

From the Caspian to the Aegean, from the Caucasus to the Carpathians. The circulation of the “long-sword” in the second millennium BC

VITTORIA DALL' ARMELLINA

Ca' Foscari University of Venice

ABSTRACT

Bronze swords with a thin and long blade which is generally over 60 cm and can reach up to 120 cm, often called “rapiers”, were found in second millennium BC elite graves over a wide geographical area from the Persian Talysh to the east, to the Aegean to the west.

The paper will discuss the geographical and chronological distribution of these objects, which are strongly symbolic and can be connected to the ideals of a rising warrior aristocracy, with a special focus on identifying the routes and ways of diffusion of such ideals, and their possible antecedents, over the northern sections of the Near East and beyond these.

KEYWORDS

Long-sword, rapier, Bronze Age, South Caucasus, Aegean, Anatolia, Talysh, Eastern Europe, aristocracy

1. Introduction

The so-called long-sword, an innovative type of weapon that was also an emblem of the emerging military aristocracy, spreads in the cultural landscape of the Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean of the second millennium BC. This is an object with a strong symbolic value that accompanies the warriors even after their death. In fact, it is often part of the funerary apparatus in sumptuous “royal tombs”, but it also appears in other prestigious elite contexts from the Southern Caucasus to Greece. Sporadic specimens have also been found outside the two limits of this “main diffusion area”: in the Talysh region of Northwestern Iran and in Eastern Europe. If the spread of the “long sword” in the Southern Caucasus, in Anatolia and in the Aegean area seems to be fairly uniform and on the whole chronologically clear, the issue is more complex for these western and eastern extensions as, on the one hand, the publications dealing with the Talysh swords are very dated and, on the other one, finds of this type of weapon in Eastern Europe are very scarce and often result from fortuitous discoveries.

In the following, we will discuss the geographical and chronological distribution of these objects, which are strongly symbolic and can be connected to the ideals of a rising warrior aristocracy, with a special focus on identifying the routes and ways of diffusion of such ideals,¹ and their possible antecedents, over the northern sections of the Near East and beyond these.

2. Typology

The long-sword is a metal weapon with a thin blade with two cutting edges, often balanced by a midrib, which can be more or less marked. In any case, the considerable length of the blade, which is mostly over 60 cm but can reach up to 120 cm, is its main distinctive feature. The shape of the upper part of

¹ To deepen other topics (for examples the typological classification, the contexts of discovery, the iconographic sources and of the written testimonies about the long-sword) see DALL'ARMELLINA 2017, pp. 143-182.

the blade can vary considerably, and a midrib can be either present or absent. Especially in the earlier periods, morphological variety is quite high. The shape of the shoulder, the tang and the handle can be very different from each other, probably as a consequence of cultural trends, which tend to differentiate the shape of the weapon on a regional basis. On the other hand, swords that come from the same geographic area are often quite similar to each other.²

3. South Caucasian, Anatolian and Aegean swords

The two most numerous *corpora* of long-swords have been found in the Southern Caucasus and in the Aegean. We must however consider that it is in Anatolia, in the late fourth millennium BC, that the first sword prototypes were found, precisely at Tülintepe, Arslantepe, and in Sivas region.³ All these zones show connections with the Caucasus since the Late Chalcolithic period, especially with the South Caucasian Kura-Araxes, but also with the North Caucasian Majkop/Novosvobodnaja culture.⁴ In fact a primitive sword model was also found in the Klady cemetery in the northwestern Caucasus.⁵ Furthermore, the oldest long-swords, which are dated to the mid-third millennium BC were found in Anatolia, precisely in the “Royal Cemetery” of Alacahöyük⁶ (fig. 1: A). There is however a second place, geographically very far away from Anatolia, where a possibly roughly contemporary long-sword was discovered: the necrop-

² The typological question is rather complex and we have chosen not to treat it in this article. For the complete description of the different types of long-sword see: DALL'ARMELLINA 2017, pp. 146-153.

³ YALÇIN, YALÇIN 2009, p. 126 (Tülintepe); DI NOCERA ET AL. 2004, pp. 66-67; PALUMBI 2004, pp. 114-119; FRANGIPANE 2007-2008, pp. 169-193 (Arslantepe); ZIMMERMANN ET AL. 2011, pp. 1-7 (Sivas).

⁴ PALUMBI 2011, pp. 47-59.

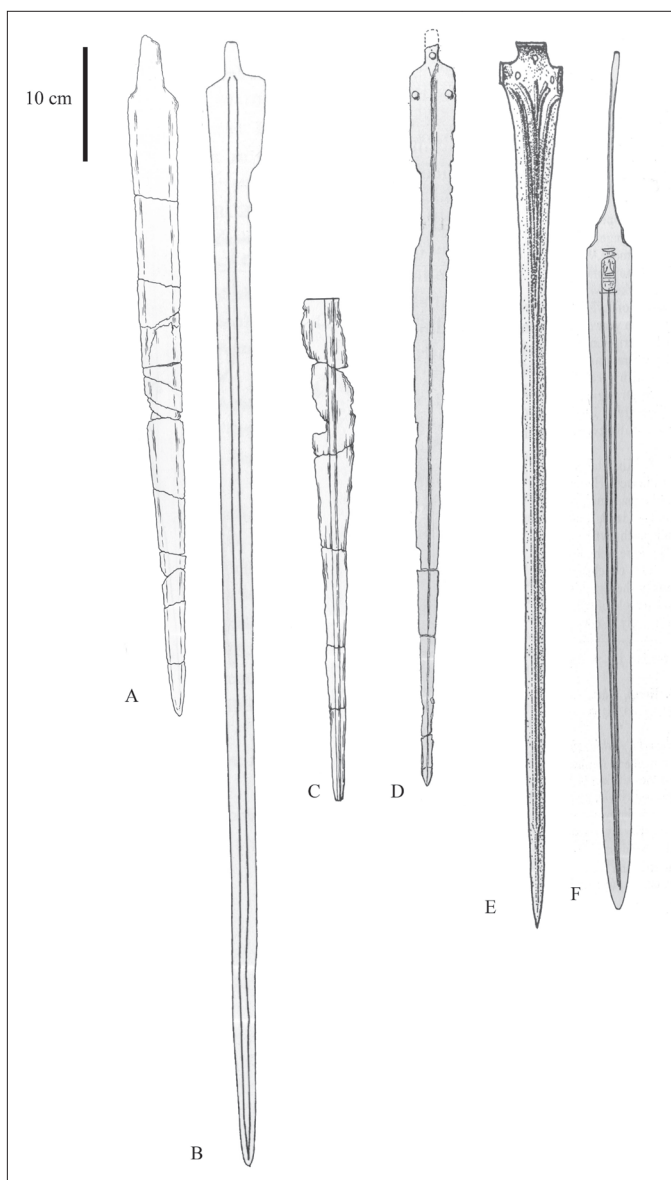
⁵ ANTHONY 2007, pp. 291-283; REZEPKIN 2000, pp. 62-67.

⁶ KOŞAY 1944, pp. 118-120, pl. LXXXI, 26; SANDARS 1961, pp. 18-19, pl. 15,3-5; GÜRSAN-SALZMANN 1992, pp. 73, 81-82, 91, 139-140, 142, 146.

FIGURE 1

Examples of long swords from the Southern Caucasus, Anatolia and the Aegean area.

- A - Alacahöyük (after SANDARS 1961, pl. 15);
 B - Dzoraget (after ABRAMISHVILI 2001, Taf. 2);
 C - Lefkada (after SANDARS 1961, pl. 17, 6);
 D - Malia (after CHAPOUTHIER 1938, fig. 4);
 E - Hattuša (after TARACHA 2003, fig. 1);
 F - Ugarit (after SCHAEFFER 1955, p. 277)



olis of Nidhiri, on the island of Lefkada, where tomb cR7 contained a large set of weapons including a fragment of blade (fig. 1: C).⁷ We can thus suppose that Eastern Anatolia was the place where the “idea of sword” was born, and where later long-swords developed.

Later on, starting from the late third/early second millennium, the long-sword begins to spread into various regions: in the Southern Caucasus with the Trialeti culture (fig. 1: B)⁸, in South-eastern and

Central Anatolia,⁹ at Byblos in the Levant¹⁰ but also in the Aegean area, with recoveries both in the is-

⁷ DÖRPFELD 1927, p. 229; SANDARS 1961, p. 26, pl. 17,6; SANDARS 1963, p. 145.

⁸ Examples have been found at Samtavro (ABRAMISH-

VILI 2001, p. 4, Taf. 2,7), Mravaltskali (PICCHELAURI 1987, p. 37, Taf. XLIV; ABRAMISHVILI 2001, pp. 4-5, Taf. 2,2), Saduga (ABRAMISHVILI 2001, p. 5, Taf. 2,1), Maisan (AREJAN 1986, p. 494; ABRAMISHVILI 2001, pp. 5-6, BOBOKYAN 2008, p. 60, Taf. 24) and Lori-Berd (BOBOKHYAN 2008, p. 60, Taf. 24).

⁹ Examples have been found at Diyarbakir (GÜTERBOCK 1965, 197-198, pl. XIII). Ganziantep (SUMMERS 1991, 184-186, figs. 6b, 8), Soli (BITTEL 1940, pl. IV, fig. 6; SANDARS 1961, p. 22, pl. 16,5) and Kültepe (ÖZGÜC 1986, p. 75, pl. 129,3).

¹⁰ DUNAND 1937, pp. 148-149, figs. 138-139; SCHAEFFER 1948, pp. 60-61; SANDARS 1961, p. 20, pl. 16,6.

lands (fig. 1: D)¹¹ and on the mainland.¹² From the seventeenth to the fifteenth century BC attestations in the Southern Caucasus and in Anatolia become less frequent, and the main propagation centre of these weapons is the Peloponnese, especially Mycenae (fig. 2).

From the fourteenth century onwards, most finds are located in the Aegean region (Peloponnese,¹³

Attica,¹⁴ Eubea,¹⁵ in Crete¹⁶ and Rhodes¹⁷) and long swords make their appearance also in different sites in the Levantine area (fig. 1: F). On the contrary, they are no longer present in Anatolia and in the Southern Caucasus.

It is important to understand which may have been the main routes that allowed the long sword to reach the Aegean area. We have three different

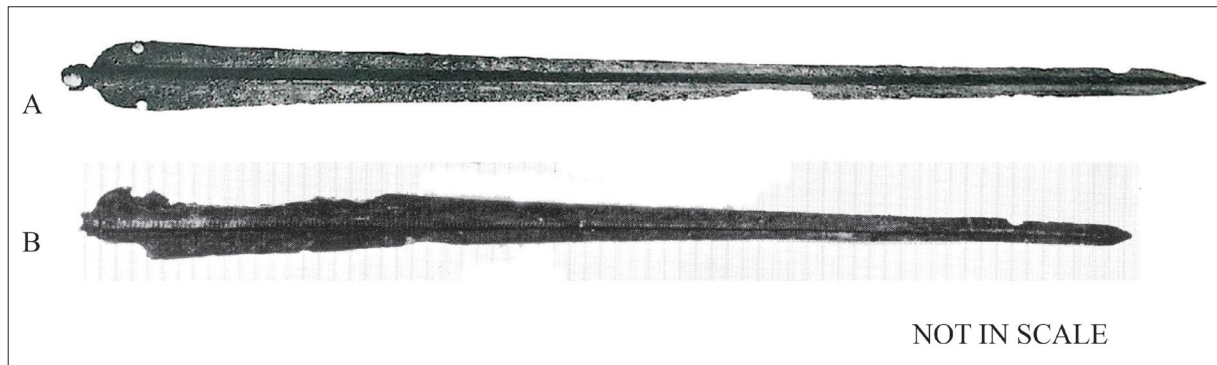


FIGURE 2

Examples of long swords from Mycenae

A- Circle A Tomb V cat. 730 (after KARO 1930, Taf. LXXXI);

B- Circle B Tomb N (after MYLONAS 1973, pl. 147 *α*)

¹¹ In particular at Malia (CHARBONNEAUX 1925, pp. 1-18, figs. 4-11; CHAPOUTHIER 1936, pp. 15-30, pl. 1; SANDARS 1961, p. 17, pl. 17,1) and Arkalochori (HAZZIDAKIS 1912, pp. 35-47; MARINATOS 1935, pp. 212-220; SANDARS 1961, p. 17, pl. 17,3), Aegina (KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 1997, pp. 13-23, Abb. 5-7) and Lefkada (DÖRPFELD 1927, p. 229; SANDARS 1961, p. 26, pl. 17,5).

¹² In the Circle B of Mycenae (MYLONAS 1973), at Argos (PROTONOTARIOU-DEILAKI 1990, p. 79; GONZATO 2012, p. 123), Galatas (<http://chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/1935/>) and Thebes (KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 1993, p. 18, Taf. 5,31).

¹³ At Dendra (PERSSON 1931, pp. 34-36, pl. XX; SANDARS 1963, p. 147), Prosymna (SANDARS 1963, p. 145); Nichoria (WILKIE 1987, p. 132, pl. XXXIIIa) and Epidaurus (PAPADIMITRIOU 1948, pp. 101-102; LAMBRINUDAKIS 1981, p. 62, fig. 13).

¹⁴ At Athens (IMMERWAHR 1973, pp. 12-13, fig. 21; DRIESSEN, MACDONALD 1984, p. 69), Perati (IAKOVIDES 1954, pp. 89-103, fig. 5; SANDARS 1963, 152); Tangara (ORLANDOI 1971, p. 18, fig. 15; DRIESSEN, MACDONALD 1980, p. 70) and Orchomenos (DRIESSEN, MACDONALD 1984, p. 69).

¹⁵ THEMELES 1972, p. 250, pl. 215a; DRIESSEN AND MACDONALD 1984, p. 69.

¹⁶ Knossos (EVANS 1906, pp. 33-37, 50, 62, figs. 66, 98 figs. 38, 53, 66; EVANS 1935, p. 849, fig. 832; HUTCHINSON 1956, pp. 68-73, figs. 2, 16; HOOD 1956, pp. 81-99, figs. 3, 5, pl. 14e; Hood, De Jong 1952, pp. 249, 265, fig. 15a, pl. 50; Sandars 1963, pp. 144-147, pl. 21,1, pl. 23,12; Mervyn Popham, CATLING 1974, p. 226, figs. 16-17; DRIESSEN, MACDONALD 1984, p. 70), Kydonia (ANDREADAKI-VLAZAKI 2010, p. 525) and Kato Symne (LEBESSI 1976, p. 10; DRIESSEN, MACDONALD 1984, p. 71).

¹⁷ MAIURI 1926, p. 100, fig. 15; JACOPI 1930, p. 297, figs. 42-43; SANDARS 1963, p. 145; DRIESSEN AND MACDONALD 1984, p. 69.

possible ways of communication. The first connects the Southern Caucasus to the area of the Assyrian merchant colonies in Central Anatolia and then, through this, reaches the coast of the Mediterranean Sea between Cilicia and the Northern Levant and, from there, finds a sea outlet to the Aegean. This route may be reflected by some Anatolian finds (Kültepe, Diyarbakir, Gaziantep, Soli) and by an isolated in north Levant (Byblos), but also in the fact that most of the oldest Aegean swords were found in the islands (Crete, Aegina, Lefkada and Amorgos).

The second possible itinerary would pass to the south of the Pontus mountains, then would cross the Bosphorus canal and then again reach Greece. At last, we must consider also the situation of the site of Troy. No swords were found here, but the site indubitably returned materials that show strong connections, since the third millennium BC, with the Near East, the Aegean area and with the Southern Caucasus.¹⁸ So we must take into account also a third route that, starting from the Southern Caucasus, passed through the area of Troy site and flowed from there into the Mediterranean.

4. Long-swords from Azerbaijan and the Talysh region

Mention should now be made of some long-swords found in Azerbaijan and in the Talysh area of Northwestern Iran. These finds attest a diffusion of the long sword in the south-eastern direction, as well. There are, however, some major problems concerning the dates of these specimens. The literature regarding long-swords discovered in Azerbaijan is fragmentary and approximate.¹⁹ Fortunately Gisela Burger in 1994 published two examples of swords coming from this country. The first is preserved at the archaeological museum of Baku and it origi-

nates from Semacha (fig. 3: B). The scholar dated this item to the eighteenth/seventeenth centuries BC because it was found in association with some black polished ware.²⁰ The second sword comes from Astarra (fig. 3: A), but we do not have any other information about the circumstances of finding or dating hypotheses.²¹

The Talysh swords come from funerary contexts which were archeologically investigated in the nineteenth century by J. De Morgan.²² Two of them were found in the Veri (fig. 3: D-E) cemetery, one inside a dolmen tomb at Hovil (fig. 3: C), and the last comes from a circular grave at Khodja-Daoud. Unfortunately De Morgan provided insufficient information about the chronology of these graves, did not number them and often published materials belonging to their funerary equipment without specifying which tomb they come from.

At a later date, C.F.A. Schaeffer in *Stratigraphie Comparée et Chronologie de l'Asie Occidentale* revised De Morgan's work and dated some swords to his Talyche Recent I period (1550-1450 BC) and some other to his Talyche Recent II period (1450-1350 BC).²³ Schaeffer's chronological periodisation of the Talysh region is based on some Mittanni-style seals, found and published by De Morgan, which show strong similarities with specimens from Palestine and Ugarit.²⁴ More recently some scholars, such as Schachner²⁵ and Abramishvili,²⁶ have however suggested that Schaeffer's chronology of the region should be revised and that, as a consequence, these long swords might be contemporary with those found in Georgia and Armenia, which are presently dated to the twentieth-seventeenth centuries. Although this can not be ruled out, it can not be proved at the present state of knowledge, especially since in one of the Tombs of Veri, of which a relatively good drawing was published, it appears that daggers with a half-moon grip have been found

²⁰ BURGER 1994, p. 210.

²¹ BURGER 1994, p. 211.

²² DE MORGAN 1896, pp. 30-36, figs. 34, 38, 40, 56, 2005 p. 257, fig. 341.

²³ SCHAEFFER 1958, pp. 415-486.

²⁴ CASTELLUCCIA 2017, pp. 391-410.

²⁵ SCHACHNER 2005, pp. 179-180.

²⁶ ABRAMISHVILI 2010, note 61.

¹⁸ In particular, on the similarities of the various artefacts found by Schliemann with contemporary examples from all these areas, see TREISTER 1996, pp. 197-232; see also the table of comparison of axe-hammers from Troy with examples from the steppe in KOHL 2007, fig. 3.30.

¹⁹ BURGER 1994, p. 210, Taf. VI, 2; SCHACHNER 2001, p. 120, Taf. 36f - k; ARESHIAN 2008, p. 59, Abb. 2.8.

FIGURE 3

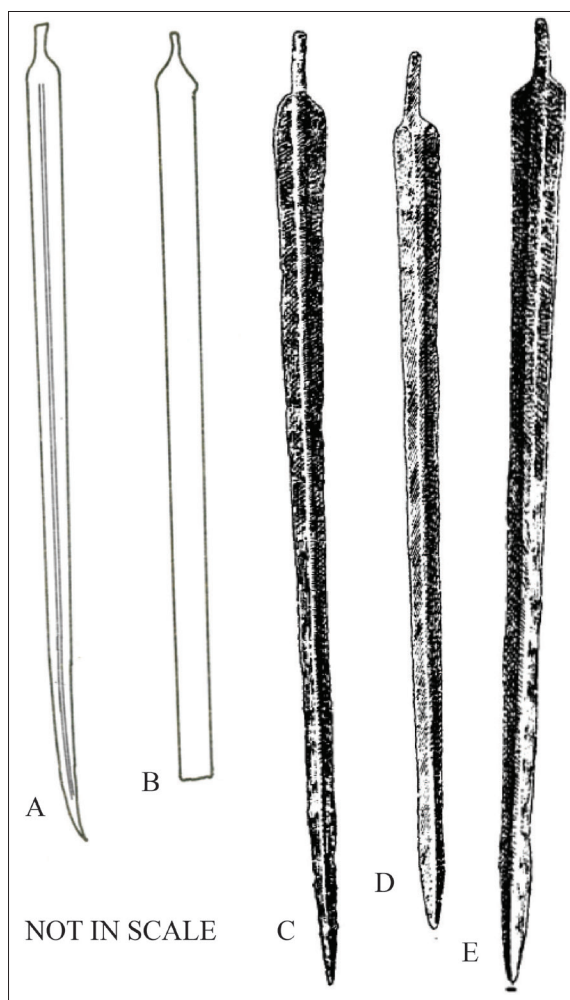
Long swords from Azerbaijan and the Talysh area

A - Astara (after BURGER 1994, Taf. VI)

B - Samacha (after BURGER 1994, Taf. VI);

C - Hovil (after DE MORGAN 1896, fig. 56,29)

D - E - Veri (after DE MORGAN 1896, figs. 56,1, 56,3)



along with the long sword.²⁷ This material is clearly later than the Georgian and Armenian swords, and would imply a later date for the associated long sword, although it cannot be excluded that a reuse of the tomb, as frequently attested in the region, had not been noticed by De Morgan.

²⁷ DE MORGAN 1896, fig. 40.

5. Bulgarian and Romanian long-swords

In the second half of the second millennium, the long-sword begins to spread also in other areas of Europe, in particular in the Balkan and Carpathian regions. These European specimens, published in section IV of the series *Prähistorische Bronzefunde*,²⁸ are probably closely related to the Greek ones, although unfortunately their dating is also very problematic. Two particularly significant examples should be mentioned in this regard.

The first one is preserved at the Museum of Varna, in Bulgaria (fig. 4: A). Its archaeological context is unknown, but it was supposedly found in north-eastern Bulgaria.²⁹ It is the fragment of a sword with a mid-rib and a blade that gradually narrows from the hilt plate to the tip. This particular profile shows a great similarity to the sword that was discovered in 1991 at the Lion Gate in the Hittite capital of Hattuša (fig. 1: E).³⁰ The well-known Hittite sword has an inscription with the name of king Tudhaliya I, who lived in the end of the fifteenth century, and this fact provides a clear fixed point for the dating of the object. Taking into account the similarity of the two weapons, the sword preserved in Varna might be contemporaneous with that of Hattuša, although the possibility of a later dating should not be excluded.

Another sword very similar to those of Varna and Hattuša was found in 1992 at Densuș in Romania (fig. 4: B).³¹ The weapon, which is part of a private collection, was casually found along the banks of the river, thus its dating is unknown. We can observe, however, that the blade, in good preservation status and 73 cm long, has strong typological analogies with the specimens discussed above.³²

²⁸ KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 1993; BADER 1991.

²⁹ ATHANASSOV, KRAUSS, SLAVČEV 2009, pp. 17-32.

³⁰ ÜNAL, ERTEKIN, EDİZ 1991, pp. 46-52; SALVINI, VAGNETTI 1994, pp. 215-235; HANSEN 1994, pp. 213-215; TARACHA 2003, pp. 367-376.

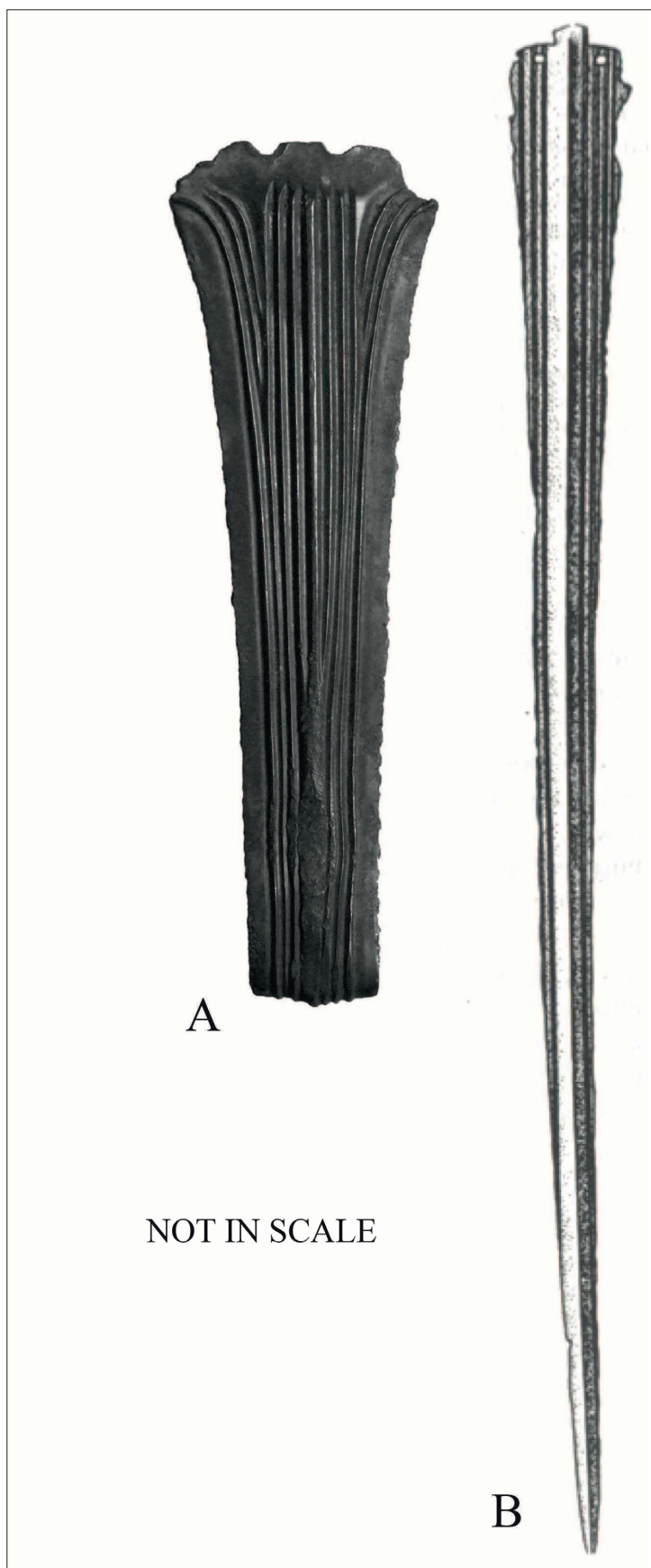
³¹ GOGÂLTAN 1997, pp. 55-65.

³² GOGÂLTAN 1997, pp. 55-65.

FIGURE 4
Long swords from Bulgaria and Romania

A - Varna (https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Abb-1-Schwertklinge-aus-dem-Museum-in-Varna-Inv-Nr-I-3762_fig1_228543207, 23/06/2018)

B - Densus (after GOGÁLTAN 1997, fig. 2)



6. Complete catalogue of long-swords from South Caucasus, Anatolia, Levant and Greece (mainland and islands)*

SOUTH CAUCASUS	Context of discovery	Date
Samtavro kurgan No. 243	funerary	20 th -18 th c.
Lilo kurgan No. 1	funerary	17 th -15 th c.
Mravaltskali kurgan No.12	funerary	20 th -18 th c.
Tetri Kvebi kurgan No. 1	funerary	17 th -15 th c.
Saduga kurgan No. 2	funerary	20 th -18 th c.
Dzoraget	funerary	unknown
Ghatchaghan	funerary (?)	20 th -18 th c.
Maisan Valley	funerary	20 th -18 th c.
Lori-Berd	unknown	20 th -18 th c.
Vorotnaberd	funerary	unknown
Angekhlakot	funerary	unknown
Dzora	funerary	unknown
Nojemberjan	unknown	unknown
Odzun	unknown	unknown
Hovil	unknown	unknown
Gachiani	unknown	unknown

ANATOLIA	Context of discovery	Date
Alacahöyük (3 pcs)	funerary	second half of 3 rd mill.
Gaziantep (2 pcs)	hoard	20 th -17 th c.
Çorum	unknown	unknown
Soli Pompeiopolis	hoard	20 th -17 th c.
Kültepe (2 pcs)	urban	20 th -17 th c.
Bodrum	unknown	unknown

* Because of the different regional periodisations, which are difficult to convert into absolute dates, it was decided to divide the diffusion of the “long swords” into four main chronological periods:

- 1 – second half of the 3rd millennium
- 2 – 20th-18th centuries
- 3 – 17th-15th centuries
- 4 – 14th century or later.

ANATOLIA	Context of discovery	Date
Bolu	funerary	unknown
Nallihan (2 pcs)	hoard	unknown
Diyarbakir	unknown	20 th -18 th c.
Hattuša	sporadic find	17 th -15 th c.
Kasatamonu	sporadic find	unknown

LEVANT	Context of discovery	Date
Byblos	hoard	20 th -18 th c.
Tell Es-Sa'Idiyeh	funerary	14 th c. or later
Ugarit	hoard	14 th c. or later
Ugarit	urban	14 th c. or later
Ugarit (4 pcs)	hoard	14 th c. or later
Gezer	funerary	14 th c. or later
Alalakh	urban	14 th c. or later

CRETE	Context of discovery	Date
Malia (3 pcs)	urban	20 th -18 th c.
Arkalochori	sacred	20 th -18 th c.
Zakros (2 pcs)	urban	17 th -15 th c.
Knossos (13 pcs)	funerary	14 th c. or later
Kato SymeViannou (3 pcs)	sacred	17 th -15 th c.
Kydonia	funerary	14 th c.

MYCENAE	Context of discovery	Date
Circle B tomb A (3 pcs)	funerary	20 th -18 th c.
Circle B tomb Γ (4 pcs)	funerary	20 th -18 th c.
Circle B tomb Δ	funerary	20 th -18 th c.
Circle B tomb Z	funerary	20 th -18 th c.

MYCENAE	Context of discovery	Date
Circle B tomb I	funerary	20 th -18 th c.
Circle B tomb Λ	funerary	20 th -18 th c.
Circle B tomb N (2 pcs)	funerary	20 th -18 th c.
Circle A tomb IV (7 pcs)	funerary	17 th -15 th c.
Circle A tomb V (11 pcs)	funerary	17 th -15 th c.
Circle A tomb VI	funerary	17 th -15 th c.
Chamber tomb 81	funerary	17 th -15 th c.
Chamber tomb 78	funerary	17 th -15 th c.
Acropolis	unknown	unknown

CONTINENTAL GREECE	Context of discovery	Date
Kakovatos tholos B	funerary	17 th -15 th c.
Dendra tholos tomb (4 pcs)	funerary	14 th c. or later
Dendra (?)	unknown	unknown
Prosymna chamber tomb XXXVII	funerary	14 th c. or later
Peramatos Ioannina	funerary	unknown
Galaxidi	unknown	unknown
Mount Olympus (?)	unknown	unknown
Unknown	unknown	unknown
Nichoria tholos tomb	funerary	14 th c. or later
Perati tomb 12	funerary	14 th c. or later
Argo mound E tomb 5	funerary	20 th -18 th c.
Agios Vasileios (batch of 16 pcs.)	unknown	17 th -15 th c.
Pylos	funerary	17 th -15 th c.
Galatas tomb 3	funerary	20 th -18 th c.
Tangara	funerary	14 th c. or later
Iolco tomb 6	funerary	17 th -15 th c.
Orchomenos	urban (?)	14 th c. or later
Athens Agora 's cemetery	funerary	14 th c. or later
Thebes	funerary	20 th -18 th c.
Epidaurus sanctuary of Apollo (2 pcs)	sacred	14 th c. or later

GREEK ISLANDS	Context of discovery	Date
Aegina King's Grave	funerary	20 th -18 th c.
Rhodes Ialysos (3 pcs)	funerary	14 th c. or later
Skopelos Staphilos Tomb	funerary	17 th -15 th c.
Levkas Nidhri tomb R7	funerary	second half of 3 rd Mill.
Levkas Nidhri tomb 24,	funerary	20 th -18 th c.
Euboea	funerary	14 th c. or later
Amorgos (4 pcs)	unknown	unknown

7. Long-swords from Arzebaijan and the Talysh region mentioned in the article

AZERBAIJAN	Context of discovery	Date
Semacha	unknown	18 th -17 th c.
Astara	unknown	unknown

TALYSH	Context of discovery	Date
Veri (2pcs)	funerary	20 th -17 th c. (?)
Hovil	funerary	20 th -17 th c. (?)
Khodja-Daoud	funerary	20 th -17 th c. (?)

8. Long-swords from Bulgaria and Romania mentioned in the article

BULGARIA	Context of discovery	Date
North-eastern Bulgaria (preserved at the Mueseum of Varna)	unknown	17 th -15 th c. (?)

ROMANIA	Context of discovery	Date
Densuş	sporadic find	17 th -15 th c. (?)

9. Conclusions

What emerges from the situation described above is that the first half of the second millennium is a period characterised by a strong “cultural sprint”. The Southern Caucasus and the Anatolian region seem to be not only the places of incubation of the long-sword, but also the starting point for the diffusion of a series of symbols and traditions related to it. The fact that some long swords have been found in Azerbaijan and in the Talysh region proves that there is not only a one-way diffusion vector, but a series of multidirectional steps that lead to a broad-spectrum propagation of social values. The presence of long-swords in Eastern Europe seems to confirm this hypothesis even more

In conclusion, what merits to be evaluated with greater interest in the future is not only the internationalisation, in the course of the Middle and especially of the Late Bronze Age, of trade and the wide-ranging distribution of specific products, but also the sharing of common customs and ideologies. The sumptuous elite graves in which many long swords were found, along with other precious objects and weapons, are proof of a cultural *koinè* of common values that result in a birth of a new aristocratic class, which maintains, or exhibits its power through military exercise. The virtues that the sword embodies thus show a common *fil rouge* from the Caspian to the Aegean, and from the Caucasus to the Carpathians.

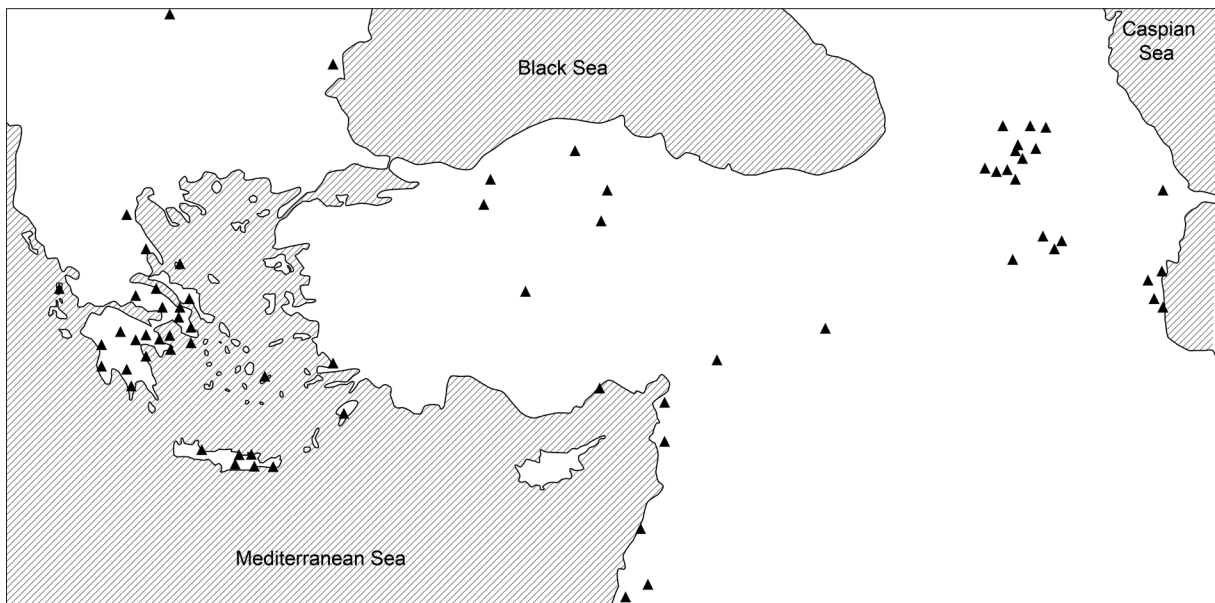


FIGURE 5
Distribution of the long sword from the third to the first half of the second millennium BC

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ABRAMISHVILI M. 2001, *Transcaucasian Rapiers and the Problem of their Origin*, in: BOEHMER R.M., MARAN J. (eds.), *Lux Orientis, Archäologie zwischen Asien und Europa*, Stellerloh, pp. 1-8.
- ABRAMISHVILI M. 2010, *In search of the origins of metallurgy. An overview of South Caucasian evidence*, in: HANSEN S., HAUPTMANN A., MOTZENBÄCKER I., PERNICKA E. (eds.) *Von Majkop bis Trialeti Gewinnung und Verbreitung von Metallen und Obsidian in Kaukasien im 4.-2. Jt. v. Chr. Beiträge des Internationalen Symposiums in Berlin vom 1.-3. Juni 2006*, Bonn, pp. 167-178.
- ANDREADAKI-VLAZAKI M. 2010, *Khania (Kydonia)*, in: CLINE E.H. (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean*, Oxford, pp. 518-528.
- ARESJAN G. E. 1986, *Raskopki v Maisjane*, in: MOSCOW B., RYBAKOV A. (eds.), *Archeologiceskie otkrytija 1984 goda*, Moscow, pp. 427-428.
- ANTHONY D. W. 2007, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language, how Bronze-Age Riders from the Eurasian Steppes shaped the Modern World*, Princeton.
- ATHANASSOV B., KRAUSS R., SLAVČEV, V. 2009, *Eine Bronzeschwerte Ägäisch-Anatolis typs aus dem Museum von Varna*, «Analele Banatului S.N.» XVII, pp. 17-32.
- BACHHUBER C. 2011, *Negotiating Metal and the Metal Form in the Royal Tomb of Alacahöyük in North-Central Anatolia*, in: WILKINSON T., SHERRATT S., BENNET J. (eds.), *Interweaving Worlds: systemic interactions in Eurasia, 7th to 1st millennia BC*, Oxford, pp. 158-174.
- BADER T. 1991, *Die Schwerter in Rumänien (Prähistorische Bronzefunde IV/8)*, Wiesbaden.
- BITTEL K. 1940, *Der Depot von Soli-Pompeipolis*, «Zeitschrift für Assyriologie» 12, pp. 189-190.
- BOBOKHYAN A. 2008, *Kommunikation und Austausch im Hochland zwischen Kaukasus und Taurus, ca. 2500-1500 v. Chr.* (BAR International Series 1853), Oxford.
- BURGER, G. 1994, *Die transkaukasischen Rapiere und die Möglichkeit ihrer Verbindung mit anderen Rapierezentren im zirkumpontischen Gebiet*, in: ROMAN P., ALEXIANU M. (eds.) *Relations Thracillyro-Helléniques* (Actes du XIVe Symposium national de thracologie (à participation internationale) Băile Herculane, 14-19 septembre 1992), pp. 14-19.
- CASTELLUCCIA M. 2017, *The Talesh Region in the Iron Age and its Relations with Transcaucasia*, in: ROVA E., TONUSSI M. (eds.), *At the Northern Frontier of Near Eastern Archaeology: Recent Research on Caucasia and Anatolia in the Bronze Age* (Proceedings of the Humboldt Kolleg Venice, 09-12/01/2013), Turnhout, pp. 391-410.
- CHARBONENEUX J. 1925, *Trois armes d'apparat du palais de Mallia (Crète)*, «Monuments et Mémoires de la Fondation Piot» 28, pp. 1-18.
- CHAPOUTHIER F. 1936, *Deux épées d'apparat découvertes en 1936 au palais de Mallia*, (Études Crétoises 5), Paris.
- DALL'ARMELLINA V. 2017, *Power of Symbols or Symbols of Power? The "long sword" in the Near East and the Aegean in the second millennium BC*, «Ancient Near Eastern Studies» 54, pp. 143-182.
- DE MORGAN J. 1896, *La Mission scientifique en Perse. Recherches archéologiques. Tome quatrième*, Paris.
- DE MORGAN J. 1905, *Recherches au Talyche Persan en 1901*, «Mémoires de la délégation en Perse, Recherches Archéologiques» 8, pp. 251-342.
- DI NOCERA, G., HUPTMANN A., PALMIERI A. M. 2004, *Sviluppo della metallurgia al servizio dei capi. Le prime spade del mondo*, in: FRANGIPANE M. (ed.), *Alle origini del potere. Arslantepe, la collina dei leoni*, Milano, pp. 66-67.
- DRIESSEN J., MACDONALD C. 1984, *Some Military Aspects of the Aegean*, «The Annual of the British School at Athens» 79, pp. 49-74.
- DUNAND M. D. 1937, *Fouilles De Byblos Tome I^{er} 1926-1927*, Paris.
- DÖRPFELD W. 1927, *Alt-Ithaka: ein Beitrag zur Homer-Frage; Studien und Ausgrabungen auf der Insel Leukas-Ithaka*, München.
- EVANS A. 1906, *The Prehistoric Tomb at Knossos*, London.
- EVANS A. 1935, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos. Vol. IV part II*, London.
- FRANGIPANE M. 2007-2008, *The Arslantepe Royal Tomb: New Funerary Customs and Political Changes*

- in the Upper Euphrates Valley at the Beginning of the Third Millennium B.C.*, «Scienze dell'Antichità» 14, pp. 169-193.
- GONZATO F. 2011, *Ostentazione di rango e manifestazione del potere agli albori della società micenea* (Praehistorica Mediterranea) Milano.
- GOGÅLTAN F. 1997, *O rapiera de tip micenian de la Densus*, «Apulum» XXXIV, pp. 55-65.
- GÜTERBOCK H. G. 1965, *A Votive Sword with Old Assyrian Inscription*, in: GÜTERBOCK H.G., JACOBSEN T. (eds.), *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday, April 21, 1965* (Assyriological Studies 16), Chicago, pp. 197-198.
- GÜRSAN-SALZMANN A. 1992, *Alaca Höyük: A Reassessment of the Excavation and Sequence of Early Bronze Age Settlement* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Pennsylvania), Ann Arbor.
- HANSEN O. 1994, *A Mycenaean Sword from Boğazköy-Hattusa Found in 1991*, «The Annual of the British School at Athens» 89, pp. 213-215.
- HAZZIDAKIS J. 1912, *An Early Minoan Sacred Cave at Arkalokhöri*, «The Annual of the British School at Athens 19», pp. 35-47.
- HOOD, M. S. F., DE JONG P. 1952, *Late Minoan Warrior-Graves from Agios Ioannis and the New Hospital Site at Knossos*, «The Annual of the British School at Athens» 47, pp. 243-277.
- HUTCHINSON, R. W. 1956, *A Late Minoan Tomb at Knosso*, «The Annual of the British School at Athens» 51, pp. 68-73.
- IMMERWAHR S. A. 1973, *Early Burials from the Agora Cemeteries*, Princeton.
- IAKOVIDES S. 1954, *Άνασκαφή μυκηναϊκών τάφων Περατής*, «Praktika» 1954, pp. 89-103.
- JACOPI G. 1930, *Nuovi scavi nella necropoli micenea di Jasso*, «Annuario della R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene» XIII, pp. 253-345.
- KARO G. 1930, *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai*, München.
- KILIAN-DIRLMEIER I. 1993, *Die Schwerter in Griechenland (ausserhalb der Peloponnes), Bulgarien und Albanien* (Prähistorische Bronzefunde IV/12), Wiesbaden.
- KILIAN-DIRLMEIER I. 1997, *Das Mittelbronzezeitliche Schachtgrab von Ágina*, Mainz.
- KOŞAY H. Z. 1944, *Ausgrabungen von Alaca Höyük, ein Vorbericht über die im Auftrage der Türkischen Geschichtskommission im Sommer 1936 durchgeführten Forschungen und Entdeckungen*, Ankara.
- KOHL P. 2007, *The Making of Bronze Age Eurasia*, Cambridge.
- LAMBRINUDAKIS V. 1981, *Remains of the Mycenaean Period in the Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas*, in: HÄGG R., MARINATOS N. (eds.) *Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age* (Proceedings of the First International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 12-13 May 1980) Stockholm, pp. 59-65.
- LEBESSI A. 1976, *A Sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite in Crete*, «Expedition» 13, pp. 2-12.
- MAIURI A. 1923, *Jaliso, Scavi della Missione Archeologica Italiana a Rodi*, «Annuario della R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene» VI, pp. 83-341.
- MARINATOS S. 1935, *Άνασκαφαί ἐν Κρήτη*, ΑΡΚΑΛΟΧΩΡΙ, «Praktika» 1935, pp. 2012-2020.
- MERVYN R., POPHAM E. A., CATLING H. W. 1974, *Sellopoulo Tombs 3 and 4, Two Late Minoan Graves near Knossos*, «The Annual of the British School at Athens» 69, pp. 195-258.
- MÜLLER K. 1909, *Alt Pylos. II die Funde aus den Kuppelgräbern von Kakovatos*, «Athenische Mitteilungen» XXXIV, pp. 269-283.
- MÜLLER-KARPE, A. 1994, *Anatolische Bronzeschwerter und Südosteuropa*, in: DOBIAT C. (ed.) *Festschrift für Otto-Herman Frey*, Marburg, pp. 431-444.
- MYLONAS G. M. 1973, *Ο Ταφικός Κύκλος Β των Μυκηνών, Η εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία*, Ατене.
- ORLANDOI A. K. 1971, *TANAΓPA*, «Ergon» 1970, pp. 13-22.
- ÖZGÜÇ T. 1986, *Kültepe-Kanish II. New Researches at the Trading Center of the Ancient Near East*, Ankara.
- PALUMBI G. 2004, *La più antica tomba "reale". Dati archeologici e costruzione delle ipotesi*, in: FRANGIPANE M. (ed.), *Alle origini del potere. Arslantepe, la collina dei leoni*, Milano, pp. 114-119.
- PALUMBI G. 2011, *The Arslantepe Royal Tomb and the Manipulation of the Kurgan Ideology in Eastern Anatolia at The Beginning of the Third Millennium*, in: BORGNA E., MÜLLER CELKA S. (ed.) *Ancestral Landscapes: Burial Mounds in the Copper and Bronze Ages* (Proceedings of the International Conference, Udine 2008), Lyon, pp. 47-59.
- PAPADIMITRIOU I. 1948, *Άνασκαφή ἐν τῷ Ἀσκληπιεῖω καὶ τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπολλ. Μαλεάτα ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ*, «Praktika» 1948, pp. 98-111.
- PERSSON A. W. 1931, *The Royal Tombs at Dendra near Midea*, London.
- PHILIP G. 1995, *Warrior Burials in the Ancient Near-Eastern Bronze Age: The Evidence from Mesopotamia*,

- Western Iran and Syria-Palestine*, in CAMPBELL S., GREEN A. (eds.), *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East*, Oxford, pp. 140-154.
- PLATON N. 1949, Ο τάφος του Σταφύλοθ και ὁ Μινωικὸς ἀποικισμὸς τῆς Πεπαρήθοθ, «Kretika Chronika » III, pp. 534-573.
- PLATON N. 1963, *A New Minoan Palace*, «Archaeology» 16/4, 269-275.
- PRITCHARD J. B. 1980, *The Cemetery at Tell Es-Sa'idiyeh, Jordan*, Philadelphia.
- PICCHELAURI K. 1997, *Waffen der Bronzezeit aus Ost-Georgien*, Espelkamp.
- PICCHELAURI K., ORTHRNANN W. 1992, *Der Kurgan "Tetri Kwebi I"*, «Georgica» 15, pp. 15-22.
- PROTONOTARIOU-DEILAKI E. 1990, *Burial Customs and Funerary Rites in the Prehistoric Argolid*, in: HAEGG R., NORDQUIST G.C. (eds.), *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid*, (Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 11-13 June, 1988), Stockholm, pp. 69-83.
- REZEPKIN A. D. 2000, *Das frühbronzezeitliche Gräberfeld von Klady und die Majkop-Kultur in Nordwestkaspien*, Rahden.
- SALVINI M., VAGNETTI L. 1994, *Una spada di tipo egeo da Bogazköy*, «La parola del passato» XLIX, pp. 215-236.
- SANDARS N. K. 1961, *The First Aegean Swords and Their Ancestry*, «American Journal of Archaeology» 65/1, pp. 17-29.
- SANDARS N. K. 1963, *Later Aegean Bronze Swords*, «American Journal of Archaeology» 67/2, pp. 117-153.
- SCHAEFFER C. 1948, *Stratigraphie Comparée et Chronologie de l'Asie Occidentale (III et II millénaires)*, Oxford.
- SCHACHNER A. 2001, *Zur Bildkunst des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr. Zwischen Kaspischem Meer und Van-See am Beispiel einer Stele im Museum von Astara (Azerbaycan)*, «Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan» 33, pp. 115-142.
- SCHACHNER A. 2005, *Von Bronze zu Eisen: die Metallurgie des 2. und frühen 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr. im östlichen Transkaukasus*, in: YALÇIN Ü (ed.), *Anatolian Metal III*, Bochum, pp. 75-93.
- SUMMERS G. D. 1991, *Metalwork in Gaziantep Museum Said to Be a Hoard from the Region of Sakçagözü*, «Anatolian Studies» 41, pp. 173-195.
- TARACHA P. 2003, *Is Tuthaliya's Sword Really Aegean?*, in: BECKMAN G., BEAL R., MCMAHON G. (eds.), *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner Jr. on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, Winona Lake, pp. 367-376.
- TREISTER M. 1996, *I tesori troiani attribuzioni, cronologia, contesto storico*, in: DANILOVA I., TREISTER M., PRUSS I. (eds.), *Il Tesoro di Troia*, Mosca-Firenze, pp. 197-232.
- ÜNAL A., ERTEKIN A., EDİZ I. 1991, *The Hittite Sword from Bogazköy-Hattusa, found 1991 and its Akkadian Inscription*, «Müze Museum» 4, pp. 50-52.
- WILKIE N. C. 1987, *Burial Customs at Nichoria: the MME Tholos*, in: LAFFINEUR R. (ed.) *Thanatos. Les coutumes funéraires en Egée à l'âge du Bronze* (Actes du colloque de Liège, 21-23 avril 1986), Liège, pp. 127-135.
- WILKINSON T. C. 2014, *Tying the Threads of Eurasia: Trans-regional Routes and Material Flows in Transcaucasia, Eastern Anatolia and Western Central Asia, c. 3000-1500BC*, Leiden.
- YAÇIN Ü., YAÇIN H. 2009, *Evidence for Early Use of Tin at Tülintepe in Eastern Anatolia*, «TÜBA-AR» 12, pp. 123-141.
- ZIMMERMANN T., DILEK N., ÖNDER T. K. 2011, *Ein neues Schwert vom Typus Arslantepe – frühmetallzeitliche Waffentechnologie zwischen Repräsentation und Ritual*, «Praehistorische Zeitschrift» 86, pp. 1-7.