring 14-36 cm long were instead used for shrouds, also in pairs, but one usually lay horizontally across the shoulders or diagonally across the chest, and the other vertically along the side of the body. Most of these shroud and garment pins were recovered from graves of elite females (Marcus 1994: 4). In an Iron Age graveyard near Sanandaj in Iranian Kurdistan, simple bimetallic pins measuring a minimum of 20 cm long with bronze heads and iron stems were found in pairs with tips pointing up in 8th/7th century BCE burials. It was suggested that here too they could have been used to secure shrouds (Amelirad *et al.* 2012: 51, Pl. 17). Based on the size and position of the pins at Karkhai there is little doubt that they were used for securing garments rather than shrouds.

while the other three in bronze (B185-6-8) are closer at 1.6 cm.¹⁷ Nimrud yielded another larger 2.45 cm diameter silver spiral taken as a hair ornament.¹⁸

Necklace (KKh 71/24)

Scattered around the neck and chest were 243 necklace beads [Pl. 5 top]. The vast majority were made from carnelian (193) and the remainder of shell (21), silex (22) and frit (1). The larger beads are cylindrical or elliptical in form and the small ones basically spherical. Carnelian beads were quite frequently reported in Neo-Elamite funerary assemblages at Susa (Wicks 2019: 80) and carnelian is the most common bead material in the IA III Luristan graveyards. As at Karkhai, beads of this semi-precious stone sometimes occur in very large numbers (see Haerinck and Overlaet 1998: 38; 1999: 37; 2004: 75).

Vanden Berghe also mentioned six tiny silver bell pendants in association with this necklace but omitted them from his reconstruction [see Pl. 5, top left].¹⁹ A photograph showing three of these bells together with a selection of the other metal adornments suggests they range from a few millimeters to almost a centimeter in height [see Pl. 5.24].

DATING

Vanden Berghe (1973a: 28-29; Kleiss *et al.* 1973: 209) assigned this burial broadly to the 8th century BCE. Its datable contents—the pins, the two bronze vessels and the pyxis—together allow us to refine this timeframe to within the late 8th, or perhaps early 7th century BCE. As noted above, the pins are secure-

ly dated to the NE II period. The bronze jar, despite its usually long neck, can be broadly grouped with the other so-called “inkwell” vessels typical of funerary contexts of the NE II in Elam and IA III in Luristan (Wicks 2018: 131, KK1), and the bronze bowl carries a decoration that connects it to typical IA III Luristan wares. The cuboid pyxis also certainly belongs to the 8th/7th century BCE, and if was correctly identified by Vanden Berghe as terracotta, it fits well with the NE II trend favoring this fabric over the previously popular faience for glazed vessels (Miroschedji 1981: 29; Heim 1992: 203).

Our best comparative evidence for dating this burial is the assemblage of grave goods in the early NE II pit burial T. 27 in the Ville Royale A at Susa, which includes a strikingly similar combination of two bitumen-headed iron-stemmed pins, a cuboid pyxis (painted polychrome) [Pl. 7b], and a bronze “inkwell” (additional grave goods were globular jars, small bowls with flared wall and deep goblets with gadrooned wall; see Miroschedji 1990: 183-84, fn. 19).²⁰

Also supporting a late 8th/7th century BCE date is the dominance of iron in the burial in the form of bracelets, anklets, a button and pin stems. According to P. R. S. Moorey (1994: 289-90), while iron is known in earlier archaeological contexts (e.g. wrought iron blades mechanically connected to an iron hilt and pommel in 11th century BCE Luristan), it was not until the ninth century BCE that iron products became relatively common. Assyrian sites do not yield much iron until the late 8th century BCE when the range of iron tools and weapons truly expands and an increase in the use of iron at this time is also well-attested at Hasanlu (level IV). Susa paints a similar picture. In funerary contexts, iron weapons

17. Haerinck and Overlaet 2004: 68, fig. 27, Pl. 148.

18. Curtis 2013: 192, Pl. LXXXVI, no. 950.

19. Vanden Berghe (1973a) shows three bells in a photo of the metal adornments on p. 29. However, he does not mention any bells in the description of the burial contents on p. 25 and his caption for the photograph of the reconstructed necklace on p. 27 mentions six of them, but they are not actually included.

20. T. 27 is to be renumbered as 226 in the unpublished forthcoming volume MDP 48. For this burial see also Wicks 2019, SuP7; Heim 1992: 208, fig. 146.

and jewelry are found almost exclusively with NE II ceramics and small finds, often with the bitumen-headed pins which have iron stems.²¹ Iron bracelets were also found in a NE II burial at Tall-i Ghazir²² and iron in the form of blade weapons is conspicuous in the elite NE II interments at Arjan near Behbahan (Álvarez-Mon 2010: 119-20, with refs) and Jubaji on the Ram Hormuz plain (Shishegar 2015, blade nos. 1/2-1/8 [iron]; blades attached to hilt nos. 1/1 [gold], 9 [silver] and 1/1 [animal-headed, material uncertain]).

KARKHAI IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Here in *Tombe 1* at Karkhai we have a portrait of an individual whose female gender, elite status, and affinities particularly with Elamite culture coalesce in a carefully curated costume and grave good assemblage.²³ Miroschedji (1990: 185) explains this Elamite connection by way of a route linking the Abdanan area and the Zagros piedmonts near the region of Patak on the Deh Luran plain where he situates the eminent 7th century BCE Elamite city of Madaktu. He envisages a lone burial deposited by a tribal group moving seasonally between the mountains and the plains where they were periodically in contact with the Elamite urban centers.²⁴ In the absence of evidence for fully nomadic lifeways at this point in the history of Iran,²⁵

21. See Wicks 2019, SuC5, SuC22, SuP-G2, SuU1, SuU4.

22. For the Tall-i Ghazir burial see Carter 1994: 71, fig. 12; Wicks 2019, GhP4; 2019b.

23. This assessment accords with an earlier comment of Haerinck and Overlaet (2004: 82) that compared with the assemblages found in the IA III cemeteries in the northwest part of the Pusht-i Kuh, the Karkhai assemblage is much closer to the Elamite cultural sphere.

24. Vanden Berghe (1973a: 25) saw the burial in terms of a southwards Iranian penetration and regarded the Neo-Elamite pyxis as evidence of these new populations coming increasingly into contact with lowland Elamites and being exposed to forms of art from Susa.

25. True year-round nomadism as practiced by the 20th century Bakhtiari arose as a response to the Mongol in-

however, alternative reasons must be sought for the close connection of *Tombe 1* with the Elamite sphere. These include, but are not limited to, the well-attested Elamite political and cultural influence extending up at least as far as Surkh Dum and perhaps Chogha Sabz at this time (Álvarez-Mon 2010: 209-11), direct social links between the populations of Luristan and Elam, possibly including inter-marriage, or, most likely, the presence in the Abdanan area of Elamite populations. Could we even imagine wealthy lowland residents of the Susiana or Deh Luran plains escaping the stifling summer heat to properties in the mountains?

Local southern Luristan culture also manifests in the burial with the inclusion of Pusht-i Kuh-associated materials in the assemblage alongside the Elamite ones. Amongst Elam's northern neighbors were the Ellipi, whose lands are portrayed in late 8th century BCE textual evidence as a contested zone between Assyria and Elam. A desire to control the area brought a military confrontation in 708-707 BCE in which two competing brothers of the Ellipi royal house faced each other to take the crown, one (Nibe) supported by the Elamite king Shutruk-Nahhunte II, the other (I/Ash-pabara) by the Assyrian king Sargon (see Dubovský 2018: 325; Potts 2016: 258, with refs.).²⁶ Medvedskaya (1999: 63-64) situates the Ellipi primarily in the Pish-i Kuh,²⁷ and Haerinck and Overlaet (2004: 82) are uncer-

vasion of the 13th century and the subsequent Turkish migrations into southwestern Persia (see recently Potts 2014: 427-28).

26. According to Gorris (2014) the kingdom of Ellipi disappeared within decades of the commencement of the 7th century BCE, and when the Assyrians incorporated it into their Empire "the most northern region of Elam was probably the Rashi area in southern Luristan".

27. According to Medvedskaya (1999: 63ff.), Ellipi was situated in the Pish-i Kuh as far east as Kuh-i Garin. The western neighbours were Bit-Hamban, Halman and Tupliash and the eastern ones were Araziash, Harhar and Media.

tain as to whether the Pusht-i Kuh should be seen as an extension of the Ellipi cultural area. Given a visible divergence in its ceramic assemblages, they allow for the possibility proposed by Zadok (1981-82: 135; followed by Haerinck and Overlaet 2004: 82; Overlaet 2013: 384) that it had been home to a separate tribal entity, the “Parnakians”.

CONCLUDING NOTE

From the contents of Vanden Berghe’s *Tombe 1* at Karkhai we obtain the portrait of a person—almost certainly a woman—whose identity merged the cultures that must have met and mingled in the mountainous zones bordering on the lowland plains of Elam. The documentation of this unique example of an Iron Age burial in the Abdanan area provides few clues as to the circumstances of death, the locational context of the burial, and the associated rituals. Did this lady find death far from home, at the wrong time and place, or are we simply lacking evidence for her community’s local settlement? Whatever the case, those who prepared her for interment ensured that she was dressed in quality costume in order to assume her proper place in the netherworld and sent her off with the enactment of funerary rituals involving the various wares in the grave. No doubt, if we could read it properly, this burial would have a delightful story to tell.

APPENDIX: CATALOGUE OF PYXIDES FROM SUSAN AND LURISTAN AND KNOBS FROM SUSAN

Pyxides from Susa and Luristan

This distinctive class of ornately embellished glazed faience and terracotta pyxides were manufactured in southwest Iran during the 8th to 6th centuries BCE (see Pls. 6-8).²⁸ Apart

28. The body of ancient faience is a mixture of more than 90% of powdered quartz or sand to which is added an alkali flux to lower the melting temperature, and water to make it plastic and malleable. In Elam this alkali flux

from three examples (two very fragmentary) excavated at Surkh Dum in Luristan (IA III), they are known only from the Susiana region at Susa and Choga Zanbil. These vessels share their decorative motifs and colors with contemporary glazed faience wall-knobs and numerous terracotta tiles from Susa, most of which appear to have been excavated to the east of the Apadana mound (the others are probably from the Ville Royale) (Álvarez-Mon forthcoming).²⁹ Here the pyxides and wall-knobs are individually described.

Cylindrical Pyxis from Susa [Pl. 6a] (h. 20.5 cm, dm. 11 cm).³⁰ Housed at the Louvre Museum (Sb 411bis). Cylindrical faience pyxis from Susa with finely incised imagery around the walls and a recumbent bull protome lug at the rim with small, curved horns, protruding chest, and folded forelegs. The walls carry a heraldic composition of a stylized sacred tree framed by two rampant bulls that chew on the ends of its elongated, lanceolate-shaped leaves. A second, similar, tree stands between their backs. The rim is encircled by three bands filled with slanted hatched lines (top), a guilloche (middle), and a chevron pattern (bottom); another band of slanted hatched lines encircles the base.

Cylindrical Pyxis from Surkh Dum [Pl. 6b] (h. 10 cm). Housed at the National Museum of Iran.³¹ Cylindrical green-glazed incised

was mainly made of vegetable ash (Caubet *et al.* 2007: 26). Glazed faience and glazed terracotta are often difficult to distinguish from each other when the body of the fabric of the object is not visible; and in some cases vessels have been reported as different materials in different publications (see Álvarez-Mon forthcoming).

29. The knobs may have been used alone or placed through pierced plaques bearing the same green, white and yellow color schemes; some could have been attached to plaques whose knobs are now missing.

30. Excavated 1913-1914. Amiet 1966: 501, no. 376; Heim 1989: 61, figs. J: 1-4.

31. Schmidt *et al.* 1989, Pl. 151b; Amiet 1966: 498-99,



Pl. 6. Pyxides from Susa and Surkh Dum

[a] Cylindrical pyxis from Susa, Louvre Museum Sb 411bis (photograph © J. Álvarez-Mon, line drawing after Amiet 1966: 501, no. 376); [b] Cylindrical pyxis from Surkh Dum, National Museum of Iran (photographs © J. Álvarez-Mon; line drawings by Schmidt *et al.* 1989, Pl. 151b).



Pl. 7. Pyxides from Susa

[a] Cuboid pyxis with sphinx and bird-headed griffin, Louvre Museum Sb 2810 (photograph © J. Álvarez-Mon; line drawing after Mecquenem 1943: 36, fig. 28)

[b] Cuboid pyxis with gazelles, Louvre Museum Sb 4604 (photograph © J. Álvarez-Mon).

faience pyxis with a guilloche framed by two bands of slanted hatched lines at the rim and a base encircled by a single band of hatched triangles. Vertical bands of slanted lines divide the walls into two friezes depicting a bird-headed griffin with upswept pompadour, pointy ears, pendant curl, collar band, incised body hair, and slanted lines on the belly.

Cuboid Pyxis with Sphinx and Bird-Headed Griffin [Pl. 7a] (h. 17 cm, w. 12.4 cm).³² Housed at the Louvre Museum (Sb 2810). Finely incised cuboid pyxis with traces of blue glaze found under the west court of the palace of Darius in the Apadana. It has two pierced lugs in the form of human heads that may represent females; both have a fleshy, hairless face, a mass of shoulder-length hair, and a wavy fringe at the forehead. The rim carries a guilloche framed by bands of slanted hatched lines with plain narrow borders and the base carries a row of vertical hatched lines between plain, narrow borders. The four sides exhibit two alternating motifs: an androcephalous sphinx and a bird-headed griffin.

Cuboid Pyxis with Gazelles [Pl. 7b] (h. 11.2 cm, w. 11.8 cm).³³ Housed at the Louvre Museum (Sb 4604). Cuboid pyxis retrieved from tombe 27 (GS 3546) in the Ville Royale A; intrusive in level IX. It preserves pale green and white glaze, black outlines, a pair of plain lugs and a lid. Two bands of vertical lines with plain narrow borders ornament the rim, and a plain narrow band and thick band of irregular triangles ornament the base. All four faces show a passant gazelle with white body and black outlines. The lid is decorated with floral motifs.

no. 375; Heim 1989: 60, 65, nt. 2, 220; Muscarella 1981: 332.

32. Mecquenem 1943: 36, fig. 28; Amiet 1966: 498, no. 375; Muscarella 1981: 350; Heim 1989: 59; 1992: 207 (measures provided seem incorrect: h. 17 cm x w. 17.5 cm).

33. Heim 1992: 208, no. 146.

Cuboid Pyxis with Winged Griffin(?) and Rosette [Pl. 8a].³⁴ Housed at the National Museum of Iran. Cuboid pyxis, probably from Choga Zanbil, preserving white and green-blue glaze, black outlines, a pair of lugs, and a square lid with central knob and border band of slanted lines. The rim and base carry bands of slanted lines and perhaps guilloches. Two opposing faces show a thirteen-petaled rosette and the other two show a hybrid, perhaps a lion-headed griffin, with a long, raised, curly tail and extended legs (leaping?).

Cylindrical Pyxis with Lid [Pl. 8b].³⁵ Housed at the Louvre Museum. Cylindrical pyxis with slightly concave walls glazed white on green, a pair of pierced lugs and a lid. Thick bands of vertical lines at the rim and base frame two horizontal bands of white triangles and slanted lines.

Round Faience Container with Lid [Pl. 8c] (h. 7.8 cm, dm. 12.5 cm).³⁶ Housed at the Louvre Museum (ML, Sb 2815). Glazed container preserving two lugs and a round lid with top knob. A white and orange horizontal band of slanted lines outlines the rim and the green body is ornamented with large and small white rosettes with eight and twelve orange petals respectively.

Fragmentary Cylindrical Pyxis [Pl. 8d] (h. 14.2 cm, dm. 10.5 cm).³⁷ Housed at the Na-

34. A line drawing of a fragmentary square pyxis glazed white over blue from Choga Zanbil could represent this vessel (Mecquenem and Michalon 1953: 44, fig. 8), although the animal figure was reconstructed as a "horse" rather than a lion-headed griffin.

35. Álvarez-Mon 2010, Pl. 110b.

36. Mecquenem 1943: 35-36, figs. 28-30; Amiet 1966: 494, no. 371.

37. Another faience fragment of a pyxis found in the Apadana is housed at the Louvre Museum (Sb 3421). It is glazed light green on the interior and blue-green on the exterior (see Caubet *et al.* 2007: 118, fig. 59; Álvarez-Mon 2010, Pl. 110f-f').



Pl. 8. Pyxides from Susa

[a] Cuboid pyxis with winged griffin(?) and rosette, National Museum of Iran (photograph © J. Álvarez-Mon) [b] Cylindrical pyxis with lid, Louvre Museum (photograph © J. Álvarez-Mon) [c] Rounded faience pyxis with lid, Louvre Museum Sb 2815 (photograph © J. Álvarez-Mon) [d] Fragmentary cylindrical pyxis National Museum of Iran no. 116 (photograph © J. Álvarez-Mon) [e] Cylindrical pyxis, Louvre Museum Sb 418 (photograph © J. Álvarez-Mon).

tional Museum of Iran (inventory no. 116). Fragmentary (green?) glazed incised cylindrical pyxis with one preserved lug found in the Apadana. The rim carries a guilloche framed by a thin band of vertical lines and another of chevron. The base has a thick band segmented by diagonally hatched pairs of vertical bands enclosed by thin bands, the upper one plain and the lower one diagonally hatched. The body is ornamented by a looping double torsade forming triangular spaces filled by rosettes.

Cylindrical Pyxis [Pl. 8e] (h. 13 cm, dm. 13 cm).³⁸ Housed at the Louvre Museum (Sb 418). Incised pyxis with faded (green?) glaze and a lugged lid decorated with a rosette encircled by a chevron band. A thin, plain band, a guilloche band and a chevron band encircle the rim and two plain bands frame a zigzag line at the base. The body carries a sequence of rosettes inside circles separated by a floral (?) motif.

Fragmentary Pyxides from Susa [Pl. 9b1-b3].³⁹ The Louvre Museum holds numerous fragments of pyxides from Susa carrying a diversity of decoration. The most common motifs are rosettes, chevrons, and guilloche bands. In one example [Pl. 10b1], the rosette is encircled by four half-rosettes and four palmettes with slanted edges.

Wall Knobs from Susa

Knob [Pl. 9a] (head dm. 11.5 cm, edge restored); housed at the Louvre Museum (Sb 346).⁴⁰ Terracotta knob glazed yellow and white on green. Central rosette surrounded by four buds with hatched edges and base volutes, alternating with multiple petals with round edges.

Knob [Pl. 9c] (head dm. 12.3 cm); housed at

the Louvre Museum.⁴¹ Pinkish faience knob with central rosette surrounded by four buds with hatched edges and base volutes, alternating with multiple petals with round edges.

Knob [Pl. 9d] (head dm. 10.5 cm); housed at the Louvre Museum (Sb 342).⁴² Crudely made and poorly preserved faience knob with central rosette surrounded by four buds with hatched edges alternating with multiple petals.

Knob [Pl. 9e] (head dm. 11.5 cm); housed at the Louvre Museum (Sb 3375).⁴³ Faience knob, pink-yellow, white, faded grey, traces of blue-green glaze on stem. Central disk encircled by a row of dotted circles and surrounded by four buds with hatched hedges and base volutes alternating with sets of five petals with round edges.

Knob [Pl. 9f] (head dm. 9.5 cm); housed at the Louvre Museum.⁴⁴ Pinkish faience knob with white and pink-yellow glaze. Central sixteen-petaled rosette surrounded by eight buds with hatched hedges, alternating with (traces of) three petals.

Knob [Pl. 9g] (head dm. 14.5 cm); housed at the Louvre Museum (Sb 3377).⁴⁵ Reddish terracotta knob with traces of green glaze. Central rosette surrounded by a guilloche and five buds alternating with petals (number undetermined).

Knob [Pl. 9h] (head dm. 12cm); housed at the Louvre Museum (Sb3376).⁴⁶ Faience knob.

38. Mecquenem 1943: 38, fig. 30.10; Amiet 1966: 495, no. 372.

39. Heim 1989, nos. E5-7.

40. Mecquenem excavations 1921 (east of Apadana palace). See Amiet 1966, no. 379; Heim 1989, no.100.

41. Mecquenem excavations 1921 (east of Apadana palace), Mecquenem 1943: 40, fig. 33.3; Heim 1989, no.101.

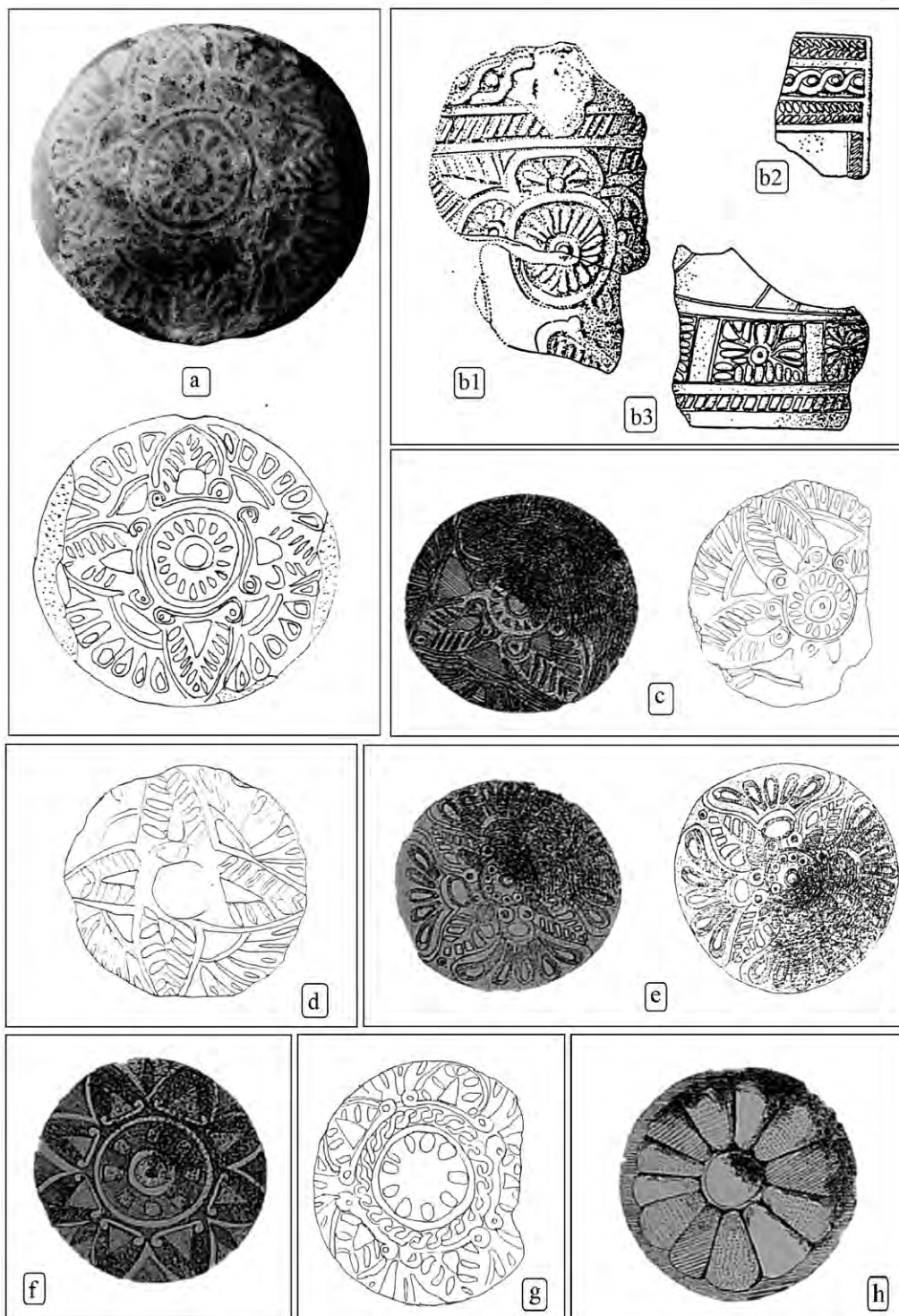
42. Mecquenem excavations 1921 (east of Apadana palace). Heim 1989, no.103.

43. Mecquenem excavations (east of Apadana palace); Mecquenem 1943: 40, fig. 33.2. Heim 1989, no. 99.

44. Mecquenem excavations 1923 (probably east of Apadana palace), Mecquenem 1943: 40, fig. 33.1. Heim 1989, no.105.

45. Heim 1989, no.107.

46. Mecquenem excavations, Ville Royale or Apadana.



Pl. 9. Terracotta glazed knobs and pyxis fragments from Susa

[a] Knob (photograph after Amiet, 1966, no. 379; line drawing after Heim 1989, no.100) [b] Fragmentary pyxides from Susa (line drawings after Heim 1989, nos. E5-7) [c] Knob (photograph and line drawing after Mecquenem 1943: 40, fig. 33.3) [d] Knob (line drawing after Heim 1989, no.103) [e] Knob (photograph and line drawing after Mecquenem 1943: 40, fig. 33.2) [f] Knob (photograph after Mecquenem 1943: 40, fig. 33.1) [g] Knob (line drawing after Heim 1989, no.107) [h] Knob (photograph after Mecquenem 1943: 40, fig. 33.4).

Head composed of twelve petals in relief with alternating yellow and white, white center,

white border. Shank with fragmentary inscription (unpublished).

Mecquenem 1943: 40, fig. 33.4; Amiet 1966, no. 301; Heim 1989, no. 87.

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عصر آهن در غرب ایران و مناطق همجوار



به کوشش:
یوسف حسن‌زاده
علی‌اکبر وحدتی
زاهد کریمی



موزه ملی ایران

استان کردستان

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The international Conference on
**The Iron Age in Western Iran
and Neighbouring Regions** 2



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